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COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

UNITED STATES SENATE

REGISTER OF COPYRIGHTS SELECTION AND ACCOUNTABILITY ACT

Wednesday, September 26, 2018

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REGISTER OF COPYRIGHTS SELECTION AND ACCOUNTABILITY ACT Wednesday, September 26, 2018 U.S. Senate Committee on Rules and Administration б Washington, D.C. The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:38 p.m., in Room SR-301, Russell Senate Office building, Hon. Roy Blunt, chairman of the committee, presiding. Present: Senators Blunt [presiding], Fischer, Wicker, Klobuchar, and King.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR BLUNT
 The Chairman. The Committee on Rules and
 Administration will come to order.

Good afternoon. Glad to have all of you here this
afternoon. Senator Klobuchar and I are pleased to begin to
get some more information on this topic, and the topic
today is on the Register of Copyrights Selection and
Accountability Act.

9 H.R. 1695 passed the House in April of 2017 by a vote 10 of 378 to 48. Its Senate companion, Senate bill 1010, 11 sponsored by Senators Grassley, Hatch, Feinstein, and 12 Leahy, have -- would change the way the Register of 13 Copyrights is selected and appointed.

14 Currently, the Register of Copyrights is appointed by 15 the Librarian of Congress. The proposed legislation would 16 give Congress a greater role in selecting the Register and 17 making the position a presidential appointment, subject to 18 confirmation by the Senate.

During the nomination hearing of Dr. Hayden in this room in 2016, many of -- on this committee asked questions and raised issues about the Copyright Office, and I think rightly so. Every day, people across the world enjoy the creations of our authors, our photographers, bloggers, artists, and others. These creations have significant impact on our economy, to our trade balance, and to our

culture. The Copyright Office plays a crucial role in
 serving both users and creators.

I think all of us would have to agree that the 3 4 Copyright Office would benefit from some modernization, and 5 some of that is already happening. Since being sworn in in 2016, Dr. Hayden; her CIO, Bud Barton; and the Acting 6 Register of Copyrights, Karen Temple Claggett, have taken 7 steps to improve the Copyright Office, especially its 8 information technology systems. This is a long-term 9 10 project that will take many years to accomplish, but Dr. Hayden and her team are continuing to head in the right 11 12 direction.

13 The legislative branch agencies this committee 14 oversees -- the Library of Congress, the Architect of the 15 Capitol, the Government Printing Office -- serve the 16 Congress and the Nation. They are led by agency heads who 17 exercise significant authority, pursuant to the laws of the 18 United States. These agency heads are nominated by the 19 President and confirmed by the Senate.

The legislation we are considering today would treat the Register of Copyrights in a similar manner, while maintaining the Copyright Office within the Library of Congress, which I believe is exactly where it should be physically located and where it would remain located. When it comes to legislative branch agencies, Congress

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should play a significant role beyond the Senate's
 traditional advice and consent role even in the selection
 process of those who head agencies and those who will serve
 in other significant positions. The Register of Copyrights
 is one of these positions.
 Ensuring that legislative branch officials have been

7 selected by a transparent, bicameral, bipartisan process
8 like what would be proposed in the Register of Copyrights
9 Selection and Accountability Act, it is an important
10 addition to the system based on the view of the sponsors of
11 this legislation.

12 So I am glad to be here. I am glad to be joined by 13 the ranking member of the committee, Senator Klobuchar. 14 And Senator Klobuchar, I would turn to you for any opening 15 statements you might have.

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STATEMENT OF SENATOR KLOBUCHAR

Senator Klobuchar. Well, thank you very much. Thank
you, Senator Blunt, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing.
And I want to thank you for doing this because this is
such an important topic on the Register of Copyrights
Selection and Accountability Act. I join you in welcoming
our two witnesses, and I look forward to hearing their
testimony.

9 Today's hearing is about the Register of Copyrights at 10 the U.S. Copyright Office. This is a position that most 11 people have never heard of before. It is possible people 12 are focused on another hearing and other work going on this 13 week, but it is very important that we continue on because 14 this important job affects our lives every single day.

Whether you are listening to music, reading a novel, or watching your favorite show, you are consuming work that is protected by copyright. If you are an inventor, author, scientist, musician, filmmaker, or any one of the millions of Americans who create original work, the Copyright Office is the place you go to safeguard your work.

This is important in my State. We are the home of Prince, who we miss. We are the home of Bob Dylan. We are fiercely protective of copyrights, I would say, and of musicians' rights to their work. And my own dad wrote for many, many years -- he is now 90 -- and wrote a bunch of

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books. So I am well aware of these issues and was at a
 private law firm for 14 years, and I have handled some of
 these cases peripherally myself.

4 Ensuring that creators can protect their original 5 works is one of the hallmarks of our free market system, and it fosters competition, creativity, and б 7 entrepreneurship. Copyrighted work is fundamental to our economy. Last year, copyrighted industries contributed 8 9 more than \$1 trillion to our economy. That translates to 10 about 7 percent of the total U.S. GDP and 5.5 million jobs. 11 In other words, copyrighted work doesn't just 12 entertain and inspire us, it drives economic activity and 13 translates into jobs for millions of Americans. We need to 14 keep this area of our economy strong because, now more than 15 ever, innovation will be the key to moving our economy 16 forward in the United States. We need to be a country that 17 invents, that makes stuff, that exports to the world, and 18 promotes ingenuity.

