IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

DONALD J. TRUMP, et al.,

Case No.

3:21-CV-9044-WHA

Plaintiffs,

VS.

San Francisco,

California

META PLATFORMS, INC., et al., November 2, 2023

11:04 a.m.

Defendants.

TRANSCRIPT OF CASE MANAGEMENT CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

BEFORE THE HONORABLE WILLIAM H. ALSUP UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

APPEARANCES:

JOHN Q. KELLY For the Plaintiffs:

> Ferguson Cohen, LLP 25 Field Point Road

Greenwich, Connecticut 06830

For the Defendants: RONALD K. ANGUAS, JR.

Kirkland & Ellis

1301 Pennsylvania Ave, N.W.

Washington, DC 20004

MARK MCKANE

Kirkland & Ellis.

555 California Street, Suite 2700 San Francisco, California 94104

MEGAN E. STRAWN, RPR, CRR (via Zoom) 111 S. Wolcott Street, Casper, WY 82601 307.232.2626 * strawnreporting@gmail.com

Proceedings reported with realtime stenography: transcript produced with computer-aided transcription.

21-CV-9044 2 (Proceedings commenced at 11:04 a.m., November 2, 2023.) 1 2 THE COURTROOM DEPUTY: Calling Civil Action 21-09044. 3 Trump, et al., versus Meta Platforms, Inc., et al. 4 Counsel, please approach the podium and state your 5 appearances for the record, beginning with counsel for 6 Plaintiffs. 7 MR. KELLY: Good morning. John, middle initial Q., 8 Kelly, K-E-L-L-Y, from Ferguson Cohen for the Plaintiffs, Your 9 Honor. 10 THE COURT: Welcome. Thank you. And? 11 MR. ANGUAS: Good morning, Your Honor. Ronald Anguas 12 of Kirkland & Ellis on behalf of Meta and Mark Zuckerberg. 13 And with me at counsel table is Mr. Mark McKane. 14 THE COURT: All right. Thank you. 15 0kay. The situation is that, pending an appeal in a 16 related case or a similar case, everyone here agreed some time 17 ago to stay until that appeal was resolved. 18 Am I correct? 19 MR. KELLY: I don't think there was an agreement. Ι 20 think just Judge White on his own issued the stay. 21 THE COURT: All right. Is that true? MR. ANGUAS: Yes, Your Honor. 22 23 THE COURT: All right. Well, then, that's fine. 24 And now you've asked that -- you wanted to have this 25 hearing in order to try to get an exception to allow you to

lift the stay for a limited purpose. So I'm here to listen to what you're -- the reason.

Go ahead.

MR. KELLY: First of all, Judge, looking at it from a procedural aspect, we filed our First Amended Complaint in July of 2021. Our case sat there for 13 months until August of 2022 when Judge White issued a stay pending the outcome of the *Twitter* appeal. Then in July of this year, Judge White recused himself with no indication or reason why he was recusing himself, whether it was a prior conflict or something new that came up.

But in any event, the case was assigned to you in September. It's now November. Our clients have sort of languished for two and a half years now, Judge, in the court with absolutely no action taking place.

And it's our feeling that from the time of Judge Donato's decision in *Twitter* and Judge White's stay that a plethora of factual information has come out supporting our claims of state action on behalf of Facebook.

And at this time, just based on the amount of time we've waited, the fact that, you know, the *Twitter* appeal is not going to resolve the issues in Facebook -- it's different factual issues, different legal issues -- and every day that clients are censored, you know, their First Amendment rights have been put on hold. And it's basically egregious damages

21-CV-9044 4

to not be able to exercise these rights or to have chilling effects on these rights right now.

We'd like to be able to at least make a motion for a Second Amended Complaint, put all this down in paper and memorialize it and get the case moving, Your Honor.

THE COURT: All right. What does Defendant say?

MR. ANGUAS: Thank you, Your Honor.

The *Twitter* appeal, as counsel mentioned, is pending and has been submitted on oral argument. And we submit that it contains similar legal issues. It does address the core First Amendment state-action questions that are raised by the Plaintiffs' complaint and, likely, any forthcoming complaint so far, as they've indicated in their papers.

And it also raises very similar state-law questions under the Florida Unfair Trade Practices Act and the Social Media Censorship Act. And those issues, which are set to be decided, potentially any day now, are likely to impact the landscape of a Second Amended Complaint. And we expect that after that decision comes down, Plaintiffs are likely to want to file a further amendment that responds to that decision, whether it comes out one way or the other.

And so our position at Meta is that any amendment should wait until after appellate proceedings are concluded.

THE COURT: When will we get the opinion in the -- the Donato case?

21-CV-9044 5

MR. ANGUAS: I don't know, Your Honor. It was argued on October the 4th, and the Ninth Circuit's taken the case under advisement and may issue a decision at any time.

THE COURT: Well, do you know what the average length of time is between oral argument and getting the decision out?

MR. ANGUAS: I don't, Your Honor, not in the Ninth Circuit. And a case involving these types of constitutional questions, I would suspect that it might not be an average case in terms of the duration, perhaps. It could be shorter; it could be longer.

