```
Pages 1 - 68
                 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
                NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
             BEFORE THE HONORABLE VAUGHN R. WALKER
KRISTIN M. PERRY,
SANDRA B. STIER, PAUL T. KATAMI,
and JEFFREY J. ZARRILLO,
             Plaintiffs,
VS.
                                    ) NO. C 09-2292-VRW
ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER, in his
official capacity as Governor of
California; EDMUND G. BROWN, JR.,
in his official capacity as
Attorney General of California;
MARK B. HORTON, in his official
capacity as Director of the
California Department of Public
Health and State Registrar of
Vital Statistics; LINETTE SCOTT,
in her official capacity as Deputy )
Director of Health Information &
Strategic Planning for the
California Department of Public
Health; PATRICK O'CONNELL, in his
official capacity as
Clerk-Recorder for the County of
Alameda; and DEAN C. LOGAN, in his )
official capacity as
Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk
for the County of Los Angeles,
                                    ) San Francisco, California
             Defendants.
                                    ) Tuesday
                                    ) March 16, 2010
```

## TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

Reported By: Katherine Powell Sullivan, CRR, CSR 5812 Official Reporter - U.S. District Court APPEARANCES:

For Plaintiffs: GIBSON, DUNN & CRUTCHER LLP

333 South Grand Avenue

Los Angeles, California 90071-3197

BY: CHRISTOPHER D. DUSSEAULT, ESQUIRE

GIBSON, DUNN & CRUTCHER LLP 555 Mission Street, Suite 3000

San Francisco, California 94105-2933

BY: ENRIQUE A. MONAGAS, ESQUIRE

For Plaintiff- CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Intervenor: OFFICE OF THE CITY ATTORNEY

One Drive Carlton B. Goodlett Place San Francisco, California 94102-4682

BY: MOLLIE M. LEE, DEPUTY CITY ATTORNEY

For Defendant STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE

Edmund G. Brown Jr.: 455 Golden Gate Avenue, Suite 11000

San Francisco, California 94102-7004

BY: TAMAR PACHTER, DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL

For Defendant- COOPER & KIRK

Intervenors: 1523 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

BY: JESSE PANUCCIO, ESQUIRE

ACLU Foundation of ORRICK, HERRINGTON & SUTCLIFFE

Northern California: 405 Howard Street

San Francisco, California 94105

BY: STEPHEN V. BOMSE, ESQUIRE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

FOUNDATION OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

39 Drumm

San Francisco, California 94111

BY: ELIZABETH GILL, ESQUIRE

Californians Against REMCHO, JOHANSEN & PURCELL

Eliminating Basic

201 Dolores Avenue

Rights:

San Francisco, California 94577

BY: KARI KROGSENG, ESQUIRE

(APPEARANCES CONTINUED ON FOLLOWING PAGE)

## APPEARANCES (CONTINUED):

For Equality FENWICK & WEST

California: 555 California Street, 12th Floor San Francisco, California 94104

BY: LAUREN WHITTEMORE, ESQUIRE

FENWICK & WEST

801 California Street

Mountain View, California 94041

BY: LYNN PASAHOW, ESQUIRE

1 PROCEEDINGS 2 MARCH 16, 2010 10:33 A.M. 3 4 THE CLERK: Calling civil case 09-2292, Kristin 5 Perry, et al. and the City and County of San Francisco versus 6 Arnold Schwarzenegger, Prop 8 Official Proponents, et al. 7 Counsel, come to the podium and state your appearances. 8 9 MR. BOMSE: Good morning, Your Honor. Stephen Bomse, Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe, and 10 11 Elizabeth Gill on behalf of the ACLU. 12 THE COURT: Very well. Good morning, Mr. Bomse. 13 MR. BOMSE: Good morning. MS. WHITTEMORE: Good morning, Your Honor. 14 15 Lauren Whittemore and Lynn Pasahow from Fenwick & West, representing Equality California. 16 17 THE COURT: Good morning, Ms. Whittemore. 18 MS. KROGSENG: Good morning, Your Honor. Kari Krogseng, at Remcho, Johansen & Purcell, on 19 behalf of Californians Against Eliminating Basic Rights. 2.0 21 MR. DUSSEAULT: Good morning, Your Honor. 22 Christopher Dusseault and Enrique Monagas, of Gibson, 23 Dunn & Crutcher, on behalf of the plaintiffs. 24 THE COURT: Mr. Dusseault, good morning. 25 MS. LEE: Good morning, Your Honor.

```
Deputy City Attorney Mollie Lee on behalf of
 1
 2
   plaintiff-intervenor City and County of San Francisco.
 3
              THE COURT: Ms. Lee, good morning.
 4
              MR. PANUCCIO: Good morning, Your Honor.
 5
              Jesse Panuccio of Cooper & Kirk, on behalf of
 6
   defendant-intervenors.
 7
              THE COURT: Mr. Panuccio.
              MS. PACHTER: Good morning, Your Honor.
 8
 9
              Deputy Attorney General Tamar Pachter on behalf of
   the attorney general.
10
11
              THE COURT: Ms. Pachter.
              Very well. Let's begin this morning's discussion
12
13
   with you, Mr. Bomse.
14
              MR. BOMSE: Thank you.
15
              THE COURT: I'm sure you know the standard that you
   have to meet is clear error.
16
17
              MR. BOMSE: The standard which we have to meet is
    that an error of law was committed --
18
19
              THE COURT: And it is clear.
             MR. BOMSE: I --
2.0
21
              THE COURT: And you recognize that?
22
             MR. BOMSE: We -- I recognize the task that is ahead
23
   of us.
24
              THE COURT: All right. Now, tell me, of course, what
25
   is the clear error the Magistrate committed?
```

MR. BOMSE: The Magistrate committed a clear error in his determination that this information is relevant to a sufficient degree to justify the burden that is being imposed.

We view those matters as being interrelated.

THE COURT: What have you submitted to establish a burden, other than what you contend was the burden before the magistrate? That is to say, as I read the papers that have

magistrate? That is to say, as I read the papers that have been submitted, you've submitted nothing to establish that there is any burden imposed by the Magistrate's order. You made an argument before him that there was some level of burden. He then crafted a substantially narrower order. And you have not submitted anything with respect to the burden of complying with the Magistrate's order.

2.0

2.1

MR. BOMSE: Your Honor, we did not believe that it was appropriate to submit additional materials in connection with these objections that go to that issue. We rest upon the materials that were submitted to the Magistrate Judge.

THE COURT: But the issue is whether or not the Magistrate committed clear error.

MR. BOMSE: That's correct.

THE COURT: So you start with what the Magistrate required. And if that imposed an undue burden, then you have to establish that fact. Do you not?

MR. BOMSE: Yes. And --

THE COURT: You haven't submitted anything.

MR. BOMSE: We have the record that was submitted before the Magistrate Judge. I must --

2.0

THE COURT: But the request that the Magistrate dealt with is different from the request that the Magistrate granted.

MR. BOMSE: Well, the Court must assess the question of burden based upon what Magistrate Judge Spero ordered. But the record on which that is to be assessed is the record that is submitted.

But I think that putting burden as an issue independent of relevance seems to me to be a fundamental mistake. As we've said, we believe that the two are quite closely related.

Now, if one wants to focus solely on the question of burden, we have said what the burden will be under, essentially, the conditions that were specified by Magistrate Judge Spero, with the exception that he has relieved us of the obligation of providing a privilege log.

THE COURT: He has done more than that. He has done quite a bit more than that.

MR. BOMSE: Well, by -- by our lights, he has not. He has not done anything which is going to make the burden of review materially less than we anticipated that it would be when we appeared in front of him.

One Court will, of course, make its own determination whether that burden is undue, because that is, after all, the

standard. And, in fact, I think that you could look at the question of burden in the context of many litigations and say this doesn't seem to be all that hugely burdensome compared to 4 what is sometimes required.

2

3

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

2.0

21

22

23

24

25

But I don't think that that's the right way to look at it, with all respect, Your Honor. I think the place to start is with the game. Then we find out whether that game is worth the candle.

And it's our position that the relevance here is either nonexistent or so attenuated that it cannot justify imposing what is under the Magistrate's more limited order a significant burden.

We are talking about reviewing thousands upon thousands, tens of thousands of documents, to determine whether or not they satisfy the conditions of relevance. And that is not an insubstantial burden. This is not something that can be done with the push of a button. It is something that is, in fact, quite substantial.

Now, is that an appropriate burden to place upon these nonparties? Well, I think, as I say, we can't answer that question without going to the question of relevance. as far as what --

THE COURT: Let's just talk about burden for a moment.

> MR. BOMSE: All right.

THE COURT: Before the Magistrate you said that there are approximately 61,000 potentially relevant communications stored in the Microsoft Outlook files. And then when simple search terms are applied -- these are, essentially, the search terms that the Magistrate required to be searched for -- the number reduced down to about 25,000 potentially responsive communications.

