THE JOHN MARSHALL REVIEW OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LAW



TRANSACTION COSTS AND ANTITRUST CONCERNS IN THE LICENSING OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

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Abstract

High transaction costs incurred in the licensing of intellectual property create a pressure on legal principles ranging from the fair use doctrine of copyright law to the tying doctrine in antitrust law. It appears, with some exceptions, that antitrust law is imposing excessive restrictions on the licensing of intellectual property. The effect of these restrictions, combined with the high transaction costs inherent in the licensing of intellectual property, is to prevent the maximally efficient allocation of IP resources.

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Cite as Richard A. Posner, Transaction Costs and Antitrust Concerns in the Licensing of Intellectual Property, 4 J. Marshall Rev. Intell. Prop. L. 325 (2005).

TRANSACTION COSTS AND ANTITRUST CONCERNS IN THE LICENSING OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY*

RICHARD A. POSNER**

INTRODUCTION

My subject is the challenging issues presented by modern licensing, issues in which law, economics, finance, business and technology are inextricably intertwined. My emphasis will be on the law and economics interface, and specifically on the pressure that the high transaction costs incurred in licensing intellectual property ("IP") exert on legal principles ranging from fair use in copyright law to the tying doctrine in antitrust law.

I. TRANSACTION COSTS IN THE LICENSING OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Licensing—which is to say the granting of permission for another person to use your property, usually temporarily, as opposed to the sale of the property—is, in the case of physical property, generally unproblematic. If you rent a car, or lease an apartment or an airplane, the transaction is usually quite straightforward; in economic terms, which are the terms in which this article will largely be cast, the costs of transacting are low relative to the value of the license. Transaction cost must not be confused with the license fee, or in other words the contract price. The fee is a measure of the value of the transaction; the transaction cost is the cost of making the transaction and thus realizing the value. The higher that cost, the less likely the transaction is to be made.

The licensing situation is different in the case of intellectual property, partly because of its invisibility, partly because of its ready appropriability and partly because of its divisibility. To explain: Because most intellectual property lacks a physical locus (an original painting or sculpture would be an exception), there is often difficulty in defining, let alone discerning, the boundaries of what exactly is being transferred in a license of such property. Moreover, because intellectual property is readily appropriable simply by being copied (in contrast to a rental car, for example, which can be appropriated only by being stolen), preserving one's property rights when one licenses intellectual property is often difficult. And because it is divisible simply by being copied (try dividing a rental car), the same property may be licensed to a multitude of licensees, creating complex business relations.

^{*} This paper was originally prepared for, and is the revised text of, a speech delivered at the Licensing Executives Society's ("LES") Licensing Foundation Annual Colloquium and Dinner, which took place on April 13, 2005 at the Four Seasons Hotel in Chicago, Illinois.

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A. Copyright Licensing

Different types of intellectual property involve different aspects of the licensing problem. I will give a few examples. In the licensing of a copyright, there is often a serious problem just of identifying the copyright owner. Unlike the situation with regard to physical property, a copyright owner is not required to register his title in order to preserve his property rights. Even though the requirement that copyrights be registered to be valid has been abolished, there is still a copyright registry, and there are procedural advantages to registering one's copyrights. But failure to register does not work a forfeiture, so that merely failing to find a work listed in the copyright registry does not assure the would be copier that the work is in the public domain. The costs of identifying and negotiating with the owner of a copyright are not great in absolute terms, but they are great relative to the value of most copyrighted works, especially older ones-works first published between 1923 and 1977—which, prior to the enactment of the Sonny Bono Copyright Term Extension Act,1 would have begun to fall into the public domain in 1998 but will now remain under copyright until the end of 2018 at the earliest and 2072 at the latest² (longer, if Congress extends the term of copyright again). A high ratio of licensing cost to the value of the license means that copyright licensing costs will often be a formidable barrier to a value-maximizing transaction.

Another factor in copyright licensing costs is that the scope of copyright protection is inherently rather vague. For example, the licensor will usually reserve to himself the right to copyright any derivative works of the licensed work. But if the licensee creates a new work that resembles to some degree the licensed work, it may be unclear whether the new work is a derivative work.