19 Continuing to foster an environment of innovation 20 requires us to be adaptable and forward-thinking. In the 21 21st century, we need a modern Copyright Office that is 22 secure, efficient, and accessible to all.

To achieve the goal of a modern Copyright Office, the next Register of Copyrights must continue the critical work being done today to upgrade and update the infrastructure

in the Copyright Office. Meeting the IT needs of the
 copyright community won't happen overnight. It will take a
 commitment from Congress, the Copyright Office, and the
 Library of Congress.

5 The appropriations legislation for 2019, which was signed into law last Friday, will allow the progress made б 7 on IT modernization to continue in the coming year. The bill includes funding for important priorities like 8 continuing investment in the next-generation registration 9 10 system, rebuilding the capacity of registration examiners by adding 15 new positions, digitizing copyright records 11 12 dating back to 1870 -- that sounds like a lot of records --13 in a searchable format, advancing the design of the 14 Copyright Office's first-ever automated recording system, 15 and continuing support of the Copyright Modernization 16 Office.

17 The legislation that we are considering today will 18 complement the work already underway towards modernization. 19 The bill would change the process for selecting a Register 20 of Copyrights by making it a presidentially nominated, 21 Senate-confirmed position for a term of 10 years. The 22 Register of Copyrights would have the same stature as the 23 Under Secretary of Commerce for Intellectual Property and 24 Director of the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office. Senate 25 confirmation of the nominee would enhance the relationship

between the Register and Congress, give Congress a direct
 role in the process to select our chief copyright policy
 adviser, and strengthen accountability.

The portfolio of responsibilities of the Copyright 4 5 Office is just as diverse as the creative community that it serves. Copyright policy promises to get more complex in б 7 the digital age, and as innovation continues, we must ensure that we have a transparent selection process in 8 place to select the most qualified candidate to lead the 9 10 Copyright Office on behalf of the American people. Mr. Chairman, I look forward to working with you to 11

12 advance the legislation to the full Senate.

13 Thank you very much.

14 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Klobuchar.

We are pleased to have our two witnesses today. Keith Kupferschmid is the chief executive officer of the Copyright Alliance. Before that job, he served as the general counsel and senior vice president for intellectual property for the Software and Information Industry

20 Association.

And Jonathan Band not only is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University, but an expert on these issues. In 23 2017, he received the American Library Association's L. Ray Patterson Copyright Award, which recognizes an individual who has supported the constitutional purpose of the

1	copyright law, fair use, and public domain.
2	We are pleased you are both here, and
3	Mr. Kupferschmid, if you would like to go first, and then
4	Mr. Band, and then we will have some questions.
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STATEMENT OF KEITH KUPFERSCHMID, CEO, COPYRIGHT ALLIANCE
 Mr. Kupferschmid. Well, thank you.

Chairman Blunt, Ranking Member Klobuchar, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today to discuss the importance of the Register of Copyrights Selection and Accountability Act, H.R. 1695 and S. 1010.

8 I am Keith Kupferschmid, the CEO of the Copyright 9 Alliance, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated 10 to advocating policies that promote and preserve the value 11 of copyright. I testify here today in support of H.R. 1695 12 and S. 1010.

13 There are several reasons why making the Register of 14 Copyrights a presidential appointee confirmed by the Senate makes good sense. Copyright is critical to the United 15 16 States economy. The core copyright industries contribute 17 over \$1.2 trillion to the U.S. GDP and employ more than 5.5 million U.S. workers. As the Government agency 18 19 responsible for administering the copyright system, as well 20 as providing expert advice to Congress on copyright policy 21 issues, it should, therefore, come as no surprise that few 22 Government offices are more important to the U.S. economy, 23 to jobs, and to creativity than the U.S. Copyright Office. 24 And the Register, who heads the Copyright Office and serves as Congress' statutorily designated copyright 25

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expert, is a large component of that. Making the Register a presidential appointee confirmed by the Senate would reflect the growing importance of copyright to our economy and our culture. It would show our international trading partners how much we value copyright and the importance of protecting the fruits of America's creators.

7 Second, making the Register a presidential appointee would ensure that she is treated like other officials with 8 oversight over similar organizations. For example, the 9 10 Patent and Trademark Office is led by a presidential appointee. Similarly, chairs of the NEA and NEH and the 11 12 Director of the Institute of Museum and Library Services 13 are all presidential appointees. In short, there is simply 14 no reason for Copyright to be treated with less 15 significance, especially when one considers its importance 16 to the U.S. economy and culture.

Third, making the Register a presidential appointee ensures a more transparent, a more balanced, and a more neutral selection process compared to the existing process. The existing process does not require any direct input from the administration or from Congress. Today, the Register is chosen by the Librarian without any input.

This bill would change that by allowing the President to nominate the Register from a slate of candidates and the Senate to give its advice and consent. Through this

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process, if there are concerns about a nominee for the
 registration position, the bill would allow those concerns
 to be voiced to Congress prior to confirmation. That
 opportunity does not exist today.