THE COURT: And do you know over there, Mr. Kelly, how long it takes from oral argument to decision?

MR. KELLY: I have heard, Judge, that it's an average of five to six months. However, the other case that might have some bearing on this issue is the children's health decision, the Robert Kennedy action. And that was argued in the Ninth Circuit over a year ago, and it's still pending.

I suspect this case could -- the judges might wait to issue a decision in that case, or it could take a year. It could take four months. But we'd really like to get an action going, Judge, and we feel confident that, you know, the *Twitter* decision may not have much of an impact on our separate action.

THE COURT: Well, but -- you say that. It seems like it will have an impact. And will you promise me that no

21-CV-9044 1 matter how the *Twitter* appeal comes out, you won't try to move 2 again to amend? You'll forego that possibility? 3 MR. KELLY: I would forego that possibility, Your 4 Honor, if we were allowed to file our Second Amended 5 Complaint. 6 THE COURT: So you're saying -- you're saying if you're allowed to file a Second Amended Complaint now --7 8 MR. KELLY: Yes, Your Honor. 9 THE COURT: Have you submitted that Second Amended 10 Complaint to me so that I can see what you're getting at? I 11 mean, this is like a pig in the poke, so to speak. I have no 12 idea what you have in mind. 13 But whatever it is, you're saying if you're allowed 14 to file that, that will be it. There will be no more motions 15 to amend? 16 MR. KELLY: If we can forego the Motion to Amend and 17 we are granted permission here now to file our Second Amended 18 Complaint, we will forego any further amendments based on our 19 confidence in the factual revelations that have come up in the 20 last two years. 21 THE COURT: What's wrong with that?

MR. ANGUAS: Your Honor, I think, from our perspective, if they want to file an amended complaint now, our ask would be that we hold briefing on a motion to dismiss on it. Because even if Plaintiffs are willing to give up

22

23

24

25

6

21-CV-9044 7

their right to amend or their opportunity to amend down the line, our defenses in a motion-to-dismiss briefing on both sides is likely to be impacted by the decisions that come out of the *Twitter* case with respect to the First Amendment issues that are going to remain at the core of the Second Amended Complaint along with those state-law issues.

And so briefing up a motion to dismiss before

Twitter -- when a decision may come down from the Ninth

Circuit at any point in the intervening period -- before a

decision comes down or while briefing is ongoing, we don't

believe it's efficient to brief that up now and that any

briefing should be held in abeyance until after we hear from

Twitter, even if the complaint --

THE COURT: All right. What do you say to that point that if I give you the okay to file a Second Amended Complaint that -- and in addition to you foregoing any other future amendments that we would wait on the briefing and the motion to dismiss until the Ninth Circuit rules on the *Twitter* case?

MR. KELLY: That sort of defeats the purpose of foregoing my further amendments --

THE COURT: It does. I agree with you. It would not be so good for you. How can -- let me ask, how -- yes, there is overlap with the *Twitter* case, but how can we be sure that the *Twitter* case is going to answer everything? Meta is a big company --

MR. KELLY: Your Honor, I think --

THE COURT: -- and it can afford -- it's got big-time lawyers here. It can afford to litigate. I've got Meta in so many cases. I'm Meta out of my mind.

So how come it's so burdensome on you to go ahead and litigate the case and then -- right?

MR. ANGUAS: It's not just a question of burden, Your Honor. The issues before the *Twitter* court will start with sort of the first core -- the First Amendment claim. The gravamen of the Second Amended Complaint, as it was described, at least high level in some of the papers here, remains that there's a claim of state action through various theories by private actors.

And the scope of the State Action Doctrine in this factual context, in the social media context related to COVID-19 and all of the issues that were teed up in the First Amended Complaint, those issues are squarely before the Court in *Twitter*. And that's the crux of a forthcoming Second Amended Complaint.

So it's not simply a question of the burden of filing a motion to dismiss. It's whether the issues are going to be decided in a way that will shape the claims and defenses on both sides in a way that's coming down from the Ninth Circuit.

And the First Amendment is only one of the issues that's addressed by the *Twitter* court. There's also state law

Filed 11/20/23 Page 9 of 37 21-CV-9044 1 claims that I mentioned under the Florida Unfair Trade 2 Practices Act, under the Stop Social Media Censorship Act, 3 where those legal questions about the retroactive effect of 4 that law, about the constitutionality of that law are squarely 5 before the Court as well as mootness issues --6 THE COURT: Do I have those issues about the Florida 7 law here? 8 MR. ANGUAS: Yes, Your Honor. In the First Amended 9 Complaint you do, and they're likely to remain through to the 10 Second Amended, as well, unless Plaintiffs are representing 11 that they're going to withdraw the First Amendment, the 12 Florida Trade Unfair Practices claim, the Stop Social Media 13 Act claim as well as the mootness issues that are presented by 14 some of the Plaintiffs whose accounts have been reinstated, 15 admittedly during the pendency of these proceedings. 16 The mootness issues are also --17 THE COURT: What is the relief that the Plaintiff 18

wants here against Meta?

MR. KELLY: To file a Second Amended Complaint, Your Honor.

