1. THREAD: The Twitter Files

THE REMOVAL OF DONALD TRUMP

Part One: October 2020-January 6th

- 2. The world knows much of the story of what happened between riots at the Capitol on January 6th, and the removal of President Donald Trump from Twitter on January 8th...
- 3. We'll show you what hasn't been revealed: the erosion of standards within the company in months before J6, decisions by high-ranking executives to violate their own policies, and more, against the backdrop of ongoing, documented interaction with federal agencies.
- 4. This first installment covers the period before the election through January 6th. Tomorrow, @ShellenbergerMD will detail the chaos inside Twitter on January 7th. On Sunday, @bariweiss will reveal the secret internal communications from the key date of January 8th.

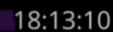
@mentions

5. Whatever your opinion on the decision to remove Trump that day, the internal communications at Twitter between January 6th-January 8th have clear historical import. Even Twitter's employees understood in the moment it was a landmark moment in the annals of speech.



@mentions

6. As soon as they finished banning Trump, Twitter execs started processing new power. They prepared to ban future presidents and White Houses – perhaps even Joe Biden. The "new administration," says one exec, "will not be suspended by Twitter unless absolutely necessary."



As stated in our

{https://help.twitter.com/en/rules-and-policies/ban-evasi on | ban evasion policy} , if it is clear that another account is being used for the purposes of evading a ban, it is also subject to suspension. For government accounts, such as @POTUS and @WhiteHouse, we will not suspend those accounts but will take action to limit their use. However, these accounts will be transitioned over to the new administration in due course and will not be suspended by Twitter unless absolutely necessary to alleviate real-world harm.

@mentions

7. Twitter executives removed Trump in part over what one executive called the "context surrounding": actions by Trump and supporters "over the course of the election and frankly last 4+ years." In the end, they looked at a broad picture. But that approach can cut both ways.

11:04:11

Hi Vijaya - i'm working with on my team to put together a doc to share with you with a POV from research (ours, academics with whom we have been working, etc.) on DJT's language as coded incitement to further violence

11:05:57

In the mean time, here is our quick take: the decision on whether to pull that particular tweet or use that as a last straw for trump depends on many factors including: (1) the overall context and narrative in which that tweet lives - we currently analyze tweets and consider them at a tweet-by-tweet basis which does not appropriately take into account the context surrounding - you can use the yelling fire into a crowded theater example - context matters and the narrative that trump and his friends have pursued over the course of this election and frankly last 4+ years must be taken into account when interpreting and analyzing that tweet (2) the larger question is around our moral imperative and decision as a company, which user sentiment should not drive based and I believe that his tweet does violate on #1, our rules when taking that historical context + current climate into account

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8. The bulk of the internal debate leading to Trump's ban took place in those three January days. However, the intellectual framework was laid in the months preceding the Capitol riots.

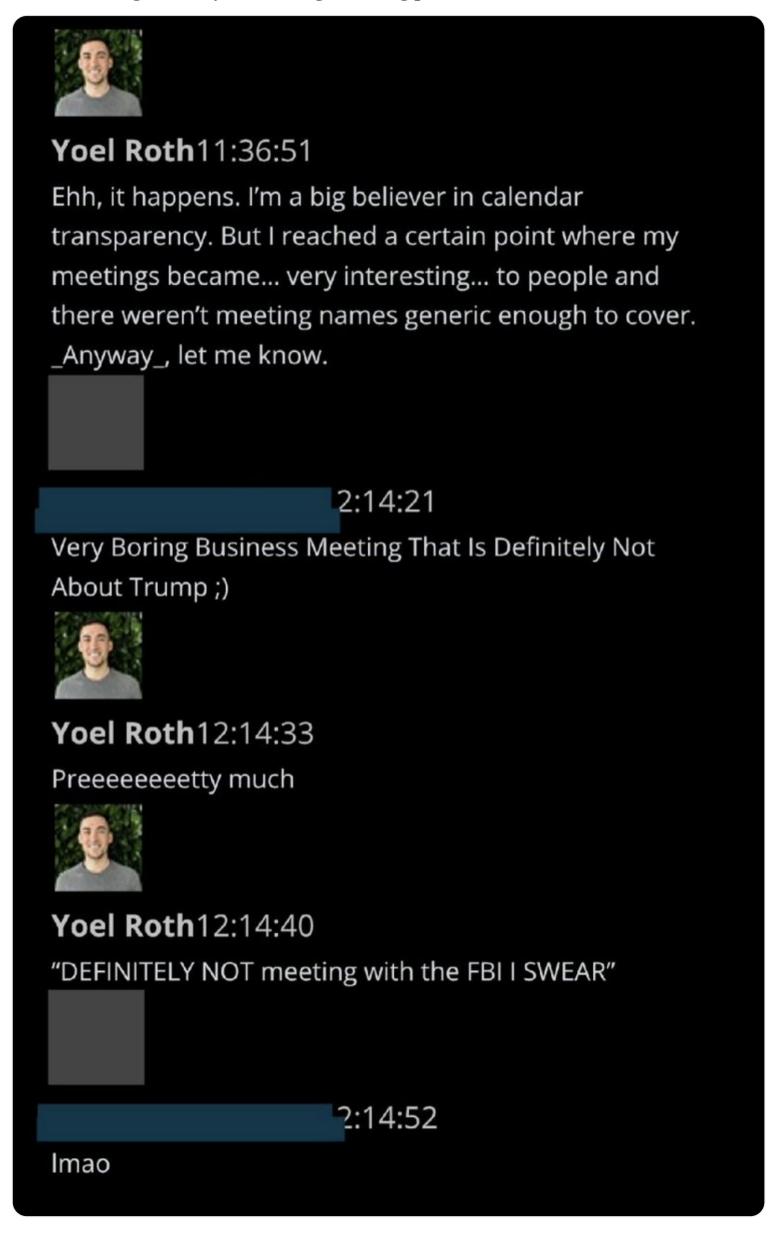
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9. Before J6, Twitter was a unique mix of automated, rules-based enforcement, and more subjective moderation by senior executives. As reported, the firm had a vast array of tools for manipulating visibility, most all of which were thrown at Trump (and others) pre-J6.

10. As the election approached, senior executives – perhaps under pressure from federal agencies, with whom they met more as time progressed – increasingly struggled with rules, and began to speak of "vios" as pretexts to do what they'd likely have done anyway.