MR. BOMSE: Yes.

2.0

**THE COURT:** Okay.

MR. BOMSE: That's correct. That is only as to the ACLU. That is not as to our co-party objector Equality California.

I believe that the burden that they believe that they would encounter is considerably more substantial. And, again, they have chosen to rest, as we do, upon the record that we submitted before Magistrate Judge Spero. And we are happy to rest upon --

THE COURT: Well, how much is it going to cost and what is the number of responsive documents that would have to be reviewed in order to comply with the Magistrate's order?

MR. BOMSE: I can speak to the ACLU. And it appears that it's 25,000, once you apply those search terms. Ms. Gill, who is actually the person responsible for evaluating this at the ground level, tells me that it's more.

THE COURT: Well, but where is this -- this is not in

the record. You haven't submitted anything. 2 MR. BOMSE: Well, we'll -- we'll stand on what has 3 been submitted. And if you want to say it's 25,000, 25,000 e-mails to look through manually is not a small group. I 5 mean --6 THE COURT: With a discreet number of search terms? 7 Those --MR. BOMSE: Those are the documents that you end up 8 with after you apply the search terms. Then you have to go and figure out which of those documents, document by document, is 10 relevant within the standard that has been determined for what 11 is a relevant document. That is, is it something that deals 12 13 with strategy and messaging? Is it something that involves somebody who is not within the core group as has been defined? 14 15 And that is a not insubstantial burden. THE COURT: How much is it going to cost? 16 MR. BOMSE: (Gesturing.) 17 18 THE COURT: Don't just throw up your hands. 19 You have an opportunity to request costs, 2.0 reimbursement. As I read the record, you haven't done so. 21 MR. BOMSE: We did, actually, suggest that the cost 22 of doing these searches be borne by the parties seeking the 23 documents, as a way of ameliorating the costs. 24 But the cost is largely in people hours here. And 25 this will be done by people who will not be paid for doing it,

other than the salaries that they earn. But they will be diverted from other tasks. And that is a real cost. 2 3 Now, again, I find of all of the issues that are 4 here, while the question of burden is not insubstantial, I do not understand how it can be assessed other than by first 6 determining whether there is something here which is worth 7 pursuing. Now --THE COURT: Don't we have guidance from the Ninth 8 Circuit on that subject? 10 MR. BOMSE: Well, naturally --THE COURT: The Ninth Circuit, I must say, has taken 11 two different positions. But the last word clearly indicated 12 13 that the kinds of documents that are being sought here meet the standards of Rule 26, for discovery. 14 15 And that's all we have to determine, at this point; isn't it? 16 17 MR. BOMSE: I don't believe so. 18 THE COURT: Why? 19 MR. BOMSE: Because this is not the same request to 20 the same party. The Ninth Circuit did speak to this issue. We think 21 22 it spoke in very clear terms to this issue, in its opinion, and 23 not merely in Footnote 12 of its opinion. Although, I am 24 certainly prepared to discuss with the Court, if you will

indulge me, the terms of that footnote.

25

But before we even --

2.0

THE COURT: Everything that's really the meat in that opinion is all in that footnote.

MR. BOMSE: I -- I could not more strongly disagree with Your Honor.

The notion that we have a 36-page opinion and that the meat of the opinion is in a single footnote appended at the end, as if somehow the Court was saying just kidding, I think is a serious misreading of what the Ninth Circuit did and what it had in mind.

But I wasn't ready to get to Footnote 12 or to the issue of privilege yet; although, that is a very important issue. I submit to the Court that we first have to determine whether or not there is relevance here within the standards of Rule 26, sufficient to trigger the burden that will be required both of us and Equality California.

And that is an issue as to which our opponents would simply gloss over by saying, Two sides of the same coin. But, sometimes, whether it's heads or tails matters.

We are not the people who sought passage of this initiative. We are people who opposed the passage of this initiative.

So the question that has to be asked is -- now, they would say that these documents (indicating) are irrelevant in a way that I'm not going to begin to argue because it's not my

role here to take issue with what Your Honor thinks are the 2 issues in the case. But accepting those, the question is, do 3 these documents that are being sought inform that inquiry in a 4 meaningful way? 5 THE COURT: The question is whether or not the 6 Magistrate's order is clearly erroneous. 7 MR. BOMSE: Yes. And, as to that, we submit that it is clearly erroneous. Because there is nothing that has been 8 suggested on this record that indicates why these documents are going to inform an issue in this case. That is, why --10 11 THE COURT: Let's talk about what really is at stake here, for your client. 12 13 What is the prejudice to your client, other than burden? What is the prejudice of complying with the 14 15 Magistrate's order, other than burden? 16 You can't make a showing of the kind that was made in the civil rights cases, the NAACP cases. You haven't even 17 tried to make that kind of showing. 18 19 MR. BOMSE: We've --2.0 THE COURT: The only showing you have attempted to make is this showing of burden. 21 22 MR. BOMSE: Again, Your Honor, with all respect --23 THE COURT: No chilling effects that you've 24 attempted --25 MR. BOMSE: I'm sorry?

```
1
              THE COURT: You haven't attempted to demonstrate any
   chilling effect. You haven't attempted to establish any
 2
 3
    threats, any reprisals that will be visited upon your client.
 4
   You stake your entire argument on this notion of burden.
 5
             MR. BOMSE: No. With all respect, again. I don't
 6
   usually say no to a Court quite so categorically, and I
 7
   apologize.
              THE COURT: I don't know why you don't more often.
 8
 9
             MR. BOMSE: Well, Your Honor, the -- the Ninth
   Circuit issued an opinion in this case.
10
11
              THE COURT: Two opinions.
             MR. BOMSE: Well, the opinion which is now operative,
12
13
   as we understand it, is the January 4 opinion. That opinion
    recognized, in quite sweeping language, a very broad First
14
15
   Amendment associational privilege for campaign speech.
              THE COURT: Confined to a narrow group of people.
16
             MR. BOMSE: We need to come to that. Defined in
17
   footnote -- limited in Footnote 12, in a small way.
18
19
              THE COURT: And appropriately so.
                                                 This is a
2.0
   political campaign.
21
             MR. BOMSE: If the footnote is properly read, I agree
22
   with the Court. But I don't believe Magistrate Judge Spero
23
   read it properly at all.
24
              THE COURT: Okay. How did he misread it?
25
             MR. BOMSE: He misread it because he seized upon a
```

phrase appearing in a paragraph in that footnote which refers to a core group. But that's not the entirety of that paragraph, at all.

What that paragraph is about is that, to be privileged, communications must be among the core group of people involved in strategy and messaging. But then he --

THE COURT: You're talking about Footnote 12?

MR. BOMSE: I'm sorry?

THE COURT: You're talking about Footnote 12?

MR. BOMSE: I'm talking about Footnote 12.

THE COURT: All right. I have it.

MR. BOMSE: But then that footnote, in the same paragraph, then goes on to say, in the immediately ensuing sentence, the Court remanded to this Court because this Court is best acquainted with the structure of the Yes On 8 campaign, and, thus, can determine who -- and here I quote, should be included in the core group -- and the next words are the key -- "in light of the First Amendment associational interests the privilege intended to protect."

Now, I think that is without attempting to define -- this is, after all, a footnote -- with any greater specificity a rather clear statement of what was expected to be done.

That is, what was expected to be done was to figure out from the text of the 35 pages that have preceded it -- at

least in the slip opinion version -- what are the First Amendment associational interests that the privilege that 2 3 the Court has just been defining in the text is intended to 4 protect? 5 And that's how you get to what the core group is. 6 That's not, however, how Magistrate Judge Spero did it. 7 applied what I have -- what we have described as a talismanic type of test. Or, if you will, he has taken a compass and he 8 has drawn a circle with certain dimensions; and you are either

That's the wrong way to go about it, as a matter of law. You go about it, as I think the Ninth Circuit made clear in Footnote 12, in a functional sense. That is, what is it we're trying to do here?

What we're trying to do here is protect the ability of campaigns not to be chilled, the right of people to associate for a common purpose.

THE COURT: Who -- and I'm asking for a name or a group of names. Who did you request be included in the core group that Magistrate Spero left out?

MR. BOMSE: The groups that are essentially defined in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Kors supplemental declaration.

Those are the Equality for All campaign members.

**THE COURT:** 6 and 7?

inside or you're outside.

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

2.0

21

22

23

24

25

MR. BOMSE: Of the Kors supplemental declaration,

document 609.

2.0

THE COURT: All right.

Now, if I'm reading this correctly, these are not individuals associated with your client or with the Equality for California group. These are individuals who have an association with some other organization, or are just individuals. Is that correct?

MR. BOMSE: These are people who are involved with Equality California. You're quite correct. That I haven't looked through to be sure that is a hundred percent true, but certainly that is, for the most part, the case that these were people with Equality for All.