THE COURT: What? No. no. But, I mean, if you were to win the whole case, what would -- what relief do you think Plaintiff would be entitled to?

MR. KELLY: Some sort of framework where they would not be fearful, either with the chilling effect or directly,

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

9

21-CV-9044

to be modified again, their content, and be restored to exercise their First Amendment rights free from secret algorithms and, you know, other ways that Facebook chooses to engage in content moderation, Your Honor.

And I would just point out with the *Twitter* case,

Your Honor, Judge Donato basically only addressed the coercion

claim of the Plaintiffs and said that the factual allegations

were not sufficient to sustain a state action claim.

And that's why we believe that the -- the Twitter decision will not directly and, you know, widely impact our Second Amended Complaint, because we're confident of the factual-bearers that have come out in the last two years.

Quite frankly, Judge, our clients, you know, need to see some litigation moving. It's been two and a half years. It's involved a sitting president and then an ex-president who is censored for two years and other people who had monetized their Facebook pages to make a living. And there are impacts here. There have been impacts on elections. There have been impacts on economic situations.

And to have a case sit for two and a half years with absolutely no action is just, you know, unheard of.

THE COURT: What do you say on your side that there's an election coming up next year, and the Plaintiff might be prejudiced by relief being granted but would be too late and that they -- the election might -- it might help him in the

21-CV-9044 11

election in order -- if he were to win this case? I'm not saying he's going to win the case. I haven't -- you two have taken up more of my time in this case than I've put into it at all, because it's been stayed, and I inherited it from another judge.

But if I -- once I get into it, I -- I can't say he's going to lose or win. But let's say he were to win. It would be too late to do him any good in terms of the election.

MR. ANGUAS: Your Honor, one of the issues that's presented both here, if this case is revived, and the *Twitter* case, as well, is the mootness question, because certain of the Plaintiffs, including the lead Plaintiff, have already had their accounts reinstated on Meta's platforms as they were in the *Twitter* case, as well.

And so any injunctive relief, we believe, is not even available at this point because the Plaintiff -- some of the Plaintiffs have been reinstated --

THE COURT: Okay. That's a good point. Who are they? Who are the ones that's been reinstated?

MR. ANGUAS: Mr. Trump and -- I don't have the full set of others, but certainly Mr. Trump. And given that this is a class action, presumably, there's a number of members of the class that are not named that have potentially been reinstated. But the lead Plaintiff, Mr. Trump, has been reinstated on this platform and Twitter, which was the source

21-CV-9044

1 of a whole separate spate of briefing in the Ninth Circuit

2 | about whether those claims remained viable, which is -- now

3 the Ninth Circuit has also taken under advisement under

4 | similar factual circumstances where the Plaintiffs were

5 reinstated.

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

THE COURT: Okay. What's the -- if the -- if Donald Trump has been reinstated, what -- why does he need any more relief?

MR. KELLY: Judge, I think the Ninth Circuit addressed that in the *O'Hanley* matter where they said that even restoration of rights does not rectify the situation because they have the fear of being censored again. And in fact, individuals that have been restored face greater chilling effect and consequences, possibly, than those that stay off Facebook.

Once you're censored, you're censored, and that's it.

But when you're restored, you have to watch your step. You're sort of whistling in the dark every time you use Facebook and even approach matters that Facebook is not endeared to, such as our ex-president.

MR. ANGUAS: May I respond, Your Honor?

THE COURT: I'm trying to think about that. Who were the other Plaintiffs?

MR. KELLY: I don't have all of them before me. We reached out last week to check their status, and at least

21-CV-9044 13 1 Mr. Cabos, we know, who was the first one to respond, is still 2 censored. 3 THE COURT: Go ahead. 4 MR. ANGUAS: Your Honor, as it -- what I was going to 5 say was the mention of sort of taking additional action 6 against folks who are already censored, none of that is in the 7 record at this point. But I can tell you that the mootness 8 issues that address very similar circumstances about voluntary 9 cessation and similar legal issues are, again, briefed up and 10 awaiting decision by the Ninth Circuit there with some of the 11 same Plaintiffs overlapping. 12 THE COURT: Do you know who the group of Plaintiffs 13 are here? 14 MR. ANGUAS: The Plaintiffs are here? Yes, Your 15 Honor. It's led by Mr. Trump --16 THE COURT: I don't have -- I just have Donald J. 17 Trump as the Plaintiff, "et al." I don't know who the "et 18 al." is. 19 MR. KELLY: Judge, by the way, I apologize. I'm sort 20 of third string here. Local counsel called in sick, and lead 21 counsel bailed on the last minute. That's why I don't have 22 all the pleadings in front of me. 23 They what? And lead counsel did what? THE COURT: 24 MR. KELLY: Had a family emergency with emergency 25 surgery and couldn't be here, also. So a lot of my --

```
21-CV-9044
                                                                  14
 1
              THE COURT:
                         You got pulled in at the last moment?
 2
              MR. KELLY:
                         I'm flying solo at the last minute,
 3
    Judge.
              MR. ANGUAS: Your Honor, I do have the list of
 4
 5
    Plaintiffs -- named Plaintiffs in the case.
6
              THE COURT:
                         Okay. Go through them slowly.
7
                          Certainly, Your Honor. It's on page 5
              MR. ANGUAS:
8
    beginning at paragraph 18 of the First Amended Complaint.
9
    first Plaintiff is Donald J. Trump. The second Plaintiff is
10
    Elizabeth Albert. The third and fourth Plaintiffs are Kiyan
11
    and Bobby Michael. The next Plaintiff is Jennifer Horton.
12
    The next Plaintiff is Andres Cabos. And the final two
13
    Plaintiffs are Magalys Rios and Maria Rodriguez-Fresneda.
                                                                And
14
    that's in paragraphs 18 through 24 of the First Amended
15
    Complaint, Your Honor.
16
              THE COURT: I don't recognize any of those names.
17
    Who are they?
18
              MR. ANGUAS: I would defer to Plaintiffs' counsel,
19
    but my understanding is that they're private citizens who used
20
    the Facebook service. I don't believe that any of them are
21
    public officials or elected officials.
22
              MR. KELLY:
                          That's correct.
23
              MR. ANGUAS: And I would note that Mr. Trump --
24
              THE COURT: What is their grievance?
25
              MR. ANGUAS: Perhaps Plaintiffs' counsel can address
```