@mentions

11. After J6, internal Slacks show Twitter executives getting a kick out of intensified relationships with federal agencies. Here's Trust and Safety head Yoel Roth, lamenting a lack of "generic enough" calendar descriptions to concealing his "very interesting" meeting partners.



12. These initial reports are based on searches for docs linked to prominent executives, whose names are already public. They include Roth, former trust and policy chief Vijaya Gadde, and recently plank-walked Deputy General Counsel (and former top FBI lawyer) Jim Baker.

@mentions

13. One particular slack channel offers an unique window into the evolving thinking of top officials in late 2020 and early 2021.

@mentions

14. On October 8th, 2020, executives opened a channel called "us2020_xfn_enforcement." Through J6, this would be home for discussions about election-related removals, especially ones that involved "high-profile" accounts (often called "VITs" or "Very Important Tweeters").

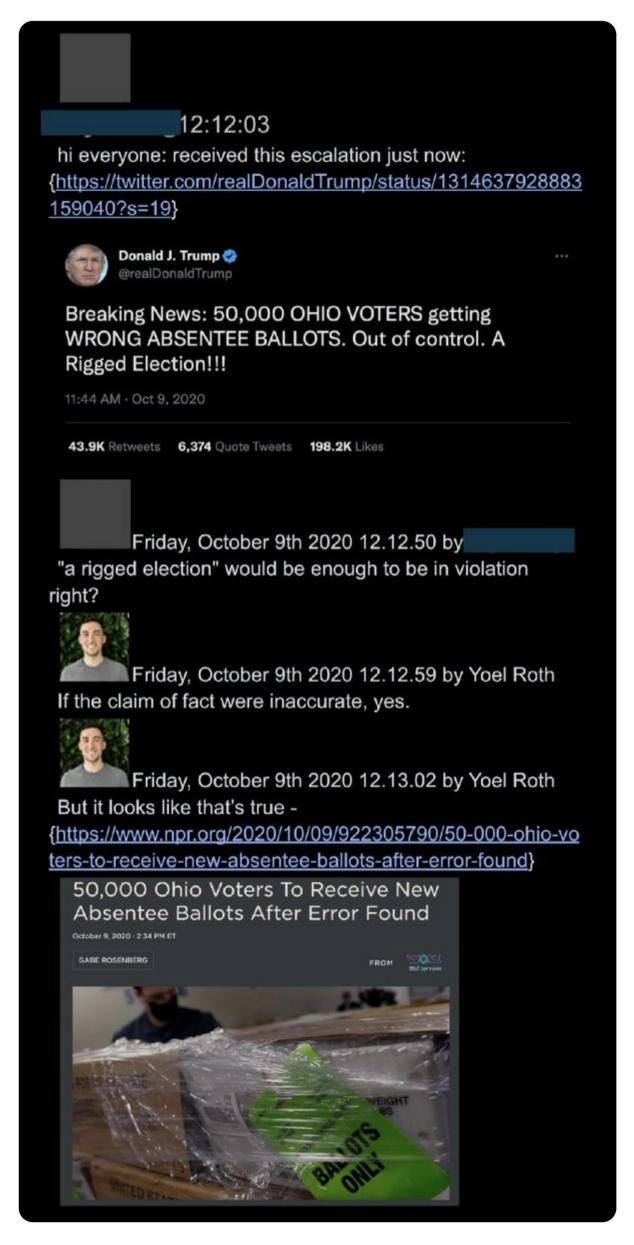
03:47:47

Hey Everyone (<!here>), Starting t*omorrow (October 9th)* until November 15th this channel will be used for the following reasons related to the US 2020 Elections. • Trends Identified that require scaled investigations • High Profile Accounts Escalations that potentially require PII/Soft Interventions • Scalable Solutions required. • Edge cases for XFN consultation • _Highlight tech issues (bugs, tools outage, Jira tickets)_ This is an enforcement channel between T&S and TwS to help speed up our response related to election issues over the coming few weeks. GET will start providing a hand over starting APAC shift tomorrow *Friday, October 9th* using the following template *Handover* • *Next shift: EMEA/APAC/NA - Thursday, Oct 8, 2020* • (GET) • (SP) • (SI) • *Open escalations:* • None *Notes from the shift:* *Ask:* Can you please make sure everyone on your team is within the channel? The teams that we included are as follows: • Site Integrity • Safety Policy • Product Trust • Safety Operations • Media Ops • Global Escalation Team If you have any questions or concerns let me know.

15. There was at least some tension between Safety Operations – a larger department whose staffers used a more rules-based process for addressing issues like porn, scams, and threats – and a smaller, more powerful cadre of senior policy execs like Roth and Gadde.

@mentions

16. The latter group were a high-speed Supreme Court of moderation, issuing content rulings on the fly, often in minutes and based on guesses, gut calls, even Google searches, even in cases involving the President.

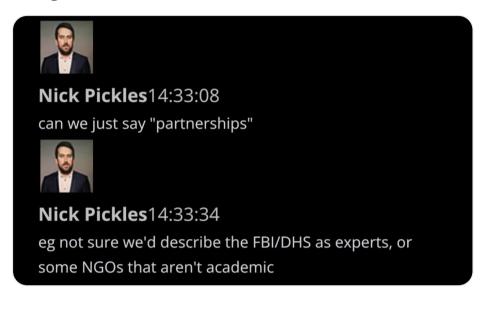


17. During this time, executives were also clearly liaising with federal enforcement and intelligence agencies about moderation of election-related content. While we're still at the start of reviewing the <u>#TwitterFiles</u>, we're finding out more about these interactions every day.

