

## IN THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

## FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

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ERIC ELDRED, et al.,

Appellants,

v.

JANET RENO,

Appellee.  
-----+

No. 99-5430

Thursday  
October 5, 2000

Washington, D.C.

The above-entitled matter came on for  
oral argument, pursuant to notice

BEFORE:

THE HONORABLE DOUGLAS H. GINSBURG, Judge

THE HONORABLE DAVID B. SENTELLE, Judge

THE HONORABLE KAREN LeCRAFT HENDERSON, Judge

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

THE CLERK: Case No. 99-5430

ERIC ELDRED, ET AL.,

v.

JANET RENO,

Mr. Lawrence Lessig for Appellant and Mr.  
Alfred Mollin for Appellee.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF MR. LAWRENCE LESSIG

ON BEHALF OF ERIC ELDRED, APPELLANT

May it please the Court, the question in  
this case is whether the Framers' vision of a limited  
power to issue copyrights tied to a constitutional  
guarantee of a vibrant public domain continues to  
bind Congress.

Appellants in this case are individuals  
and organizations that depend upon the public domain  
for their livelihood, like the Disney Corporation  
with "Cinderella" or "Sleeping Beauty" or the  
"Hunchback of Notre Dame", some of these plaintiffs  
draw upon the public domain to create new and  
derivative works. Others recover out of print works  
and make them available to the public generally.

And finally, others restore old and  
decaying films and make them more widely available.

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1 In 1998 Congress passed the Copyright  
2 Term Extension Act, extending the term of subsisting  
3 copyrights by 20 years and prospectively extending  
4 the term of future copyrights by 20 years.

5 This statute has harmed the Appellants.  
6 In an age when the Internet has made -- multiplied  
7 the opportunities that are available to produce new  
8 and derivative work it has extended the term under  
9 which an author's estate or it's assigned can control  
10 the access to copyrighted works.

11 And by extending the term of copyright  
12 for many works whose current copyright holder cannot  
13 be found, it has created essentially a publisher's  
14 blackhole. Where the cost of identifying current  
15 copyright holders are simply too great.

16 THE COURT: How is that handled today?

17 MR. LESSIG: That's the same problem that  
18 exists today, Your Honor but it is extended by virtue  
19 of the fact that the ordinary --

20 THE COURT: You have a long footnote  
21 detailing all of the steps one would have to take to  
22 trace the copyright. Find the heirs and so on, which  
23 would seem to be, as you say, almost to the same  
24 degree, at least a somewhat lesser degree of problem

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1 today. Surely there are services that do that.

2 MR. LESSIG: There are services -- that's  
3 right Your Honor, but the fact is if the service is  
4 unable to find this copyright holder, given the  
5 effect of the Net Act, which was published -- passed  
6 also in 1998, this becomes a criminal offense if this  
7 is not identified to publish this material.

8 And so the Appellants in this case,  
9 including Higginson Book, for example, face the  
10 threat of criminal prosecution if they continue to  
11 publish works whose copyright holder cannot be  
12 discovered.

13 THE COURT: When did it become a criminal  
14 offense?

15 MR. LESSIG: The Net Act passed -- it  
16 passed in 1998. It makes it a criminal offense to  
17 publish, either electronically or not, works whose  
18 value is greater than a thousand dollars within a  
19 period of 180 days.

20 Plaintiffs challenged this act when it  
21 first came into effect in January 1999. The  
22 government moved for judgment on the Pleadings. We  
23 cross-moved for Summary Judgment. And the District  
24 Court, without a hearing or without oral argument,

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1 granted the government's motions for judgement on the  
2 Pleadings.

3 Now the essence of the government's claim  
4 is that the challenge to the duration of a copyright  
5 act must be tested under rational basis review. If  
6 this is the standard, then we lose. But we do not  
7 believe that the authority of this Court or the  
8 Supreme Court supports this as the standard for  
9 reviewing a change in the Copyright Act.

10 Whether under the Copyright Clause or the First  
11 Amendment, Congress' extension of this monopoly on  
12 speech rights merits heightened review.

13 We'll argue first that under ordinary  
14 First Amendment review both the prospective and  
15 retrospective aspects of the CTEA are  
16 unconstitutional and second that the limited times  
17 and originality requirements of the Copyright Clause  
18 invalidate the retrospective aspect of the Copyright  
19 Term Extension Act.

20 Let me address the First Amendment first.

21 THE COURT: Could you just state the  
22 standard of review then?

23 MR. LESSIG: Well, we believe under the  
24 First Amendment the standard of review would be

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1 ordinary First Amendment review for a content neutral  
2 regulation. It should be intermediate scrutiny as  
3 specified in O'Brien. And under the Copyright  
4 Clause, the question is whether this change comports  
5 with the requirements of originality and limited  
6 times.

7 The Court has not interpreted the meaning  
8 of limited times and we suggest the method has  
9 adopted when interpreting authors and writings should  
10 guide you in interpreting the meaning of limited  
11 times. But it has clearly held that the originality  
12 requirement is a constitutional requirement.

13 First, in the trademark cases and most  
14 recently adverted to in Feist. And under the holding  
15 of the originality requirement as a constitutional  
16 requirement and the definition of originality to not  
17 include works in the public domain. We think it's a  
18 natural -- it follows from that, that so too works  
19 that are simply having their copyright term extended  
20 cannot qualify as original for purposes of the  
21 Copyright Clause.

22 The government argues; however, under the  
23 First Amendment that there's a special First  
24 Amendment exception under the Copyright Act that so

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1 long as Copyright protects only expression, there is  
2 not First Amendment issue to be raised. Now we  
3 submit there is no authority for this extraordinary  
4 claim of a copyright exception and the authority the  
5 government relies upon stands for a very different  
6 and wholly pedestrian point.

7 Every case the government cites is a case  
8 where the claimant demands a First Amendment right to  
9 use an otherwise legitimately copyrighted work.

10 In essence, the First Amendment right to  
11 trespass. Courts have rightly rejected that claim.  
12 But Appellants here are claiming something  
13 fundamentally different, we are not arguing we have  
14 the right to use an otherwise legitimately  
15 copyrighted work. We are arguing that this work is  
16 not legitimately copyrighted. That the copyright  
17 power, given the restraints of the First Amendment  
18 cannot extend to this kind of work.

19 Our claim is not that we have a special  
20 right to trespass, it's that this property cannot,  
21 under the First Amendment and the Copyright Clause,  
22 legitimately be considered property.

23 THE COURT: If you don't have a  
24 cognizable First Amendment right in using the work,

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1 then why would you have any greater right in  
2 challenging the eligibility of the copyright?

3 MR. LESSIG: Your Honor, if we were  
4 challenging the right to use a work we would have no  
5 greater right to the general copyright. But as the  
6 posture of this case now stands we're making a facial  
7 challenge to a statute that's affecting the terms of  
8 copyrights generally.

9 THE COURT: But your interest in doing so  
10 is your First Amendment interest, correct?

11 MR. LESSIG: It's a First Amendment  
12 interest to get access to --

13 THE COURT: And we've been told you don't  
14 have a First Amendment interest in access to the  
15 works.

16 MR. LESSIG: Into a particular work,  
17 that's right. That's the meaning of this line of  
18 cases that says you don't have a First Amendment  
19 right to trespass. But it can't be that that holding  
20 converts to no ability to challenge for any First  
21 Amendment reasons the extensions of the Copyright  
22 Act.

23 THE COURT: Well suppose -- let's just  
24 revert to real property for a moment since it's less

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1 challenging to the judicial mind.

2 If you don't have the right to trespass  
3 on my land, and you don't. You're saying you might  
4 nonetheless have a right to object to my putting up a  
5 fence. Now I suppose if the fence obscures your  
6 ancient rights, you do, but if the fence -- if that's  
7 not your objection, but rather it's the fence that  
8 keeps you out. Then you don't, because you don't  
9 have a right to come in.

10 MR. LESSIG: That's right.

11 THE COURT: What's the difference there?

12 MR. LESSIG: There's no difference in the  
13 way you framed the question. But I believe a  
14 slightly different hypothetical would make the point.