Now, unless one takes what we have called the silo approach to the definition of privilege -- which I suggest is entirely inconsistent with the body of the Ninth Circuit's opinion as well as with Footnote 12 in the Ninth Circuit's opinion -- you cannot draw the line that Magistrate Judge Spero has drawn.

And, in fact, I think you can't do it reading most of his opinion, because he has said that, in his opinion -- I'm talking now about the opinion from which we now seek relief -- that he credits the declaration of Mr. Kors, at least the one filed on February 22nd. He says it specifically, and I'm happy to refer the Court to where he says it.

He then goes on, however, having done that -- because

what that ought to do is to get us what we asked for. This is his --2 THE COURT: 3 MR. BOMSE: His March 5th order then goes on to say, 4 at the bottom of page 10 and the top of page 11, that the 5 March 3 declaration identifies the individual campaign members 6 and staff, but makes no showing regarding those individuals' 7 roles in the Equality for California campaign. **THE COURT:** And that's true; is it not? 8 9 MR. BOMSE: Let's assume that it's true because it's close enough to true. But it misses the point. 10 THE COURT: Close enough to the truth? 11 MR. BOMSE: No. 12 13 THE COURT: Is that the standard we're applying, Mr. Bomse? 14 15 MR. BOMSE: No, no, no. What is the keyword there is the March 3rd declaration. Because what he misses is the 16 declaration that he earlier said he credited, which is document 17 598, the original Kors' declaration, in which, as we have 18 pointed out in our brief, we have described with I believe as 19 2.0 much detail as with respect to the groups that are included in 21 the core group, but the role of these particular groups were. 22 So I don't know if he was intending to be careful. Ι 23 don't know if he simply missed the point. But he did not say 24 and he could not say -- because it will not withstand 25 scrutiny -- that we have not, in document 598, discussed the

campaign staff and the campaign committee members. So, in that sense, he has simply erred. He has erred as an evidentiary matter and he has erred as a legal matter.

And the reason he's erred as a legal matter, Your Honor, is because when you look at Footnote 12 and you look at the paragraph that he focuses on in full, where it talks about things -- where it talks about the definition of a core group in light of the purposes for which the privilege exists, you cannot justify what he said. Now --

THE COURT: Footnote 12 says:

"Our holding is also limited to private internal communications regarding formulation of strategy and messages."

MR. BOMSE: Yes.

2.0

2.1

THE COURT: That's italicized.

"It certainly does not apply to documents or messages conveyed to the electorate at large, discrete groups of voters, or individual voters, for purposes such as persuasion, recruitment or motivation, activities beyond the formulation of strategy and messaging.

Similarly, communication soliciting actual support from actual or potential Proposition 8 supporters are unrelated to the formulation of strategies and messages. The District

Court may require the parties to redact the names of individuals with respect to these sorts of communications, but the content of such communications are not privileged."

That's pretty clear.

MR. BOMSE: I guess -- I guess this is my day to be irreverent.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

MR. BOMSE: But, the paragraph you just read from is a paragraph to which we take no objection. If the order is limited to documents involving persuasion, recruitment, or motivation, or subjects other than strategy and messaging, we will be content with that, at least as far as privilege is concerned.

Now, we --

THE COURT: And what is there that you have shown that any of the individuals mentioned in paragraph 6 and 7 of the Kors supplemental declaration do not fall within these kind of communications that are referred to in the third paragraph of Footnote 12?

MR. BOMSE: Your Honor, I'm sorry, I believe the Court is confusing "what" with "who." Our concern is not with a limitation based upon what. That is, if there are, in fact, documents that involve these subjects --

THE COURT: And communications with these kinds of

individuals.

2.0

MR. BOMSE: No. I -- the two -- the two are entirely different. One has to do with who is involved in the function of strategy and messaging. And that's what we're seeking to protect. And that's actually all that the proponents are seeking to get from us.

So, I mean, if -- if we can -- if we can agree here that documents not involving strategy and messaging need not be produced, well, then, maybe we don't have a problem. Except that then I wonder, really, why we're bothering.

But I think that to try to take a sentence -- or, actually, it's not a sentence, it's a phrase "core group," that we are then told how to define in a particular way, that is, in light of the First Amendment associational interest the privilege is entitled to protect, then we have a coherent document that we have no problem with.

But, I mean, I -- I have here -- and I don't want to burden the Court with it unnecessarily, but I have here a list of quotations from the Ninth Circuit's opinion which are referenced here. That is:

"In light of the First Amendment associational interests the privilege is intended to protect."

"The freedom to associate with others for the common advancement of political beliefs and ideas lies at the heart of the First Amendment."

"There must be a right not only to form political associations, but to organize and direct them in the way that will make them most effective."

2.0

And we have explained -- Mr. Kors has explained in his original declaration exactly what that was. I could go on and on.

THE COURT: The trouble with your very expansive argument, Mr. Bomse, is that it throws a blanket privilege over political speech. And political speech is inherently not private. It's public.

MR. BOMSE: And, of course, all of the public documents were produced voluntarily. We are now talking about documents that were not public, at least not in the sense that we believe either the Court's definition of relevance in the case or anything else.

But the fact that you -- that a privilege --

THE COURT: And, furthermore, you're contending that communications between the individuals that the Magistrate found in the core group and the individuals in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Kors supplemental declaration are the kinds of private, internal communications regarding formulation of strategy and messaging that the Ninth Circuit has indicated should be protected.

MR. BOMSE: That is my contention, yes.

THE COURT: And you're telling me that a

communication between the core group, as found by the Magistrate, and individuals who are with organizations such as the Business Council, such as the Black AIDS Institute, the Stonewall Democrats, the various and sundry groups that are referred to here in these paragraphs 6 and 7, fall within the definition of a private internal communication.

2.0

That simply strains credulity, to suggest that these kinds of outreach efforts by the core group, as defined by the Magistrate, would fall within this internal private communication definition that the Ninth Circuit has referred to.

MR. BOMSE: Well, then, I suppose, Your Honor, I am asking you to strain credulity, because that is, in fact, precisely my position.

It is my position that individuals with various organizations -- that you read, and you could read many more -- came together for the common advancement -- and here I quote -- of political beliefs and ideas. And that is exactly what is protected by the First Amendment.

People with different organizations perform different roles in a campaign. It was the source of my attempt to illustrate in a somewhat fanciful way the idea of some -- of General Eisenhower communicating with people low down his staff about certain aspects of the D-Day invasion, or communicating with the British about certain aspects of that.

There are reasons why people have communications
within a campaign. They may be very discreet. They may be
related to a particular group of voters. And there is an
expectation that those kinds of things are done for the common
advancement of a political principle.

THE COURT: But the difficulty I have with your
argument is, you haven't provided any indication of where this

And in a political campaign, especially when the Court of Appeals has told us that the privilege you're relying upon is a limited one, you've got to provide some coherent definition of where the limits of this privilege are. That, you haven't done.

MR. BOMSE: The limits --

THE COURT: That, it seems to me, you must do in order to show that the Magistrate is clearly erroneous.

MR. BOMSE: The limits are the limits of "what." The limits are not the limits of "who," except insofar as these are people who did not have the function of being involved in strategy and messaging.

I am --

privilege ends.

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

2.0

THE COURT: And what --

MR. BOMSE: I am not --

**THE COURT:** Go ahead.

MR. BOMSE: It is not my intention to back down from

21

22

23

2425

the proposition that those who are involved in strategy and messaging, which the Kors declaration and the record shows included the people we are talking about, that those people's communications about the subject of strategy and messaging are subject to a First Amendment privilege.

2.0

One need not achieve a particular title. One must achieve or be involved in a particular function. And where the Magistrate Judge erred, as a matter of law, in our opinion, is in attempting to define, by reference to "who," where the whos that he has excluded, were people whom the record shows were involved in strategy and messaging.

And I do -- and I do give you -- whether you credit it or not, a principled basis for limiting the privilege. And it's the next paragraph that you read.

If there are communications about subjects other than strategy and messaging, then we do not claim that there is necessarily a First Amendment privilege.

**THE COURT:** The next paragraph?

MR. BOMSE: Paragraph talking about purposes such as persuasion, recruitment, or motivation, activities beyond the formulation of strategy and messaging.