21-CV-9044

it in more detail, but my understanding is that some of those Plaintiffs were either censored -- had their content removed by Facebook, is the allegation.

THE COURT: How were those people injured?

MR. KELLY: I don't have the details in front of me, Judge. I could provide it to the Court within a week, if required, after the hearing. But my understanding, at least a couple of them were censored and incurred economic damage, Judge, that's still going on.

But as I said, it's our position, whether they have been restored or not restored, they still face a substantial chilling effect of prior censorship to make them fearful to exercise their full and free First Amendment speech.

THE COURT: Is this supposed to be a class action?

MR. KELLY: Yes, Judge.

THE COURT: Well, there's a problem that I see there. Well, okay, let's assume for the sake of argument that Former President Trump really wants to get this worked out in a hurry because of the election.

On the other hand, he wants to do it as a class action, which will take a lot of time. There's almost no way this could be resolved as a class action prior to next year's election.

So is he even an adequate representative? Because it -- does he stand in the same position as all these other

people that would be in the class? It's even hard for me to imagine what the class would look like right now. But I don't see why you have chosen to allege this as a class action.

MR. KELLY: With Mr. Trump as the lead representative?

THE COURT: Well, actually, with anybody as the lead, but especially with him as the lead because of his special circumstances.

MR. KELLY: It certainly has shifting landscape, Your Honor, in terms of the harm done and who would be best representing the class. I don't think we have to look for the certification of the class right now, and that could change in terms of substitutions. But the basic principle is the same that, whether restored or still censored, the chilling effect and damage done to these people is substantial and continues every day.

Judge, they just want a chance to litigate their case. A lot of these people -- there are thousands of people that were taken off of Facebook just for mentioning election integrity, mentioning anti-vax positioning, mentioning Wuhan or where the COVID virus came from, and it's just not right.

MR. ANGUAS: May I respond, Your Honor?

THE COURT: Wait a second.

MR. ANGUAS: As Your Honor has pointed out --

THE COURT: Maybe it's not right, but a private

company can do whatever it wants. It doesn't have to do business with anybody. It's not a public utility.

MR. KELLY: Well, Judge, that's why we're here to allege the state action aspect to the same -- we feel that --

THE COURT: Well, who --

MR. KELLY: -- Facebook is so intertwined with Government actors that it amounts to state action. In fact, it's been openly admitted at times. Mr. Musk with his Twitter files, and Mr. Jordan on the House Judiciary Committee not to be outdone with the Facebook files.

And Mr. Zuckerberg, who is a named Defendant in this case, in 2022, August, went on the Joe Rogan podcast and admitted right on the air, recorded, that it was the FBI that tipped off the Facebook people about the Hunter Biden laptop contents being Russian misinformation in a hack-and-dump job.

That was something that Mr. Biden leaked or used during a debate with Mr. Trump to put down claims that the social media companies were censoring unnecessarily.

THE COURT: Tell me what the Fifth Circuit ruled in that *Missouri* case.

MR. KELLY: Ruled heavily in favor of the state plaintiffs in that there was significant state action because of the involvement with Government officials. You had, I think, Ian Chan, the FBI agent out of San Francisco who admitted coordinating censorship activities especially

```
21-CV-9044
                                                                   18
 1
     designed for Facebook to censor certain points of view.
 2
              You had -- if I could just have a moment. There
 3
    were --
              THE COURT:
 4
                         What was --
 5
              MR. KELLY: There was the White House
6
     representative -- I think it was Flaherty -- and there was a
7
     Homeland Security representative who was director of
8
     communications.
                     They all testified. And based on their
9
     deposition testimony, it was disclosed as just inseparable
10
     interaction between Facebook and the other social media --
11
              THE COURT: So in the Missouri case, Facebook was a
12
     party in that case?
13
              MR. KELLY: No.
                               It was just disclosed -- in that
14
     case it was the Government that was the defendants and the
15
     states that were the plaintiffs.
16
              THE COURT: But what was the evidence directly about
17
    Facebook?
18
              MR. KELLY: That they engaged equally -- sometimes
19
    more, sometimes a little less -- with Government actors to,
20
     you know, actively censor constitutionally protected --
21
              THE COURT: Was the -- so you're dodging my question.
     Did the Fifth Circuit use the word "Facebook"?
22
23
              MR. KELLY: I believe it did many times.
24
              THE COURT: Is that true?
25
              MR. ANGUAS: Your Honor, can I respond to a couple of
```

points?