15 I don't have a right to enter your land because I  
16 don't have the right to trespass on your land. But  
17 if the power under which Congress grants you the land  
18 is expressly limited by the Constitution in some  
19 other way. Then the challenge that I'm making is to  
20 the violation of this limitation as it applies to the  
21 grant of land in the first place.

22 So it's not about my particular right to  
23 enter the land. Although, the fact that I'm harmed  
24 by the fact that I can't use these works that

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1 otherwise should have fallen into the public domain  
2 is a sufficient nexus required to give us standing to  
3 raise this.

4 THE COURT: I don't see how that  
5 different hypothetical illuminates the situation. If  
6 the land grant is from the government for the purpose  
7 of operating a public university, and you're excluded  
8 from that university, do you have a basis for  
9 objecting to the land grant?

10 MR. LESSIG: Well, if the land grants  
11 were for example given to -- on the basis of racial  
12 discrimination and I'm challenging the racial  
13 discrimination in granting that land. I might not  
14 have the right to enter the university, but I  
15 certainly should have the right to challenge the  
16 racial discrimination that was made in making that  
17 land grant in the first place.

18 They're conceptually different and yet,  
19 because of the nexus that's required to demonstrate  
20 the standing we can raise that harm and ask for --

21 THE COURT: You've gotten to the problem  
22 -- the standing problem. If you don't have a right  
23 to enter the university how do you have a right to  
24 challenge the land grant that underlies the

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1 university? What's the right of yours that's being  
2 violated to give you standing?

3 THE COURT: I, frankly, didn't understand  
4 why Mr. Mollin challenged your standing until now.

5 (Laughter.)

6 THE COURT: You've done a good job of  
7 making his case.

8 THE COURT: Well, it is clarifying. It  
9 does help, but go ahead.

10 MR. LESSIG: Well, Your Honor, the harm  
11 that we suffer here is that we don't have access to  
12 the public domain works. The authority that the  
13 government relies upon to show why we can't raise a  
14 claim about access to works is raised in a narrow  
15 context.

16 We have no authority for saying this is  
17 the only First Amendment interest that one has in any  
18 context. Right. So the access that we have here --  
19 here's a separate way to think about it.

20 THE COURT: What's the source of your  
21 right to access? You may have harm -- excuse me.  
22 You don't have judicially cognizable harm when your  
23 access is defeated unless you have a right to that  
24 access. Now is the First Amendment your right to

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1 that access or is something else your right to that  
2 access?

3 MR. LESSIG: Your Honor, this is an  
4 answer to the question, I assure you. We have -- we  
5 understand this limitation on the ability to raise  
6 this right to trespass as a compromise expressing the  
7 limited scope of the copyright term of a copyright.  
8 Copyright has a limited scope and that protects the  
9 rights for people to get access after -- around the  
10 edges of a legitimate copyright.

11 And that feeds the ultimate justification  
12 that the Court has given for copyright. Which is  
13 that it serves an engine of free expression. Now  
14 we're --

15 THE COURT: Yeah, but if your only harm is  
16 the same harm that is to the public generally, then  
17 you don't have a standing.

18 MR. LESSIG: No, that's right and in  
19 that --

20 THE COURT: And what we're trying to  
21 find, exploring here, is where your right comes from  
22 that is violated by the allegedly overreaching act of  
23 Congress that gives you justiciable harm for purposes  
24 of standing.

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1 MR. LESSIG: That's right. But the  
2 second dimension that we assert that exists for a  
3 First Amendment right is when Congress' action cannot  
4 reasonably be said to be creating an incentive to  
5 produce speech by extending duration, that's a  
6 separate kind of harm. Now there is no holding or  
7 statement of any court that says that when the harm  
8 is about producing or restricting access on the  
9 dimension of duration, that we don't have success to  
10 this --

11 THE COURT: Now try this for me. Just  
12 try giving me a yes or a no to this.

13 Is the source of the right that you say  
14 gives you a justiciable interest, which has been  
15 harmed, the First Amendment?

16 MR. LESSIG: In this part of the argument  
17 it is, Your Honor.

18 THE COURT: Is there some other source of  
19 right that you say gives you standing?

20 MR. LESSIG: There isn't, but we are  
21 saying that there are two dimensions to this First  
22 Amendment --

23 THE COURT: There is or there isn't?

24 MR. LESSIG: With respect to the First

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1 Amendment there are two dimensions of that harm.

2 THE COURT: With respect to your  
3 standings is there some other source of right than  
4 the First Amendment which gives you --

5 MR. LESSIG: Well, we have standing --

6 THE COURT: -- a justiciable protectable  
7 interest?

8 MR. LESSIG: Under the Copyright Clause,  
9 Your Honor.

10 THE COURT: Under the Copyright laws?

11 MR. LESSIG: Under the Copyright Clause.

12 Our claim is that the extension retrospectively of  
13 the copyright term, here, harms our ability to get  
14 access in violation of the limited times provision  
15 and originality provision. And that was --

16 THE COURT: That would seem to me to be  
17 the source of your Lopez argument as to the  
18 invalidity of the act. But see what I'm still trying  
19 to explore is why you have standing to justicably  
20 attack that Lopez argument.

21 MR. LESSIG: We have standing in just the  
22 same way that in United Christian Scientists they  
23 were standing to challenge an act which was  
24 restricting the ability for people to get access to

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1 works of the Christian Science Church.

2 In that case, too, there's a First  
3 Amendment argument about the Establishment Clause and  
4 there's also a Copyright Clause argument about the  
5 ability for them to get access to this work -- taken  
6 from them in violation of the Copyright Clause. The  
7 standing there, too, was in both dimensions grounded  
8 upon the harm caused by the act of Congress.

9 Your Honor, I'd like to reserve some  
10 time.

11 THE COURT: Well, I have another question  
12 I wanted to ask you. We will give the time for  
13 rebuttal.

14 MR. LESSIG: Yes. Okay. Thank you.

15 THE COURT: Have you adopted any point  
16 -- any arguments that appear in any of these amicus  
17 briefs? Or maybe -- I don't remember -- there is  
18 more than one, but in any brief other than your own?

19 MR. LESSIG: Well, in particular, Mr.  
20 Jaffe's brief is a brief that makes textualist  
21 arguments that we believe are quite strong in this  
22 way.

23 THE COURT: Is there any place in which  
24 you have adopted them, in your briefs?

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1 MR. LESSIG: We formally acknowledged  
2 them in our briefs. I don't believe we have, Your  
3 Honor, no.

4 THE COURT: Okay. So the -- because it  
5 seems to me, I don't know whether there's really any  
6 difference, but the verbal formulation that he  
7 advances under the necessary improper clause.  
8 Derived from the case is at least different in terms  
9 than the intermediate scrutiny or rational review.

10 MR. LESSIG: That he advances for  
11 justifying the act -- for challenging the act?

12 THE COURT: Yes.

13 MR. LESSIG: Yes. Well, it is different  
14 in the sense that it's emphasizing the propriety of  
15 the particular act and I believe we, too, are arguing  
16 about the propriety, but we wanted to focus on the  
17 very different types of inquiries that would exist  
18 under both questions we've raised.

19 One the inquiry under the First  
20 Amendment, which we think is governed by standard  
21 review. But second, as the Court has done in the  
22 copyright context inquiry about the specific meanings  
23 of this implied term "original" and also the  
24 expressed term "limited Times".

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1           These two terms, we believe, have been  
2 interpreted in light of the purpose of the Copyright  
3 Clause and that's the source --

4           THE COURT: Well, there's some tangency -  
5 - yes, some tangency there because of his reliance on  
6 the John Deere case.

7           MR. LESSIG: That's right. And the  
8 Graham case.

9           THE COURT: Is that cited in your brief?  
10 I don't remember. Graham?

11          MR. LESSIG: The Graham case, yes it is  
12 Your Honor.

13          THE COURT: Yes, of course. It's a  
14 principal case. What did you want us to do with  
15 Schnapper?

16          MR. LESSIG: Well, there are two  
17 dimensions Your Honor. The Schnapper dimension with  
18 respect to the ability to -- what the government  
19 claims, the ability to rely upon the Purpose Clause  
20 we think is just in this reading of Schnapper.

21          In Schnapper, what the Court said was  
22 that you didn't have the requirement to show that  
23 each particular work satisfied the purpose  
24 requirement.

