1 2	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
3	KALSHIEX LLC,
4	Civil Action Plaintiff, No. 1:23-cv-03257-JMC
	Mar. 20. 2024
5	1:00 p.m.
6	COMMODITY FUTURES TRADING COMMISSION,
7	Defendant. Washington, D.C.
8	
9	TRANSCRIPT OF THE MOTION HEARING BEFORE THE HONORABLE JIA M. COBB
10	UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE
11	APPEARANCES:
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	Court Reporter: Stacy Johns, RPR Official Court Reporter
24	
25	Proceedings recorded by mechanical stenography, transcript produced by computer-aided transcription

PROCEEDINGS

MR. ROTH: Good afternoon, Your Honor. Jacob Roth from Jones Day on behalf of Kalshi. And with me at counsel table is Amanda Rice, Josh Sterling, John Henry Thompson and Sam Lioi.

THE COURT: Good afternoon.

MS. STUKES: Good afternoon, Your Honor. My name is Anne Stukes for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission. And with me at counsel table is Raagnee Beri, Margaret Aisenbrey, and Conor Daly.

THE COURT: Good afternoon, everyone. So we are here on the parties' cross motions for summary judgment. I don't typically have oral argument, although I thought this was a case where argument would be helpful to me in resolving the motions.

I don't know who's arguing for plaintiff. Is there a time sensitivity in this case? I know there's not a PI that's been filed, but I'm just trying to understand.

MR. ROTH: It was actually the first thing I was going to say was thank you for hearing argument on motions. We haven't asked for a preliminary injunction but there is time some time sensitivity because the contracts are tied to the November elections. So what we would like, ideally, is a resolution that would allow, if needed, for appellate intervention so that the contracts can be listed prior to that

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the sense that they can't prohibit trading on a regulated exchange because of preemption principles. But the way I understand what they're arguing is that they say, well, buying and selling those contracts sort of amounts to a betting on an election because you're staking something of value on the electoral outcome. If you did that outside the context of a regulated exchange, then it would violate these state laws and therefore the trading of the contract relates to unlawful activity.

So a couple problems with that. Number one, unlike our interpretation, it doesn't align with the three that follow it, because the key move that they're making there is instead of looking at the underlying event and whether it is related to the enumerated activity, they're looking at the trading of the contract and whether it's related to the underlying activity. That is a, sort of just a different focus of the analysis, and it makes 1 sort of stand out relative to 2, 3 and 4.

THE COURT: Can I ask you about that, because I think that this defendant made this point -- the government made this point. Where it says "agreements, contracts or transactions involved," what work do you argue "transactions" is doing in the statute as it relates to involve?

MR. ROTH: As I understand it, the agreement, contract or transaction sort of triplet, it appears throughout the statute. It's just the way they refer to these types of

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instruments when they define it. So I don't think that they have independent significance. I think they're just capturing any different way you might structure the arraignment.

THE COURT: So you're not reading transactions to refer to the act of trading the thing, it's another way to say contract agreement; it is the contract, itself.

MR. ROTH: It's the instrument, and I think that follows from the fact that this is how it's used throughout the statute, the three together.

And just to be clear, we're not saying that you couldn't have a statute that said transaction involving X, where what it meant was the act of contracting, it involves that activity. It's not that that's semantically impossible. It's grammatically appropriate, it makes sense; it's just that it doesn't line up with the way the statute works for 2, 3 and 4, and so it makes it just an unusual, sort of strange way of speaking.

The hypothetical I was thinking about as I was preparing, you could say, my lunch generally involves a sandwich, a salad, a pastry or robust conversation with my work colleagues. You could say that, and yes, it could involve those things, but putting them together in that way is weird. It's not the way people normally speak.

But I actually don't think that's the most problematic aspect of the Commission's reading of the unlawful category. I

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think the most serious problem with it and the one that really is, I think, fatal is that it proves way too much, because as the Commission observes elsewhere in the briefing, there are a whole lot of states that prohibit betting on any contingent event.

