

1. TWITTER FILES: Statement to Congress THE CENSORSHIP-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

True content which might promote vaccine hesitancy
 Viral posts of individuals expressing vaccine hesitancy, or stories of true vaccine side effects. This content is not clearly mis or disinformation, but it may be malinformation (exaggerated or misleading). Also included in this bucket are often true posts which could fuel hesitancy, such as individual countries banning certain vaccines.
 Ex: News article and posts about a Central NY school district closing

Tr

2. "MONITOR ALL TWEETS COMING FROM TRUMP'S PERSONAL ACCOUNT/BIDEN'S PERSONAL ACCOUNT"

When <u>#TwitterFiles</u> reporters were given access to Twitter internal documents last year, we first focused on the company, which at times acted like a power above government.

Google Hangouts		
		Del Harvey 🗖 🖬 71 🚦
New conversation		that was real weird IMO
 Del Harvey 	10m	Del • 10:08 AM
 Jordan Benavidez 	45m	okay so.
Jessica Herrera-Flaniga	n 12:12 PM	I talked with Vijaya and Sean re: the whole PII thing for both
🚢 Vijaya, Del, Sean	8:16 AM	COVID and elections integrity
🚢 Noah, Angela	Mon	V wants to try to aim for a 30 minute SLA for labeling for those two things.
 Sean Edgett 	Mon	in exchange, she was okay with:
Noah Bialos	Mon	1) us asking TwS to monitor all tweets coming from
🚢 Jessica, Del	Mon	Trump's personal account/Biden's personal account/Trump's official account/Biden's official account
Stacia Cardille	Mon	2) them doing initial intake and eval
 Laura Fisher 	Mon	3) the sign-off to apply the label coming from any one of the
 Jim Baker 	Mon	four of us – you, me, Vijaya , <i>or</i> Sean
Karen Colangelo	Mon	and to err on the side of labeling since we can always remove the label if we decide we were too conservative
 Abby Liebeskind 	Oct 2	
 Angela Sherrer 	Sep 29	Wow - those are some big changes.
 Patrick Conlon 	Sep 29	(A) well
Damien Kieran	Sep 29	if she wanted to get to 30 minutes
 Erica Shoemate 	Sep 29	
 Michele Lee 	Sep 24	On 3 - label as in PII, or label as in (!)?
 Jeremy Kessel 	Sep 23	History is off
Anna Solis	Sep 21	

3. But Twitter was more like a partner to government.

With other tech firms it held a regular "industry meeting" with FBI and DHS, and developed a formal system for receiving thousands of content reports from every corner of government: HHS, Treasury, NSA, even local police:

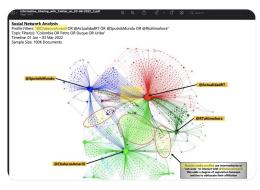
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			 PRC Update APT31 Briefing Iobal Status Iran Update Venezuela Briefing North Korea Briefing Ianning for the Elections FBI Posture Your Posture Information Sharing Channels and Me 	athods

4. Emails from the FBI, DHS and other agencies often came with spreadsheets of hundreds or thousands of account names for review. Often, these would be deleted soon after.

Twitter toks, Peace see below list of Twitter accounts which we believe are violating your terms of service by disseminating false information about the time, place, or manner of the upcoming elections. Let us know if you decide to take any solitons against these accounts based on our tipper to you. Also let us know if we need to use as preservation tetter as we hinde to enne legal process for these accounts. Thanks for your consideration. Regards, Elvis Elvis M.Chan Ast. Special Agent in Change FPI Sin <u>Francesor</u> , Syleer Branch	Port Stock Coeffic - constructive composition composition of the stock
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Tertine/Hefabax	