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1 It relies directly on Mitchell Brothers in the Fifth  
2 Circuit. Mitchell Brothers in the Fifth Circuit  
3 expressly says, and Jaffe argues this as well, that  
4 the purpose requirement restrains Congress, not  
5 particular requirements.

6 Now we believe that's clearly  
7 distinguishable from the kind of argument we're  
8 making here. But if it's not distinguishable, then  
9 we believe that the Feist case has clearly drawn  
10 Schnapper into doubt, because is Feist there clearly  
11 is a reliance upon the narrowing purpose of the  
12 Copyright Act.

13 And in both Graham and Bonito Boats the  
14 Court quite expressly states that the purpose is a  
15 limitation on the scope of the power in the Copyright  
16 Clause. This the only clause in the Constitution  
17 that grants power to Congress and simultaneously says  
18 what the purpose of that power must be.

19 THE COURT: Well, I guess there is still  
20 an undistributed middle here. In the sense that if  
21 the introductory phrased in the clause serves as a  
22 limitation and Schnapper tells us it's not to be --  
23 Mitchell, actually as opposed to Schnapper, tells us  
24 it's not to be applied to each work.

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1           It leaves open the possibility that it is  
2 to be applied categorically. And then what are the  
3 categories and one division of the categories is  
4 between prospective and retroactive application.  
5 Another would be by media when subjected that there's  
6 no incentive effect with respect to extension of  
7 copyright for works created long ago. The  
8 government comes back and says film restoration. And  
9 I think they might have added, from my limited  
10 personal knowledge, the problem of acidic paper.  
11 Books written on acidic paper and phonographic  
12 masters.

13           All of which are going to disappear if  
14 there is no economic incentive to rehabilitate them.

15           But that still leaves open the question, is that a  
16 separate category or does it carry over to all works  
17 described in the extension?

18           How do we cut into this if -- is there a  
19 middle ground? Or is going have to be either  
20 Schnapper as the government reads it or John Deere as  
21 you read it?

22           MR. LESSIG: First of all, Your Honor I  
23 would suggest that you distinguish between incentives  
24 for creativity and incentives that subsidize

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1 production. My reading of the authority and the  
2 framing intent of the Copyright Clause, is to clearly  
3 subsidize creativity and made an expressed decision  
4 by granting to authors, rather than publishers the  
5 decision to subsidize production.

6 And in particular, in the case in Graham,  
7 the Supreme Court explains that the background of the  
8 monopoly power that was granted in England, often  
9 granted monopolies to companies that have already  
10 produced something for the purpose of subsidizing it  
11 in the future. That's the production subsidy. And  
12 the Court distinguished our Copyright and Patent  
13 Clause from that tradition.

14 So I don't believe there is authority for  
15 the notion that Congress can exercise this monopoly  
16 power to subsidize production rather than creativity.

17 Now the middle ground in Schanpper, it seems to me,  
18 is not to see Schnapper standing out there as a  
19 restriction independent of any of the terms. It is a  
20 way of understanding the meaning of the terms. That  
21 was the way it was used to bring out the implied term  
22 "originality".

23 There's, you know, obviously authors and  
24 writings don't say "original". And yet by looking at

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1 the purpose to promote creativity the Court has seen  
2 originality as the essential expression of that, and  
3 I think the only way to understand that creative,  
4 active interpretation is to see it against the  
5 Purpose Clause. And so too in the limited times  
6 clause.

7 Now, you know, in a law review article we  
8 might speculate about a number of different  
9 dimensions we would like to cut this and this media  
10 dimension might be one, but again, only if you  
11 believe the justification is a subsidy for  
12 production. And I don't think, given the  
13 extraordinary anxiety the Framers had about monopoly  
14 rights, generally, and it's belief that they were  
15 narrowly carving an exception for the creative  
16 activity that you can view this grant of copyright  
17 authority to be a grant to subsidize film producers  
18 who want production --

19 THE COURT: If we were -- go ahead.

20 THE COURT: A distinguishing production  
21 from what?

22 MR. LESSIG: From the creative acts.

23 THE COURT: So are you saying creation  
24 and production are two different things?

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1 MR. LESSIG: Yes.

2 THE COURT: So meaning production here is  
3 not the original creation, but some subsequent  
4 replication.

5 MR. LESSIG: A subsequent copy. That's  
6 right, copying of it.

7 THE COURT: Even though the act of what  
8 you're now calling production would be the only thing  
9 to preserve the work for anybody's use. It will not  
10 be available in the public domain, either, if the  
11 paper disintegrates or the original master is allowed  
12 to disintegrate.

13 MR. LESSIG: Well, that's their claim  
14 Your Honor, it's a factual claim. We deny it in  
15 particular because we have Appellants who do  
16 precisely this. We have Appellants who take work  
17 from the public domain that would be destroyed in the  
18 sense that you say, and turn it into work on the  
19 Internet, for example, or republish it as Dover Books  
20 does.

21 We also have film libraries, Movie Craft  
22 for example, that takes silent films and other films  
23 in the public domain --

24 THE COURT: Well, no -- I think you're

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1 missing the point, because your answer begs the  
2 question in this sense. If the -- what we're  
3 hypothesizing or the government is and maybe I'm  
4 embellishing it -- is that there is an item, let's  
5 say a film master. Which before the copyright has  
6 expired will become unusable if they don't have any  
7 incentive, to let's say digitize it before it's too  
8 late.

9 The one who would like to republish it  
10 after it enters the public domain, won't have that  
11 opportunity, as you were suggesting, you know,  
12 putting the books on the Internet or something like  
13 that. Because the work will be gone during it's  
14 protected period.

15 MR. LESSIG: Right.

16 THE COURT: It used to be said, maybe it  
17 should still be, that many 20th Century authors will  
18 outlive their works because of the acidic paper.

19 THE COURT: And maybe it should be --

20 THE COURT: And so there just isn't going  
21 to be anything there posthumously for a publisher to  
22 reintroduce.

23 THE COURT: Which may be a blessing to  
24 later generations.

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1 (Laughter.)

2 MR. LESSIG: I don't know what they are  
3 published on, Your Honor. But Your Honor the reason  
4 this hard to set -- to make clear is that we have to  
5 be clear which context you are asking the question.  
6 If you are asking the question in the First Amendment  
7 context then I think we have to really evaluate the  
8 incentives, as they allege, are as the world would  
9 make them. And we've had no opportunity to  
10 investigate and challenge to see whether there is  
11 substantial evidence there.

12 If it's in the context of the Copyright  
13 Clause, then it seems to me it's not a fact based  
14 inquiry, it's an inquiry into whether we believe that  
15 this kind of production, just subsidizing somebody --

16 THE COURT: And I was thinking at that  
17 point about the Copyright Clause.

18 MR. LESSIG: If that is considered  
19 original under Feist, then they get a copyright for  
20 the production of that. If it's not considered  
21 original under Feist, then I think the meaning of  
22 Feist is that that's not what the Copyright Clause  
23 extends to and Congress cannot simply expand the  
24 powers of the Copyright Clause merely because it's

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1 extremely compelling to do it.

2 There's lots of ways Congress can help  
3 restore films, they can subsidize restoring of films,  
4 they can create tax incentives for restoring films,  
5 they can pay the --

6 THE COURT: So you're not denying the  
7 incentive effect and that it is more or less aligned  
8 with the incentives built into the Copyright Clause,  
9 you're simply saying it is not at the threshold -- it  
10 doesn't surmount the threshold to get into the  
11 Copyright Clause.

12 MR. LESSIG: Right. In the Copyright  
13 Clause you must show it's original and I think that's  
14 an important limitation on the scope of Congress'  
15 power, which the Court has embraced.

16 THE COURT: Take it back to Schnapper  
17 just a moment. If I recall it literally says that  
18 the Purpose Clause does not place a limit on  
19 Congressional power, am I misremembering? I can't  
20 give you the exact quotation.

21 MR. LESSIG: You know, you're right about  
22 it's literal interpretation.

23 THE COURT: If we are writing an opinion  
24 and we are bound by Schnapper as precedent, which we

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1 are, I'm not sure that I understood you in your  
2 answer to Judge Ginsburg to say how we would we write  
3 that opinion that gets out from under the apparent  
4 precedent of that language?