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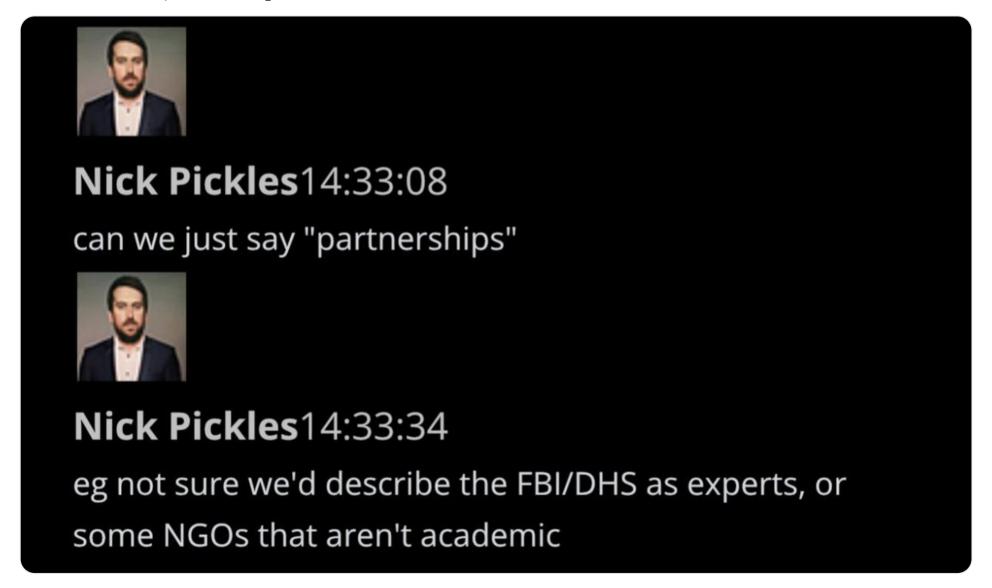
18. Policy Director Nick Pickles is asked if they should say Twitter detects "misinfo" through "ML, human review, and **partnerships with outside experts?*" The employee asks, "I know that's been a slippery process... not sure if you want our public explanation to hang on that."





@mentions

19. Pickles quickly asks if they could "just say "partnerships." After a pause, he says, "e.g. not sure we'd describe the FBI/DHS as experts."



@mentions

20. This post about the Hunter Biden laptop situation shows that Roth not only met weekly with the FBI and DHS, but with the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (DNI):



Bot Application B01AXN4KL0M16:19:26

yoelr has checked in! Here's what they said. *What's new for you since our last check-in?* - Hacked Materials exploded. We blocked the NYP story, then we unblocked it (but said the opposite), then said we unblocked it... and now we're in a messy situation where our policy is in shambles, comms is angry, reporters think we're idiots, and we're refactoring an exceedingly complex policy 18 days out from the election. In short, FML. - Weekly sync with FBI/DHS/DNI re: election security. The meeting happened about 15 minutes after the aforementioned Hacked Materials implosion; the government declined to share anything useful when asked. - Monthly meeting with FBI FITF. Briefed on several ongoing investigations

@mentions

21. Roth's report to FBI/DHS/DNI is almost farcical in its self-flagellating tone:

"We blocked the NYP story, then unblocked it (but said the opposite)... comms is angry, reporters think we're idiots... in short, FML" (fuck my life).



Bot Application B01AXN4KL0M16:19:26

yoelr has checked in! Here's what they said. *What's new for you since our last check-in?* - Hacked Materials exploded. We blocked the NYP story, then we unblocked it (but said the opposite), then said we unblocked it... and now we're in a messy situation where our policy is in shambles, comms is angry, reporters think we're idiots, and we're refactoring an exceedingly complex policy 18 days out from the election. In short, FML. - Weekly sync with FBI/DHS/DNI re: election security. The meeting happened about 15 minutes after the aforementioned Hacked Materials implosion; the government declined to share anything useful when asked. - Monthly meeting with FBI FITF. Briefed on several ongoing investigations

@mentions

23. Some of Roth's later Slacks indicate his weekly confabs with federal law enforcement involved separate meetings. Here, he ghosts the FBI and DHS, respectively, to go first to an "Aspen Institute thing," then take a call with Apple.



Yoel Roth08:03:33

Hey there - I have to miss the FBI and DHS meetings today, unfortunately. I saw you're on the invites for both (as are Site Policy). Can you give me a quick readout if there's anything interesting that comes up?



Patrick Conlon

08:04:00

Sure thing! I hope that everything's OK.



Yoel Roth08:04:27

Yeah - just have conflicts at both times. An Aspen Institute thing this morning on vaccines that I have to present at, and then a call with Apple to avoid us getting kicked out of the App Store during the DHS one.



Patrick Conlon

08:04:58

Ah. Those both seem very important.

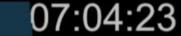


Yoel Roth08:06:13

Indeed.

@mentions

24. Here, the FBI sends reports about a pair of tweets, the second of which involves a former Tippecanoe County, Indiana Councilor and Republican named claiming "Between 2% and 25% of Ballots by Mail are Being Rejected for Errors."



<!here> we just got a report from the FBI concerning 2 tweets, 1. 1314479095401521154 related to the "shredding" of mail in ballot's, this is proven to be false via this: {https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2020/oct/08/blog-post ing/social-posters-spread-election-misinformation-abou/} do we have a moment ready for this one?

2. 1314328227423420416, I believe was deemed no vio on numerous occasions

@mentions

The FBI's second report concerned this tweet by:



EDITORIAL: @TheDemocrats Are In Complete Panic As Their Massive Push For #VoteByMail Is Backfiring On Them!

Two Things Are Unfolding:

- 1) An Unexpected Number Of Registered #Republicans Are Returning Ballots.
- 2) Between 2% & 25% Of Ballots By Mail Are Being REJECTED For Errors!



@mentions

25. The FBI-flagged tweet then got circulated in the enforcement Slack. Twitter cited Politifact to say the first story was "proven to be false," then noted the second was already deemed "no vio on numerous occasions."



<!here> we just got a report from the FBI concerning 2 tweets, 1. 1314479095401521154 related to the "shredding" of mail in ballot's, this is proven to be false via this: {https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2020/oct/08/blog-post ing/social-posters-spread-election-misinformation-abou/} do we have a moment ready for this one?