If we go to the second slide -- we've collected them -- there's at least 29 that we've found that prohibit staking something of value on an uncertain event or contingency, and of course, that defines an event contract. It would mean that every event contract falls within the scope of Roman I and would involve unlawful activity, and that just can't be right because it makes the other five enumerated activities superfluous. And it defeats the whole purpose of having enumerated activities in the first place because it would allow the Commission to subject every event contract to public interest scrutiny.

So every kind of interpretation tells us that's wrong, and so does the statutory history, because sort of notably, prior to 2000, that is how the statute worked. If we go to the next slide, we have that language. They actually have to make this public interest determination for every contract. That was repealed in 2000, and then in 2010 Congress enacted this more limit provision that singles out the categories. So I think anything that covers the waterfront is necessarily an erroneous interpretation. I think the Commission actually

admits that. They say on page 11 of their final reply brief that, sure, you can't read any of these to cover everything, that would not be tenable.

And so they try to explain why their interpretation doesn't do that. And just to be candid, I don't really understand what they're trying to do there. To me, if Kalshi's contracts involve unlawful activity because some states prohibit betting on elections, then all event contracts involve unlawful activity because some states ben betting on contingent events. So I think the bottom line on number 1 is our interpretation is the only one that sort of makes sense in context that gives this provision real work to do without swallowing everything else.

in your reply, the Commission gave an example of a circumstance in which they would say a contract involved war without the underlying event actually being about war. And I think the example they gave is whether the Ukrainian military will acquire certain munitions in 2024. Can you speak to that example? They're saying, well, that would be, under their broader reading, involve something that relates to war, but the underlying event in the contract is not, itself, an act of war.

MR. ROTH: That may have been our example. I'm not sure, because I think we agree with that. It may have been theirs.

THE COURT: Maybe it was your example, sorry.

MR. ROTH: I'm not sure it's a point where the parties disagree. I think it goes to the difference between "involve" and "based on."

THE COURT: I think that was your example.

MR. ROTH: So "based on" would speak literally about the underlying event. That's too narrow for this, this says involve, so there's this broader scope. Our point is that the broader scope is tethered around the event.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. ROTH: So you're still looking at the event and saying does the event relate to unlawful activity, does it relate to war, does it relate to terrorism. So you can sort of game it by circumventing -- by sort of making it technically something that's just a proxy, it would capture this.

THE COURT: I just wanted you to flesh that out. Okay.

MR. ROTH: Okay.

THE COURT: So when they say that you're reading or using the word involved too narrowly, you would dispute that. You're not disputing that involve means relate to -- all those other dictionary definitions of involve. It's just relates to the underlying event in the contract.

MR. ROTH: It's what has to involve. We don't actually disagree on what involve means; we disagree on what

The law requires only that the Agency acted within a zone of reasonableness. Here the CFTC reasonably considered the relevant issues and reasonably explained its position and no more was required under the APA. The APA gives the Agency deference on its predictive judgments and on its public interest determination.

Now, there are questions of statutory interpretation in this case. And Your Honor finds herself maybe in the unenviable position of having each party in this case tell you the statute is unambiguous, that the plain meaning advocated by each side supports each side.

I submit that the Commission has the better of the argument on what the statute means and how it applies on involve, gaming and unlawful under state law, that the Court's review on the statutory interpretation questions is de novo.

I'll get into now the first of the four issues that are before the Court that are briefed in the party's papers, and that is the Commission's reading of the word "involve" to have its ordinary meaning to relate to or affect, to relate closely, to entail or to have as an essential feature a consequence.

These are the ordinary dictionary definitions of the term, and that is the definition that applies because the term involved is the -- the term involve is not defined in the statute. And so case law has held for a long time that when

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contract could involve war but not involve an act of war have to do, and I think both parties cite this kind of example, will -- I hate to give these real world examples, will a foreign body be able to use U.S. weapons on its enemy's soil, something like that. That involves -- oh gosh, I don't want to get too in the weeds -- will funding be allocated to a country that's at war, that involves war.