B. Patent and Trade-Secret Licensing

The licensing of patents and trade secrets presents other problems. In the case of trade secrets, the main problem is that the owner of the secret will find it difficult to interest potential licensees without revealing elements of the secret in negotiations; any such revelation may convey enough information to the potential licensee to enable him, without need for taking out a license, to unravel the entire secret. This problem can also arise in the copyright setting if the creator of a new work wants to license the work before it has been completed; attracting a licensee may require him to communicate noncopyrightable elements of the work during the license negotiations, such as title, idea and rough sketches of characters. Knowledge of those elements may enable the potential licensee to create his own copyrighted work—without need for a license—by largely duplicating but not infringing the would-be licensor's copyrighted work.

In the case of patents, there is a question whether the licensee shall be permitted to patent improvements on the licensed patent, which would block the licensor from practicing the improved form without a license from the

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Pub. L. No. 105-298, 112 Stat. 2827 (1998) (codified as amended in scattered sections of 17 U.S.C.).

² 17 U.S.C. § 302 (2000).

licensee-improver.³ The license can provide that the improvements belong to the licensor, but such a provision may retard the process of perfecting the patented process or product to the detriment of the licensor. And if, as is often the case, the licensor intends to continue producing the licensed product, the parties must negotiate terms, such as a minimum resale price, to protect the licensor from losing his entire product market to a more efficient licensee.

C. Trademark Licensing

My last example concerns trademarks. Because the chief significance of a trademark is as a warrant of uniform quality of the trademarked product or service,⁴ the owner of a trademark cannot simply license its use to other products.⁵ He must monitor the activities of his licensees to make sure that they are maintaining uniform quality; for if they are not, the trademark may be forfeited in order to protect consumers against confusion⁶—or, in more technical terms, to minimize consumer search costs.⁷

II. MEANS OF REDUCING THE COSTS OF LICENSING INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

The examples in Part I, and others that could be given, show that transaction cost, which is to say not the value of a product involved in an exchange but the cost of effectuating the exchange, is a threat to the ability of the market to allocate intellectual property to those who value it the most. This means that an important focus of legal reform should be on means of reducing intellectual property transaction costs, or, equivalently, licensing costs.

A. Implied Licensing

One direction of reform is to expand the scope of implied licensing, that is, of permission to use intellectual property without having to negotiate permission. Implied licensing already plays a large role in the intellectual property area; this is tacit recognition that so frequently the explicit costs of transacting in such property are quite high. For example, if you want to copy short passages from a copyrighted work, you can do so without getting the copyright owner's permission. This is the

³ 35 U.S.C. § 271(a) (2000). "[W]hoever without authority makes, uses, offers to sell, or sells any patented invention, within the United States or imports into the United States any patented invention during the term of the patent therefore infringes the patent." *Id.* A valid license provides the authority necessary for the licensee to avoid liability under § 271(a). Carborundum Co. v. Molten Metal Equip. Innovations, Inc., 72 F.3d 872, 878 (Fed. Cir. 1995).

⁴ Ty Inc. v. Perryman, 306 F.3d 509, 510 (7th Cir. 2002).

 $^{^5}$ 2 J. THOMAS MCCARTHY, MCCARTHY ON TRADEMARKS AND UNFAIR COMPETITION § 18:48 (4th ed. 2004). If a trademark owner engages in such a practice, known as "naked licensing," he loses his right to exclusive use of the mark. *Id.*

⁶ Gorenstein Enters., Inc. v. Quality Care USA, Inc., 874 F.2d 431, 435 (7th Cir. 1989).

⁷ Ty, 306 F.3d at 510.

domain of the doctrine of "fair use," which has counterparts in patent and trademark law, but I will not discuss its patent-law counterpart beyond noting that the right to patent an improvement of a product or process patented by someone else could be thought a form of fair use. The counterpart to fair use in trade secret law is the right to unmask a trade secret by reverse engineering. 9

For the most part, it is only because intellectual property transaction costs are high that a doctrine such as fair use exists. It would be very odd to think that, as long as I want to take my neighbor's car for just a *short* joy ride, I should be able to do so without asking his permission. While if a licensee wants a contract, the licensor can (for a price, obviously) impose limitations on the licensee's fair-use right, just as a patentee can reserve the rights to his (explicit) licensee's patent improvements, fair use creates a broad area in which—since you can get a license without negotiating with the copyright owner—licensing costs are reduced to zero.