THE COURT: Well, answer my question first and then you can respond.

MR. ANGUAS: Yes.

THE COURT: Okay. So go ahead. Respond.

MR. ANGUAS: A couple points that Your Honor has raised. Facebook -- excuse me -- Meta and none of the other social media defendants that were third parties in that case were actually defendants in the case. The Court actually assessed litigation against Government actors. And that case also has been stayed, and cert has been granted to review the decision. So there are a couple of issues there.

And we -- the law on state action in the Fifth
Circuit is different in terms of what the scope of activity is required to find state action by a private party, which the Fifth Circuit addressed in that opinion. But the key issue in Missouri v. Biden was that those defendants were all Government officials, not private entities like we have here.

There was no finding of liability with respect to any social media --

THE COURT: Well, what -- did the Fifth Circuit say something along the lines that Facebook became an arm of the First Amendment -- violating the First Amendment because the Government leaned on Facebook to do certain things? Did that come up?

21-CV-9044 20

MR. ANGUAS: I don't have the opinion in front of me, Your Honor, but, yes, the Court did evaluate the relationship between the Government and various social media companies, including Meta, in that decision that's now stayed --

THE COURT: All right. Did it go so far as to say,

"And when Meta did these things under pressure from the

Government that that constituted -- that Meta was part of a

First Amendment violation"?

MR. ANGUAS: I don't have the opinion in front of me, but I -- I don't think there was a finding that Meta violated the First Amendment itself. Meta wasn't a party. So just thinking about it, there wouldn't have been an opportunity to pass on that question. The question was whether the Government violated the First Amendment, but I'd have to check the opinion, Your Honor --

THE COURT: All right. What else did you want to say?

MR. ANGUAS: I wanted to address a couple of other issues that have just come up in the colloquy.

THE COURT: All right. Go ahead.

MR. ANGUAS: First being that Plaintiffs' counsel has mentioned the Twitter files and has mentioned the Twitter case as sort of another example of the type of conduct here. And that's exactly our point, that those very similar questions about the scope of the State Action Doctrine, which were also

21-CV-9044 21

teed up to some degree in the *Missouri v. Biden* case in the context of a Government defendant, those very legal questions are before the Ninth Circuit now. They're before the Supreme Court in the *Missouri v. Biden* case, which granted cert in the matter, and --

THE COURT: Cert was granted?

MR. ANGUAS: Cert was granted. The decision of the Fifth Circuit was stayed, I believe, on October 20th -- so just a couple of weeks ago -- and cert was granted. And so the issues are being addressed there.

But really it's the Ninth Circuit decision that's on all fours factually with this case because it is private defendants. It is addressing Government conduct with the same types of Government agencies and officials, and that -- the timing of this motion is just such that the case is under advisement. And we can be uncertain about exactly how long it's going to take the Ninth Circuit to render a decision, but it's not as if briefing is just opening. Briefing was complete. The case was argued, now, a month ago.

To begin motion-to-dismiss briefing now where a motion to dismiss would be due sometime down the line would only further make it likely that any day now the Ninth Circuit could issue a decision which would upend the ongoing proceedings here that we would have.

And finally, Your Honor raised some points about the

1 class-action issues. We completely agree that in this current

2 | context, there are commonality, predominance, adequacy issues

3 | under Rule 23 with the current slate of named Plaintiffs that

4 | would need to be addressed at a class-cert motion,

5 potentially, before we get to the merits determination here.

And that further would delay these proceedings based on how

7 Plaintiffs have chosen to proceed.

6

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

And so after -- 15 months after filing -- excuse

me -- two years after filing three parallel cases, having one
of them go into appellate proceedings, the case against

YouTube, which is affiliated with Google, remains stayed
before this Court, and Plaintiffs have not filed a motion to
lift the stay to file an amended complaint in that action.

That action remains stayed. This is the only case where Plaintiffs have attempted to lift the stay to file a Second Amended Complaint. And given the timing, Your Honor, we believe it's simply more prudent to wait for a decision from the Ninth Circuit in any further appellate proceedings in Twitter --

THE COURT: Are these same ten or so Plaintiffs a Plaintiff in the case that Judge Donato had on appeal?

MR. ANGUAS: My understanding is that Mr. Trump is a common Plaintiff across all three of the cases, and I don't know whether the other secondary Defendants -- excuse me -- secondary Plaintiffs are shared across the three cases. But I

21-CV-9044 23

do know Mr. Trump is the lead Plaintiff and designated class representative or putative class representative across all three of the cases.

THE COURT: What do you say to that?