2. 1314328227423420416, I believe was deemed no vio on numerous occasions

@mentions

26. The group then decides to apply a "Learn how voting is safe and secure" label because one commenter says, "it's totally normal to have a 2% error rate." Roth then gives the final go-ahead to the process initiated by the FBI:

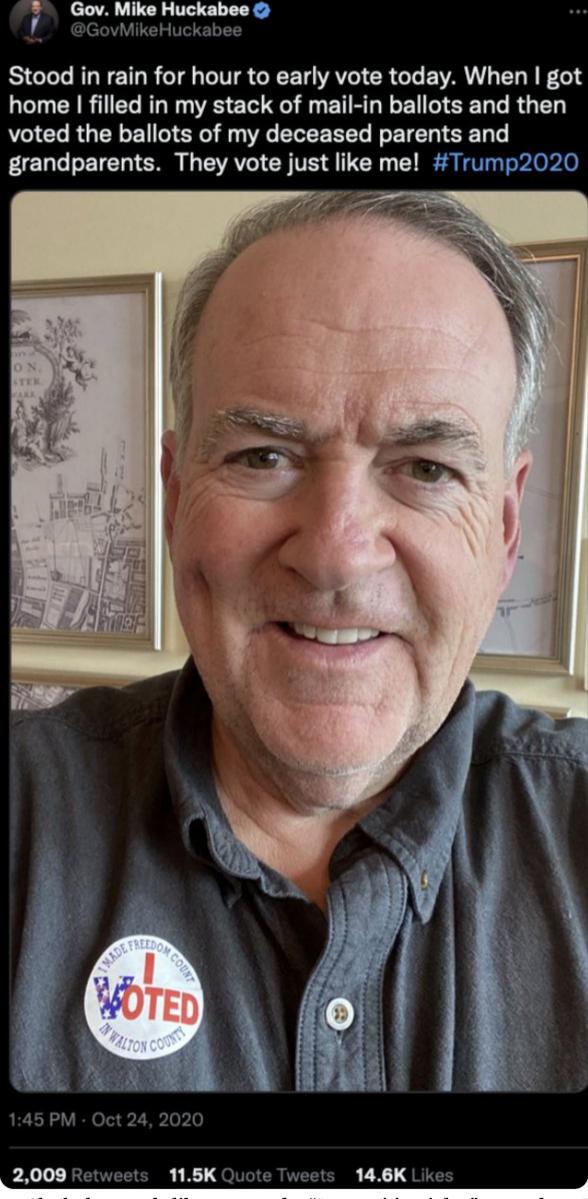
Monday, October 19th 2020 07.06.58 by Yoel Roth I think we can use the mail in voting label for this one as is

@mentions

27. Examining the entire election enforcement Slack, we didn't see one reference to moderation requests from the Trump campaign, the Trump White House, or Republicans generally. We looked. They may exist: we were told they do. However, they were absent here.

@mentions

31. In one case, former Arkansas governor Mike Huckabee joke-tweets about mailing in ballots for his "deceased parents and grandparents."



32. This inspires a long Slack that reads like an parody. "I agree it's a joke," concedes a Twitter employee, "but he's also literally admitting in a tweet a crime."

@mentions

The group declares Huck's an "edge case," and though one notes, "we don't make exceptions for jokes or satire," they ultimately decide to leave him be, because "we've poked enough bears."

@mentions

33. "Could still mislead people... could still mislead people," the humor-averse group declares, before moving on from Huckabee



@mentions

33. Roth suggests moderation even in this absurd case could depend on whether or not the joke results in "confusion." This seemingly silly case actually foreshadows serious later issues:

Sunday, October 25th 2020 08.18.56 by Yoel Roth Yeah. I could see us taking action under "misleading claims that cause confusion about the established laws, regulations, procedures, and methods of a civic process" — but it's not one that we could really label in a useful way, so it's removal (of a stupid and ill-advised joke) or nothing. I'm maybe inclined not to remove without a report from voting authorities given it's been a while since he tweeted it and virtually all of the replies I'm seeing are critical/counterspeech. pconlon arodericks rsommers what do you think?

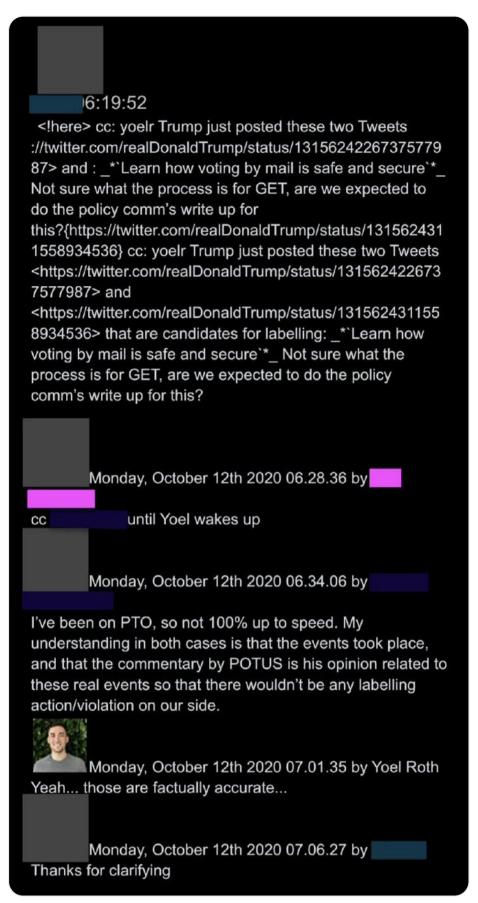
@mentions

34. In the docs, execs often expand criteria to subjective issues like intent (yes, a video is authentic, but why was it shown?), orientation (was a banned tweet shown to condemn, or support?), or reception (did a joke cause "confusion"?). This reflex will become key in J6.

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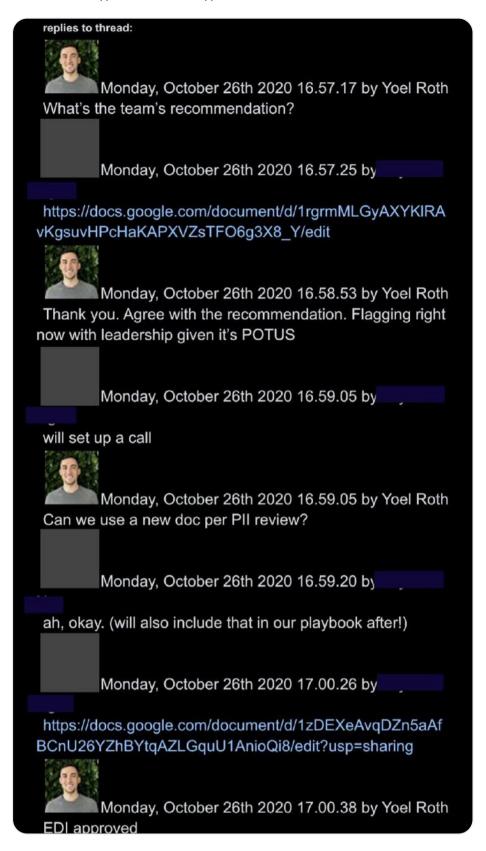
35. In another example, Twitter employees prepare to slap a "mail-in voting is safe" warning label on a Trump tweet about a postal screwup in Ohio, before realizing "the events took place," which meant the tweet was "factually accurate":