5 MR. LESSIG: Your Honor, the meaning of  
6 the opinion is not its literal text taken out of --  
7 taking this literal sentence, taken out of context.  
8 I genuinely believe that this opinion does not say  
9 that the Copyright Clause -- the Purpose Clause and  
10 the Copyright Clause has no effect on limiting  
11 Congress' power. I believe that --

12 THE COURT: And aside from writing that  
13 Mr. Lessig doesn't believe that.

14 MR. LESSIG: Well, you can say that --

15 THE COURT: How would I write the  
16 sentence in the opinion or how would one of my  
17 colleagues write the sentence?

18 MR. LESSIG: But Your Honor -- that's  
19 right.

20 THE COURT: That says we're not bound by  
21 the sentence and the presidential sense.

22 MR. LESSIG: That's right.

23 THE COURT: What's right? That's a  
24 question, it's not a statement. My questions keep

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1 being right this morning.

2 MR. LESSIG: Well, no. The thrust of  
3 your question -- I think is, how are we going to  
4 write an opinion.

5 THE COURT: Yes.

6 MR. LESSIG: That properly deals with  
7 this opinion. And I think the way to properly deal  
8 with this opinion is to interpret it correctly.

9 Now look at Schnapper decided after  
10 Graham, which clearly states that the Purpose Clause  
11 is a limitation on the power that Congress has in the  
12 Copyright Clause. To interpret this Court as  
13 ignoring that clear authority from the Supreme Court,  
14 is to read into your behavior something less than  
15 good work. I don't read that into your behavior. It  
16 seems to  
17 me --

18 THE COURT: That's a good point. The  
19 Court, of course, was relying heavily on the Fifth  
20 Circuit's opinion on Mitchell Brothers.

21 MR. LESSIG: And the Fifth Circuit --

22 THE COURT: Now the Court nowhere cites  
23 Graham, does Mitchell?

24 MR. LESSIG: That's right. No Mitchell

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1 does cite Graham. I believe Your Honor, I would have  
2 -- I need to check that. But Mitchell is precise  
3 about that fact that the Purpose Clause does  
4 constrain Congress. Mitchell expressly states that  
5 the words of the Copyright Clause of the Constitution  
6 do not require that writings shall promote Science  
7 and useful Arts, they require that Congress shall  
8 promote those ends. So Mitchell doesn't stand  
9 for the proposition that there is no constraint from  
10 this clause, and it's completely sensible opinion in  
11 Mitchell. The case in Mitchell is whether an  
12 obscenity exception should exist for the copyright  
13 power, so that a judge should decide that this is  
14 obscene, and therefore it doesn't have the copyright  
15 power.

16 And the Court quite reasonably says this  
17 would be a mess if courts has to decide. And it  
18 would be a mess, as Mitchell says for very valid  
19 First Amendment reasons, because the Court would be  
20 in the position of trying to decide whether to grant  
21 copyright or not based on it's judgement in the  
22 abstract of whether something is obscene.

23 So to avoid that mess, the Court in  
24 Mitchell said it was completely reasonable for

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1 Congress to decide, it would just say everything is  
2 copyrightable and therefore not bog the process  
3 down --

4 THE COURT: Why doesn't that carry over  
5 to the decision in the Congress to not distinguish  
6 between extant and inchoate works or future works?

7 MR. LESSIG: Well, this line is not a  
8 hard one to draw. There's existing copyrights whose  
9 term is being extended. That's an expressed section  
10 of the statute, which is quite simple to distinguish  
11 from works that have not yet been copyrighted or  
12 reduced to a tangible form, which is also being  
13 extended.

14 And what Congress can do, within some  
15 limits is prospectively extend the term. We argue  
16 about how far, but they can certainly do that. But  
17 the meaning of limited times, if it must be limited  
18 times to promote progress cannot be to create an  
19 incentive in dead people.

20 The one thing we know about incentives,  
21 is that you can't incent dead people and the  
22 retrospective extension here, which is now so great  
23 that the vast majority of those who get any benefit  
24 from this extension is clearly not to original

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1 authors.

2 THE COURT: Thank you very much, Mr.  
3 Lessig. We'll give you five minutes for rebuttal.

4 MR. LESSIG: Thank you.

5 ORAL ARGUMENT OF MR. ALFRED R. MOLLIN

6 ON BEHALF OF JANET RENO, APPELLEE

7 May it please the Court, since the  
8 rational basis has been conceded, I'll try and focus  
9 on those aspects in which Plaintiff seeks more than a  
10 rational basis.

11 First of all the notion of originality,  
12 which seems to come everywhere in their brief.  
13 Originality in Feist, and I think it's worth reading  
14 just that. Originality is a constitutional  
15 requirement courts have defined crucial terms,  
16 authors and writing, in so doing the Court made it  
17 unmistakably clear that these terms, authors and  
18 writings, are presupposed degree of originality.

19 So where originality comes from as a  
20 constitutional requirement is the nature of the  
21 writing, the nature of the author. All right.

22 Feist makes pretty clear that that's not  
23 a difficult test. It's something that occurs at the  
24 moment of creation. At the moment of creation has it

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1 been copied from something else. Right.

2 THE COURT: Now, taking that as a given  
3 then, you seemed to be, for at least the purpose of  
4 the argument, and I'm not asking you to go beyond  
5 purposes of the argument. The Purpose Clause seeming  
6 to require incentive for Congress to act, what  
7 incentive for the exercise of creativity can there be  
8 in the extension of the copyright term for a work  
9 that has already been created, in Feist terms?

10 MR. MOLLIN: Well, if one focuses simply  
11 on that work, on an individual work, obviously none.  
12 What is out there is out there and there can't be any  
13 incentive to bring it out.

14 THE COURT: Is that a concession that the  
15 extension is then invalid as to existing work?

16 MR. MOLLIN: Pardon me?

17 THE COURT: Is that a concession that the  
18 extension --

19 MR. MOLLIN: It is not.

20 THE COURT: Okay.

21 MR. MOLLIN: What it is that the -- that  
22 one must look at the system as a whole that Congress  
23 has created. And see whether in the context of the  
24 system as a whole this extension to subsisting

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1 copyrights does encourage and does promote the  
2 progress of the Arts. Right.

3 It doesn't with respect to a particular  
4 individual.

5 THE COURT: That's what I was attempting  
6 to explore by the question. How does it, as to pre-  
7 existing works, as to which the Act purports to  
8 extend copyright protection. How does that provide  
9 incentive? And I'm not understanding you to be  
10 answering that. I may be missing something, but --

11 MR. MOLLIN: All right. That a system as  
12 whole, that protects the inducements that lead an  
13 author to write in the first place. That protects  
14 them from dilution, that protects them --

15 THE COURT: But we're not talking about  
16 dilution. We're talking about an extension, an  
17 expansion of protections.

18 MR. MOLLIN: An extension which --

19 THE COURT: The author wrote whatever he  
20 or she wrote, satisfied with the incentive of the  
21 term as it then extended, as it then existed. How  
22 does an extension of that term change the incentive  
23 for something that's already been created?

24 MR. MOLLIN: It changes the incentive for

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1 people standing in the future. For potential authors  
2 now, it's Congress' finding that the last Copyright  
3 Act was inadequate to achieve its purpose. Its  
4 purpose was -- the purpose of the 50 year life plus  
5 50 years, to give an author protection through his  
6 life and the life of the generation following.  
7 Right.

8 The Congress found that that wasn't  
9 achieved. That that goal fell short by what was  
10 done. So there was a correction of that goal to  
11 avoid the dilution, all right.

12 Of what, in fact, people felt they were  
13 offering to that author to create. So what the  
14 system as a whole does and it's not limited to this.

15 It's limited in many, many ways, you know. It's  
16 articulated in many, many ways that Congress protects  
17 the grant that has been given from dilution from  
18 deterioration from going awry from unforeseen  
19 contingencies.

20 A kind of similar example is in the  
21 Digital Millennium Act where for the first time  
22 Congress prohibited the decryption of encrypted  
23 things, which prevent people from playing it without  
24 paying for it. That was given to subsisting

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1 copyright holders as well. That didn't increase  
2 their incentive to go ahead and produce new works.