MR. KELLY: Judge, first of all, if you were so inclined, we might ask the Court to entertain lifting the stay on the YouTube litigation, also, since it's been brought up by --

THE COURT: I don't have YouTube, do I?

MR. ANGUAS: No, Your Honor. It's before a different judge in this court.

MR. KELLY: And one other thing, I'd just point out that although the Government was the defendants in the *Missouri* and *Louisiana* cases, the solicitor general in August, when arguing for a stay, stated that social media platforms can be held liable for violating the First Amendment simply by modifying content at the Government's request.

THE COURT: Say that again.

MR. KELLY: The solicitor general was arguing for a stay on the Fifth Circuit ruling by stating that not only was the Government being handcuffed by the state but that with the findings in the Fifth Circuit that private social media platforms could be held liable also just by acting on the recommendation of Government actors, in effect conceding that social media platforms are in the same posture as the

21-CV-9044 24

Government in terms of Government action. It takes two to dance, two sides of the same coin.

THE COURT: I'll give you an example. Let's say that -- I'll ask you for a hypothetical. Let's say that the police go to Meta and -- or any of these, Twitter, and they say, "Look, you've got somebody on your website who is a drug dealer and is using your platform to gin up drug dealers and is selling fentanyl, is selling terrible drugs to children."

So your view would be that if Meta, on its own, after getting that information, cancels that account, that violates the First Amendment? How could that be?

MR. KELLY: Well, first of all, I don't think the police would be considered Government actors under that situation.

THE COURT: They are Government actors. Aren't the police -- if you don't go with the police, take the FBI, then. Let's say the FBI did it. Of course all of them are Government actors.

MR. KELLY: I think Facebook has procedures in place for subpoenas being issued and turning over the information. So the police can act on it, but --

THE COURT: If the Government coerces somebody and says, "We're going to sue you," or, "You better do this or else," okay, that's one thing. But if the Government simply puts out its own information and Meta then acts based on that,

1 makes its own decision, how can that be a violation of the 2 First Amendment?

MR. KELLY: Well, if there's no indication that
Facebook did anything other than make its own decision, then
that's it if it doesn't involve First Amendment rights. I
don't think drug dealing is a protected speech under our
Constitution, Judge. But I would point out that Facebook and
the social media platforms were empowered to sort of
self-police by Section 230. And, you know, they can act on
their own, but First Amendment rights and censorship is a
different issue.

I actually lost my train of thought a little bit, Judge.

THE COURT: Well, let's say the President of the United States calls up Meta and says, you know, "Be careful about this account. They've got -- we don't think their information is correct." And then Meta says, "Well, okay." They do their own inquiry and decide that the President is right. And so they -- is that a First Amendment violation if they take down the account?

MR. KELLY: It very well could be, Judge.

THE COURT: How come? How could that be? It's a voluntary action by Meta. And the Government, let's say, is doing a good thing and --

MR. KELLY: Whether Meta thinks they're doing a good

thing is not up to --

THE COURT: It's not up to a court to tell somebody what's good or bad; it's that Meta makes its own decisions.

Now, if there's coercion on the Government saying, "Take down that account or else we're going to put you in jail," okay, I could see that being a First Amendment violation.

But if the Government is simply putting out information that leads a private actor to take action, I question whether that can be, ever, a First Amendment violation even with 230 or not with 230.

MR. KELLY: I don't think so, Judge. And coercion can take many forms. And with major social media platforms, especially Facebook, the -- more than coercion, it's been sort of cooperation and economic fear that they're going to face repercussions if they don't act on the Government recommendations.

Nobody's being, you know, arrested. No one has a gun to their head. But maybe they'll make 6 billion less the next year defending libel suits or something because they let certain things be posted or participated in it.

MR. ANGUAS: May I respond, Your Honor?

MR. KELLY: Judge, I don't know if -- I'm obviously not nailing the answer to the question you're looking for.

THE COURT: You're not really answering my question, because the -- if somebody brings a libel suit, that's a

21-CV-9044 27

private -- again, private action. And a private actor in

Meta's position can make its own decisions about the best -you know, how the risk -- to manage the risks. But that
doesn't transform it into a First Amendment.

All right. Go ahead. What's your point?

MR. ANGUAS: I think Your Honor's hit it right on the head that there is no state action here. And we -- in our first Motion to Dismiss the First Amended Complaint, we explained why, under the facts as alleged in that First Amended Complaint, there is no state action.

The *Twitter* case, again, addresses the very questions that we're talking about: the metes and bounds of private action and when it can and cannot be converted into state action through compulsion or otherwise.

And so, again, sort of on the narrow question before us now of whether to proceed with a Second Amended Complaint, I think the colloquy that the parties and the Court have been having underscore why those issues are precisely teed up in that case.

THE COURT: To what extent is the *Missouri* case possibly going to impact the *Twitter* case?

MR. ANGUAS: The *Missouri* case has been -- cert's been granted, and so there may be an opportunity there for the U.S. Supreme Court to weigh in on the issues there. But again, I think the fact that that case is against private --

21-CV-9044 28

excuse me -- public officials as defendants makes it not squarely on all fours with what we have here.