5 Fourth, Congress has historically enjoyed a direct 6 line of communication with the Copyright Office for expert 7 impartial advice on copyright law and policy. But recent 8 changes to the organizational structure of the Library of 9 Congress have disrupted that direct line. The bills ensure 10 that Congress will continue to receive this expert

11 impartial advice.

12 Fifth, enacting these bills will provide the Copyright 13 Office with a greater say in how it operates and enable it to improve its operations. Of course, Copyright Office 14 modernization is an issue that requires much more than 15 16 increasing the accountability of the Register selection 17 process, but changing the appointment process and providing the Register with the ability to discharge her duties 18 19 effectively is an important component for modernization of 20 the Copyright Office. It will help ensure that the 21 Register has the voice and the resources needed to 22 implement policy, to manage its operations, and to organize 23 its information technology in a way that brings the 24 Copyright Office into the 21st century.

25 Equally important to what the bills do is what they

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don't do. H.R. 1695 and S. 1010 largely do not alter the
 existing statutory relationship between the Copyright
 Office and the Library or the Register's statutory
 responsibilities.

5 While the urgency to address the appointment of the Register is new, the recognition that this change is needed 6 7 is not. We have long advocated and supported the Register 8 being presidentially appointed with the advice and consent 9 in the Senate well before Dr. Hayden became the Librarian, 10 well before Donald Trump became President. With the 11 position now vacant, the time is now to make that change. 12 The modest approach outlined in H.R. 1695 and S. 1010 enjoys widespread bipartisan, bicameral, and stakeholder 13 14 support. We respectfully ask that the committee vote in favor of H.R. 1695 and S. 1010. We look forward to 15 16 continuing to work with this committee as the bill moves 17 forward, and I am happy to answer any questions. 18 [The prepared statement of Mr. Kupferschmid follows:]

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1	The	Chairman.	Thank	you.
2	Mr.	Band?		
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1 STATEMENT OF JONATHAN BAND, ADJUNCT PROFESSOR OF LAW, 2 GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY Chairman Blunt, Ranking Member Klobuchar, 3 Mr. Band. members of the committee, I am an adjunct professor at 4 5 Georgetown University Law Center. I also serve as counsel to the Library Copyright Alliance, which consists of three 6 7 major library associations. I note that the Library of 8 Congress is a member of one of LCA's associations, but it did not participate in the preparation of this testimony. 9 10 I appreciate this opportunity to express our opposition to the Register of Copyrights Selection and 11 12 Accountability Act, S. 1010. As explained in detail in a 13 report attached to my testimony, Congress has repeatedly 14 considered the best location for the Copyright Office and 15 has consistently reaffirmed that the Library of Congress is 16 its most effective and efficient home. 17 While S. 1010 would not technically remove the

18 Copyright Office from the Library, it would effectively 19 achieve this result by ceding to the President the power to 20 select the head of the office. The rationale for S. 1010 21 is elusive. It is hard to comprehend why Congress would 22 voluntarily cede to the executive branch the authority of 23 its own Librarian to select a key congressional adviser. 24 Recognizing the illogic of this legislation, the House 25 amended the companion bill to require the President to

appoint the Register from three candidates recommended by a
 panel consisting of the congressional leadership and the
 Librarian. This structure obviously increases
 congressional oversight, but limiting the President's
 authority in this manner raises serious separation of
 powers questions.

Moreover, it is difficult to understand how the public or Congress itself would benefit from politicization of the Register's position by making it subject to presidential appointment and Senate confirmation. Such politicization of the position necessarily would result in a Register more politically -- more actively engaged in policy development than in competent management and modernization.

14 Additionally, a politicized selection process likely would result in a Register who does not balance the 15 16 competing interests of all stakeholders in the copyright 17 system. Further, politicizing the process of appointing 18 the next Register would severely delay his or her installation. Indeed, the introduction of this 19 20 legislation, as a practical matter, has already prevented 21 the appointment of a Register for over a year and a half. 22 S. 1010's 10-year term for the Register would also 23 lead to less accountability to Congress and the public. 24 This contradicts the stated intent of the bill made plain 25 in its title.

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1 Finally, one of the claimed rationales for this 2 legislation is that more autonomy from the Library would enhance the Copyright Office's ability to modernize its 3 technology. In fact, the technology-related progress made 4 5 jointly by the Library of Congress and the office over the 6 past 18 months proves that this legislation is not needed, 7 and this is, as Chairman Blunt has recognized, under Dr. Hayden, the Library has made significant advances in 8 addressing the issues that were identified in the 2015 GAO 9 10 report.

11 There is no question that there is broad consensus 12 that the Copyright Office must improve its IT capabilities, 13 but the point is that process of improvement is already 14 well underway. This past May, Acting Register Karen Temple 15 testified in the Senate Appropriations Committee that the 16 Copyright Office and the Library's chief information 17 officer jointly developed the new Copyright Office IT 18 modernization plan that focuses on leveraging resources within the Library to take full advantage of possible 19 20 economies of scale.