What we are saying to you --

THE COURT: Wait a minute. The language is, "It" -meaning the privilege -- "certainly does not apply to documents
or messages conveyed to the electorate at large, discreet

groups of voters, or individual voters for purposes such as persuasion, recruitment, or motivation." 2 3 MR. BOMSE: Yes. And we --4 (Simultaneous colloquy.) 5 THE COURT: ... groups of voters. And, it seems to 6 me that the individuals mentioned in paragraphs 6 and 7 fall 7 clearly within the discreet groups of voters that the Ninth Circuit was referring to. 8 9 And, in any event, it's very hard to see how the Magistrate's interpretation of paragraphs 6 and 7 in that 10 11 regard is clearly erroneous. MR. BOMSE: Well, it's -- it's clear error because it 12 13 applies an incorrect legal standard. This is not a -- if -- if the Court credits our 14 15 position that one must look at this functionally rather than formally or talismanically or by drawing a circle with a 16 17 compass, then you get to this paragraph here, and you get to an 18 appropriate limit. THE COURT: And "this paragraph here" is which 19 20 paragraph? MR. BOMSE: The paragraph begins, "Our holding is 21 also limited." 22 The problem with the order is that the Magistrate 23 Judge reads the words "core group" without -- as having some 24 25 kind of magic or mantra-like significance, rather than reading

the whole paragraph and rather than reading it in connection with the opinion as a whole. And that is, with all respect, a mistake.

2.0

THE COURT: I understand your position. Just let me try one more time.

Other than burden, what is the prejudice to your client of complying with the Magistrate's order?

MR. BOMSE: That our constitutional rights will be infringed; that the privilege, as defined by the Ninth Circuit's January 4 opinion, will be rendered nugatory. That is the fundamental and overwhelming harm that's here, far more than the mere question of burden, as pertinent as we believe that is.

And that -- that, above all, is why we are here and why we are very reluctantly finding ourselves in the position of doing something that I fear will give aid and comfort to the proponents here, which is the last thing we want to do.

But this is a critical matter, as far as we're concerned. It's why -- it's why we joined with them in the Ninth Circuit, to begin with.

THE COURT: What political speech is going to be chilled? What political speech has been chilled?

MR. BOMSE: Well, nothing has been chilled in the sense that before this issue arose that campaign was done. But I believe, actually, the Ninth Circuit, in its opinion, used

the notion that it was self-evident that there would be 2 chilling. And we have, in fact, included material talking about 3 4 how people are going to conduct campaigns in the future; that 5 they are going to be concerned: 6 Am I in the core group? 7 Is this a communication that I cannot be confident will be kept private? 8 9 If I associate with people in another group will we, therefore, lose privilege for our communications? 10 11 If I decide that I need to talk to somebody whose position is to try and influence students at Stanford or 12 13 influence people of Hispanic background on an issue? 14 This is as core, Your Honor, as it gets, in terms of 15 political speech. And the Ninth Circuit agreed with us. And the fact that they suggested that there was a limit, which 16 properly understood we have no problem with, but as applied by 17 Magistrate Judge Spero we find completely unsustainable as a 18 19 matter of law. 2.0 THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Mr. Bomse. 2.1 Anybody else wish to speak on that side? Ms. Whittemore? 22 23 MS. WHITTEMORE: Yes. 24 **THE COURT:** Do you wish to add anything? 25 MS. WHITTEMORE: Thank you, Your Honor.

Whittemore for Equality California. 2 If I could try to provide some more background on the 3 Equality for All campaign and how it was organized, to try to help get past this impasse of why the people in paragraphs 6 and 7 were actually participants in the formation of strategy 6 and messaging for the campaign, and weren't simply a vehicle to 7 provide outreach to discreet groups of voters. THE COURT: Okay. What can you show in that regard? 8 9 MS. WHITTEMORE: In the original Geoff Kors declaration, which was filed on February 22nd --10 11 THE COURT: Let me get that. What's the document number on that? 12 13 MS. WHITTEMORE: I'm afraid the copy I have doesn't have the document number on it. 14 15 MR. BOMSE: What do you need? MS. WHITTEMORE: The original Kors declaration. 16 17 MR. BOMSE: 598. 18 MS. WHITTEMORE: It's 598. THE COURT: 598. All right. Hold on a second. 19 All 2.0 right. That was filed when? 21 MS. WHITTEMORE: February 22nd. 22 THE COURT: All right. I have it. 598. 23 MS. WHITTEMORE: Yes. Starting on paragraph 5, we 24 describe the structure of the Equality for All campaign. 25 reason we did this was, Mr. Kors was a member of the executive

committee of the Equality for All campaign and, therefore, many of his e-mails go directly to Equality for All campaign members as opposed to simply Equality California staff and volunteers.

So we made the effort to describe the Equality for All campaign, in an effort to enlarge the core group. And Equality for All existed before the Prop 8 campaign. But once Prop 8 qualified for the ballot, it ramped up, in an effort to defeat the proposition, and did so by gathering a coalition of, ultimately, over 100 organizations to participate in a statewide campaign against Prop 8. And it was the main umbrella organization that served to campaign against Proposition 8.

Equality California, ACLU, many other organizations were part of the campaign, both as individuals and as representatives of their organization.

In paragraph 7 we describe the role of the executive committee. That's not an issue here because Judge Spero accepted the executive committee as being members of the core group.

In paragraphs 8 and 9, we describe the role of the executive committee -- I mean, the campaign committee, pardon me, and the campaign staff.

The campaign committee actually ratified decisions made by the executive committee, and met monthly in person or over conference calls. And as the election approached, they

met weekly.

2.0

And the campaign staff, of course, which was paid either by the Equality for All organization or by the member organizations, were responsible for working with the campaign committee and the executive committee to formulate the strategies and deal with the logistics of getting the messaging out to the voters.

And if you'll turn to paragraph 13, you'll see a more detailed -- on page 4, a more detailed explanation of the types of roles members of the campaign committee played.

The campaign committee members did not simply receive strategy and messaging from the executive committee, and deliver those to discreet groups of voters. If that was their only function, then, yes, under the -- under Footnote 12, they would not be members of the core group. However, they did play a role in formulating strategy and messaging in such a way as to more appropriately target discreet voter groups.

And to say that the development of generic statewide strategy and messaging should be privileged over the formulation of strategy and messaging targeting discreet voter groups seems, to me, to be a wrong way to approach protecting the First Amendment associational right.

And, also, the campaign staff was involved in formulating specific strategy and messaging for specific groups. They also played a role in delivering that messaging.

\_

And we're not arguing that e-mails in which staff members or campaign committee members sent messages to volunteers should be privileged. Of course, those aren't privileged. That is the role of taking the strategy and messaging from within the organization and delivering it out.

But, we're saying that the campaign committee and the staff played a role in the formulation of strategy and messaging. They weren't simply message carriers to the discrete voter groups.

And on the issue of Footnote 12 --

THE COURT: But these groups are embraced, are they not, within the core group as defined by the Magistrate?

I'm looking at his order on pages 11 and 12. And it's a very expansive list of individuals and consultants.

MS. WHITTEMORE: Yes. That is --

THE COURT: He quite carefully went through all of these individuals, all of these organizations, and made a reasoned determination whether they fell within the core group or did not. And so what I'm struggling to understand is how the Magistrate went off the rails and committed clear error in making these determinations.

MS. WHITTEMORE: Because he failed to recognize that the campaign committee and the campaign staff still played a role in formulating strategy and messaging that wasn't simply the executive committee and the consultants hired by the

campaign. 2 THE COURT: But the consultants, or at least some of the consultants, are embraced within the definition of the core 3 4 group as found by the Magistrate. MS. WHITTEMORE: Yes. And we have absolutely no 5 6 argument with that. Our argument is that the exclusion of the 7 members of the campaign committee and the campaign staff is clear error. Because to say that they played no role, 8 whatsoever, in the formulation of campaign strategy and messaging is simply wrong. 10 11 THE COURT: Well, it's not a question of "no role whatever, " as you read the instructions from the Ninth Circuit. 12 13 It is an internal communication. And an organization that is communicated with, that is outside that which organized the 14 15 campaign, is not an internal communication. 16 MS. WHITTEMORE: But it's internal to the Equality 17 for All campaign. 18 THE COURT: Let me ask you the question that I asked 19 Mr. Bomse. 2.0 What are the limits? What's a rational definition that would allow one to decide how far this privilege extends 21 22 or how narrow the privilege is?

MS. WHITTEMORE: Well, I think --

THE COURT: You can't have -- particularly when

you're talking about a political campaign and a privilege that

23

24

25

applies to a political campaign, you have to have a pretty definite notion of where the boundaries of this privilege are.

2.0

MS. WHITTEMORE: Yes. I -- I agree. We -- we need to be able to draw lines.

However, I think it would be illustrative to look at the case that the Ninth Circuit cited in their famous Footnote 12, In Re: Motor Fuel Temperature Sales Practices Litigation.

In that case, the Court was addressing whether or not trade associations could protect their internal communications under the First Amendment.

And the Court found that individual trade associations could do so, but communications between trade associations were not privileged. And I would put to the Court that the Equality for All campaign was essentially a trade association.

One of the associations in the Motor Fuel case is the National Association of Truck Stop Operators, which is made up of more than 240 corporate entities. Requiring that any communications between those corporate entities not be protected by the First Amendment privilege would destroy the entire purpose of having a trade association.