3 It's something that would have destroyed  
4 the value of existing works, but it didn't induce  
5 them to do anything new. It didn't induce them to  
6 produce anything, it surely induced those --

7 THE COURT: I'm not sure that I  
8 understand what that has to do with the argument that  
9 you are making.

10 MR. MOLLIN: That the system as a whole  
11 protects people's works and the reward they have been  
12 given for them from deterioration and when you do  
13 that to someone who has a subsisting copyright,  
14 people are more comfortable to begin writing. People  
15 are more comfortable writing in a system, in which  
16 they know the government -- they can see the  
17 government has protected people in the past from  
18 dilution and they can count on that happening in the  
19 future.

20 And if you know the government is going  
21 to take care of you --

22 THE COURT: Would that mean that the  
23 Congress could constitutionally take works out of the  
24 public domain and reestablish copyright protection?

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1 MR. MOLLIN: I think in terms of the  
2 originality argument, there's no --

3 THE COURT: Right. That work would seem  
4 to be a work which is about to -- whose copyright is  
5 about to expire in four years as compared to a work  
6 which has expired a year ago, would not seem to be  
7 intrinsically different in terms of any definition of  
8 originality --

9 MR. MOLLIN: Congress would not --

10 THE COURT: Would Congress be able  
11 constitutionally to go to the second. That is the  
12 one, which unlike Mickey Mouse has already lost its  
13 copyright protection, and take it back out of the  
14 public domain and reestablish its copyright  
15 protection?

16 MR. MOLLIN: We think that Congress, not  
17 only can do so, but in fact Congress has done so on a  
18 massive scale, involving millions of volumes. Right.

19 And if one were to accept the Plaintiff's views of  
20 what --

21 THE COURT: Congress has taken things  
22 that were already in the public domain out and put  
23 them back in copyright? Is that correct?

24 MR. MOLLIN: Yes, Your Honor. The

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1 Uruguay Round Agreements, which were completed in  
2 1995, this applies only to domiciliaries of foreign  
3 countries, but the Agreement is with hundreds of  
4 countries.

5 And what it says is that people in those  
6 countries who have followed the copyright protection  
7 of their own laws, and have their own laws protecting  
8 them, but whose works have fallen into the public  
9 domain in this country -- all right.

10 Those copyrights are recovered. It's the  
11 term we use, recovered.

12 THE COURT: Could Congress without regard  
13 to any treaty power or any international relation  
14 simply with regard to domestic product, seize  
15 something that's in the public domain and reestablish  
16 its copyright protection? Could it do so  
17 constitutionally under the Copyright Clause?

18 MR. MOLLIN: It's not going to be barred  
19 by the Originality Clause, because a work when it's  
20 created and if it's created without copying  
21 something, if it's an intellectual product of the  
22 mind -- it's always this.

23 THE COURT: Would you say Congress could  
24 constitutionally do that?

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1 MR. MOLLIN: Yes. All right. It  
2 wouldn't be prevented by that particular clause. It  
3 wouldn't be prevented by --

4 THE COURT: Would be prevented by  
5 anything else?

6 MR. MOLLIN: Sure.

7 THE COURT: What?

8 MR. MOLLIN: It's very hard to see how it  
9 would promote the Arts and Sciences to pull things  
10 back out --

11 THE COURT: Granted. Now, that granted.  
12 How does it promote the Arts and Sciences to extend  
13 the extant copyright on something that's six months  
14 newer than the one you said it would no promote?

15 MR. MOLLIN: Because, first of all these  
16 things are not in the public domain. There's not  
17 that kind of --

18 THE COURT: We know that. It's a given  
19 with my hypothetical.

20 MR. MOLLIN: And therefore one can  
21 correct the errors that have been made, right. And  
22 protect it from the dilution that it would otherwise  
23 receive without the kind of dislocation that would  
24 occur in the public domain.

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1 THE COURT: That's not an answer as to  
2 why it would or would not provide any greater  
3 incentive to production than the one that might have  
4 been withdrawn.

5 MR. MOLLIN: The incentive for  
6 production, in general, is the system, right. And  
7 the system --

8 THE COURT: And you're saying that by  
9 protecting past creators, you're giving assurances to  
10 future creators that they might get -- not  
11 assurances, expectations that they might get further  
12 protection than what's now in the books and that  
13 would create a theoretically greater incentive by the  
14 system.

15 MR. MOLLIN: I don't think so --

16 THE COURT: I'm asking you why that same  
17 theory would not apply to withdrawing from public  
18 domain.

19 MR. MOLLIN: First, we're not saying  
20 greater protection. Right. We are saying keeping  
21 the what you've been given from dilution.

22 THE COURT: The reason why we're here is  
23 because Congress extended the protection. If there  
24 were not an extended protection we wouldn't be here.

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1 That's what this statute is about, isn't it?

2 MR. MOLLIN: Congress corrected an error.

3 There's a difference between that and adding on a  
4 benefit, right. It's correcting an error, all right.

5 So in --

6 THE COURT: No.

7 MR. MOLLIN: Pardon me?

8 THE COURT: No, there isn't.

9 You asked me a question, which I don't  
10 have to answer. But the answer is no. There is not  
11 a difference between correcting an error by extending  
12 a benefit and extending a benefit. No, there is no  
13 difference.

14 I don't have to answer your question, you  
15 have to answer mine, I don't have to answer yours,  
16 but no there is no difference.

17 MR. MOLLIN: I would say that the  
18 difference between simply extending a benefit, is  
19 that extending a benefit can provide one with more  
20 than one originally had. Correcting an error just  
21 simply brings one back --

22 THE COURT: If the error is, in your  
23 view, that you didn't have enough protection to begin  
24 with, then it's extending a benefit. You're talking

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1 about the motive now, not the difference in kind,  
2 leave that one alone.

3 MR. MOLLIN: But your question is why not  
4 do that, as well, to thing in the public domain?

5 THE COURT: Yes.

6 MR. MOLLIN: Because, I think, this is a  
7 judgement that Congress makes. I think there would  
8 be dislocation --

9 THE COURT: So you are said they could  
10 constitutionally do it. That's what I keep asking  
11 you and you keep saying, well, it wouldn't be  
12 prevented by this clause. I said, wouldn't be  
13 unconstitutional under some other clause?

14 MR. MOLLIN: It would not be violated by  
15 the Originality Clause. Once a writing has been  
16 created, and it's an original writing --

17 THE COURT: Is your answer that there's  
18 no constitutional infirmity to re-extending copyright  
19 protection to something that's in the public domain?

20 MR. MOLLIN: Insofar as concerns  
21 originality, there are other considerations to take  
22 into consideration.

23 THE COURT: That's what I thought I was  
24 trying to ask you awhile ago. Is, are there other

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1 things that would make it unconstitutional for  
2 Congress to do that?

3 MR. MOLLIN: There might well -- it might  
4 well be --

5 THE COURT: What?

6 MR. MOLLIN: -- such a dislocation in the  
7 public domain that caused such havoc in the Arts, you  
8 know, with regard to things that have been --

9 THE COURT: For that matter might not  
10 make it a bad idea, but does it make it an  
11 unconstitutional idea?

12 MR. MOLLIN: It may make it questionable  
13 whether there is a rational basis connected between  
14 extending, you know, copyrights in that way and --  
15 but these are judgement calls I think. They are  
16 judgement calls of what Congress wants to do, but  
17 this is surely the safest way to do that.

18 It's certainly the safest way to deal  
19 with correcting an error is to do it while it still  
20 is a work that hasn't gotten into the public domain.

21 Where people haven't yet developed expectations or  
22 made products or developed businesses on the basis of  
23 these things. Right.

24 So this case is really not at all

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1 originality. It doesn't have anything to do with  
2 whether -- how this work was created and whether it  
3 was at it's beginning an intellectual labor of the  
4 mind. Not copied from something and involving some  
5 degree of creativity. It's a limited times question,  
6 and a limited times question is again --

7 THE COURT: Are you saying then, that the  
8 question is the same as to existing works whose  
9 copyright is extended or as it is to not yet created  
10 works whose copyright will be longer. Are you saying  
11 that's the same question? That there's no  
12 constitutional difference in those two?