In her testimony, the Acting Register explained that in accordance with the plan, the Copyright Office established the Copyright Modernization Office, which complements the Library's technical support by providing necessary business direction. Also consistent with that

plan, the Acting Register and the Library's CEO jointly chair a Copyright Office Modernization Governance Board. Numerous projects are already underway under the supervision of the CMO and the governance board, including preliminary work on a new automated recordation system, a next-generation registration system, a virtual card catalogue, and an integrated data management model. All these improvements are occurring without the legislation. Accordingly, the legislation simply isn't necessary. For all these reasons, we oppose the Register of Copyrights Selection and Accountability Act and urge the committee to do the same. I am happy to answer any questions the committee may have. [The prepared statement of Mr. Band follows:]

The Chairman. Well, thank you, Mr. Band and
 Mr. Kupferschmid.

Mr. Band, as you pointed out, I think one of your 3 observations was why would the -- why would the Congress 4 5 want the President to be more involved in appointing someone who works at its Library, the Library of Congress? 6 7 Of course, the President appoints the Librarian of Congress, who then becomes the only person who chooses at 8 this point the copy -- the person who runs the office of 9 10 copyrights.

11 And by the way, as I mentioned before, this is a topic 12 that came up when Dr. Hayden was confirmed. She has 13 appointed the current person in an acting capacity as 14 Congress looks at an issue we told Dr. Hayden we would be 15 looking at in the future, and we are doing that now. But 16 your views here are well thought out, I know, and important 17 to us.

18 How is it better that one person appoints someone who 19 works at the Library of Congress in an area that relates, 20 but certainly the same skills that the Librarian of 21 Congress has would not necessarily be the right skill set 22 for the Director of Copyrights. What is your view of why, 23 in that case, the one-person selection is better than 24 congressional input and confirmation by this committee? 25 Mr. Band. Thank you very much for the question, Mr.

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1 Chairman.

2 I guess part of it is a recognition or an understanding of what the proper role of the Register is, 3 and you know, we see that the -- although the Register 4 5 certainly does give advice, and that is part of the 6 statutory role, to give advice to Congress, in large 7 measure, it is a -- as indicated by the title, it is the Register of Copyrights. And so the focus of the job really 8 is on the nuts and bolts of administering the copyright 9 system, the registration, recordation, and now, you know, 10 11 there are other functions relating to that. 12 So a lot of these are very technical functions, and so

in many respects, having someone with that technical expertise of not just IT technical, but copyright technical is important. And so, for example, the last three Registers, including the Acting Register, have all been people who have been, in essence, elevated from within. They have been internal promotions.

So the Acting Register, Karen Temple, I mean, she was at the Copyright Office prior to her elevation. Prior to that, Maria Pallante, even though I think at the exact time that she became Register she was working elsewhere within the Library, but she had come out of the Copyright Office. And Marybeth Peters, before that, also was working in the Copyright Office. And I think that that -- having that

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sense of internal promotion is terrific and I think for
 this kind of technical position is appropriate.

Whereas, if it becomes a more political position, it 3 4 is, you know, you are going to get someone -- you are much 5 more likely to get someone from the outside who doesn't have the experience working in the Copyright Office. They б 7 will come in. The first 2 years are going to be spent trying to figure out how the place operates, and I just 8 don't think that that is what best serves the nature of 9 10 this position.

Also to the extent that this notion of sort of this 11 12 equivalence to other agencies, the Patent -- the Director 13 of Patents and Trademarks is the Under Secretary not of 14 Patents and Trademarks but is the Under Secretary of 15 Intellectual Property and is the chief spokesperson for the 16 executive branch with respect to all forms of intellectual 17 property, including copyright. And they have -- you know, 18 currently, they have terrific people in the PTO with great 19 expertise in copyright.

20 So there is no -- copyright is not getting short 21 shrift by leaving things the way they are.

22 The Chairman. Thank you.

23 Mr. Kupferschmid, I think I will get you in my second
24 5 minutes since the answers here may be long.

25 Senator Klobuchar?

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1 Senator Klobuchar. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. 2 The Chairman. And helpfully long, too, by the way. I didn't mean that to be a pejorative description of that 3 4 answer.

5 Senator Klobuchar. Mr. Kupferschmid, in the 21st century, we need a modern Copyright Office. In your б 7 testimony, you note that the office has been in dire need of a more modern IT infrastructure. What is your 8 assessment of the modernization effort right now? 9 10 Mr. Kupferschmid. So it certainly seems like the 11 office is on the cusp of a significant modernization of the 12 office. I think that ultimately is why we need to pass 13 this bill. We need to get a Register in place, 14 presidentially appointed Register in place, who can show 15 the leadership, who understands the specialized needs of the Copyright Office when it comes to IT. 16 17 But it is also very important to understand that when

we talk about modernizing the Copyright Office, we are not just talking about IT modernization. That is one aspect.

20 But the other aspect of modernizing the office is

21 modernizing copyright registration policy, and those two 22 need to go hand in hand.

23 And to the best of my knowledge, nothing has happened in that regard, and the Library doesn't have the experience 24 25 to do that. You need somebody heading the office, not in

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1 an acting capacity, but you need somebody heading the 2 office who can -- who can take that lead and have the 3 vision to know where the law needs to be tweaked and the 4 regulations need to be tweaked.