Now, the Court may address the State Action Doctrine there, but the Ninth Circuit has not indicated, formally or otherwise that I'm aware of, that they're planning to hold the decision pending the *Missouri* proceedings in the U.S. Supreme Court, if that's --

THE COURT: That's what I'm getting at. I -- but does the -- does the circuit court put out a statement that they're holding it pending what goes on in the Supreme Court, or do they just -- they just sit back and decide internally, We're going to hold it and see what the Supreme Court says?

MR. ANGUAS: I couldn't answer that, Your Honor, as to what the -- whether there would be a formal notice or not.

THE COURT: But do you know --

MR. KELLY: I don't know for sure, but just based on the little common sense and experience, I don't remember any circuit court saying they're going to hold off on a decision until the Supreme Court rules that will give them guidance.

MR. ANGUAS: Your Honor, that's all the more reason. If -- if the Supreme Court, in *Missouri v. Biden*, is going to offer clarification, refinement, whatever word we want to use, on the scope of the State Action Doctrine, that's all the more reason why a Motion to Dismiss briefing now is not an efficient course if we're going to see additional decisions

that bear on these issues.

MR. KELLY: Judge, that could go on forever, you know, waiting for decisions that might have some bearing on some of the issues in these cases.

MR. ANGUAS: And that's not our ask, Your Honor. Our ask is to hold for the Ninth Circuit decision, which is now submitted and has been briefed --

THE COURT: Well, my concern is that the judges on the Ninth Circuit are going to be saying, "Okay, the *Missouri* case is now in the Supreme Court. And the way we've written our draft order, we might get sideswiped by the Supreme Court. So we better wait and hold it and see how the Supreme Court rules on the *Missouri* case."

So then they -- without telling anyone that they were going to wait, they just wait. Now, if that were to happen, then the delay -- there would be even more delay in moving this case forward.

I, though, question what you can say in an amended complaint that would -- so you're not only asking -- you're asking me to gin up, get all my chambers -- you know, you probably have a bigger law firm than I have. My law firm is one person sitting right over there, and she's got 200 other cases.

So you're asking her to work night and day on a case that could be completely moot just so -- that really is -- and

21-CV-9044 30

it's in a cock-eyed situation with a class action that sounds like it can't really ever be a class action.

So it's more than just one individual seeking justice from Meta. It's a nationwide class with a -- with a group of people that may not be qualified to be class representatives because of their unique situations. I don't know. Why are we -- the application's been around for two years. I agree. That's your best point.

MR. KELLY: Two and a half, probably.

THE COURT: Two and a half, okay. Although, you haven't -- you haven't come in here before and asked me. This is your first attempt to ask me to do anything.

So, okay, here's what I'm going to do. Are you ready? I'm not going to say yes. I'm going to require you to do more. Here's what you can do: You can file a motion.

This is not -- this is -- you can file a motion to be allowed to file a -- what is it? Second Amended Complaint? -- Second Amended Complaint. And you lay out the entire Second Amended Complaint -- 42 pages, 89 pages, whatever it is -- and you address all the points that you think we've raised here today that could be of concern.

And then in addition to what your pleading would be -- so you would actually have the pleading -- tell us who the Plaintiffs are now --

MR. KELLY: As in Exhibit 2D?

21-CV-9044 31

THE COURT: Yeah, as an exhibit. It won't accepted yet for filing; it would just be what you propose to file. And then you explain in the motion, "Here's how we address all these concerns about mootness, about *Missouri*, about delay, about class action," and -- and especially address why you want us to spend so much time and effort with motions to dismiss when we know for sure the Ninth Circuit is going to have a decision eventually that will address at least some of the issues -- some of the important issues in the case.

So -- and why -- why it wouldn't -- in other words, you've got to convince me that -- but so far you haven't even drafted the complaint. It would be a gamble for me to say, "Okay, just go ahead and file it." No. That would be crazy for me to do that.

I would like to see what you propose to file in a formal motion and address those jurisprudential points about why we shouldn't wait. That would be filed on a normal 35-day track, and then the Defendant -- is there one Defendant or two Defendants?

MR. ANGUAS: Two Defendants, Your Honor: Meta Platforms and Mark Zuckerberg.

THE COURT: You get to file a response, and then you get to file a reply. And then we'll come back here 35 days after you file the motion to have another argument over it.

And I'm not saying I would grant it. I might -- in fact,

21-CV-9044 32

right now, I'm probably leaning to not let you file it and wait. But maybe, maybe you have some reasons for going ahead that are better than I see right now.

His account has been restored, so is it really plausible that President Trump, who is as vigorous a person as could possibly exist, is afraid of his shadow and will be chilled in his -- what he says on the platform? I rather doubt it.

But there could be other considerations that would be more persuasive than he would be chilled. That's not too persuasive, is it? Do you really think?

MR. KELLY: My apologies to your law clerk.

THE COURT: Well, it's a lot of work. These young people, do you know how long they work? They work until 2:00 a.m., not on this -- to this instance but on other cases. They work, work, work, work. And I do, too, but not until 2:00 a.m. anymore. But it's a -- we've got limited resources.

I understand.