THE COURT: I think they would say yes --

MS. STUKES: I actually don't think we're too off base on that. I think the real dispute between the parties is what are you looking at, what has to involve the enumerated activities, and the real rub here is that the Commission interprets the plain language of this statute to say if transacting in the contracts, if the feature or purpose of these contracts is one of the enumerated activities, gambling is the one — gaming, pardon me, is the one that comes to mind. Is transacting in the contract, is that essential feature gaming. And the Commission here said yes for gaming and for unlawful under state law.

THE COURT: So what is your best argument for their response that there are a lot of states, and they listed them for me, that make any type of betting stakes on any contingent event unlawful under state law such that that's what these event contracts are? So every event contract should theoretically — if the transaction of the contract in and of

itself is what involve means and not the underlying activity at issue in the contract, than just the mere transacting event contracts would violate state law; how do you respond to that?

MS. STUKES: I want to say two things about that, and I can jump to the discussion of how we analyzed unlawful under state law. The Commission is not saying that involve in every instance means anything other than its plain meaning. Let me say that in a little more — with a little better articulation.

Involve is a broad term. It's broad enough to cover event contracts whose underlying is one of the enumerated activities, and it's broad enough to cover an event contract whose essential feature is one of the enumerated activities, and here an essential feature of these contracts is betting or wagering on elections.

THE COURT: But an essential feature of some other contract could be betting or wagering on, fill in the blank.

MS. STUKES: Right. So your Honor's concern, I think, is the plaintiff's argument: What do we do with this, what I interpret as an extrapolation from what the Commission actually said, to say, well, that would be absurd in another context because other state laws say it's unlawful -- there are state laws that say it's unlawful to wager on any contingent event. And that would sweep in every event contract to a public interest review.

THE COURT: Right.

MS. STUKES: So I'm just getting to my notes where I have this.

THE COURT: Sure. Take your time.

MS. STUKES: The Commission had before it the question of whether these contracts, which involve wagering on elections, involve activity under state law. Here we have numerous state laws that forbid wagering on elections, and that was sufficient for the Commission to say state law forbids wagering on elections. That's the essential feature of these contracts, and we can stop there.

What the Commission didn't do is say state law forbids or makes unlawful wagering on any contingent event. That was not the basis of the Commission's reasoning, and even if you can say if A is to B then C is to D, like some logical extrapolation, that's not what the Commission did here. It just said we see under state law that wagering on elections is unlawful. And that's the essential feature of these contracts, and that's enough. That's enough that we're in the zone of the statute.

THE COURT: Right, but --

MS. STUKES: And it's not unreasonable -- I'm sorry,
I've interrupted Your Honor.

THE COURT: I just wanted to -- because right now I think we're talking about what the meaning of the terms in the statute are, and their argument, as I understand it, is that

the Commission's reading doesn't make sense; this is otherwise unambiguous and they're applying this word in a way that kind of means one thing in one subsection and another in another subsection.

And what they're saying is elections is not on this enumerated list and that's full stop, end of case. And you're saying, well, no, it fits under the first category because betting on or wagering on elections violates many state laws.

And their response is wagering on any contingent event violates many state laws. And if that were the reading, if that's how the statute was read, that would mean that every event contract would be subject to this two-step review, which was not the intent when the statute was amended to streamline this process and not make the DCM have to make an initial showing that the contract was in the public interest.

So I'm just speaking more about the unlawful under state law. What does that mean? Does that mean that the act of trading the contract is unlawful under state law, in which case that would -- might relate to many contracts or all event contracts, or does the underlying activity -- for example, I think plaintiff gave an example whether or not some crime was going to occur, whatever it is, some specific criminal activity, where the subject of the contract relates to, involves something that is unlawful.

So I just want to understand the difference -- your

response to that, that your reading would put every event contract under this inquiry.

MS. STUKES: Respectfully, I don't believe that what the Commission held in this order would subject every event contract because what the Commission said is only that examining these contracts, whose essential feature is to bet on elections, that involves activity that many state laws prohibit.

What the Commission did not say is these contracts involve wagering on a contingent event and many state laws make wagering on a contingent event unlawful. Therefore, it is.