5. Many were obvious "misinformation," like accounts urging people to vote the day after an election.

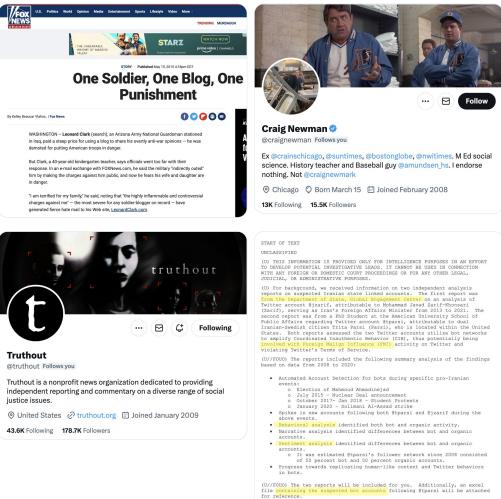
But other official "disinfo" reports had shakier reasoning. The highlighted Twitter analysis here disagrees with the FBI about accounts deemed a "proxy of Russian actors":





Hey folks,

I suspended 12 accounts of AR origin (873377) and 10 accounts of VE origin (873378) that were tweeting about "Urania" and "Nazis," and were clustered by identical event IPs and user agents and/or via Safetygraph. After reviewing the Chalecos account, we're recommending to request an ID in order to obtain another signal about the actor behind the account. While the FBI asserts that the account is a proxy of Russian accose, we've found we'donce that suggests it is linked to individuals in the Pitnete Party in Catalonia and others on the left political spectrum. We also found that the Chalecos account has been, strangely, RTing its own content and then quickly deleting it, racking up more than 3k deleted Tweets since last week alone. 6. Then we saw "disinfo" lists where evidence was even less clear. This list of 378 "Iranian State Linked Accounts" includes an Iraq vet once arrested for blogging about the war, a former Chicago Sun-Times reporter and Truthout, a site that publishes Noam Chomsky.



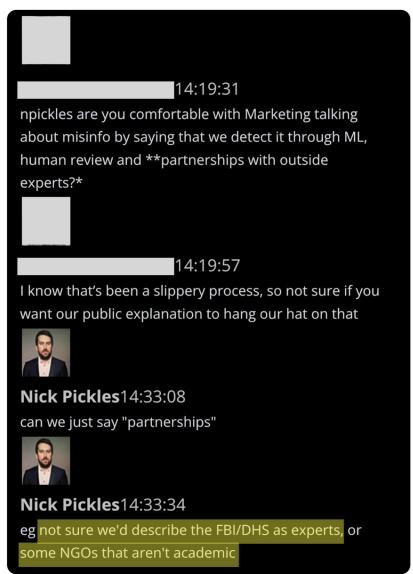
file containing the suspected bot accounts following @tparsi will be attaches for reference. (U) Any feedback you can provide regarding these accounts and any violations of your company's terms of service would be greatly appreciated.

of your company's terms of service would be greatly appreciated. UNCLASSIFIED (U) END OF TEXT 7. In some cases, state reports didn't even assert misinformation. Here, a list of YouTube videos is flagged for "anti-Ukraine narratives":

2 August 2022	
2022-51095	
USA/Other:Other/Apple; USA/Other:Other/Google/Youtube; USA/Other:Other/Meta; USA/Other:Other/Twitter; USA/Other:Other/Reddit; USA/Other:Other/Verizon Media/Yah USA/Other:Other/LinkedIn; USA/Other:Other/Wikimedia	hoo;
(U) Tearline:	
(U) The tearline must be used as-is; no changes to the text/language are permitted.	
(U) Russian mogul Yevgeniy Prigozhin's Internet Research (IRA) was responsible for the following content, which highlighted predominantly anti-Ukraine narratives, betwee and May 2022 at the following addresses on the specified platforms:	en April
YouTube: (U)	
https://youtube.com/shorts/erGA809Llmk	
https://youtube.com/shorts/DVsJSNKCbsQ	

8. But the bulk of censorship requests didn't come from government directly.

9. Asked if Twitter's marketing department could say the company detects "misinfo" with help of "outside experts," a Twitter executive replied:



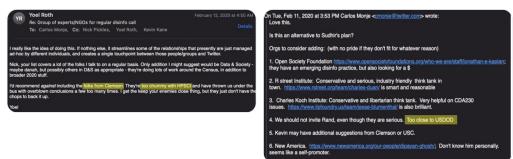
10. We came to think of this grouping – state agencies like DHS, FBI, or the Global Engagement Center (GEC), along with "NGOs that aren't academic" and an unexpectedly aggressive partner, commercial news media – as the Censorship-Industrial Complex.