5 Senator Klobuchar. Okay. Thanks.

6 Mr. Band, as you know, the Copyright Office exists 7 within the Library of Congress. How are the IT needs of 8 the Copyright Office different than the IT needs of the 9 Library of Congress?

10 Mr. Band. Well, obviously, they do have different 11 functions. But the key under the current system is that, 12 first of all, you have the right personnel supervising the 13 process, both at the -- at the Library level with the new 14 CEO, as well as with the Copyright Modernization Office. 15 And so, even though the functions are a little different, 16 you know, the Library oversees many different functions, it 17 is -- on the one hand, it is a library, but it also has 18 CRS. It has the Copyright Office and so forth. And so the 19 expertise that they have allows them to manage systems, 20 different kinds of IT systems effectively. 21 Senator Klobuchar. One of the threats we are seeing

22 is cybersecurity threats, and do you believe the

23 modernization plans -- either of you, both of you -- at the

24 Copyright Office appropriately consider these threats?

25 Just briefly.

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1 Mr. Kupferschmid. Yes. So that is a significant 2 concern for the creative and copyright communities. This 3 is an area where the Library has a very different mission 4 than the Copyright Office. The Library, any library, 5 really is about access and providing access to different 6 works.

7 The Copyright Office is going to be much more concerned about security. Because if they cannot guarantee 8 9 security for copyrighted works and somebody hacks into that 10 system, people are going to stop registering their works, 11 and that hurts everyone. That hurts the Copyright Office 12 because they don't get collections. It hurts the public 13 and archivists and historians who won't be able to rely on 14 a comprehensive database, copyright ownership database. 15 And of course, it hurts the creative community

16 tremendously.

Senator Klobuchar. Why don't -- do you mind if I just move on and then to a question key here, I think, for me? And that is the public interest and how we meet the public interest.

And Mr. Band, I know that you disagree with making the Register of Copyrights a presidentially appointed position. What other ways, if we don't do that, can we work to address the needs of the Copyright Office and ensure that the Register of Copyrights balances the interests and needs

1 of all stakeholders?

2 Mr. Band. Well, it is -- I think one of the things 3 that could be done is the legislation could be amended so 4 that it provides criteria for the Register -- for the 5 Librarian to use when selecting the Register. So right 6 now, there are no criteria. So that would be a 7 constructive amendment.

8 I think, at the end of the day, it is with -- like 9 with anything else, it always matters who you select, not 10 so much the structure of the selection.

11 Senator Klobuchar. Right.

12 Mr. Band. And as -- and so you do, you want to make 13 sure you don't have structures that create impediments, and 14 I think this structure that is proposed in the legislation 15 of having this commission that needs to make a 16 recommendation, and then that is binding on the President 17 and so forth, I think that structure is going to get in the 18 way rather than improve the process of getting the best 19 person to that job.

21 Mr. Chairman. Mr. Kupferschmid, what would you do, along 22 the lines of what Mr. Band was referring to, to ensure a 23 fair selection process, if we were to pass this bill, that 24 results in a Register as not beholden to any particular 25 interest, but instead prioritizes the public interest?

Senator Klobuchar. Just one last question,

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1 Mr. Kupferschmid. I think the bill accomplishes that 2 actually quite well. It not only gives the -- gives the Senate the ability to confirm, go through the confirmation 3 process, and therefore, the public has a voice in whether 4 5 the right candidate is chosen or not and confirmed. But 6 more -- also importantly is that the President just doesn't 7 get to select someone. The President must choose off of a slate of individuals that is created by leadership from 8 both the Democratic and the Republican Party and the 9 10 Librarian, who gets to participate.

11 I think the bill reaches that compromise in a very 12 good way.

13 Senator Klobuchar. Okay, last question. Just because 14 we have had an acting person, and she is doing a good job, 15 excellent work, but she has been in this acting role for 16 nearly 2 years. Some rightly argue that when an agency is 17 led by an acting designee instead of a permanent leader, it 18 can hinder the agency's work.

How does having an Acting Register instead of a permanent Register affect the operations of the Copyright Office?

22 Mr. Kupferschmid. So I think that is right, what you 23 said, in terms of I think Karen Temple has done a fabulous 24 job as the Acting Register, but there are certain

25 limitations on any person who is in an acting position.

And we are at, like I said, the cusp of modernization. Not
 only IT modernization, but modernizing the laws and having
 to do with -- and regulations having to do with

4 registration, copyright registration policy.

5 So it is important that we have somebody who is in a 6 permanent position in that capacity rather than just an 7 acting.

8 Mr. Band. And I would agree that it would be better 9 to have someone in a permanent position, and that is why 10 this legislation is always going to make it slower to get 11 someone permanent in that job.

Senator Klobuchar. Thank you very much, both of you.The Chairman. Senator King?

14 Senator King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First, I have to say I published a book this summer, and when I opened the cover, I didn't expect to be so thrilled by seeing the little "c" and my name next to it. That was -- that was an unexpected treat.

Mr. Kupferschmid, after this change, and what is not apparent in the language of the legislation, what will be the relationship, the structure, the organizational chart, if you will, between this new presidentially appointed

23 position and the Librarian of Congress?