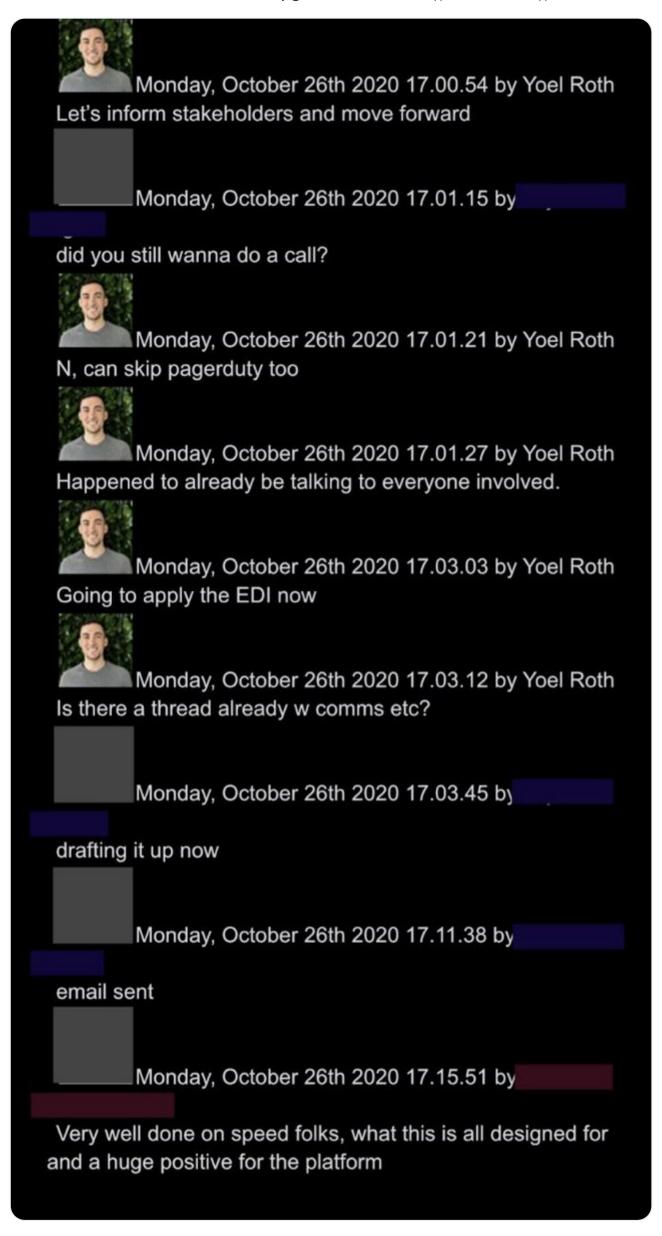


36. "VERY WELL DONE ON SPEED" Trump was being "visibility filtered" as late as a week before the election. Here, senior execs didn't appear to have a particular violation, but still worked fast to make sure a fairly anodyne Trump tweet couldn't be "replied to, shared, or liked":





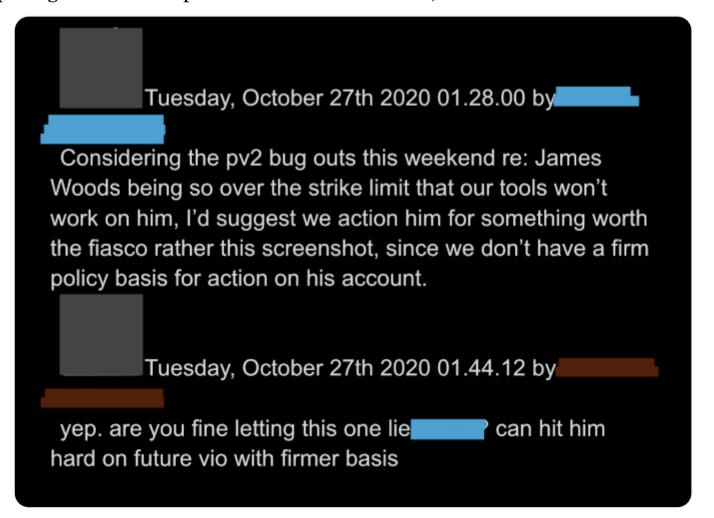
"VERY WELL DONE ON SPEED": the group is pleased the Trump tweet is dealt with quickly



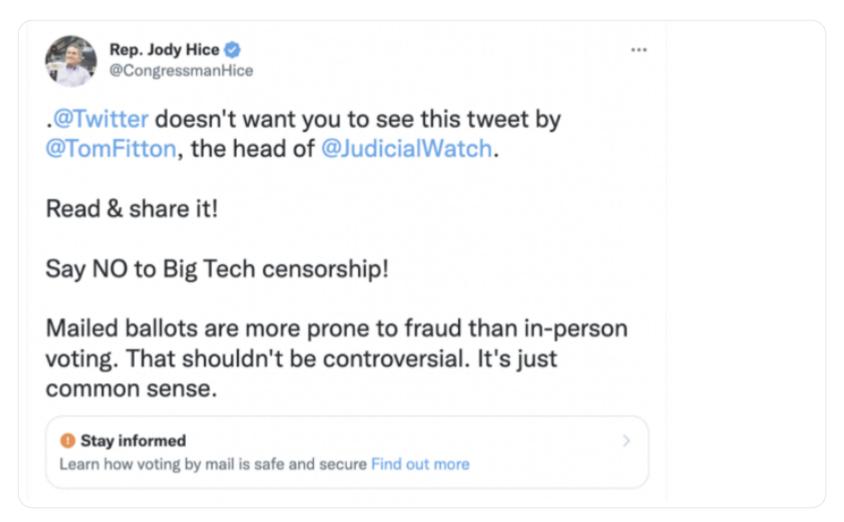
37. A seemingly innocuous follow-up involved a tweet from actor , whose ubiquitous presence in argued-over Twitter data sets is already a <u>#TwitterFiles</u> in-joke.