THE COURT: Hypothetically, let's say I'm a plaintiff, I'm a DCM, I want to post my event contract about whether or not a hurricane will hit in Florida. And the Commission came back and said this is against public interest and it also falls under -- I'm doing this out of order. It falls under category one because in Florida and elsewhere the state law prohibits people from posting or making bets or wagering on contingent events, and a hurricane is a contingent event and this contract involves a wager on a contingent event, so we're not going to allow it. Would that be allowed under this statute? Would that work?

MS. STUKES: I think it would be an unusual reading of the statute.

THE COURT: And why?

MS. STUKES: And it's because this statute sets forth in broad terms the categories that are the subject of public interest review, and none of those categories on their face suggest that Congress intended to capture all event contracts. And it --

THE COURT: Right, that's their point. I think that's exactly what they're saying.

MS. STUKES: I think, actually, the parties agree. I think where we're off is the Commission doesn't agree that that's what it concluded in this case. It concluded that state laws forbid wagering on elections, and that's an important state interest that Kalshi is asking the Commission to undermine by allowing these contracts to trade on a federally-registered exchange -- a federally-regulated exchange.

To be clear, the Commission's order didn't find that -- like if these contracts were allowed, it didn't find that purchasing one of Kalshi's congressional control contracts would be illegal in jurisdictions that prohibit betting on elections by statute or common law.

Kalshi argues that the Commission was arbitrary and capricious or fell afoul of the law because it can't be illegal under state law to offer the contracts on a market regulated by the CFTC because Fransha (ph.). But that, as the Commission held in its order, misses the point.

The CEA is a federal statutory regime for the regulation of commodities derivatives markets, and it does preempt state laws that prohibit the trading of commodities contracts. No state law can ban a contract that's lawfully listed on a CFTC-regulated market. But what Kalshi asks the Commission to do here and what Kalshi is asking the Court to do is to order the CFTC to permit these contracts, when Kalshi's own website cites news articles that characterize them repeatedly as election gambling, betting on elections, when under state law it's illegal to gamble on elections.

And this, by the way, is the reason we're here. If
Kalshi could lawfully offer election-betting contracts on CFTC
markets, it could ignore any state law that disallows election
gambling. Even states that allow gambling prohibit betting on
elections. And that indicates that the concern is not so much
gambling but election integrity. You can't place a bet on an
election in Las Vegas or Atlantic City:

For the CFTC to allow the contracts, it would have had to undermine these important state interests. And so when the Commission concluded in its order that, in considering whether a contract involves activity under state law, it considered whether the activity is unlawful under state laws that are not otherwise preempted by the CFTC, laws that go to state interest that are not overlapping with the CEA's regulatory authority. And when the Commission considers that it can consider whether

the CFTC's exclusive jurisdiction over federal commodities markets, federal commodities derivatives markets, should be used to subvert important state interests.

well, I'm an advocate, I should be frustrated by my opponent's arguments. But what's frustrating to me about that is this concept that the Commission's interpretation of the statute doesn't make sense because some state laws make it illegal to place a wager on any contingent event, it's a distraction. It's not what the Commission held here.

The Commission went as far as it needed to go because this is an informal adjudication. It's one case. Under a different set of facts and a different proposed contract, it might look to that language. It would be an unusual reading of the statute to say because many state laws prohibit wagering on any contingent event, that all event contracts are unlawful, it would be an usual reading of a statute that sets forth only enumerated categories.

THE COURT: I think they would agree with that.

MS. STUKES: Right. I think we agree on that.

THE COURT: Well, I don't think you want to agree on -- if you do want to agree on that, I think you want to distinguish that from the election.

MS. STUKES: No. What I am saying is the Commission didn't base its decision on the existence of state laws that

make wagering on any contingent event unlawful. The Commission based its decision on the existence of state laws that make election wagering unlawful. It didn't consider in its decision and it didn't base its decision on the existence of these other broader state laws.

And so it doesn't even factor in to the review here.