11. Who's in the Censorship-Industrial Complex? Twitter in 2020 helpfully compiled a list for a working group set up in 2020.

The National Endowment for Democracy, the Atlantic Council's DFRLab, and Hamilton 68's creator, the Alliance for Securing Democracy, are key:

	Pickles <	
	culate a list of third parties that I am proposing we convene regularly for the remainder of 2020. (T ver all communities, just those specialist researchers/NGOs who work on dis/misinformation and fi	
My suggestion would be to have the	irst one in February (later in the month) and to make it a regular monthly call.	
	e hours - a chance for a few trusted people to come together to talk about what they're seeing, wh flag to us. We're going to ask it remains confidential	at they're
We will also use this as a place to br earnings.	of people on some of the colour from our sunlight releases, similar to how we have a conference conference of the colour from our sunlight releases, similar to how we have a conference of the colour from our sunlight releases.	all after
I am also proposing these be the firs	people we give our "see something, say something" email alias to (TBC on a name/process.)	
Grateful for feedback on the propose	d names.	
Grateful for feedback on the propose Thanks Nick		
	Find Draft	
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Thanks Nick Claire Wardle Alina Polyakova Graham Brockie Laura Rosenberger / Bret Schafer	First Draft Center for European Policy Analysis DFRLab Alliance for Securing Democracy	
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Thanks Nick Claire Wardle Alina Polyakova Graham Brocke Laura Rosenbarger / Bret Schafer Amy Studdart Geysha Gonzalez	First Draft Center for European Policy Analysis DFFLab Allience for Securing Democracy International Republican Institute Atlantic Council	
Thanks Nick Claire Wardle Alina Polyskova Graham Brookie Laura Rosenberger / Bret Schafer Amy Studdart Geysha Gonzalez Renee DiResta / Alex Stamos	First Draft Center for European Policy Analysis DFFLab Alliance for Securing Democracy International Republican Institute Atlantic Council Stanford Internet Observatory	

12. Twitter execs weren't sure about Clemson's Media Forensics Lab ("too chummy with HPSCI"), and weren't keen on the Rand Corporation ("too close to USDOD"), but others were deemed just right.



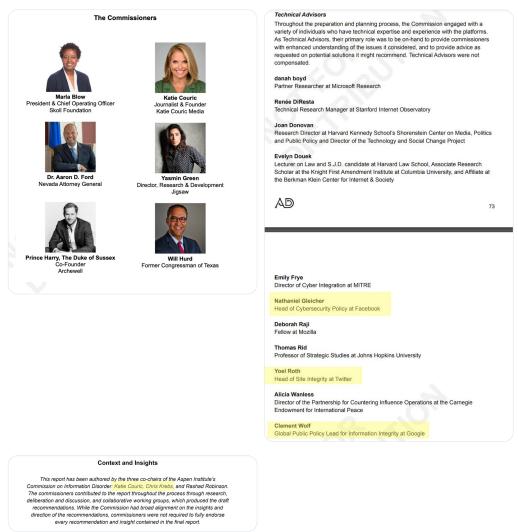
13. NGOs ideally serve as a check on corporations and the government. Not long ago, most of these institutions viewed themselves that way. Now, intel officials, "researchers," and executives at firms like Twitter are effectively one team - or Signal group, as it were:

Subject: Date:	Nick Pickles npickles@twitter.com Setting up a signal group October 19, 2020 at 12:34 PM Alina Polyakova — copa org, Amy Studdart — Leen Nimmo — graphika com. Bret Schafer — Becuringdemocracy.org, Claire Wardle — firstdirathnews com, danah — Graphika com. Bret Schafer — Berningdemocracy.org, Claire Wardle — firstdirathnews com, danah — Graphika com. Bret Schafer — Berningdemocracy.org, Claire Wardle — firstdirathnews com, danah — Graphika com. Laura Rosenberger — Berningdemocracy.org, Alara Hosenberger — Securingdemocracy.org, Moira Whelan Production of Renee DiResta — com, Sara Egozi — William Wright — ned.org, Yoel Roth yoel@twitter.com
	i all
Y	oel and I thought it might be useful for us to have a signal group to keep in touch in the coming weeks.
lf	you'd like to be added, please reply with the number you'd like me to add.
	/e're also thinking about potentially having a check-in on either the 2nd or afternoon of the 3rd - let me know if you think that would e helpful.
Т	hanks
N	lick