38. After Woods angrily quote-tweeted about Trump's warning label, Twitter staff – in a preview of what ended up happening after J6 – despaired of a reason for action, but resolved to "hit him hard on future vio."



39. Here a label is applied to Georgia Republican congresswoman Jody Hice for saying, "Say NO to big tech censorship!" and, "Mailed ballots are more prone to fraud than in-person balloting... It's just common sense."



@mentions

40. Twitter teams went easy on Hice, only applying "soft intervention," with Roth worrying about a "wah wah censorship" optics backlash:

Monday, October 26th 2020 12.32.14 by

devils advocate: The quoted tweet still shows up with the EDI and the actual content Rep Hice says is lower level ("more fraud with mail in ballots then in person" is much more of a legitimate statement even if scale is still minuscule"). I think I'd lean towards just putting a MIB soft intervention on this rather then the full EDI



Monday, October 26th 2020 12.32.29 by Yoel Roth

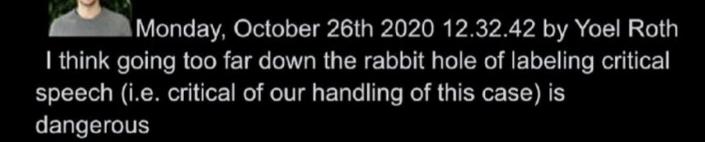


Agree.

Monday, October 26th 2020 12.32.38 by Patrick

Conlon

Yep, I was just typing that haha



Monday, October 26th 2020 12.32.49 by Yoel Roth It becomes a self-reinforcing "wah wah censorship" cycle



Monday, October 26th 2020 12.33.34 by Patrick

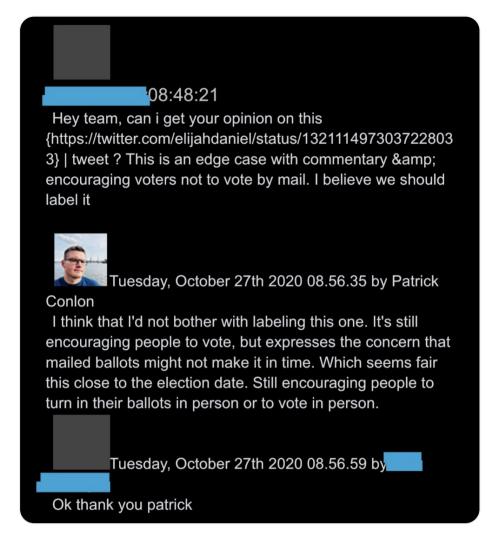
Conlon

I'm currently responding to Judicial Watch's whining to Public Policy. I regret nothing, but am happy to iterate what rules they violated.

@mentions

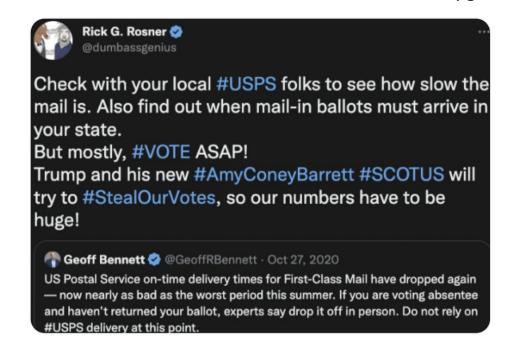
41. Meanwhile, there are multiple instances of involving pro-Biden tweets warning Trump "may try to steal the election" that got surfaced, only to be approved by senior executives. This one, they decide, just "expresses concern that mailed ballots might not make it on time."

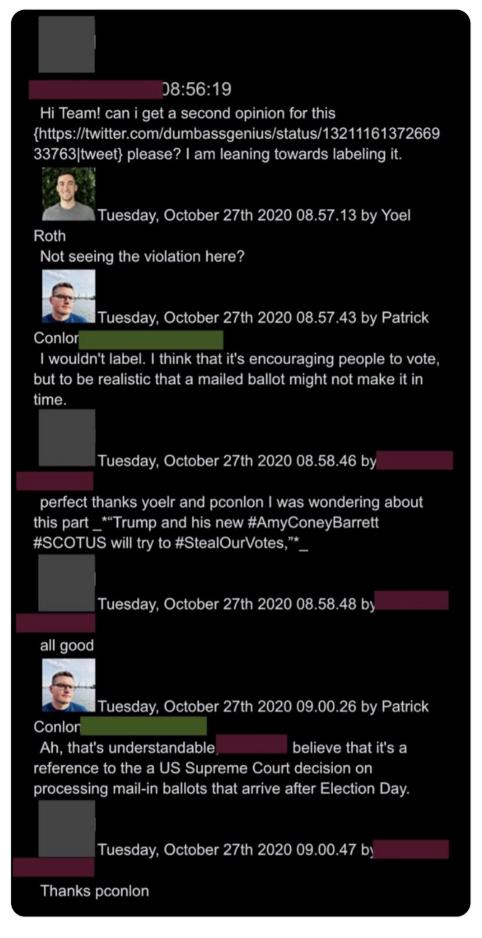




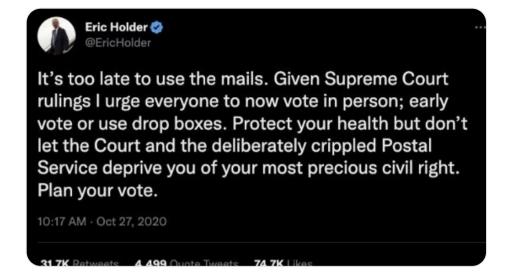
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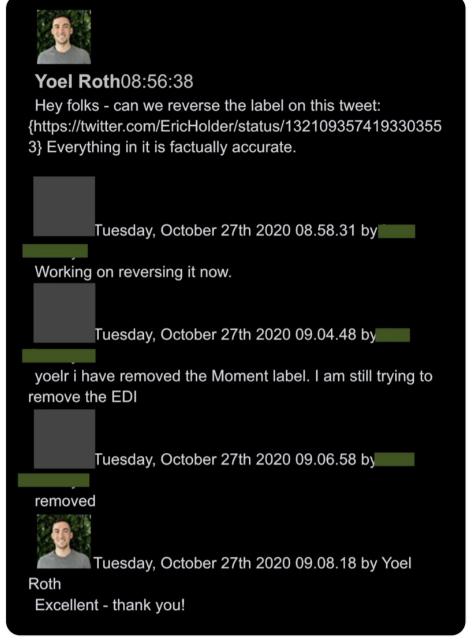
42. "THAT'S UNDERSTANDABLE": Even the hashtag <u>#StealOurVotes</u> – referencing a theory that a combo of Amy Coney Barrett and Trump will steal the election – is approved by Twitter brass, because it's "understandable" and a "reference to... a US Supreme Court decision."