Whether they exist or not, it wasn't the basis for the

Commission's decision. And even if you can extrapolate what

the Commission was not doing here — the Commission wasn't

ruling here. It went only as far as it needed to go to decide

the issue before it. I hope that that is coming through to

Your Honor.

so here, because these contracts have as their essential feature not that they're wagering on any contingent event but they are wagering on the outcome of elections, and wagering on elections is unlawful under numerous state laws, the Commission was reasonable in its determination that these contracts fit within that category of unlawful under state law to render them at least in the statute in subsection I.

I can move on to talk about gaming, unless you want to talk about --

THE COURT: Let's talk about gaming.

MS. STUKES: Okay. Again, with the term "gaming," the Commission applied the ordinary meaning of the term "gaming" to conclude that these contracts would fall within that enumerated

about one of these awards would fall under the gaming or 1 2 gambling prong? MS. STUKES: First of all, I don't want to get ahead 3 of my Commission which -- the Commission didn't define it --4 didn't define -- didn't talk about whether the -- in this order 5 didn't get into other examples because it was sufficient to 6 determine that elections fall within this ordinary definition 7 of staking something of value on a contest of others. 8 THE COURT: Right. I'm trying to make sure that I 9 understand what the terms mean in the statute. So it's 10 certainly relevant for me to understand how this would apply 11 even beyond this case, while I know I'm only looking at the 12 13 order in this case. So based on what you said, an event contract about any 14 kind of contest, like an award show, Academy Award, Grammy's --15 It's not a game. It seems like a MS. STUKES: 16 17 contest. That would fall under the gaming prong. THE COURT: 18 MS. STUKES: Wagering on it, it sounds look it might, 19 20 yeah. Keep going. THE COURT: 21 MS. STUKES: So one of the criticisms that Kalshi 22 levies at the Commission's decision here is they say that the 23

definition is gerrymandered because it includes only wagering

something or staking something of value on a contest of others.

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And gaming can be so much more than that. Gaming can be games, gaming can be so much more than that.

What the Commission did, however, is it looked at what are these contracts. These contracts are staking something of value on the outcome of elections. Does that fit in an ordinary definition of gaming? We submit yes. Because gaming is interchangeable with gambling and ordinary meaning of gambling is to stake something of value on a contest of others, and an election is a contest by its plain meaning.

Dictionary definitions define "contest" to include elections. The examples that we cite in our brief talk about the presidential election as a contest, the presidential contest, meaning an election.

So "gaming" reasonably and plainly includes by its plain meaning staking something of value on the outcome of the contest of others. This might not be to the exclusion of other types of gaming and gambling that were not at issue in this particular matter. But these contracts are designed to wager on the outcome of congressional elections.

THE COURT: But the definitions don't change based on the contract at issue, right? The statute says what it says.

MS. STUKES: The statute says what it says.

THE COURT: And it's your role to determine whether -if you undertake this type of review under the statute, then
you decide or make a decision as to whether or not the contract

fits the definition. So the definition doesn't change; it's whether the contract fits the definition.

So it can't be -- I'm not going to find gambling means contest here and then in another case be given a different definition from the Commission about what gambling might mean based on the contract at issue there. That's not what you're suggesting.

MS. STUKES: What I am suggesting is that because this is not a rule making, that the Commission's determination of whether these contracts fit within the ordinary meaning of "gaming" did not require the Commission to define "gaming's" entire universe for it to determine that these contracts fit within an ordinary meaning of "gaming."

THE COURT: I guess that's what I'm having difficulty with because what I'm hearing you say is that there could be many definitions and we pick the one applicable here. If there are many definitions -- I hope no one is asking me to find this is an ambiguous statute. This is not the time to deal with ambiguities in statutory interpretation.

So I guess -- I mean, I hope that the Commission is taking the position that "gaming" means X and that this contract fits X because of whatever argument. You're not saying that you're adding a contest here, but in other circumstance you'd use another dictionary definition. There should be a definition that applies that's unambiguous.