14. The Woodstock of the Censorship-Industrial Complex came when the Aspen Institute - which receives millions a year from both the State Department and USAID - held a star-studded confab in Aspen in August 2021 to release its final report on "Information Disorder."

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15. The report was co-authored by Katie Couric and Chris Krebs, the founder of the DHS's Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA). Yoel Roth of Twitter and Nathaniel Gleicher of Facebook were technical advisors. Prince Harry joined Couric as a Commissioner.



16. Their taxpayer-backed conclusions: the state should have total access to data to make searching speech easier, speech offenders should be put in a "holding area," and government should probably restrict disinformation, "even if it means losing some freedom."

 Key Stakeholders

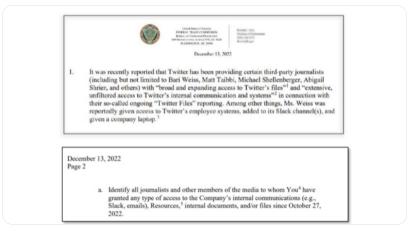
 Government: Pass law — or empower independent agencies like the FTC — to mandate disclosure of data and provide legal safeguards that protect user privacy, respect platform integrity, and are in the public interest.

- <u>Holding areas</u>: New posts from influencers with repeat bad behavior should be placed in a holding area that allows for manual moderation and scrutiny, helping limit the potential for additional misinformation to spread quickly.
- <u>Demonetization</u>: Remove access to product features for violative behavior (e.g., posting, monetization or amplification).

accountability where they have failen short already. Public sentiment underscores the disappointment and frustration with tech companies' failure in this area, with roughly half of U.S. adults indicating that the government should take sleps to restrict false information, even if it means losing some freedom to access and publish content.⁵⁹ 17. Note Aspen recommended the power to mandate data disclosure be given to the FTC, which this committee just caught in a clear abuse of office, demanding information from Twitter about communications with (and identities of) <u>#TwitterFiles</u> reporters.

https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-

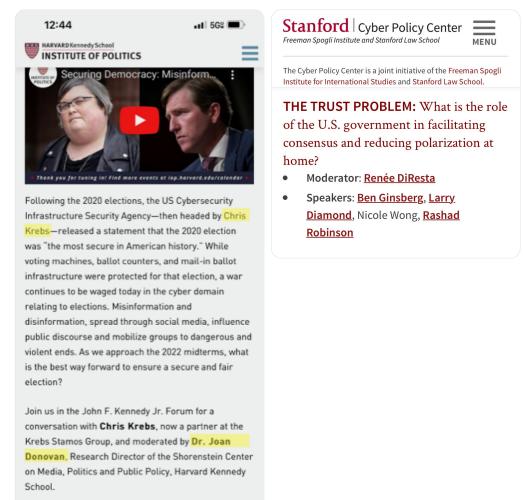
document/Weaponization Select Subcommittee Report on FTC Harrassment of Twitt er <u>3.7.2023.pdf</u>



18. Naturally Twitter's main concern regarding the Aspen report was making sure Facebook got hit harder by any resulting regulatory changes:

M	Jennifer McDonald Aspen Report on Information Disorder To: Policy Communications, Katle Rosborough, Cc: Lucia Gamboa, Nick Pickles, Yoel Roth	November 9, 2021 at 5:19 PM Ø Details
Hi team, Heads u	p that Aspen Institute will be releasing their Commission's Report on Information Disorder Monday morning Nov. 15th.	
The repo	ort is attached here, and is under embargo until Monday.	
One take	naway is how to separate ourselves away from the examples and recommendations that read primarily geared towards Face	ebook.
There w	Il be follow up opportunities for more nuanced panel discussions post-launch.	