B. Compulsory Licensing

An alternative to the implicit, cost-free, fair-use type of implied license is the compulsory license, where, again, the licensee does not have to negotiate with the licensor, and so licensing costs are zero. The fee that the licensee under a compulsory license must pay is not meant to defray the licensing costs, in whole or in part, but to compensate the copyright owner for the value of his property (more precisely, the value represented by the copyright). The fee thus is the equivalent of the contract price and is distinct from the transaction costs—the costs of making the contract—which are still in this example zero. Thus like fair use, compulsory licensing is a further testament to the perceived significance of intellectual property licensing costs as a barrier to the efficient allocation of such property.

C. Private Intellectual Property Rights Organizations

Another response to those licensing costs consists of private intellectual property rights organizations and private intellectual property registries; the former being illustrated by the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers ("ASCAP") and Broadcast Music, Inc. ("BMI") and the latter by the visual-arts registries—the Artists Rights Association and the Visual Artists and Galleries Association. These associations help people who want to reproduce works of visual art to obtain licenses from the copyright holders. Each organization publishes a list of the artists it represents, keeps a slide catalogue of its members' works and acts as the artists' agent in negotiating licenses for reproductions of their art in books, postcards, merchandise, advertisement, films and so on. Once again, the existence of such

 $^{^8}$ See William M. Landes & Richard A. Posner, The Economic Structure of Intellectual Property Law 115–23 (2003).

⁹ See, e.g., Laff v. John O. Butler Co., 381 N.E.2d 423, 433 (Ill. App. Ct. 1978). "[A] trade secret is open to anyone, not bound by a confidential relationship or a contract with the secret's owner, who can discover the secret through lawful means." *Id.* Such "lawful means" include reverse engineering. Learning Curve Toys, Inc. v. PlayWood Toys, Inc., 342 F.3d 714, 730 (7th Cir. 2003).

organizations testifies to the significance of licensing costs in the IP field, most dramatically in the case of the musical performing-rights organizations such as ASCAP. If a radio station had to negotiate separately with the owner of the copyright on each song that it wanted to play, the aggregate licensing costs for a program of popular music would be astronomical.

The economizing effect of private registries would be enhanced if, as the copyright lawyer William Patry and I have proposed, ¹⁰ the copyring of old copyrights (concretely, copyrights still in force only by virtue of the Sonny Bono Act¹¹) were deemed a fair use if the owners of the copyrights had failed to place would-be copiers on notice, as by registering the affected copyrights in a private registry that such copiers could consult. This rule would provide a strong impetus for the formation of such a registry, analogous to the visual-rights registries that I mentioned, with a consequent reduction in copyright licensing costs.

III. ANTITRUST CONCERNS IN INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LICENSING

The other great issue concerning the licensing of IP besides transaction costs concerns the restrictions that antitrust law imposes on such licensing. My discussion shall be limited to only a few topics in this rich field.

The reason antitrust figures more prominently in the licensing of intellectual than of physical property is that a patent or copyright confers a legal "monopoly" on the patent or copyright holder.¹² This usage, though common, is unfortunate, because it confuses an exclusive right with an economic monopoly.¹³ I have the exclusive right to the use of my house, but I am not a monopolist and would not be even if the house were very valuable. A patent or copyright does carve out an area of exclusive rights,¹⁴ but whether the rights holder can use his rights to obtain a monopoly return depends on whether there are good substitutes for his product; if

¹⁰ William F. Patry & Richard A. Posner, Fair Use and Statutory Reform in the Wake of Eldred, 92 CAL, L. REV. 1639 (2004).

¹¹ Sonny Bono Copyright Term Extension Act, Pub. L. No. 105-298, 112 Stat. 2827 (1998) (codified as amended in scattered sections of 17 U.S.C.).

¹² See, e.g., Eldred v. Ashcroft, 537 U.S. 186, 190, 224 (2003) (indicating that both patents and copyrights accord a "limited monopoly" to their respective holders). But see Schenck v. Nortron Corp., 713 F.2d 782, 786 n.3 (Fed. Cir. 1983) ("Not every patent is a monopoly.").