13 MR. MOLLIN: Yes. There's no  
14 constitutional difference between either the test or  
15 the way the Court approaches it.

16 In both cases the limited times question  
17 is a rational basis. Is extending the limited time  
18 or setting a limited time rationally connected with  
19 the promotion of the Arts?

20 THE COURT: But the true answer has -- or  
21 your explanation has to come back in different forms  
22 for the retrospect of a prospect of justifications.  
23 The promise you offer as a justification for the  
24 retrospective aspect.

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1 MR. MOLLIN: Yeah, what I meant to say  
2 and maybe I didn't say it precisely enough, is that  
3 the standard of review, the test, is exactly the  
4 same. A rational basis.

5 THE COURT: Okay.

6 MR. MOLLIN: All right. The way that  
7 would work out --

8 THE COURT: Now taking -- lets' look at  
9 the promise of the rational basis. Are you advancing  
10 that as the actual documented purpose of the  
11 Congress, here. Or one of those intentionally  
12 counter-factual flights of fancy we're encouraged to  
13 indulge under Beech Communications?

14 So that if we can think of any state of  
15 affairs that would justify this otherwise seemingly  
16 bizarre product that's under review in any given  
17 case, then we're to uphold it?

18 MR. MOLLIN: We have a couple pages of  
19 legislative history on that matter and believe me we  
20 could fill up the brief with it.

21 THE COURT: Well, I know there was  
22 testimony.

23 MR. MOLLIN: Yes, there was testimony.

24 THE COURT: But is there anymore than

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1 testimony?

2 MR. MOLLIN: There's testimony, there's  
3 congressional reports.

4 THE COURT: There are reports saying  
5 that?

6 MR. MOLLIN: Yes.

7 THE COURT: Is the word promise ever in  
8 there?

9 MR. MOLLIN: No. Not promise.

10 THE COURT: What's the closest word?

11 MR. MOLLIN: That we have failed to do  
12 what we have set out to do.

13 THE COURT: Okay. So we don't have to  
14 say that we are making it up entirely?

15 MR. MOLLIN: Not making it up at all.

16 THE COURT: Even though we are authorized  
17 to do so, apparently. Indeed required to do so and  
18 can be reversed for failure of imagination.

19 (Laughter.)

20 MR. MOLLIN: You don't have to make  
21 anything up, Your Honor. It's set forward clearly  
22 what these basis are. They are explained at great  
23 length and there's no doubt that when you consider  
24 the system as a whole, all right.

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1           These are things which produce a system  
2 which encourages people to go forward and, you know,  
3 and produce in the Arts. People are more comfortable  
4 in a system in which they know unforeseen  
5 contingencies aren't going to wipe them out.

6           THE COURT: Is the standard of review for  
7 conformity with the necessary Improper Clause any  
8 different than it is than rational group relations --  
9 rational basis?

10          MR. MOLLIN: No.

11          THE COURT: Even though it's in terms of  
12 being adapted to the purpose?

13          MR. MOLLIN: Well, this -- meaning here?

14          THE COURT: Pardon me? The Supreme Court  
15 has informed that standard -- necessary Improper  
16 Clause has meaning, right? Something that is insofar  
17 it's proper to adapt it to the identified purpose.

18          MR. MOLLIN: Yes. And we think that  
19 would be exactly the same thing that the rational  
20 basis between setting a limited term would have to be  
21 rational in terms of the purpose set forth in the  
22 preamble to the clause.

23          THE COURT: What did you want us to do  
24 with what the Court has to say in Graham about the

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1 limitation imposed by the clause?

2 MR. MOLLIN: I don't think we disagree.

3 THE COURT: Let me get it fresh in my  
4 mind. At the outset it must be remembered that the  
5 Federal Patents power stems from a specific  
6 constitutional provision which authorizes Congress to  
7 promote the progress of useful Arts by securing for  
8 limited times our clause.

9 MR. MOLLIN: Yes.

10 THE COURT: This clause is both a grant  
11 of power and a limitation written against a backdrop  
12 of practices, statute of monopolies and so on.  
13 Congress in the exercise of the patent power may not  
14 overreach the restraints imposed by the stated  
15 constitutional purpose.

16 If we're engaging in rational basis  
17 review, isn't that review then limited by the  
18 necessity of producing a rational basis that is  
19 related to the stated constitutional purpose?

20 MR. MOLLIN: Yes.

21 THE COURT: The promise keeping isn't an  
22 obvious one.

23 MR. MOLLIN: Isn't what?

24 THE COURT: Is not an obvious one. One

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1 could make an improvident promise. And keeping it  
2 may not be consistent with the Copyright Clause.

3 MR. MOLLIN: I -- but we think that the  
4 creation of a system, in which people have a  
5 guarantee that their efforts will in fact be rewarded  
6 and not be diluted by unforeseen contingencies. We  
7 think that is very directly connected to the progress  
8 of the Arts.

9 THE COURT: What are these unforeseen  
10 contingencies that we are talking about here?

11 MR. MOLLIN: Well, I think the  
12 Technological Age, for example, has made uniformity a  
13 much greater importance. And uniformity is extended  
14 to both subsisting and --

15 THE COURT: What does that have to do  
16 with --

17 MR. MOLLIN: The Technological Age?

18 THE COURT: The Technological Age and the  
19 supposed increase in need for uniformity have to do  
20 with the expectations of the copyright owner as to  
21 what his incentives were at the time he makes the  
22 production?

23 MR. MOLLIN: Well, I mean if you have --

24 THE COURT: For the life of me, I'm not

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1 getting your logic there.

2 MR. MOLLIN: All right. Let's say that  
3 Bolivia has a protection period of five years, right.

4 We had going into this 50, other countries 70.  
5 After five years in these days, Bolivia can put that  
6 up on the internet and it's flashed everywhere, the  
7 dilution of the 50 year --

8 THE COURT: Well, how does what Congress  
9 does here with reference to existing works, have  
10 anything to do with Bolivia's flashing it up on the  
11 Internet?

12 MR. MOLLIN: Because if it goes ahead and  
13 makes a protection and tries to draw Bolivia, with  
14 it's moral force into a union. Right. Into a union  
15 where they are adopting the same laws we are, then  
16 you're not going to have that problem.

17 THE COURT: Does the word attenuated have  
18 play any role in this argument, counselor?

19 (Laughter.)

20 MR. MOLLIN: I think, you know, to some  
21 extent there is an attenuation and if you focus on  
22 each one of them they don't sound like very big  
23 things. But what they are is the correction of  
24 errors and it's constantly going on. It's creating a

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1 system in which there is confidence about --

2 THE COURT: Is that your best answer as  
3 to what the unforeseen circumstance is that is being  
4 corrected here? Was the Bolivian's five year  
5 protection doesn't exist in reality?

6 MR. MOLLIN: No. The other unforeseen  
7 that has been present, arguably in every extension,  
8 has been the increase in age. Right. Life  
9 expectancy.

10 THE COURT: What's the relationship,  
11 numerically, between the increase of age and between  
12 the last Copyright Act and in the extension in the  
13 new one?

14 MR. MOLLIN: I think there are two things  
15 that Congress mentioned. They mentioned the three  
16 year increase in life expectancy. It also mentioned  
17 a demographic trend toward marriage later in life.  
18 So that children --

19 THE COURT: What was the length of the  
20 extension involved here?

21 MR. MOLLIN: Twenty years.

22 THE COURT: Twenty years. And the life  
23 expectancy increase is three years over the same time  
24 frame? In fact, I think it's less than that.

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1 MR. MOLLIN: Three years, but they don't  
2 say how much the demographic influence is. But  
3 presumably these are things that are increasing.  
4 Congress is certainly entitled to some prophylaxis so  
5 that it doesn't have to come back and revisit this  
6 thing ever three years. All right. And can set  
7 something up that in fact is going to --

8 THE COURT: What was the original  
9 protection under the first Copyright Clause?

10 MR. MOLLIN: Fourteen to fourteen.

11 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

12 THE COURT: So this is three years for  
13 average longevity and 17 years for later  
14 childbearing?

15 MR. MOLLIN: Well, I don't think that,  
16 Your Honor.

17 THE COURT: The Pablo Picasso/Strom  
18 Thurmond Provision.

19 (Laughter.)