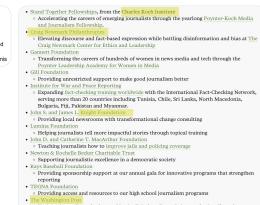
19. The same agencies (FBI, DHS/CISA, GEC) invite the same "experts" (Thomas Rid, Alex Stamos), funded by the same foundations (Newmark, Omidyar, Knight) trailed by the same reporters (Margaret Sullivan, Molly McKew, Brandy Zadrozny) seemingly to every conference, every panel.



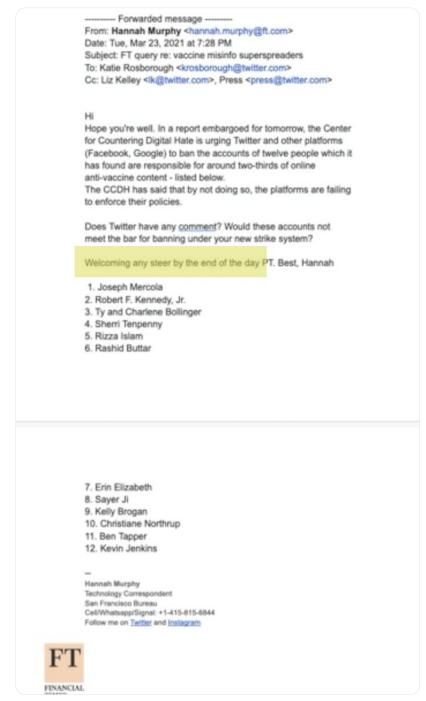
20. The <u>#TwitterFiles</u> show the principals of this incestuous self-appointed truth squad moving from law enforcement/intelligence to the private sector and back, claiming a special right to do what they say is bad practice for everyone else: be fact-checked only by themselves.

21.While Twitter sometimes pushed back on technical analyses from NGOs about who is and isn't a "bot," on subject matter questions like vaccines or elections they instantly defer to sites like Politifact, funded by the same names that fund the NGOs: Koch, Newmark, Knight.





 Training journalists of color working in digital media to thrive, professionally and personally, through the Leadership Academy for Diversity in Media 22. <u>#TwitterFiles</u> repeatedly show media acting as proxy for NGOs, with Twitter bracing for bad headlines if they don't nix accounts. Here, the Financial Times gives Twitter until end of day to provide a "steer" on whether RFK, Jr. and other vax offenders will be zapped.



23. Well, you say, so what? Why shouldn't civil society organizations and reporters work together to boycott "misinformation"? Isn't that not just an exercise of free speech, but a particularly enlightened form of it?

24. The difference is, these campaigns are taxpayer-funded. Though the state is supposed to stay out domestic propaganda, the Aspen Institute, Graphika, the Atlantic Council's DFRLab, New America, and other "anti-disinformation" labs are receiving huge public awards.

\$ Award Amounts	Recipient GRAPHIKA, INC. 401 LAFAYETTE ST STE E6 NEW YORK, NY 10003-7014 Congressional District: NY-12 UNITED STATES
	0

Table 2: Top 10 Think Tanks by Amount Re U.S. Government and Defense Contractor	
RAND Corporation	\$1,209,100,000
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	\$8,946,000
Atlantic Council	\$8,697,000
New America Foundation	\$7,283,828
German Marshall Fund of the United States	\$6,599,999
CSIS	\$5,040,000
Council on Foreign Relations	\$2,590,000
Brookings Institution	\$2,485,000
Heritage Foundation	\$1,375,000
Stimson Center	\$1,343,753

25. Some NGOs, like the GEC-funded Global Disinformation Index or the DOD-funded Newsguard, not only seek content moderation but apply subjective "risk" or "reliability" scores to media outlets, which can result in reduction in revenue. Do we want government in this role?