24 Mr. Kupferschmid. So really the only thing that

25 changes is the process for selecting the Register.

1 Everything else stays the same. Right now --

Senator King. But does that mean that you have got two presidentially appointed people, one who works for the other? I mean, I am --

5 Mr. Kupferschmid. Correct. Correct. That is not 6 unique in the Government. Look, for instance, at the 7 Patent and Trademark Office, you have the Secretary of 8 Commerce, who is a presidential appointee confirmed by the 9 Senate or the -- and you have got the Director, rather, who 10 is --

Senator King. So you are not really separating the functions of the office from the Library of Congress. You are simply changing the appointment of this one official. Mr. Kupferschmid. Because that --

15 Senator King. It doesn't change the organizational 16 order?

Mr. Kupferschmid. That is correct. It will remain in the Library, and the Library will continue to supervise and manage, as it says in the statute.

20 Senator King. Let me follow up on your -- I think you 21 are creative to try to have this list of the three that 22 have to -- the President has to submit -- has to choose 23 from the list. Is that constitutional? Is there any 24 precedent for that? Do you have any opinion?

25 It strikes me that is -- might be a violation of

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separation of powers? The President either gets to
 appoint, or he or she doesn't.

Mr. Kupferschmid. Yes. So, first of all, I am not a 3 constitutional expert. So I will say that. And I am sure 4 5 we can find some additional information here, but there are 6 currently statutes that provide similar selection panels. 7 For instance, the selection of the Comptroller General in GAO, and of course, ultimately, the President is free to 8 interpret the bill in a way that is consistent with the 9 10 appointments clause and can say so in the signing statement, and that has been done in the past. 11 12 Senator King. But in the GAO case, there is the 13 President has to choose from a finite list? 14 Mr. Kupferschmid. From a slate of -- yes, a slate of 15 possibilities. 16 Senator King. Do you know if that has ever been 17 tested? 18 Mr. Kupferschmid. I do not know the answer to that. Senator King. If you could supply the committee for 19 20 the record some background on this issue, I think it is of 21 some concern that we need to take seriously. 22 Mr. Kupferschmid. I am happy to do that. 23 Senator King. Thank you. Mr. Band. If I may, Senator King? The wording of the 24

25 statute involved with the Comptroller General is different.

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1 So while with the Comptroller General, there is a

2 commission that makes a recommendation, the President is
3 not obligated to choose from that slate.

4 Senator King. From the slate.

5 Mr. Band. Now, of course, if the President doesn't 6 choose from the slate of recommended people, you know, the 7 Senate might not confirm the person.

8 Senator King. But it is a different structure than9 what is suggested here?

Mr. Band. It is worded differently, yes. Here, it says, S. 1010 says, you know, that the Register shall be appointed by the President from the individuals recommended under the paragraph.

14 Senator King. I appreciate that.

15 Mr. Band. So that is -- that is --

16 Senator King. Well, if you would like to supply

17 something for the record on the constitutional issue, that

18 would be helpful as well because I know you have a

19 different view.

20 Mr. Band, the Librarian is already appointed by the 21 President, why not have another -- I mean, don't give me 22 your whole testimony again. But succinctly, what is the 23 big deal here? You have already got one presidential 24 appointment, and what we are trying to do here is to 25 elevate and underline the significance of the importance of

1 this job. Why does it matter if you have a second position 2 that is presidentially appointed?

Mr. Band. Well, first, as I mentioned, because of the structure, it would take a long time. I think it would take a long time --

6 Senator King. You are suggesting that we don't act 7 with total efficiently and alacrity around here? 8 Mr. Band. You said that. You said that, not me. 9 Also, and I think that this is important, you know, to 10 realize that this is part of a much bigger picture. Of 11 course, we are looking at this one bill, and which is 12 relatively narrow and technical at this point.

But as Mr. Kupferschmid has indicated, I mean, this is-- you know, this is something that the content folks have been seeking for a while, but it is apart of a bigger objective, I think --

17 Senator King. Why isn't -- that was going to be final 18 question. Why isn't the fact that the content folks, who 19 are the people most concerned with this, are supporting 20 this change, it seems to me that that bears a lot of 21 consideration. They are the ones who are going to have to 22 live with this change. They are the ones who are 23 advocating it. They are the most intimately involved with 24 it.

25 Why should we -- why should we second-guess the

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constituents of this office if they think this would be a
 beneficial change?

Mr. Band. Well, the first point is, is that we are all constituents. Meaning everyone is part of this copyright system. Meaning it is not only the creators, but also the users. But also in the 21st century, all users are also creators. Meaning, so there is this line, the sort of the distinctions are gone.

And therefore, it is important -- you know, the 9 10 importance of having balance in the office is perhaps more critical than ever. But also, as I was saying, there has 11 12 been a degree over the past 20, 30 years, a certain mission 13 creep at the Copyright Office, and there are some who want 14 the Copyright Office to be an independent agency, and there 15 are always more functions being inserted into the Copyright 16 Office.