Here, while the political campaign is limited by time, the purpose is essentially the same; coming together, forming an organization to better represent the interests of the group.

Here the campaign committee members, certainly the campaign staff, were people who came together for a very specific purpose and participated in all the associational interests that comes with being engaged in a political campaign.

So we were able to identify the members of the campaign committee. We were able to identify the staff. Any communications between the executive committee and the campaign staff were internal communications.

THE COURT: But does this campaign committee, as you've described it, have any purpose or existence outside the Proposition 8 campaign?

MS. WHITTEMORE: No.

2.0

THE COURT: And isn't that the distinction which was drawn in the Motor Fuel Sales Practices Litigation, and which, evidently, the Ninth Circuit had in mind at the time it formulated the definition that it included in Footnote Number 12?

MS. WHITTEMORE: Well, the -- the --

THE COURT: That is to say, if -- if the campaign is defined by Proposition 8 alone, then the communication amongst the individuals and groups in that campaign group cannot fit the definition of a private internal communication.

MS. WHITTEMORE: I disagree with the Court because the Equality for All campaign was formed for a brief period,

for one particular purpose which has now passed.

2.0

But that does not take away the fact that people, individuals and representative of organizations, formed a coherent group and engaged in communications within that coherent group for the purpose of defeating Proposition 8.

Within that coherent group, they formulated their strategy, their messaging. And then the individual members took those messages out to the various counties and groups in the state.

However, communications within that coherent group were private, internal campaign communications. While they were between individuals of different organizations that have separate existences beyond the campaign is true. But that does not require that they could not be part of a temporary trade association, as it were.

If I may make one point on the issue of prejudice.

On February 22nd, Elizabeth Gill submitted a declaration which addressed the prejudice that the ACLU would suffer. And on February 24th, Equality California submitted a declaration from James Carroll, regarding the chilling effect that would be suffered by Equality California if the members who participated in the campaign had been aware that their communications might be discoverable.

We included a exhibit to that declaration, a letter that was sent to one of the donors to Equality California. Not

a donor to the campaign in particular, but simply a donor to

Equality California, from protectmarriage.com, which asked for

a donation to the Yes On 8 campaign in the same amount as the

donation that was made to Equality California.

And we pointed out that as more information about the people who participated in the campaign comes to light, more people might be at risk of these types of communications, which will have an effect on our ability to raise funds in the future.

THE COURT: Very well, Ms. Whittemore. Anything further?

MS. WHITTEMORE: No, Your Honor.

2.0

THE COURT: All right. Mr. -- I wonder, before I turn to Mr. Panuccio, Mr. Dusseault, do you have anything you wish to contribute on this?

MR. DUSSEAULT: Your Honor, I do, very briefly. And not on either side of this particular matter, so if you would rather I wait until the end, I would be happy to.

THE COURT: All right. If you're not going to weigh in on the subject we're discussing then maybe I'll let you defer.

MR. DUSSEAULT: Well, I can make clear, we have not taken any position as to whether these documents should be produced or as to the objections.

We do have some very significant concerns about the

timing of this production. I'm happy to address that now or later. 2 3 THE COURT: All right. Let's come to that after I 4 talk to Mr. Panuccio, because that also is on my mind. 5 Now, let's begin right there, Mr. Panuccio. 6 trial is over. Why are we doing this? 7 MR. PANUCCIO: Well, if Your Honor will recall, at the sort of close of the January phase of the trial, 8 Mr. Thompson said that, while this motion was still pending the defendant-interveners could not rest their case, and asked 10 for -- you know, we put in this motion at the beginning of the 11 proceedings and asked for expedited resolution. Wasn't 12 13 granted. So, you know -- and what did not -- no resolution 14 15 occurred throughout the January phase of the trial. So we had no choice but to reserve the right to get these documents, look 16 17 at them, and --THE COURT: Okay. I don't think anybody is 18 criticizing the proponents with regard to the timing. So I 19 2.0 don't think that's an issue. At least, that's certainly not on

But picking up on something Mr. Bomse said, what's the relevance of all of this? One, what do you expect to find in these documents? Two, how is this likely to lead to admissible evidence? Three, if you do come up with evidence

21

22

23

24

25

my mind.

that you think is admissible, how are you going to get it in?

Are you going to call more witnesses? Are you going to reopen

the evidence? What's ahead of us?

2.0

MR. PANUCCIO: Okay. I'll start with, your first question, I believe, was: What do we expect to find? And here I would refer the Court back to the orders that -- of this Court, that defined the scope of what it would be looking at in deciding this case.

And one of the things the Court said in its

October 1st order was that the mix of information before and

available to voters forms a legislative history that may permit

the Court to discern whether the legislative intent of an

initiative measure was a discriminatory motive. And I'm

(inaudible) some of the middle of that quotation, but I don't

think I'm changing the meaning.

So if that is the inquiry the Court is going to take, we think it's only natural that if you look at a legislative history, you look at both sides.

Right now, we have a very lopsided record, where there's only one -- only one side has been required to produce this legislative history, and the entire other side of the legislative history is missing.

Equality California and the ACLU who are all, for short, say, the No On 8 objectors, the No On 8 objectors say that, well, yes, all of the proponents' documents are relevant,

but none of our documents are relevant.

2.0

THE COURT: There is some logic to that; isn't there?

After all, you folks are the ones who are seeking to change the constitution of the State of California. The objectors are not seeking to change -- to enact anything in the law or into the constitution.

And so isn't it fair to look at the materials of the proponents to determine if the objective of the proposition that they are sponsoring complies with a legitimate and substantial state interest?

MR. PANUCCIO: Well, I believe one of the inquires that the plaintiffs have identified and that the Court has credited is, is there a discriminatory intent of the voters? And the Court has said the Court will look at the legislative history to determine that.

I do not think it is possible to say or credible to say that a voter who votes in favor of an issue or a candidate looks only at the things that were said on -- in support of that issue or that that candidate said.

For instance, I would wager that at least some members of Equality California voted for then Candidate Obama for president. Now, Candidate Obama came out against the legalization of same-sex marriage. Does that mean that every person from Equality California who voted for Candidate Obama, at the time, for president had shared his intent because he

made those statements? No.

2.0

A voter for president would look at the variety of arguments and the cacophony of voices in a presidential campaign and balance it. And it's the same thing here.

There were a lot of things being said about

Proposition 8 at the time it was before the electorate. And

any reasonable voter is going to look at arguments on both

sides. Sometimes the No On 8 campaign might have made a

credible argument that would cancel out one of the arguments in

favor.

THE COURT: What are you expecting to find? Let's assume you find the smoking gun document out of the Equality California group or the ACLU. What would that document look like?

MR. PANUCCIO: I don't know what a single smoking gun. I think we might find a variety of documents that shed light on the issues that this Court has said it would look at, and the manner in which it would look at them.

So, for instance, we might find documents that say we need to respond to this argument or that argument because it's legitimate and voters might well credit that.

We might find documents that talk about the religious influence in the campaign and how the voters might be swayed by that.

We might find documents that, separate and apart from

voter intent, talk about political power, another issue in this case.

2.0

Without seeing the documents, I can't say, well, there's this smoking gun out there. And neither could the plaintiffs, by the way, when they were pursuing these documents from us.

They were pursuing discovery to see if they could find relevant evidence. And certain rules were laid down by the Court for how that could go forward. And we're suggesting that should be applied here.

THE COURT: Are you suggesting that the kind of thing that you are after is a document or evidence that suggests that the proponents of Proposition 8 had a legitimate argument in support of the proposition, and it is an admission of some kind on the part of the opponents that their internal documents show that kind of admission? Is that what you're after?

MR. PANUCCIO: I don't know that we would call it an admission, if Your Honor is referring to the Federal Rules of Evidence and to admission because, of course, these third parties are not parties to the case.

However, there may well be documents that are probative of what the conceivable legislative intent of the voters was when they enacted this initiative. And that may be crediting arguments from the other side.

It may be that we find documents that show that

voters were turned off by certain No On 8 messages. And so, therefore, we can say, well, maybe they just voted in reaction to those messages. We don't know exactly what --

2.0

THE COURT: You mean that the "No" folks ran a lousy campaign, and that's the reason that the proposition passed?

MR. PANUCCIO: I don't know that it has to be that it's a lousy campaign. It could be that certain ads were so volatile or so offensive that certain voters said, "I take exception to that, and I'm going to vote on this side of the issue."

I mean, the inquiry here is a difficult one -- and we have said that from the outset -- trying to find voter intent from a cacophony of voices. And we have objected to that inquiry. But it's being undertaken, so we need to try to litigate the case as best we can within that framework. And we have no record, because these parties have refused to produce. We have not been able to counterbalance anything on our side of the case.

THE COURT: Mr. Bomse tells me that the light is not worth the candle here. That is to say that, the cost of imposing this discovery on the objectors is not going to turn up evidence that will have any material bearing on the outcome of the case.