Awarding Agency	
Department of Defense (DOD)	
Recipient	
NEWSGUARD TECHNOLOGIES, INC. 25 W 52ND ST FL 15 NEW YORK, NY 10019-6104 Congressional District: NY-12 UNITED STATES	
Related Awards 🕕	
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Current End Date	Dec 08, 202
 Potential End Date 	Dec 08, 202
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26. Perhaps the ultimate example of the absolute fusion of state, corporate, and civil society organizations is the Stanford Internet Observatory (SIO), whose "Election Integrity Partnership" is among the most voluminous "flaggers" in the <u>#TwitterFiles</u>:

...

Some higher-profile tweets on that narrative flagged by EIP: ://twitter.com/dennislennox/status/1324032411508842498> ://twitter.com/mschlapp/status/1324072437676466176> ://twitter.com/jamieroe23/status/132401342991380481> ://twitter.com/RyanSchuling/status/1324083798425243649> ://twitter.com/lcifeNewsHQ/status/13240853798425243649> ://twitter.com/lcifeNewsHQ/status/132408598242631680> {https://twitter.com/mschlapp/status/13240134291380481> <https://twitter.com/RyanSchuling/status/13240134291380481> <https://twitter.com/RyanSchuling/status/1324063798425243649> <https://twitter.com/RyanSchuling/status/132406378425243649> <https://twitter.com/RyanSchuling/status/1324026958242631680> <https://twitter.com/robystarbuck/status/1324026958242631680> <https://twitter.com/coreyfuimaono/status/1324103593071239168>





Jake Novak 📀

BREAKING NEWS: Several Queens Village (NY) residents are receiving pre-filled out ballots for Joe Biden and being told to just send them back to the Board of Elections. This is blatantly ILLEGAL

Papeleta Official para la Elección General Ciudad de Nueva York - County of Queens Nover Papeleta Official para la Elección General Ciudad de Nueva York - Condado de Duen

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27. After public uproar "paused" the Orwellian "Disinformation Governance Board" of the DHS in early 2020, Stanford created the EIP to "fill the gaps" legally, as director Alex Stamos explains here (h/t Foundation for Freedom Online).



https://www.youtube.com/embed/QbF2UXKV1q8

28. EIP research manager Renee DiResta boasted that while filling "gaps," the EIP succeeded in getting "tech partners" Google, TikTok, Facebook and Twitter to take action on "35% of the URLS flagged" under "remove, reduce, or inform" policies.



https://www.youtube.com/embed/RtcK59lfjrU

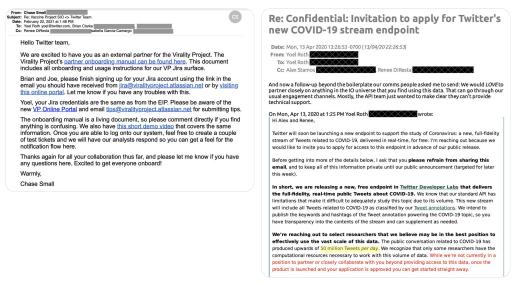
29. According to the EIP's own data, it succeeded in getting nearly 22 million tweets labeled in the runup to the 2020 vote.

In total, our incident-related tweet data included 5,888,771 tweets and retweets from ticket status IDs directly, 1,094,115 tweets and retweets collected first from ticket URLs, and 14,914,478 from keyword searches, for a total of 21,897,364 tweets.

30. It's crucial to reiterate: EIP was partnered with state entities like CISA and GEC while seeking elimination of millions of tweets. In the <u>#TwitterFiles</u>, Twitter execs did not distinguish between organizations, using phrases like "According to CIS[A], escalated via EIP."

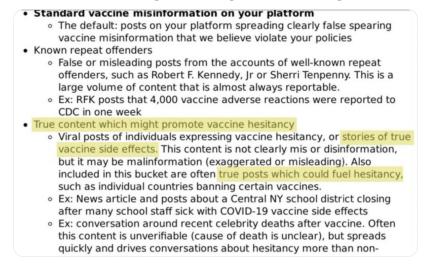
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31. After the 2020 election, when EIP was renamed the Virality Project, the Stanford lab was on-boarded to Twitter's JIRA ticketing system, absorbing this government proxy into Twitter infrastructure – with a capability of taking in an incredible 50 million tweets a day.