MS. STUKES: What the Commission found here is an ordinary definition of "gaming" includes wagering on a contest of others, because -- and that's not, as Kalshi puts it, gerrymandering. THE COURT: I can accept that. MS. STUKES: That's deciding what's before it. I can accept that in the dictionary there THE COURT: may be one, two, three, and if it fits any of those prongs. just want to know the extent of what the definition of "gambling" is under the Commission's view. So what you're saying is it includes this contest of others. And so because an election, in your view, is a contest of others, then betting or wagering on that violates that provision of the statute. MS. STUKES: Or at least brings it into that enumerated category of the statute, yes. THE COURT: Okay. But if there are other definitions of gambling -- and I'm losing track of whether I saw it myself or whether it's in the papers, but that would just say, for example, you might have said it earlier, betting or wagering on a contingent event. MS. STUKES: On any contingent event. THE COURT: On any contingent event. Would that mean

that every event contract involves gambling and, thus, gaming?

and it's unlikely to be what the Commission would hold in

MS. STUKES: That's not what the Commission held here

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another context if it came up. But that wasn't the question presented here.

So what was presented here was: Do these contracts, which are routinely characterized as election-betting contracts, fall within the ordinary meaning — an ordinary meaning of "gaming," where gaming is synonymous with gambling and gambling includes wagering on a contest of others and a contest of others includes elections. And that was enough —

THE COURT: Okay.

MS. STUKES: -- to be a reasonable interpretation of the plain meaning of the statute.

We've talked about gaming and unlawful under state law and involve, and unless Your Honor wants to talk further about any of those subissues, I can move on to the public interest.

THE COURT: Sure. Yes, please.

MS. STUKES: Okay. So having determined that Kalshi's proposed contracts involve two enumerated activities under the statute, the Commission proceeded to determine that the contracts are contrary to public interest and, therefore, are prohibited from trading. And in making this determination, the Commission considered the contract's economic purpose as well as other factors. So I'll start with the economic purpose evaluation.

So the parties point this out in our briefs, but our statute here, the CEA, codifies two public interests in

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works.

So for all of these reasons, the CFTC submits that Your Honor should deny Kalshi's motion for summary judgment and grant judgment to the CFTC. THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. Any brief rebuttal? MR. ROTH: Very brief. Very, very brief. THE COURT: Yes. MR. ROTH: I appreciate the Court's time. I will be very, very brief. Three quick points. First Your Honor asked about the catchall category, why they didn't rely on the catchall. THE COURT: Yes. The catchall requires a rule making. It's MR. ROTH: by rule or regulation. They haven't done a rule making. And so that's -- they couldn't rely on the catchall. They could not rely on the catchall. THE COURT: Yes. So they would first have to do a rule MR. ROTH: making to determine some activity is similar to the others. They have not done that. So that's the answer to that. . THE COURT: Thank you. I appreciate that. MR. ROTH: On unlawful, I still did not really hear a theory as to why their reading doesn't sweep in everything. What I heard was, you don't have to worry about that because That's not how statutory interpretation that's not this case.

We need to understand what the statute means.

admitted that's a de novo question for this Court to consider.

And, of course, in considering what the statute means, the.

Court is going to look at how it would apply in other contexts.

That doesn't mean you need to figure out the answer to every other hypothetical case that might exist. But the Supreme Court, whenever it's considering a question of statutory interpretation, looks at how it's going to apply elsewhere, and if it's going to be absurd in a wide variety of other cases that means it's a bad interpretation. That, I think, covers unlawful.

The only thing I'll say about gaming, to add to earlier, Your Honor asked if their interpretation of contests would sweep in anything that isn't a game other than elections. And counsel's response was potentially awards shows, like who's going to win the Emmy or the Oscar, which I thought was a fascinating example because Kalshi offers those and has offered those for a long time, and they have never subjected those to the review process.

And I think that really underscores the sort of outcome-driven aspect of this. It's not a good-faith statutory interpretation. It's an attempt to get it in without a real coherent theory of what the statute means.

That's all I have, Your Honor, unless you have further questions.

THE COURT: No. Thank you. I appreciate the briefs