¹³ Patent holders have the exclusive "right to exclude others from making, using, offering for sale, or selling the [patented] invention." 35 U.S.C. § 154(a)(1) (2000). With some exceptions, copyright holders have "the exclusive rights to do and to authorize any of six specific activities, including the reproduction and distribution of the copyrighted work, as well as the preparation of derivative works. 17 U.S.C. § 106 (2000). In contrast, an economic monopoly is the power to obtain a price persistently in excess of the competitive level. See 2A PHILLIP E. AREEDA & HERBERT HOVENKAMP, ANTITRUST LAW: AN ANALYSIS OF ANTITRUST PRINCIPLES AND THEIR APPLICATION ¶ 501 (2002). The exclusive rights held by a patent or copyright holder may facilitate the obtaining of an economic monopoly but are not the equivalent of such a monopoly. In re Indep. Serv. Orgs. Antitrust Litig., 203 F.3d 1322, 1325 (Fed. Cir. 2000); see also USM Corp. v. SPS Techs., Inc., 694 F.2d 505, 511 (7th Cir. 1982); Am. Hoist & Derrick Co. v. Sowa & Sons, Inc., 725 F.2d 1350, 1367 (Fed. Cir. 1984).

¹⁴ 35 U.S.C. § 154(a)(1) (patent); 17 U.S.C. § 106 (copyright).

there are, he will not be able to obtain a monopoly return.¹⁵ And that is the usual case. But this has never been adequately understood by the law; hence, the pervasive restrictions that antitrust law imposes on IP licensing. Nonetheless, the situation is improving, as we shall see, as courts become more sophisticated in regard to economics.

A. Patent Tying

I begin with patent tie-in cases, cases in which the patent owner conditions the use of his patented process or product on the licensee's buying another, unpatented product from him. One example of such a scenario is the early A.B. Dick case, in which the patentee of a mimeograph machine required his licensees to agree to buy the ink they used in the machine from him. The antitrust concern was that by telling the buyer that he couldn't have the use of the tying product (the patented product or process) unless he agreed to buy a separate product from the seller as well, the seller was trying to "lever" or "extend" his monopoly to the market for that separate product—only extending it in product space rather than in time. This reasoning does not make good sense. If the seller tries to charge a monopoly price for the separate product, the buyer will not be willing to pay as much for the tying product as he would if the separate product, which he has to buy also, were priced at a lower rate. The two products are complements: raising the price of one reduces the demand for the other. Acquiring monopoly power in the tied-product market thus comes at the expense of losing it in the tying-product market.

Patent tie-ins are adopted (when allowed by the law) not to enable a seller to "lever" his existing monopoly into acquiring a second monopoly, but for other reasons, such as to facilitate price discrimination. In *Dick*, the price that licensees of the mimeograph machine were willing to pay for its use was probably more or less proportional to the amount of use they envisaged and so to the amount of ink they used. Requiring licensees to buy the ink from Dick enabled Dick to vary the effective price the licensees paid for the machine according to the licensees' elasticity of demand, as proxied by the amount of ink they consumed. The more the licensees used the machine, the more value they were getting from it, and so the more they were willing to pay for it in the absence of a competitively priced, close substitute. The less the licensees used the machine, the less they would pay, since their consumption of ink would be less; and so the tie-in would tend to retain low-value customers while "milking" the high-value ones. Since the law permits price discrimination (with immaterial exceptions 18), there is no reason why it should forbid

¹⁵ See Asahi Glass Co. v. Pentech Pharms., Inc., 289 F. Supp. 2d 986, 995 (N.D. Ill. 2003) ("A patent confers a monopoly in the sense of a right to exclude others from selling the patented product. But if there are close substitutes for the patented product, the patent 'monopoly' is not a monopoly in a sense relevant to antitrust law.").

 $^{^{16}}$ Henry v. A.B. Dick Co., 224 U.S. 1 (1912), overruled in part by Motion Picture Patents Co. v. Universal Film Mfg., 243 U.S. 502 (1917).

 $^{^{17}}$ Id. at 31.