32. In one remarkable email, the Virality Project recommends that multiple platforms take action even against "stories of true vaccine side effects" and "true posts which could fuel hesitancy."

None of the leaders of this effort to police Covid speech had health expertise.



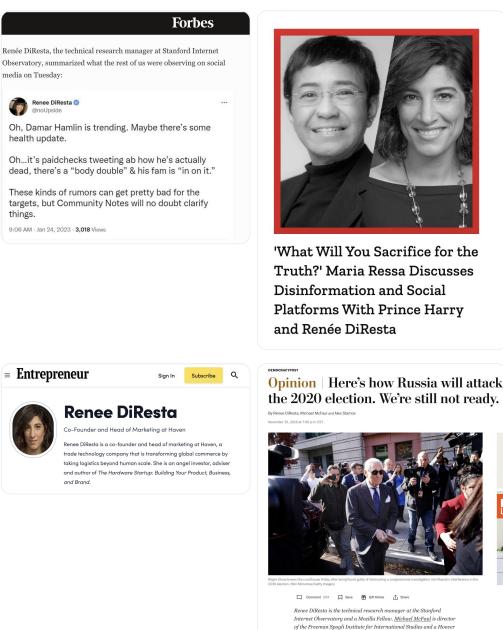
33. This is the Censorship-Industrial Complex at its essence: a bureaucracy willing to sacrifice factual truth in service of broader narrative objectives. It's the opposite of what a free press does.

34. Profiles portray DiResta as a warrior against Russian bots and misinformation, but reporters never inquire about work with DARPA, GEC, and other agencies. In the video below from <u>@MikeBenzCyber</u>, Stamos introduces her as having "worked for the CIA":



https://www.youtube.com/embed/GsooGvgLh7U

35. DiResta has become the public face of the Censorship-Industrial Complex, a name promoted everywhere as an unquestioned authority on truth, fact, and Internet hygiene, even though her former firm, New Knowledge, has been embroiled in two major disinformation scandals.



36. This, ultimately, is the most serious problem with the Censorship-Industrial Complex.

fellow at Stanford University. Alex Stamos, a former chief security officer of Facebook, is director of the Stanford Internet Observatory and a visiting scholar at the Hoover Institution.

Packaged as a bulwark against lies and falsehood, it is itself often a major source of disinformation, with American taxpayers funding their own estrangement from reality.

37. DiResta's New Knowledge helped design the Hamilton 68 project exposed in the <u>#TwitterFiles</u>.

Although it claimed to track "Russian influence," Hamilton really followed Americans like "Ultra Maga Dog Mom," "Right2Liberty," even a British rugby player named Rod Bishop:

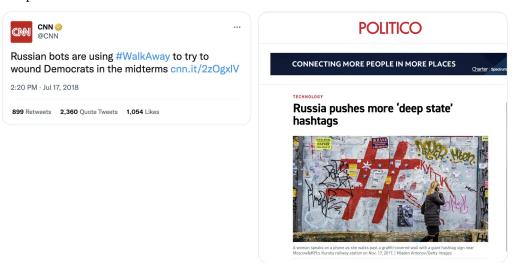


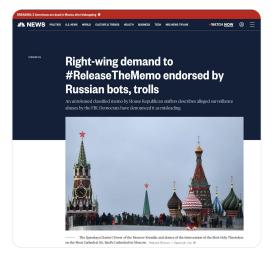
38. Told he was put on the Hamilton list of suspected "Russian influence" accounts, Bishop was puzzled.

"Nonsense. I'm supporting Ukraine," he said.