17 In fact, Mr. Kupferschmid tomorrow is testifying in 18 support of a bill that would create a small claims court in the Copyright Office, and the Copyright Office has over --19 20 Senator King. Well, that might -- might that not simply reflect the growth of the importance of this sector 21 22 of the economy? I mean, it seems to me the fact that it 23 is-- you would call it mission creep, I might call it 24 growth to reflect the current -- the 21st century creative 25 economy.

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1 Mr. Band. Well --

2 Senator King. I have run out of time, but if you have3 thoughts on that, please supply them for the record.

4 Mr. Band. I would be happy to.

5 Senator King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 The Chairman. Senator King, I think you and I can 7 take extra time if we want to since it is down to the two 8 of us. But let me ask a couple of questions while --

9 Senator King. We can do anything we want to.

10 [Laughter.]

11 The Chairman. We may vote something out here. We may 12 just decide we are the committee.

So, Mr. Band, on the topic, you know, it was very unclear for a long time how long the term of the Librarian would be, to the point that it almost drifted into some area where it might be permanent. Before the current Librarian was named, before any name was mentioned, Senator Schumer and I introduced legislation, we created a 10-year term.

This also produces - provides a term for the Director of the Copyright. Do you see any advantage to the person having that office having both the confirmed responsibility and the 10-year window to know that, barring some inappropriate action on their part, they have that job for 10 years. They are not -- the Librarian can't decide they

don't like the way the space is being used, or do you see any advantage to a copyright person running that office that knows they have a 10-year window and they are answerable to this committee and the Congress beyond their answer to any -- their landlord, the Librarian?

Mr. Band. To be sure, there are advantages to having a set term, provided that it is the right person. And so that is why, you know, conceivably, if there was the legislation that again simply identified the qualities, the qualifications for the office as well as a term, that might be acceptable for our point of view.

But I think it is sort of the combination of the 10year term and this process, which, again, I think it is going to result in a politicized process, and you could end up with someone who really doesn't have the right -- the right level of expertise and technical expertise that we have seen in recent Registers. And so that is why, again, getting the wrong person in for 10 years is a problem.

19 The Chairman. I suppose it would be an equal problem20 if we get the wrong person in as the Librarian for

21 10 years.

Senator King. Or the Secretary of Defense.
The Chairman. Or the Secretary of Defense. Though
that term is not as specific. I would say that the process
here is almost a replica with a slightly different
membership of the process that was put in place in the not too-distant past to select the Architect of the Capitol.
 The same process, the same three names to be submitted.
 The President makes that, and we will be exercising that
 process very quickly.

6 The Architect of the Capitol has resigned, effective 7 November of this year. And so a very similar committee with a very similar process will hopefully produce a 8 presidential nominee that is back before this committee not 9 10 too far into next year or maybe even late this year. But that is where the model for this, the three names, the 11 12 congressional input, but with somebody else to make that 13 final decision about the names.

14 So, Mr. Kupferschmid, Mr. Band has pointed out that 15 the Director of Patents and Trademark Policy is a 16 presidentially appointed individual. How would the 17 creators and users of copyright material benefit from 18 having that, the copyright Register, the Director of 19 Copyrights to have the same standing in this process as the 20 Patent Office does?

Mr. Kupferschmid. I think it is important -The Chairman. Patent and Trademark Office does.
Mr. Kupferschmid. I think it is important, and it
would certainly benefit creators and users by showing and
demonstrating the importance of intellectual property.

1 More specifically, the copyright to the economy, how 2 important it is to jobs, to the economy, to our culture, and to show that to our international trading partners. 3 Right now, the Register of Copyrights is not -- is 4 5 just selected by the Librarian, and that sends a certain message that about the importance of copyright. It is a б 7 message that we don't want to be sending. And hopefully, the way the creators and users can benefit is this will 8 lead to perhaps improved IP protections, more respect for 9 10 intellectual property, whether it is global or certainly

11 domestic here.

12 And perhaps, most importantly, it gives these creators 13 and users a voice in selecting the Register. Very much 14 like the PTO Director, there would be a transparent 15 process, as opposed to the Librarian just potentially 16 picking someone behind closed doors without any 17 consultation. Under the process envisioned by this bill, 18 it would be very open, very transparent. It would make the 19 Register accountable.

And so, right now, the President can simply knock on the door of the Librarian and say, "This is the person I want to be the Register." And bypass Congress and the Senate entirely. And if the Librarian decides not to do it, well, he can fire the Librarian because he has that power and hire a new Librarian that will do it.

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What we are looking for is a transparent process here,
 and we think this bill does that, and it does it in a very
 balanced and neutral way.

The Chairman. I think you may have misstated there.
I don't think the President can fire the Librarian, but the
Librarian could fire the Copyright Director.

7 Mr. Kupferschmid. Yes.

8 The Chairman. The Librarian has a 10-year term and 9 would -- this committee could act and make recommendations 10 and other things.

11 So we just passed the Music Modernization Act, the 12 Orrin Hatch Music Modernization Act that is at the White 13 House now awaiting the President's signature.

Mr. Kupferschmid, what advantages would a permanent person in this job with the new standing have in implementing that act? And then we will go back to my friend, Mr. King.