 $^{^{18}}$ See, e.g., 15 U.S.C. § 13(a) (2000) (limiting price discrimination "between different purchasers of commodities" (emphasis added)): id. § 13a (limiting discrimination among purchasers of similar

tie-ins and thus force sellers to resort to less efficient means of discrimination—if they were more efficient, a prohibition would be unnecessary—unless the tie-in has a sinister purpose, which is the exceptional, not the normal, case. Dick could have installed a use meter in each of its machines and varied the price for each machine according to the amount it was used. This would be price discrimination because the determinant of the price paid would be the value to the user rather than the cost to Dick, but it would be lawful. It might seem that this scenario would differ from the tie-in in not affecting the ink industry. But there is no difference. Dick didn't want to take over the production of ink; it just wanted to reprice the ink to its customers.

The most dubious application of the thinking that informed the early patent tie-in cases came in the Supreme Court's much later decision in Brulotte v. Thys Co., which held that a patent owner may not enforce a contract for the payment of patent royalties beyond the patent's expiration date.¹⁹ The Court reasoned that by extracting a promise to continue paying royalties after the patent expired, the patentee had extended the patent beyond the term fixed in the patent statute and therefore in violation of the law.²⁰ That is incorrect. After the patent expires, anyone can make the patented process or product without being guilty of patent infringement.²¹ As the patent can no longer be used to exclude anybody from such production, expiration has accomplished what it was supposed to accomplish.²² If the licensee agrees to continue paying royalties after the patent expires, the royalty rate will be lower. The duration of the patent fixes the limit of the patentee's power to extract royalties; it is a detail whether he extracts them at a higher rate over a shorter period of time or at a lower rate over a longer period of time. Charging royalties beyond the term of the patent merely alters the timing of royalty payments, as would be obvious if a patent-licensing agreement obligating the licensee to pay royalties for the next one-hundred years went into effect a day before the patent expired. The royalty rate would be minuscule because of the imminence of the patent's expiration. And, to repeat, as soon as the patent expired, regardless of the payment terms, competitors would be free to use the patented process or product.²³

The rule of *Brulotte* has become particularly anomalous since a 1988 amendment to the patent statute, 24 which provides that

[n]o patent owner otherwise entitled to relief for infringement . . . shall be . . . deemed guilty of misuse or illegal extension of the patent right by reason of his having . . . conditioned the license of any rights to the patent or the

goods or services with respect to "any discount, rebate, allowance, or advertising service charge" associated with the goods or services).

¹⁹ 379 U.S. 29, 32 (1964).

²⁰ Id. at 31–32.

²¹ See, e.g., Eldred v. Ashcroft, 537 U.S. 186, 224 (2003) ("[W]hen [a] patent expires the monopoly created by it expires, too, and the right to make the article—including the right to make it in precisely the shape it carried when patented—passes to the public.").

²² See Aronson v. Quick Point Pencil Co., 440 U.S. 257, 262 (1979); Kewanee Oil Co. v. Bicron Corp., 416 U.S. 470, 480–81 (1974). One of the three purposes of the patent law is to "promote" disclosure of inventions [in order] to stimulate further innovation and to permit the public to practice the invention once the patent expires." Aronson, 440 U.S. at 262.

²³ See Eldred, 537 U.S. at 224.

 $^{^{24}}$ Act of Nov. 19, 1988, tit. II, § 201, Pub. L. No. 100·703, 102 Stat. 4674 (codified as amended at 35 U.S.C. § 271(d) (2000)).

sale of the patented product on the acquisition of a license to rights in another patent or purchase of a separate product, unless . . . the patent owner has market power in the relevant market for the patent or patented product on which the license or sale is conditioned.²⁵

The effect of § 271(d) is to confine the doctrine of the patent tie-in cases to those cases in which the patentee has real market power, not merely the technical monopoly (right to exclude) that every patent confers. This is a welcome curtailment of the doctrine but unfortunately falls short of overruling the *Brulotte* decision. Section 271(d) places a limit merely on defenses to patent-infringement suits,²⁶ and a patentee seeking to enforce an agreement to pay post-expiration royalties cannot be suing for patent infringement; his patent has expired.²⁷ Moreover, although the rationale of *Brulotte* is the same as that of the discredited tying cases²⁸—the Court even said in *Brulotte* that to "use that leverage [the power conferred by the monopoly] to project those royalty payments beyond the life of the patent is analogous to an effort to enlarge the monopoly of the patent"²⁹—and not a whit stronger (probably even weaker, since there is only one product), the new statutory defense is limited to tying, as its language makes clear.