20 MR. MOLLIN: I don't know how Congress  
21 proportioned it. I don't what they thought about the  
22 demographic trends.

23 THE COURT: How did Strom Thurmond vote  
24 on this? Do we know?

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1 (Laughter.)

2 MR. MOLLIN: They may well have also  
3 looked at the fact that this is a constantly  
4 increasing this, right. And let's set something far  
5 enough so that it is a stable law and we don't have  
6 to come back in five years and readjust it because it  
7 has gone up another three years.

8 THE COURT: So, insofar, that's the  
9 rational, the thousand years is out? Or even 200  
10 years is out?

11 MR. MOLLIN: On this record that would  
12 certainly be irrational.

13 THE COURT: This is more like a  
14 requirement that an instrument -- would there be a  
15 distribution of this, this is before --

16 THE COURT: Lives in being close to 21  
17 years.

18 THE COURT: Yes, that sounds more -- so  
19 there is some limit to it. Even if it's somewhat  
20 plastic.

21 Judge Henderson?

22 Thank you very much Mr. Mollin.

23 REBUTTAL OF MR. LAWRENCE LESSIG

24 ON BEHALF OF ERIC ELDRED, APPELLANT

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1           Your Honors my colleagues beat up on me  
2 and told me not to raise this argument. That it was  
3 a professor's argument and no one gets it, but I have  
4 to focus on originality once again. Page 57 of the  
5 government's brief, the government says the United  
6 States' flag is in the public domain.

7           It is not subject to copyright because it  
8 is not original. They said that because the Supreme  
9 Court in Feist, quoting Harper, says in describing,  
10 it says, copyright does not prevent subsequent users  
11 from copying a prior authors work and those  
12 constituent elements that are not original -- for  
13 example, facts. He mentions some other things, or  
14 materials in the public domain.

15           Now it is the case that the government, I  
16 believe, in their brief had asserted that material in  
17 the public domain could not be removed. The Uruguay  
18 Agreement did remove material from the public domain.

19           That has not been challenged yet.

20           THE COURT: Has it been ratified?

21           MR. LESSIG: It was ratified, Your Honor.

22           So there's a question about whether Congress has  
23 this power.

24           THE COURT: And at this point it has not

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1       been challenged?

2                   MR. LESSIG:     It's not been issued a  
3       caveat, that's right.

4                   THE COURT:    And the federal government's  
5       power, under that one, is that expected to invoke the  
6       treaty power or some other power?

7                   MR. MOLLIN:    It clearly has to invoke the  
8       treaty power.     That's the only excuse for doing  
9       something which the Court has expressly said in the  
10      context of the Patent Clause, you cannot do.

11                  THE COURT:    The issues are going to be  
12      quite different, if and when that's challenged than  
13      the issues here.

14                  MR. LESSIG:    That's right.    If this is  
15      only under the domestic powers, the Court said in  
16      Graham, Congress cannot, with respect to the patent  
17      power, remove objects form the public domain.   And we  
18      submit for exactly the reasons the question  
19      suggested, although it was a question, Your Honor.

20                  There's no difference between the  
21      limitation with respect to the public domain and  
22      limitation with respect to existing works.

23                  THE COURT:    Aren't we told, with regard  
24      to the Uruguay Round, though that the protection

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1 afforded under U.S. law was dependent on continuous  
2 preservation of the copyright abroad?

3 MR. LESSIG: That's my understanding as  
4 well.

5 THE COURT: So it's not a wholesale  
6 confrontation with requirement of no importation.

7 MR. LESSIG: That's right, that's right.

8 As to the sufficient incentive, this argument that  
9 somehow if the government is a promise keeper, people  
10 will have sufficient incentives to continue to write.

11 First, what's striking about this  
12 argument is the other half of this equation is  
13 completely invisible because the Constitution  
14 expressly envisions the construction of a public  
15 domain. And where's the promise with respect to the  
16 public domain.

17 There, too, my clients have depended upon  
18 the promise of the government to allow material to  
19 fall into the public domain and that promise has not  
20 been kept.

21 But secondly, if we can just hand wave  
22 this substantial incentive, it depends once again in  
23 what context we are trying to raise this question.  
24 If it's in the First Amendment context then they can

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1 make their assertions about incentives, but we should  
2 have an opportunity to show that that's not based on  
3 substantial evidence according to intermediate  
4 review. If it's in the Copyright Clause  
5 context then the fact that they point to some  
6 incentives in not sufficient to get around the  
7 limitations --

8 THE COURT: Your reference now, and  
9 earlier, to sufficient opportunity to show. Is that  
10 a procedural argument that this shouldn't have been  
11 decided by Summary Judgement at all?

12 MR. LESSIG: It was decided, Your Honor  
13 on a motion -- a judgment of the Pleadings.

14 THE COURT: Yes.

15 MR. LESSIG: It should not have been  
16 decided on that basis given that we had made  
17 assertions about the plausible grounds that Congress  
18 could have been relying upon in granting its  
19 extension. We don't believe it's plausible --

20 THE COURT: So your not asking us that  
21 this is invalid, your just asking us to return it for  
22 further proceedings in the District Court to  
23 determine if it's invalid?

24 MR. LESSIG: At a minimum, under the

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1 First Amendment Clause we are asking for that.

2 THE COURT: Nevermind, which one are you  
3 asking for?

4 MR. LESSIG: Well, Your Honor when I read  
5 it, it's hard for me to see how any District Court  
6 could conclude that this passed the intermediate  
7 scrutiny test. But I'm willing to be proven wrong  
8 and -- but I believe I should have that right to have  
9 that argument in District Court.

10 We've asked precisely in the briefs for  
11 this Court either to hold this under the intermediate  
12 scrutiny as insufficient --

13 THE COURT: In your conclusion you ask  
14 for the forgoing reasons, the District's Court  
15 decision should be reversed, the Copyright Term  
16 Extension Act declared unconstitutional, the  
17 enforcement of the Non-Electronic Theft Act against  
18 person whose infringement of a copyright would not  
19 have happened but for the CTEA's enjoined and then  
20 they awarded costs.

21 I don't find anything in there about us  
22 sending it back for further proceedings. Is that --

23 MR. LESSIG: Your Honor --

24 THE COURT: I'm rather taken by surprise

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1 at this line of argument. That's twice you've  
2 alluded to it and it's not what you say here.

3 MR. LESSIG: I believe Your Honor, in  
4 fact we do say in the brief that at a minimum we  
5 should have an opportunity to make this showing. In  
6 the reply brief I didn't really express this --

7 THE COURT: Your conclusion requests  
8 nothing about this.

9 MR. LESSIG: I'm sorry I couldn't hear  
10 you.

11 THE COURT: Your conclusion request  
12 nothing about this.

13 MR. LESSIG: Right. That might be the  
14 case Your Honor.

15 THE COURT: It is the case, I just read  
16 it to you.

17 MR. LESSIG: The conclusion is the case,  
18 that is the case Your Honor.

19 THE COURT: All right.

20 MR. LESSIG: All right. Let me just  
21 mention two other points. As to the error issue,  
22 Your Honor there is no plausible basis --

23 THE COURT: I want o go back to that for  
24 just a moment. If your argument is that the District

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1 Court erred as a matter of law on a question of law  
2 and if the only evidence you talk about is not the  
3 kind of evidence we use in adjudication, but what you  
4 say is the evidence before Congress of its decision,  
5 I don't see what we could possibly be sending it back  
6 for.

7 Our review is that same as the District  
8 Court's. What could come before the District judge  
9 that couldn't come before us?

10 MR. LESSIG: Well, Your Honor the  
11 government in their briefs in this Court did not  
12 assert that this passed intermediate scrutiny. They  
13 did not make that argument and because they didn't  
14 make that argument in reply, we didn't believe we  
15 were in a position to be making the argument for them  
16 when arguing against them about that.

17 So we didn't frame it in that structure  
18 in the reply brief. But certainly we believe that  
19 the same evidence could be reviewed by this Court,  
20 but we would like an opportunity to argue about that  
21 evidence instead of arguing about what standard  
22 should be governing this. Whether it's the  
23 intermediate standard or some special rule.