39. As a result of Hamilton's efforts, all sorts of people were falsely tied in press stories to "Russian bots": former House Intel chief Devin Nunes, <u>#WalkAway</u> founder

<u>@BrandonStraka</u>, supporters of the <u>#FireMcMaster</u> hashtag, even people who used the term "deep state":



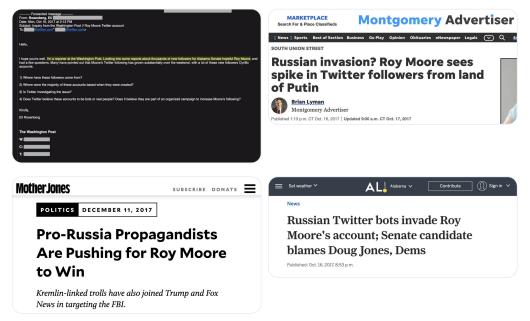


40. Hamilton 68 was funded by the Alliance for Securing Democracy, which in turn was funded by the German Marshall Fund, which in turn is funded in part by – the Department of State.



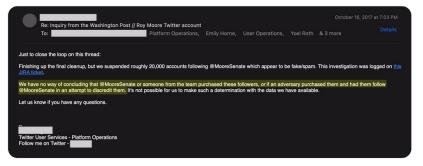
41. The far worse scandal was "Project Birmingham," in which thousands of fake Russian Twitter accounts were created to follow Alabama Republican Roy Moore in his 2017 race for US Senate.

Newspapers reported Russia seemed to take an interest in the race, favoring Moore.



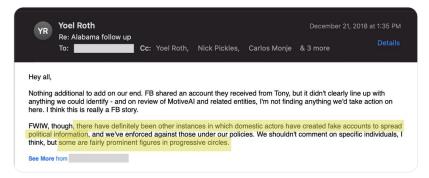
42. Though at least one reporter for a major American paper was at a meeting in September, 2018 when New Knowledge planned the bizarre bot-and-smear campaign, the story didn't break until December, two days after DiResta gave a report on Russian interference to the Senate.

43. Internally, Twitter correctly assessed the Moore story as far back as fall of 2017, saying it had no way if knowing if the Moore campaign purchased the bots, or if "an adversary purchased them... in an attempt to discredit them."



44. Twitter told this to reporters who asked about the story contemporaneously. Moreover, after the story broke, Twitter's Roth wrote:

"There have been other instances in which domestic actors created fake accounts... some are fairly prominent in progressive circles."



45. Roth added, "We shouldn't comment." Repeatedly in the <u>#TwitterFiles</u>, when Twitter learned the truth about scandals like Project Birmingham, they said nothing, like banks that were silent about mortgage fraud.

Reporters also kept quiet, protecting fellow "stakeholders."

46. Twitter stayed silent out of political caution. DiResta, who ludicrously claimed she thought Project Birmingham was just an experiment to "investigate to what extent they could grow audiences... using sensational news," hinted at a broader reason.

Renée DiResta, who knows some of the people involved in the project, claims the main intent was to test tactics. "My understanding was that they were going to investigate to what extent they could grow audiences for Facebook pages using sensational news." she told the *Times*. She

47. "I know there were people who believed the Democrats needed to fight fire with fire," she told the New York Times.

"It was absolutely chatter going around the party."

"I know there were people who believed the Democrats needed to fight fire with fire," Ms. DiResta said, adding that she disagreed. "It was absolutely chatter going around the party."

48. The incident underscored the extreme danger of the Censorship-Industrial Complex. Without real oversight mechanisms, there is nothing to prevent these super-empowered information vanguards from bending the truth for their own ends. 49. By way of proof, no major press organization has re-examined the bold claims DiResta/New Knowledge made to the Senate – e.g. that Russian ads "reached 126 million people" in 2016 – while covering up the Hamilton and Alabama frauds. If the CIC deems it, lies stay hidden.

50. In the digital age, this sprawling new information-control bureaucracy is an eerie sequel to the dangers Dwight Eisenhower warned about in his farewell address, when he said:



"The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists."

https://www.youtube.com/embed/cyZoUfNsUl8

51. Thanks to <u>@ShellenbergerMD</u> and reporters/researchers <u>@Techno_Fog</u>, <u>@neffects</u>, <u>@bergerbell</u>, <u>@SchmidtSue1</u>, <u>@tw6384</u>, and others for help in preparing this testimony. The Twitter Files searches are performed by a third party, so material may have been left out.

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