43. In this exchange, again unintentionally humorous, former Attorney General Eric Holder claimed the U.S. Postal Service was "deliberately crippled," ostensibly by the Trump administration. He was initially hit with a generic warning label, but it was quickly taken off by Roth:





44. Later in November 2020, Roth asked if staff had a "debunk moment" on the "SCYTL/Smartmantic vote-counting" stories, which his DHS contacts told him were a combination of "about 47" conspiracy theories:



Yoel Roth16:54:36

Hi there - me again - do we have a debunk moment on the SCYTL/Smartmatic vote counting conspiracies?

•••

Wednesday, November 18th 2020 17.15.12 by Yoel Roth

DHS referred to it on a call today (sadly not public) as "a combination of about 47 different conspiracy theories" so hopefully there's stuff out there.

@mentions

45. On December 10th, as Trump was in the middle of firing off 25 tweets saying things like, "A coup is taking place in front of our eyes," Twitter executives announced a new "L3 deamplification" tool. This step meant a warning label now could also come with deamplification:



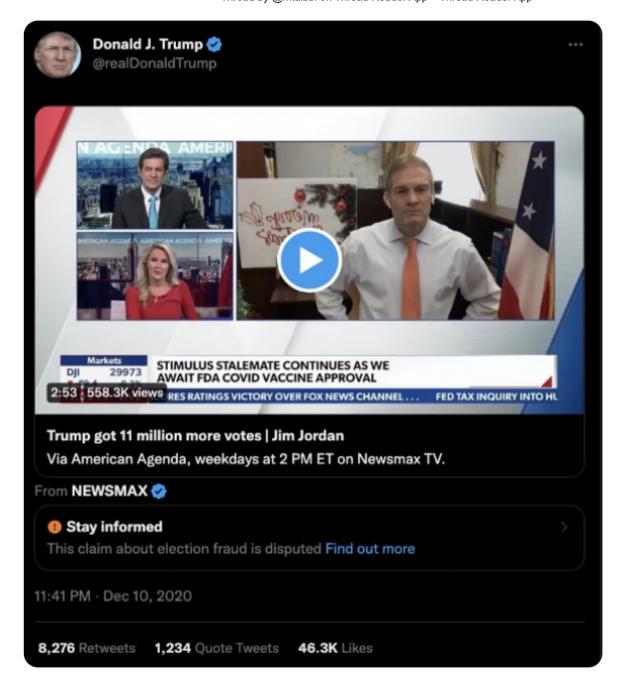
Patrick Conlon

20:54:47

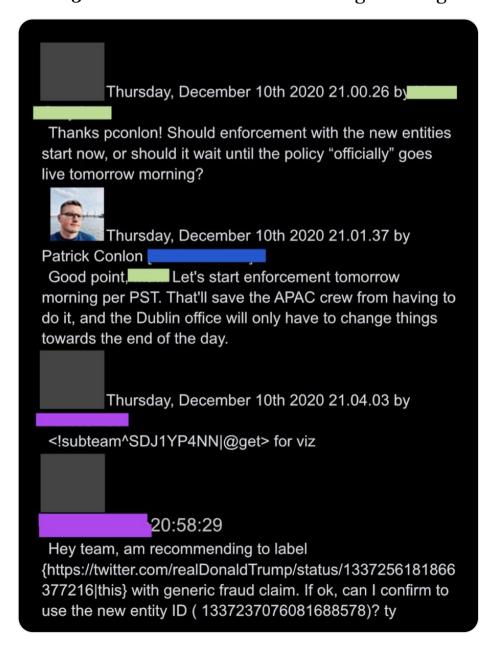
[Update] Hello everyone, I wanted to give you an update on some of our enforcement options for Tweets containing the civic misinfo that we've seen. It's been decided that Tweets that we've manually reviewed and determined need a label will now be subject to L3 deamplification, further restricting the extent to which that Tweet can be shared. The current batch of Entity IDs will soon be used for automated labeling work, but I've created a new batch of Entity IDs for the labels that we've been using the most during the past couple of weeks. Labels that we've only rarely used or that have been deprecated already haven't gotten an L3 update. If there's a moment when we need the L3 version for one of those labels, please flag it to Matt Graydon (mgraydon) or myself. To find the new L3 Entity IDs, please look at the 'L3 - US 2020 - 11 December Update' tab in the Civic Integrity Entity IDs - strato spreadsheet.

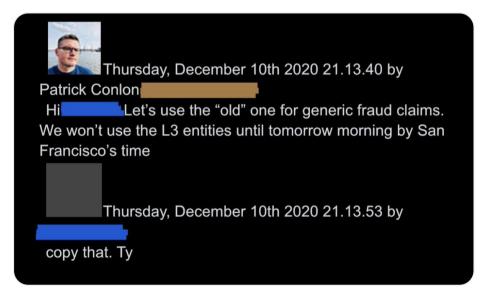
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46. Some executives wanted to use the new deamplification tool to silently limit Trump's reach more right away, beginning with the following tweet:



47. However, in the end, the team had to use older, less aggressive labeling tools at least for that day, until the "L3 entities" went live the following morning.