24 And so that's why we believe we should be

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1 in a position if that's --

2 THE COURT: What argument could you make  
3 on remand that you can't to us?

4 MR. LESSIG: Well, the issue that's got  
5 to be resolved by the court below is whether Congress  
6 could of reasonably relied upon substantial evidence.  
7 That's the standard that comes out of --

8 THE COURT: That's not a fact question.

9 MR. LESSIG: That's right. It's --

10 THE COURT: That's not a finding --  
11 that's a question of law and I'm at a loss and I'm  
12 really as I say, taken by surprise. I looked just  
13 now at the conclusion of your reply brief and it has  
14 the same paragraph as your blue brief.

15 It says nothing about remand for further  
16 proceedings.

17 MR. LESSIG: Right. The remand is not  
18 because the Court is more appropriate to do it, this  
19 Court could just as well make those judgements on the  
20 basis of what has been presented in the record.

21 THE COURT: I'm not sure why we're not  
22 obligated to if your correct, as to opposed to simply  
23 able. I'm not sure why we're not obligated to.

24 MR. LESSIG: It just seems like a much

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1 tougher job, Your Honor and I wanted to --

2 THE COURT: We're up to tough jobs  
3 counselor.

4 (Laughter.)

5 THE COURT: There has been at least one  
6 case I'm familiar with where, which we've passed for  
7 District Court's view in the first instance on a  
8 matter of law, because of the complexity.

9 MR. LESSIG: It seemed to me the same  
10 procedure the Supreme Court adopted in Turner.  
11 Turner I set the standard and then said the District  
12 Court must consider the facts, which were exactly the  
13 same type of facts. What Congress could have  
14 reasonably believed and come to the judgement and  
15 then had to go back up to Turner II before the court  
16 could affirm that particular finding.

17 THE COURT: It's sufficiently unusual  
18 that we know the few instances it exists.

19 THE COURT: And we've carved out an  
20 exception for you, but we said that we were carving  
21 out the exception and we further admitted that it was  
22 because we didn't want to have to do that.

23 MR. LESSIG: And finally, Your Honor, on  
24 the question of error and incentives. It is not

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1 plausible to believe that the things that have been  
2 pointed to are sufficient to explain the extension  
3 that has been granted for works that were being  
4 copyrighted in 1923.

5 If it is a matter of incentive then,  
6 again, we don't think this is proper under the  
7 Copyright Clause analysis. It's been 30 years, Your  
8 Honors since Melville Nimmer outlined the  
9 retrospective extension violating the First Amendment  
10 values implicit to the Copyright Clause.

11 And 30 years since Justice Bryer in his  
12 fallible state as a law professor outlined the very  
13 clear incentive reasons why there's no plausible  
14 incentive by retrospective incentives. This is not  
15 about creating incentives. It's about an opportunity  
16 to use the copyright power for something it was not  
17 designed to do, which is to reward and protect  
18 monopolies. That was precisely what this clause was  
19 written against.

20 And we believe the practice of the Court  
21 in interpreting authors and writings, strictly  
22 according to the purpose of the clause should be  
23 followed with respect to limited times.

24 And if you follow that practice and you

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1 accept the responsibility of creating a justiciable  
2 and manageable standard. And the simplest way to  
3 apply that standard is to say no retrospective  
4 extensions. That forces no hard judgements in the  
5 future. It's a prophylactic, simple way of  
6 understanding plain language as in limited terms and  
7 limited times.

8 In one shot they create the incentives  
9 and if they need to create other incentives later,  
10 there are plenty of other ways other than the  
11 monopoly power granted to them in an extraordinary  
12 limited way and that's --

13 THE COURT: Well, what do with the Act of  
14 1790?

15 MR. LESSIG: 1790 is accomplishing two  
16 things at once. The 1790 Act did ratify existing  
17 copyrights as present copyright, but the purpose --

18 THE COURT: And extended them in case of  
19 those states that had lesser limits.

20 MR. LESSIG: That's right. But the  
21 purpose of that extension at that time was both to  
22 create incentives and also nationalize the copyright  
23 practice.

24 THE COURT: Uniformity is --

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1 MR. LESSIG: I'm sorry?

2 THE COURT: Uniformity.

3 MR. LESSIG: Within the United States.

4 THE COURT: Because there was value in  
5 uniformity within a single market and that single  
6 market has now become broader than our national  
7 borders.

8 MR. LESSIG: That's right, Your Honor.  
9 And the question of the transitional nature of the  
10 1790 Act is I think a difficult one.

11 THE COURT: You would admit of an  
12 exception for new constitutions?

13 MR. LESSIG: Every new constitution gets  
14 this transition. That's right, Your Honor. That's a  
15 well known rule.

16 (Laughter.)

17 THE COURT: You know we take with special  
18 deference, the implicit interpretations of the First  
19 Congress?

20 MR. LESSIG: Yes, we do. Although, I  
21 don't think this is a clear interpretation of the  
22 power of the Court under the Act. Again, this is a  
23 term which is expressly set at 14 years. We now have  
24 a term in the case of Irving Berlin that is 140

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1 years. This is a Congress that is  
2 clearly concerned about limiting the scope of  
3 copyright. It covered the printing of maps, charts,  
4 and books.

5 Copyright now includes not just the  
6 printing of all of these objects, but also control  
7 over derivative works. The scope of this protection  
8 has increased significantly.

9 Now under the reasoning --

10 THE COURT: As of the production of such  
11 works --

12 MR. LESSIG: That's right. Because of  
13 the prospective incentive, we're not questioning that  
14 this has had an effect. But we are questioning  
15 whether this is crowding out the second side of the  
16 Copyright Clause balance, which is the protection of  
17 the public domain. That's the only thing that's  
18 constitutionally required.

19 Congress has no obligation to pass a  
20 Copyright Act. They do have an obligation if they  
21 pass the Copyright Act to protect the public domain.

22 That's the meaning of the Limited Times Clause here.

23 Now if there were a repeated set of  
24 interpretation, actions by Congress around this time,

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1 with the Framers. Then under the authority of the  
2 Supreme Court this would require some special  
3 attention. But we have one change by Congress in the  
4 first 100 years of the copyright term and one change  
5 again in the next 50 years of the copyright term.

6 And since I was born we've had 11 changes  
7 retrospectively of the copyright term and two  
8 prospective changes.

9 THE COURT: You wouldn't contend there's  
10 a causal effect there between your birth --

11 (Laughter.)

12 MR. LESSIG: Well, Your Honor I'm  
13 beginning to feel guilty and this explains my work on  
14 this case.

15 THE COURT: I think that period coincides  
16 with a great increase in longevity and much more -- a  
17 greater increase in the technological extensions of  
18 intellectual property.

19 MR. LESSIG: Well, as to --

20 THE COURT: You didn't cause that either.

21 MR. LESSIG: I'm working on the second  
22 one Your Honor.

23 THE COURT: No, now you'd think he was  
24 the Vice President.

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1 (Laughter.)

2 MR. LESSIG: As to longevity, as we  
3 argued in our brief, if you take account after the  
4 longevity of people over the age of five is not  
5 changing substantially. We have specific numbers and  
6 the recent period is 2.3 years.

7 THE COURT: Let's just go back to one  
8 last thing and then we'll give you a final  
9 opportunity -- and that -- on the 1790 Act you were  
10 saying uniformity did play -- or a need for  
11 uniformity played a role there.

12 The Framers apparently, or those in the  
13 First Congress apparently did consider  
14 retroactivity within their power. What do we say  
15 to get rid of it?

16 MR. LESSIG: Well, it's uniformity under  
17 a conception, not necessarily improper, I believe  
18 about a transitional constitution.

19 No, I don't think it makes sense to read  
20 that as stating some constitutional rule. As to the  
21 extent that there were constitutional rules stated by  
22 our Framers in the 1790 to 1800 period, many of them  
23 have been questioned by subsequent courts. But I  
24 don't think we have to be need to be that direct

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1 about questioning the acts of this Congress.

2 THE COURT: Thank you very much Professor  
3 Lessig and Mr. Mollin. The case is submitted.

4 (Whereupon, the proceedings were  
5 concluded.)

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