Tell me what evidence you think will have a material bearing on the outcome of the case, that you can obtain through

this discovery. MR. PANUCCIO: Well, again, I would refer back to 2 3 what I just submitted to the Court, which is, we believe that, just as proponents' internal documents about strategy and 5 messaging might be relevant under this Court's orders to what 6 the voters thought when they went to the ballot box in November 7 of 2008 --THE COURT: Which their internal communications with 8 regard to strategy and messaging will be protected under the 10 Ninth Circuit's definition of the privilege. MR. PANUCCIO: To the extent --11 THE COURT: Their internal communications. 12 13 MR. PANUCCIO: To the extent -- I don't know that the Ninth Circuit's opinion and the word "internal" are 14 15 concentric -- are -- occupy exactly the same sphere. But, yes, to the extent they have documents that fall 16 within the definition of the core group, those would be 17 18 protected. To the extent they have documents that fall outside 19 of that, just as we had thousands of documents that fall 2.0 21 outside of that, they would not be protected. 22 So -- well. Sorry. Is there something else? 23 THE COURT: Well, you were answering what you expect to find. 24 25 MR. PANUCCIO: Well, and so I would rest on what I've

already just submitted. I think I've marched through, already, what I think we would find, which is the types of information this Court has identified are part of the legislative history of this constitutional amendment.

2.0

THE COURT: Okay. Then before we go on to the next point, why isn't it fair that the proponents of the initiative should bear a greater burden of this kind of discovery than those who are opponents of the proposition? After all, your folks wanted to change the law, to change the constitution in the state.

MR. PANUCCIO: Well, if the submission is that citizens who desire legislative and political change, therefore, have to pay a cost for that change in litigation simply because they desired that, I would say that there are First Amendment implications of that --

THE COURT: No one is paying the cost. It's simply that they are subject to a level of scrutiny that those who are opposed to the proposition -- which would not affect any change in the law -- would not be subject to.

MR. PANUCCIO: The Court has said it was the mix of information before and available -- this issue has been decided already, I submit. The Court has said it was the mix of information before and available to voters.

THE COURT: Was that decided by the Ninth Circuit, or was that decided here?

MR. PANUCCIO: That was decided here, and that the Court has said the Ninth Circuit affirmed those relevance rulings.

2.0

And, the January 8th order from Judge Spero, which was then affirmed later by this Court, later in January, said documents that contained arguments for or against Proposition 8.

Well, that really can't make a great deal of sense, if it's only confined to the proponents' documents. I assume they would mostly have arguments in favor or for Proposition 8, and not arguments against Proposition 8.

But the Court has said documents containing both arguments are relevant to this legislative history, this record that needs to be built to decide this issue.

So on the burden issue, it seems to me that if the Court needs to undertake that kind of inquiry, both sides engaged in a very expensive campaign.

In fact, the No On 8 groups outspent the Yes On 8 groups in this campaign. So the notion that, well, they lost at the ballot box, so they have to bear no costs when the Court wants to look at the information before and available to the electorate, I think, does not -- would only serve to then chill those who want to go to the ballot, who want political change through the referendum processes.

THE COURT: And that, you contend, is an unfair

allocation of these costs? 2 MR. PANUCCIO: I would agree with that, Your Honor. 3 And, also -- well, I'll just stand on that. I would agree with 4 that, Your Honor. 5 THE COURT: All right. 6 Now, let's assume you come up with something that you 7 think is relevant. What are you going to do with it? MR. PANUCCIO: Well, I believe at the end of trial 8 there was a process by which many documents were moved in en masse through a stipulation with plaintiffs. So, of course, 10 11 the first thing we need to do is get the production and have some time to review it. 12 13 After we've reviewed it, any documents that we felt needed to -- that we want to put into the record, we would see 14 15 if we could work something out with the plaintiffs on getting those in in a manner that was similar to the way in which 16 documents were submitted throughout the trial and especially at 17 the close of the trial. 18 Another possibility is that --19 2.0 THE COURT: Let's assume Mr. Dusseault objects to 21 this process. 22 MR. PANUCCIO: We would certainly, in that case, have 23 to bring the dispute to the Court and make our case as to 24 why --

THE COURT: And how would you do that?

25

MR. PANUCCIO: Well, I suppose, a motion would be the appropriate vehicle.

THE COURT: A motion to reopen, I would imagine?

2.0

MR. PANUCCIO: Well, I mean, the defendant-intervenors did not rest their case. And that was with the Court's permission.

I believe that was in the January 25th transcript.

And the Court -- Mr. Thompson said, Having not received these documents, we cannot rest our case. And the Court said, Very well, I've ordered the No On 8 parties to respond to your motion, and then a few days later referred it to the Magistrate.

THE COURT: Why shouldn't I ask you to make a proffer with respect to what it is you believe that you'll be able to show with respect to the discovery that you're pursuing?

MR. PANUCCIO: Well, first of all, we haven't received any of the discovery. So you would be asking defendant-intervenors to make a proffer in the dark about what it is they would receive.

What we would say is, everything that the plaintiffs said that they could show through our -- through the proponents -- the documents that they wanted from the proponents, the documents from the No On 8 groups could be relevant to those questions for disproving some of the points advanced by the plaintiffs, for advancing some of the rational

bases and other arguments that have been advanced by the proponents.

THE COURT: Well, given the posture of the case presently, why is it unfair to require the proponents to make a proffer of what it is they expect to be able to prove once this discovery has been completed?

MR. PANUCCIO: Well, I would say it's -- there are two reasons why that wouldn't be a proper procedure, at this point.

The first is, I believe our papers submitted in the motion and then throughout this process have shown the types of -- have pointed in the Court's orders to the types of inquires that these documents may be relevant to. We can't say more about a specific document because we haven't had a single one.

Two --

2.0

THE COURT: Well, you know, you don't undertake discovery without an idea of what it is you hope to find.

MR. PANUCCIO: We hope to find the information that was before and available to the electorate.

THE COURT: And sometimes you find it and sometimes you don't find it.

MR. PANUCCIO: I believe --

THE COURT: But is it unfair or inappropriate for the Court to require you, at this time, to make a proffer of what

it is you expect this discovery will substantiate? 2 MR. PANUCCIO: I think it is proper for the Court to 3 impose on the proponents the same burden that were imposed on the plaintiffs when they sought this material. That's point 5 one. Point two is that --6 THE COURT: And what was that? 7 MR. PANUCCIO: Was that they submitted -- we had the motion back in September, our motion, the proponents' motion 8 for a protective order. 10 THE COURT: Right. MR. PANUCCIO: The plaintiffs submitted their 11 response to that, and their document requests were before the 12 13 Court. And they said that these documents, we think, will be relevant to, among other things, legislative intent, rational 14 15 bases, political power. They listed all the issues in the case. And we would make the same proffer. 16 17 The second point is --18 **THE COURT:** And have you done so? 19 MR. PANUCCIO: I believe that we have, in our papers. 2.0 **THE COURT:** Where? MR. PANUCCIO: I believe our initial motion, our 2.1 22 reply in support of the motion, and our papers before this 23 court that were filed last evening. 24 Beyond that, I would just note for the Court the

posture as you -- as the Court noted at the outset with

25

Mr. Bomse. The posture is, did Magistrate Spero clearly err? 2 And they have brought certain objections. Asking us 3 to proffer -- the failure to ask us to proffer is not one of the objections those parties have brought before this Court, 5 asking for it to be corrected. So, I don't think it would be 6 proper. 7 THE COURT: That is true. Although, Mr. Bomse spent a good deal of time saying that this discovery is not worth a 8 hill of beans, much less the costs and burden that it's going

MR. PANUCCIO: I would say that the nub of that argument is the nub of the argument we advanced in August and September and all the way throughout to the Ninth Circuit.

That's what this is really about.

to cast on the objectors.

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

2.0

21

22

23

24

25

I think that the No On 8 objectors full well know that this type of discovery is objectionable not only on privilege grounds but on relevance grounds. But, we litigated that, and we lost.

So, as I say, we have to build the record that the Court has asked for. And we're just asking for the opportunity to build that record.

THE COURT: Well, I don't know that you have to. You raised that argument. You lost.