Brulotte does not reflect the Supreme Court's current thinking about competition and monopoly, but it will continue to bind the lower courts until the Supreme Court decides to overrule it.

B. Blanket Licensing of Copyrights

Earlier I mentioned the performing-rights organizations. In the case of Broadcast Music, Inc. v. Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., the Supreme Court upheld the blanket licenses issued by the music performing-rights organizations against the charge that such licenses are a per se violation of the antitrust laws because they eliminate price competition.³⁰ The blanket license entitles the licensee, for a flat fee, to play any song in the organization's inventory.³¹ The organization allocates the receipts among its member composers in proportion to the relative frequency with which their songs are played.³² In effect, the organization is an exclusive sales agency for a group of competitors; by setting the price for the performing rights of its stable of composers, the organization eliminates price competition among them.³³ But this form of price fixing is unusual in enabling a transaction-cost savings that exceeds any reasonable estimate of the deadweight and

^{25 35} U.S.C. § 271(d) (2000).

²⁶ See Dawson Chem. Co. v. Rohm & Haas Co., 448 U.S. 176, 199–201 (1980).

²⁷ 35 U.S.C. § 271(a). The owner of an expired patent lacks standing to sue for infringement by any act committed after the patent term. *See id.* § 281.

 $^{^{28}}$ E.g., Henry v. A.B. Dick Co., 224 U.S. 1 (1912), overruled in part by Motion Picture Patents Co. v. Universal Film Mfg., 243 U.S. 502 (1917).

²⁹ Brulotte v. Thys Co., 379 U.S. 29, 33 (1964).

^{30 441} U.S. 1, 20-25 (1979).

³¹ *Id.* at 5.

³² *Id.*

³³ See id. at 20–23.

other possible social costs of the blanket licenses' elimination of price competition,³⁴ and so it escaped the usual per se condemnation of price-fixing agreements.³⁵ It is another example of how concern with the high costs of licensing IP can drive law—and rightly so.

C. End-Product Royalties

The *BMI* case has implications for patent licensing; specifically, for the question whether a patentee should be permitted to base royalties on the licensees' revenues from the end product that incorporates the patented input. Let me explain. An additional economic virtue of the blanket licenses for performing music—besides economizing on transaction costs—is that they avoid the misallocation of resources that would occur if some musical compositions, being unique and protected from competition by copyright, were priced far above marginal cost; for this method of pricing would create an incentive for potential customers to substitute compositions that might cost society more per unit of quality to produce or disseminate, and that would be socially wasteful. An end-product royalty has the same virtue as the blanket license; the licensee's decision on how much of the patented unit to use relative to other inputs is not distorted by the unit's being priced above its marginal cost, because the amount of the royalty is invariant to the quantity of the input used.

The legal objection, which I shall take up shortly in connection with bundling, is that end-product royalties are the carrot to tying's stick. Because it costs the licensee nothing to substitute the patented input against the other inputs that he might use to produce the final product, he is irresistibly induced, once he decides to buy some of the patented input (the "tying quantity," call it), to buy the rest of those inputs from the patentee as well (the "tied quantity"). However, as we have seen, tie-ins are normally innocuous and the same is probably true of end-product royalties as well.

Consider Microsoft's former practice of basing the fee that it charged manufacturers of PCs for the right to install its Windows operating system on their computers on the manufacturers' total computer sales.³⁶ This meant that if a manufacturer wanted to install Windows on at least some of its computers, the marginal cost of installing the system on the rest was zero. The effect was almost the same as if Microsoft had required the manufacturers to install Windows in all the computers the manufacturers sold—this could be analyzed as a tying arrangement in which the tying product consists of the number of copies of Windows that the manufacturers want to install, and the tied product (the product they must take to get the tying product) consists of the number of copies they would prefer not to install.

The antitrust objection to Microsoft's practice (which the company under pressure from the Justice Department agreed in a consent decree to abandon³⁷) is

³⁴ See id.