THE COURT: And we have 200 cases to work on. Some of them are criminal cases where people are going to go to prison, maybe. And it's important that we do justice in those cases. So it's not -- it's a big ask, whatever you -- in a complicated case, class action, that's going to require a lot of briefing. We have to get into it. It's not a small thing.

So on the other hand, you did file the lawsuit. And

MR. KELLY:

21-CV-9044 33 1 I -- it's not -- you know, I've got to do my job, and my job 2 is I can't shrink away from doing work just because it's work. 3 No. That wouldn't be right either, would it? 4 So -- all right. 5 MR. KELLY: I'm feeling guilty right now, Judge. 6 THE COURT: Yes. You should. 7 (Simultaneous cross-talking.) 8 THE COURT: Don't feel too guilty but feel some 9 guilt. 10 MR. KELLY: And I apologize to your law clerk again. 11 I appreciate the quality of work they do, too. 12 THE COURT: Now, if I was in your position and I was 13 writing this up, I would have that complaint lay out every 14 fact that you could possibly allege in good faith, if you got 15 it from the *Missouri* case or whatever, that would point the 16 finger at Meta and say that Meta has done something wrong 17 here, and not use generalities. Because if it's just a bunch 18 of platitudes and blather, that's not going to be very 19 persuasive. It won't advance things. 20 You're going to have to have some zingers in there 21 that really show that Meta has done something wrong and -- so 22 be -- put some work into it. See, now I'm putting the work 23 back on you. I could just see you now. You're going to go 24 back --25 (Simultaneous cross-talking.)

21-CV-9044 34

THE COURT: You're going to say to your -- the guy who had the family emergency, "So now you've got to do some real work. It's going to take you many hours, and maybe the Judge is not going to allow it anyway. Do you really want to go forward with this?"

Also, I want you to say in your motion whether you will forego future -- I'm not holding you to anything you said today. I'm just -- but you've got to say something in your brief. "Judge, if you'll allow to us do this now, in the future, we will never ask for another amendment no matter what the Supreme Court says. No matter what." See? Now, to me, that would be a gamble. I'm not sure I would want to take that gamble, but you said it earlier.

MR. KELLY: I know.

THE COURT: You think about it. Talk to Mr. Big and find out if they want to take that gamble. But I would like to know, because here's the thing: If I'm going to have to go through all this and then the Ninth Circuit comes out again and then you come back and say, "Oh, Judge, here's this paragraph in the Ninth Circuit decision. We can meet that -- just let us amend to meet that," then I will say no. You told me -- I'm not going to go -- I don't want to go through it twice.

MR. KELLY: I understand.

THE COURT: So you need to address that problem.

1 That's the best point Meta has made all day is that we will

2 | wind up having to do it twice and maybe, with the Supreme

3 Court, three times. And I don't want to do that. Let's just

4 do it once.

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

MR. ANGUAS: Your Honor, may I -- one question on the scope of the briefing?

THE COURT: Sure.

MR. ANGUAS: If Plaintiffs are going to be filing a Motion for Leave to Amend, I just wanted to make clear that in our opposition, we wouldn't be addressing sort of the substantive motion-to-dismiss arguments under a futility standard. We'd be reserving the right to file a motion to dismiss if the complaint --

THE COURT: You have that choice. You don't have to address the merits. That will be for Rule 12. But if you felt it would be a good point to make, then, sure, you can address it. But I'm more interested in the jurisprudential points. But I do want to see the substance of the allegations and how it would -- how it would -- all right.

MR. ANGUAS: Understood.

THE COURT: That's the most damage I can do in one day.

MR. KELLY: I feel like I'm walking out of here with my pockets turned inside out having to give up all these things, Judge.

```
21-CV-9044
                                                                    36
 1
              THE COURT: You haven't given up anything yet.
2
     haven't given up anything yet, but you do feel guilty.
                                                              That
 3
     law clerk over there, she's got so much to do and --
 4
         (Simultaneous cross-talking.)
              THE COURT: Just remember that. All of you in the
 5
6
     courtroom remember that.
7
              Meta, too, because you're the ones that -- you're the
8
     biggest litigator in this whole courthouse, I think, is you
9
    and Google.
10
              So . . .
11
              MR. KELLY:
                          Thank you, Judge.
12
              THE COURT:
                          All right. Good luck. Thank you.
13
              MR. ANGUAS: Thank you, Your Honor.
14
         (Proceedings concluded at 12:52 p.m., November 2, 2023.)
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
```

21-CV-9044 37 1 <u>CERTIFICATE</u> 2 I, MEGAN E. STRAWN, Federal Official Court Reporter 3 for the United States District Court for the District of 4 5 Wyoming, a Registered Professional Reporter and Certified 6 Realtime Reporter, do hereby certify that I reported by 7 machine shorthand the proceedings contained herein on the 8 aforementioned subject on the date herein set forth, and that 9 the foregoing 36 pages constitute a full, true, and correct 10 transcript. 11 Dated this 20th day of November 2023. 12 13 14 15 /s/ Megan E. Strawn 16 MEGAN E. STRAWN Registered Professional Reporter 17 Certified Realtime Reporter 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25