Now, you're saying, well, we lost so, therefore, the objectors should lose. But if you really stick by your guns,

you'll say, well, we lost, but all of this discovery is 2 irrelevant anyway; couldn't possibly amount to anything that 3 could be probative of any of the issues in the case. 4 So why don't you just stick by your guns? 5 MR. PANUCCIO: Well, because one court has told us we 6 are wrong on that. And I think it would be irresponsible 7 lawyering not to build the record in case higher courts tell us (inaudible) on that, as well, and want to look at this record. 8 9 So, you know, we are here in the trial court now. need to build the record that may or may not persist all the 10 way through the case, however high it goes. 11 If I may turn -- if Your Honor is satisfied on the 12 13 burden of relevance point --THE COURT: I don't know about that, but you may 14 certainly turn to the next issue. 15 16 MR. PANUCCIO: Were there more questions the Court 17 had on those issues? I'm happy to --18 **THE COURT:** Go ahead. MR. PANUCCIO: Very quickly, on privilege. 19 2.0 As Mr. Bomse points out, we are sympathetic to some 21 of the First Amendment arguments. So sympathetic, in fact, 22 that Your Honor heard me read the exact same list of quotations 23 from the Ninth Circuit on December 16th, and then I read them 24 to Magistrate Judge Spero. And I've made all these arguments,

but they have been rejected. So, again, I would just say that

25

we have to litigate based on the rules that have been established.

2.0

There's one other issue. They do pose an objection to disclosure of these documents. They want it limited to certain lawyers in a very constraining way.

I would say it's somewhat ironic, because one of the people -- Mr. Herrera is part of these groups that have to disclose documents. And when we raised the same objection with respect to certain people from the City that were on No On 8 campaigns, they called it insulting.

So I would say, it is no less insulting today to say that the lawyers representing proponents would be anything less than circumspect in their obligations with respect to this discovery.

The proponents also put in some objections last night. I will not rehash them all here. I think we can stand on our papers on most of them. I would just like to raise two, briefly, with the Court.

One is the privilege log issue. This Court said that if there was one thing that was crystal clear in the Ninth Circuit's opinion -- this is Footnote 1 of the Ninth Circuit's opinion -- is that you must submit a privilege log to maintain this privilege.

So there is a clear error of law in the -- at least one clear error of law in the opinion below. It is that a

```
party can in any way preserve its privilege without a privilege
   log, at least based upon the rulings that we have from the
 2
   Ninth Circuit and this Court.
 3
 4
             The other is, we would submit, we do not object to a
 5
   reasonable -- a use of a reasonable list of search terms --
 6
             THE COURT: A reasonable?
 7
             MR. PANUCCIO: List of search terms, excuse me, for
   culling through electronic documents.
8
 9
             THE COURT: Okay. Well, you -- the Magistrate gave
   you a list of search terms, didn't he?
10
11
             MR. PANUCCIO: Yes, the Magistrate did. And they
   were culled from a -- they are actually less than the search
12
   terms that were proposed. The No On 8 parties submitted a list
13
   of seven, and the Magistrate Judge eliminated one and gave us a
14
15
   list of six.
16
             THE COURT: That's on page --
17
             MR. PANUCCIO: You're asking me the page of the
   order?
18
19
             THE COURT: Yes.
             MR. PANUCCIO: Excuse me, for one second. I believe
20
21
   that is on Pacer page 13. It's the second to the last page of
   the order. It's --
22
23
             THE COURT: Yes. I beg your pardon. I got it.
24
   Well, you got six out of seven.
25
             MR. PANUCCIO: Well, we didn't. They got.
```

We never had a chance to put in any response to the search terms that they proposed. The order came out -- they put -- these search terms came in at -- well, Eastern time, near 3:00 in the morning, near midnight Pacific time, on Wednesday evening. The order came out midday on Friday.

So all we would submit is that to have a searching party -- the party that is searching for the documents submit the list of search terms without any response, and for the Court to unilaterally adopt them, we think, is error. And most courts that use search terms typically allow both parties to weigh in on that.

We don't object to --

2.0

THE COURT: Well, let me ask this. If there's anything in this discovery that is going to be pertinent to the issues in the case, are not those documents going to be flushed out by the six search terms that the Magistrate included in his order, his March 5th order?

MR. PANUCCIO: Well, all I can argue, based on that, is from logic, based on the terms, because I don't have their databases, of course, to run a test.

I can say that they submitted these terms after they ran tests for a week. So assuming they wanted to minimize the number of documents they had to produce, there is at least some suspicion that it would certainly cull out a certain number of documents.

But I would also point Your Honor to the terms. For instance, "Prop 8" and "Proposition 8." Now, there is no doubt that a lot of documents will mention those terms because, of course, the campaign was about that.

2.0

But in just thinking about, for instance, counsels' e-mails over the last six months, this is a trial about Prop 8. You tend to stop saying -- if everybody knows what the main subject matter is, you are not always going to repeat that word in every e-mail that you send.

So we think that these are very general terms, and they will pick up a number of e-mails. But there are some other specific terms that relate to specific issues in the case, that we think were not included here and might well pinpoint relevant documents.

THE COURT: Well, I would assume that if there is some particularly pertinent document that does not mention one of these six terms, that there will be a predecessor document that does. And you'll be able to say, well, wait a minute, there is obviously a follow-up. And you could pursue that in subsequent discovery.

That is, if there's an e-mail exchange that doesn't mention one of these six terms, that is particularly enlightening, I will bet you dollars to doughnuts that there is a predecessor e-mail exchange or document that does mention one of those terms; and you'd be able to follow the trail through.

MR. PANUCCIO: Two points on that, if I may.

**THE COURT:** Okay.

2.0

2.1

MR. PANUCCIO: One would be, other than the terms "Prop 8" and "Proposition 8," I'm not sure that the other -- the other terms may well capture relevant documents, but I'm not sure how often "Yes On 8" is going to turn up in these documents, or "protectmarriage.com."

I mean, they could have been reacting to any number of -- I don't think that most of their documents will contain the phrase "protectmarriage.com" in them. So I'm just not sure that I would accept the factual predicate to that.

Secondly --

THE COURT: Well, okay. But is it clearly wrong?

MR. PANUCCIO: I believe, based on the process that occurred -- which was a unilateral submission, with no chance for the proponents to propose any other terms -- I believe it was clearly wrong, yes, Your Honor.

A second point would be, in terms of the later discovery point, I think all parties are interested in not dragging out this process, as Your Honor alluded to a little bit earlier in asking me how we would go about this.

THE COURT: Correct.

MR. PANUCCIO: So I would just suggest, as a procedural -- we could nip that in the bud by just expanding this list somewhat and not having to go through that procedure.

With that, unless Your Honor has -- I'll just leave the other objections we have to the papers, if that's okay with the Court.

THE COURT: That's fine. Thank you, Mr. Panuccio.

MR. PANUCCIO: Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Now, Mr. Dusseault.

2.0

MR. DUSSEAULT: Yes. Thank you, Your Honor.

Your Honor, as I mentioned, our primary issue is one of timing. But there is one issue that Mr. Panuccio referenced, that I do want to highlight. It's the one issue on which we did submit papers to Magistrate Judge Spero.

Mr. Panuccio mentioned this issue of a lopsided record about the mix of information before voters, and the legislative history. And your Honor was asking questions about: What is this going to lead to? How important is it?

I do think it's very important to bear in mind that there really was a wealth of information available to the proponents about the mix of information from the No On 8 campaign, that they could have made part of the trial record if that was truly their strategy and approach.

There were many radio ads, many television ads, many print materials, many documents that were produced by the third parties before trial. My understanding is that there were, in fact, 300 documents from the third parties, that were put on the proponents' exhibit list, but only four that were

introduced.

2.0

So your Honor had asked: Does the fact that plaintiffs pursued and got this information really mean that they need to put it into the record?

I think the trial record makes clear that they made strategic decisions not to focus on a wealth of available

No On 8 material, for whatever reasons. We, in contrast, on the plaintiffs' side, put in a wealth of evidence about the messages that were before voters.

So I think it's a bit puzzling to me that the proponents are now taking the position that this, you know, legislative history and mix of information put in by both sides is critical, when they seem to have made a strategic decision not to do so with the information they had.

But the primary issue I did want to speak to is the matter of timing. And, as Your Honor is very well aware, one of the issues that we have been just emphasizing from the very beginning of this case is that we represent individuals in this case who are suffering daily irreparable harm.

When we originally came to this court seeking a preliminary injunction, this Court denied the preliminary injunction but said we can conduct a trial on the merits in an expedited case.

Both sides, proponents certainly included, the plaintiffs, and the Court, as well, worked really tirelessly to

handle this case in an expedited manner, that we really did all the fact discovery, all the expert discovery, and a trial in about five months.

2.0

We are now close to two months after the close of the evidence, and we're having this fight. And it's not clear to me where it will end; where it will end in terms of how long it will take to search these documents; where it might end in terms of Mr. Panuccio coming back --

THE COURT: Hasn't the Magistrate put a time limit?

MR. DUSSEAULT: The Magistrate, I believe, put a time limit of the end of the month for the production of the documents that he directed to be produced.

But our concern, certainly, with some of the issues that Mr. Panuccio is raising, for example, expanding the search terms, as I understand, the proponents are asking that the third parties search documents that don't refer to Prop 8, but use words like "election" and "vote" and "Obama."

I can only imagine that what we would then hear from the ACLU is: You want us to read every document that says

Obama? That will take us quite a bit of time.