³⁵ Ariz. v. Maricopa County Med. Soc'y, 457 U.S. 332 (1982); United States v. Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., 310 U.S. 150 (1940); United States v. Trenton Potteries Co., 273 U.S. 392 (1927).

³⁶ See, e.g., United States v. Microsoft Corp., 159 F.R.D. 318, 323 (D.D.C. 1995).

³⁷ See United States v. Microsoft Corp., No. CIV. A. 94·1564, 1995 WL 505998 (D.D.C. Aug. 21, 1995) implementing consent decree on remand from United States v. Microsoft Corp., 56 F.3d 1448 (D.C. Cir. 1995).

bound up with the special issue of network externalities. This term refers to the situation in which the value of a product or service to an individual is greater the more other people buy it³⁸—the classic example being telephone service, which is worth more to every subscriber the more subscribers there are.³⁹ (Consider the value of telephone service if there is only a single subscriber; that value is zero.⁴⁰) Even before the internet, there were network externalities in computer software because of the value to the owner of a computer of being able to share files. Microsoft's practice, by making it costless for a computer manufacturer who already had a Windows license to install Windows on its computers—since his royalty would be unaffected—would tend to accelerate the spread of Windows, creating the potential by virtue of network externalities to give Microsoft an operating-system monopoly whether or not it had the best operating system.

D. Bundling of Intellectual Property Rights

Another very interesting, older copyright antitrust case—and one that turns out to be related both to blanket licenses and to tie-ins—is *United States v. Loew's, Inc.*, in which the Supreme Court invalidated "block booking" in the movie industry as a form of illegal tying. ⁴¹ Block booking refers to the movie studios' practice of charging distributors a price for a bundle of movies rather than pricing each movie separately. ⁴² In other words, the purchase of any movie in the bundle is conditioned on the purchase of the others; ⁴³ so there is a close analogy to a tie-in. And the motives are similar. When two products are priced separately, the price of each is depressed by the buyer who values each one less than the other buyer does; the bundling eliminates this effect. In technical terms, if A is the low-elasticity demander of product X, and B the low-elasticity demander of product Y, bundling enables the seller of the two products to discriminate against A with respect to X and B with respect to Y while charging them the same price so that arbitrage is prevented.

The profitability of bundling is greater, the more products that can be bundled. For this makes it more likely that the package will contain products that consumers place opposite valuations on, as in our numerical example, where A values X more than B does, while B values Y more than X does.

As in this example, bundling, like tying, is often, perhaps characteristically, a method of price discrimination, unless the bundle could not be unbundled without a substantial cost penalty—imagine selling each component of an automobile, the carburetor, brakes, radiator, axles, etc., separately to the consumer. But like the blanket licenses in the music industry, bundling reduces transaction costs and, like both those licenses and end-product-royalty patent-licensing agreements, it eliminates monopoly as a factor distorting the choice of goods within the bundle.

³⁸ See 13 AREEDA & HOVENKAMP, supra note 13, ¶¶ 2115 n.27, 2220b4, 2233.

³⁹ *Id.* ¶ 2220b4.

⁴⁰ Id

^{41 371} U.S. 38, 49-50 (1962).

⁴² See id. at 40.

⁴³ See id.

Bundling, like tying, end-product royalty agreements and related contractual methods, including exclusive dealing and full-requirements contracts, may have anticompetitive effects in particular settings, but not in general; and so the main effect of banning tying and bundling would be merely to increase the cost of engaging in price discrimination. And remember that price discrimination is not in general unlawful, which means that firms engage in tying or bundling when that is the cheapest or most effective method of discrimination. To the extent that prohibiting these practices leads not to a reduction in price discrimination but merely to an increase in the cost of such discrimination, the prohibition imposes a net social cost.

But again, an exception must be made for the situation in which network externalities are an important competitive factor. For the bundle, like the blanket license or the end-product royalty, reduces the customer's incremental cost to zero, which makes it hard for sellers of a single product to compete. The price of the bundle includes its components, each one of which is therefore "free" to the customer in the (crucial) sense that he will not save any money if he rejects the bundle in favor of a component that is sold, necessarily at a positive price, by a single-product company. The latter will therefore have trouble gaining a foothold in the market.