18 Mr. Kupferschmid. So before I answer your question, I 19 would like to thank this committee, the members of the 20 committee, and the full Senate for their support of the 21 Music Modernization Act, I guess, the Orrin Hatch and Bob 22 Goodlatte Music Modernization Act, as it is called now. 23 And we look forward to it being signed by the President. 24 The MMA gives the Register new rulemaking authority 25 that is necessary for both creators and digital services to

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1 engage in effective licensing. And the Register

2 appointment by the President will address any outstanding 3 appointment clause issues, like were mentioned earlier, 4 since the soon-to-be new law hopefully vests authority in 5 the Register itself.

б Right now, the Register sort of sits in this cloudy 7 zone, and this bill would make the role more parallel with other agency heads who have similar roles in Government. 8 But at the same token, it leaves the position, leaves the 9 10 entire office within the Library of Congress. We think it 11 is a very good compromise because that it takes a very 12 targeted, very modest approach, and we think it would 13 certainly be a benefit to the Music Modernization Act, 14 which this entire Senate really supported unanimously. 15 The Chairman. Senator King? 16 Senator King. I still want to -- I still would hope 17 for the record that you could give us some thoughts about 18 the -- it seems to me we are doing sort of a half way. I

19 mean, we are upgrading the status of this office, but it is

20 still under the Librarian of Congress. And just some

21 thoughts about whether that creates administrative

22 awkwardness.

But my other question is, we have got two -- we are now talking about two 10-year terms. Is it the concept of this bill that that -- those 10 years would be coterminous

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1 with the Librarian of Congress, or would there be an

2 overlap?

3 Any --

Mr. Kupferschmid. Yes, I don't think they would be 4 5 coterminous. I think it all is just a matter of when the 6 Librarian position needs to be filled and when the Register 7 position needs to be filled. And in terms of, like I said, 8 the inconsistencies, there are other -- many other areas of Government where you have one presidential appointee 9 10 reporting to another presidential appointee, and those work very well, but we are happy to provide you additional 11 12 information about that.

13 Senator King. Appreciate that.

And do I take it from your presence here that the -your organization represents the community of authors, musicians, and those who are interested in this topic? Is that correct?

Mr. Kupferschmid. Oh, absolutely. I mean, we represent about 13,000 different organizations and about 1.8 million individual creators across the country that rely on copyright for their careers, for their livelihoods, and they are -- every single one of them, they are supportive of this bill.

24 Senator King. Thank you.

25 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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1 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator King.

2 Any concluding thoughts from either of you as we wrap 3 up here? Mr. Band?

Mr. Band. No. Just I would just amplify the point 4 5 that I was making before, that the -- one should view this legislation in its broader context, and we started to talk б 7 about that, and you, Senator King, as you alluded to, there 8 is this conceivable awkwardness. And then I think maybe 9 the next step is to say, well, we now need to make it an 10 independent agency, and as it grows, I mean, we are going to have this bigger and bigger agency, and then it will be 11 12 in conflict with the Patent and Trademark Office.

13 So we want to -- I think the goal is to avoid sort of 14 a "Washington solution." A Washington solution to a 15 problem is just to sort of rearrange the deck chairs 16 instead of saying what is the real problem? Let us find a 17 solution. Let us not just do a reorganization for the sake 18 of doing a reorganization.

And I think at some level, this legislation, this is asolution in search of a problem.

21 The Chairman. Mr. Kupferschmid?

22 Mr. Kupferschmid. Yes, I would have to very much

23 disagree with that. I mean, at the heart of it, we are

24 supporting a more transparent process here, one that would

25 increase the accountability of the Register. It just

1 doesn't exist today.

2 I mean, it is, frankly, hard to oppose something like 3 that, or when you add up the fact that the Library of Congress has a different mission, is a stakeholder in a lot 4 5 of these issues, could have conflicts of interest issues, 6 when you add up the fact that there are other similarly 7 situated agency heads that are presidential appointees, when you add up the fact that right now is the perfect time 8 to do this, there is a window of opportunity because there 9 10 is a vacancy in the position, not hurting any feelings or going after anyone, and you look at the fact that the 11 12 Copyright Office is on the cusp of modernizing and they 13 need -- you know, they need leadership to help that, this 14 is the perfect bill at the perfect time. 15 It doesn't do any of the parade of horribles that 16 Jonathan just mentioned. It simply doesn't do that. We

17 have a very narrowly targeted, modest approach to make the 18 Register a presidential appointee confirmed by the Senate.

19 We hope you will support the bill.

The Chairman. Well, thank you both. We have been looking for the perfect bill at the perfect time. I have never voted on a --

23 [Laughter.]

The Chairman. I have never voted for a perfect billbefore. I have introduced a couple of perfect bills, but

1 I--

_	
2	[Laughter.]
3	The Chairman. I have never voted on one of them, and
4	that may be the reason to do this.
5	Very helpful for both of you to be here. We
б	appreciate it.
7	There may be some additional questions for the record
8	from others who couldn't attend or from those of us who
9	did. The record will remain open for 1 week from today.
10	[The information referred to follows:]
11	[COMMITTEE INSERT]
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1	The Chairman	n. And	the co	mmitt	ee is ac	ljoui	rned.
2	[Whereupon,	at 3:2'	7 p.m.,	the	hearing	was	adjourned.]
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