We need a resolution to our clients' claims that they are suffering this harm. And we're now in a position where we're facing a lot of delay.

Now, Your Honor made a comment earlier that nobody faults the proponents in terms of -- or is suggesting that they

didn't act diligently. The one point I would make here is that the proponents made a strategic decision to handle this discovery in stages, to fight tooth and nail against the production of this material; and only when it came to the bitter end, which was during the trial, to then contact people who had been subpoenaed much earlier and say, okay, we've been telling you all along that you don't have to produce documents even though we subpoenaed them, that you could wait.

2.0

THE COURT: Well, the bitter end was on January 4, wasn't it, when the Ninth Circuit clarified its --

MR. DUSSEAULT: Well, it was, Your Honor. But the motion to compel, if I recall my hazy trial memory, was filed on Martin Luther King Day, or that weekend, when we were a week into trial.

THE COURT: All right. But that was, basically, a week after the Ninth Circuit had given us the guidance that --

MR. DUSSEAULT: Well, it was. It was, Your Honor.

And my only point is that the proponents certainly could have done this in tandem and said: We oppose the discovery that plaintiffs are seeking. But, if you, Chief Judge Walker or Ninth Circuit is going to compel us to produce, these third parties have to be compelled to produce.

They chose not to do that. I'm not saying that wasn't diligent. But I'm saying, as a result of that, we are now where we are, where we are almost two months after trial.

And we need to, I would submit, find some way to bring this to closure, both in terms of a speedy and readily-resolved production. I would submit that a very tight time frame be put on either party to look at those documents and identify any that have to be made part of the record.

THE COURT: What --

2.0

2.1

MR. DUSSEAULT: And then to figure out how we're going to handle that.

THE COURT: What of the Magistrate's order has failed to accomplish those objectives?

MR. DUSSEAULT: Well, I would submit, Your Honor, that if, in fact, documents are produced by the deadline set by Magistrate Judge Spero, that would accomplish those objectives.

And what I would then ask the Court to do is, set a very tight time frame, like maybe a week to ten days, that the parties could look at those documents and come to the Court and say, These four documents, even though we didn't introduce the publicly-available documents about the No On 8 campaign, these four, these 15, have to come in.

THE COURT: How do we know it's going to be four or 15?

MR. DUSSEAULT: I don't know. I really don't know what it's going to be. And I also don't know that there's not going to be another complaint raised about the nature of the production. But I think some short deadline has to be set to

come to the Court, for the proponents, and say, Here's what we actually intend to do, and to resolve that quickly so that we can proceed.

THE COURT: What would you propose? I talked to Mr. Panuccio about the possibility of a motion to reopen or introduce additional evidence or a proffer.

MR. DUSSEAULT: Your Honor, I think --

**THE COURT:** What do you suggest?

2.0

MR. DUSSEAULT: I think those solutions that you mentioned would be acceptable to us as alternative.

I think, particularly given the absence of the use of the publicly available information, some form of proffer is very reasonable. And I don't think that anything that Judge Spero did limits that, because Magistrate Judge Spero never addressed how the documents would or would not be introduced.

And I think it's very reasonable for you, as the judge presiding over the trial, to say, If we're going to do all of this in discovery, give me a proffer of how it would be used.

I think that is reasonable. If that's not going to be done, and perhaps in a addition to that, it sounds like what the other side is suggesting is something like we did at the end of the case, where they may come to us with some number of documents and say, Counsel for plaintiffs, we'd like to have

you agree that these 15 documents can be added to the exhibits that have already been admitted. 2 3 It may be that we look at those and we say, Okay, we 4 don't have any objection to that. We don't think it's going to 5 bear at all on the issues that we spent trial proving. 6 would say, You know what? We don't have an objection to that. 7 And if Your Honor wanted to accept that and make that part of the trial record, then we could be done with it. 8 hope would be that there might be some resolution that could be handled in that sort of manner. 10 If you start talking about calling additional 11 witnesses, calling third parties to talk about their documents, 12 13 I just think, at that point, it really undoes the whole spirit of what we were doing here, which was this expedited trial in 14 15 just a matter of months, where we all worked so hard to get to that resolution. 16 17 THE COURT: Anything further, Mr. Dusseault? 18 MR. DUSSEAULT: No. Thank you. 19 MR. BOMSE: May I, Your Honor? 2.0 THE COURT: Well, I have a question for you --MR. BOMSE: 2.1 Yes. 22 THE COURT: -- Mr. Bomse. 23 MR. BOMSE: Yes.

THE COURT: Why shouldn't you produce a privilege

25 log?

24

MR. BOMSE: I'm sorry?

2.0

THE COURT: Why should you not produce a privilege log? As Mr. Panuccio said, if there's anything clear in the Ninth Circuit's opinion, it is that the failure to produce a privilege log is a problem.

MR. BOMSE: It would be --

THE COURT: Now, the Magistrate, of course, relieved you of that burden because of your argument about undue burden. But if there is anything that is clearly erroneous -- as

Mr. Panuccio said -- in the Magistrate's approach, it would appear to be the failure to require the ACLU to provide a privilege log.

MR. BOMSE: And I would say, we have now identified an enormous burden. Producing a privilege log would be far, far more burdensome than even reviewing the documents. And I suspect for Equality California that that is true to an even greater degree. And it seems to me, again, to no good end. And that's my response there.

But, if I may, I had hoped, when I first stood up, to be able to go to the issue that -- the issues that occupied your colloquy with Mr. Panuccio and, actually, with Mr. Dusseault, which has to do with what are we doing here and what --

THE COURT: But you're not a party to this lawsuit.

MR. BOMSE: No. But if I have something to say that

might be useful to the Court, I would hope you would,
nonetheless, want to hear it. Because I think that, in fact,
you managed to illuminate, through your questions to

Mr. Panuccio and then Mr. Dusseault, managed to illuminate yet
another issue, both of which are related, which is the fact
that we are engaged here in a largely fruitless task that will
have the unfortunate effect of delaying what, really, Your
Honor has strived and accomplished, which I am in awe of, to
get a case like this --

THE COURT: Forget the compliments. After all, if there's any occasion for delay --

(Simultaneous colloquy.)

2.0

MR. BOMSE: We're not seeking delay. We filed our objections as quickly as we could. We said we'd come here and waive our right to file reply briefs. We don't want delay.

But we do care about these issues. And it seems to me, when Your Honor asks about the burden, and you asked about the burden on us, I think the real burden that is going to be imposed here, if Your Honor were to affirm the Magistrate Judge's order, would be that resolution of these incredibly important issues is going to get delayed, whether we like it or not.

Simply in this court, March 31st would simply be the beginning. You illustrated it yourself. The documents don't come in -- if there are any such documents -- on their own.

Witnesses will need to be called. There will be, potentially,

further fights about all of that. And this case will be

delayed in its resolution.

2.0

But it's also the case, Your Honor, that if you are inclined to affirm Magistrate Judge Spero's order, we, of course, are going to have to seek review, as a matter of principle, in the Ninth Circuit.

And you may think that is, in fact, a fruitless act on our part because the Ninth Circuit has spoken. I'm sure Your Honor believed that his original opinion was correct in this case, but the Ninth Circuit felt otherwise.

This is a case in which the Ninth Circuit has actually decided to invoke its very rarely-used mandamus jurisdiction. This is a question that, as much as we want Mr. Dusseault and his clients to prevail, we have to pursue, and we are going to pursue.

But let me -- let me go back, then, with all of Your Honor's obvious dubiousness about everything I'm saying, to the question of: What is this about?

You know, I have been doing this long enough -- maybe I've been doing it too long. But I think I've done enough of these cases to know when somebody is doing something for the purpose they say and when they are doing it for some other purpose.

Now, when I was opposing, when I was seeking to

1	compel production of documents or get certain discovery, I had
2	the wonderful, wonderful opportunity I always loved it,
3	because I could speculate about just what I was going to find.
4	In the most grandiose terms, I could explain to the Court how I
5	would find not merely a smoking gun but an arsenal of
6	heavy-duty artillery.
7	But let's look at what's been offered here.
8	THE COURT: I think Mr. Dusseault has made that
9	argument quite effectively.
LO	MR. BOMSE: I'm I think he has. I think he also
L1	has made the argument that I was about to make in this reply,
L2	which is, all the public documents were produced. They made
L3	virtually no use of them. We are, it seems to me, doing
L4	nothing that is going to advance the proper resolution of this
L5	case.
L6	THE COURT: All right. Thank you very much.
L7	(At 12:09 p.m. the proceedings were adjourned.)
L8	
L9	CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER
20	I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript
21	from the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter.
22	DATE: Wednesday, March 24, 2010
23	
24	Katherine Powell Sullivan, CSR #5812, RPR, CRR U.S. Court Reporter
25	3.2. Start Reported