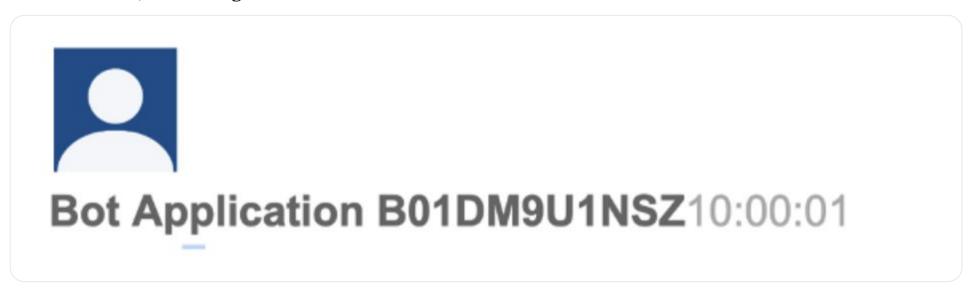


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48. The significance is that it shows that Twitter, in 2020 at least, was deploying a vast range of visible and invisible tools to rein in Trump's engagement, long before J6. The ban will come after other avenues are exhausted

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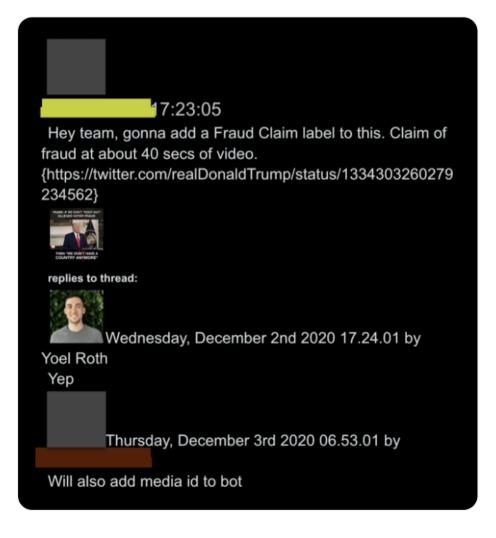
49. In Twitter docs execs frequently refer to "bots," e.g. "let's put a bot on that." A bot is just any automated heuristic moderation rule. It can be anything: every time a person in Brazil uses "green" and "blob" in the same sentence, action might be taken.



@mentions

50. In this instance, it appears moderators added a bot for a Trump claim made on Breitbart. The bot ends up becoming an automated tool invisibly watching both Trump and, apparently, Breitbart ("will add media ID to bot"). Trump by J6 was quickly covered in bots.





@mentions

51. There is no way to follow the frenzied exchanges among Twitter personnel from between January 6thand 8th without knowing the basics of the company's vast lexicon of acronyms and Orwellian unwords.

@mentions

52. To "bounce" an account is to put it in timeout, usually for a 12-hour review/cool-off:



Yoel Roth17:04:55

{https://twitter.com/BreitbartNews/status/13469844299405 18912} - gave a heads up to folks, give it another few minutes then proceed with bouncing



@mentions

53. "Interstitial," one of many nouns used as a verb in Twitterspeak ("denylist" is another), means placing a physical label atop a tweet, so it can't be seen.

@mentions

54. PII has multiple meanings, one being "Public Interest Interstitial," i.e. a covering label applied for "public interest" reasons. The post below also references "proactive V," i.e. proactive visibility filtering.

Wednesday, January 6th 2021 12.41.03 by

FTR these were interstitiated by our agents (who are prioritizing our proactive V&G queue) so process working well at the moment from that perspective

@mentions

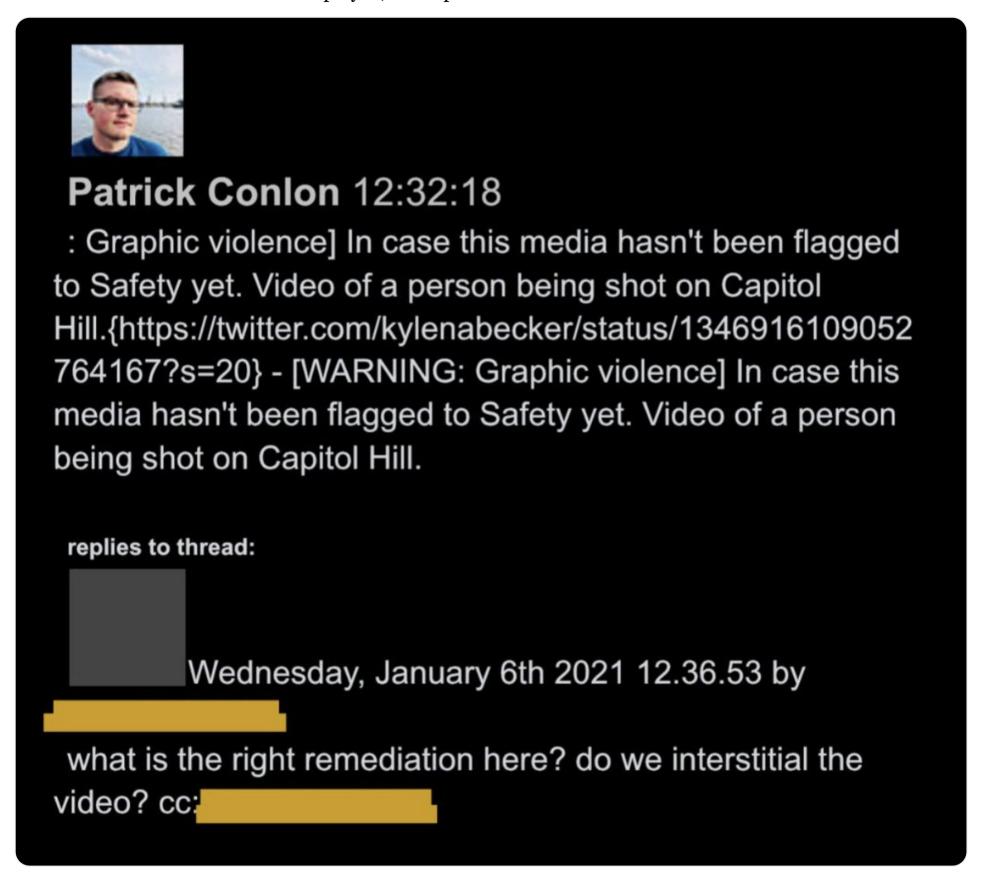
55. This is all necessary background to J6. Before the riots, the company was engaged in an inherently insane/impossible project, trying to create an ever-expanding, ostensibly rational set of rules to regulate every conceivable speech situation that might arise between humans.

@mentions

This project was preposterous yet its leaders were unable to see this, having become infected with groupthing, coming to believe – sincerely – that it was Twitter's responsibility to control, as much as possible, what people could talk about, how often, and with whom.

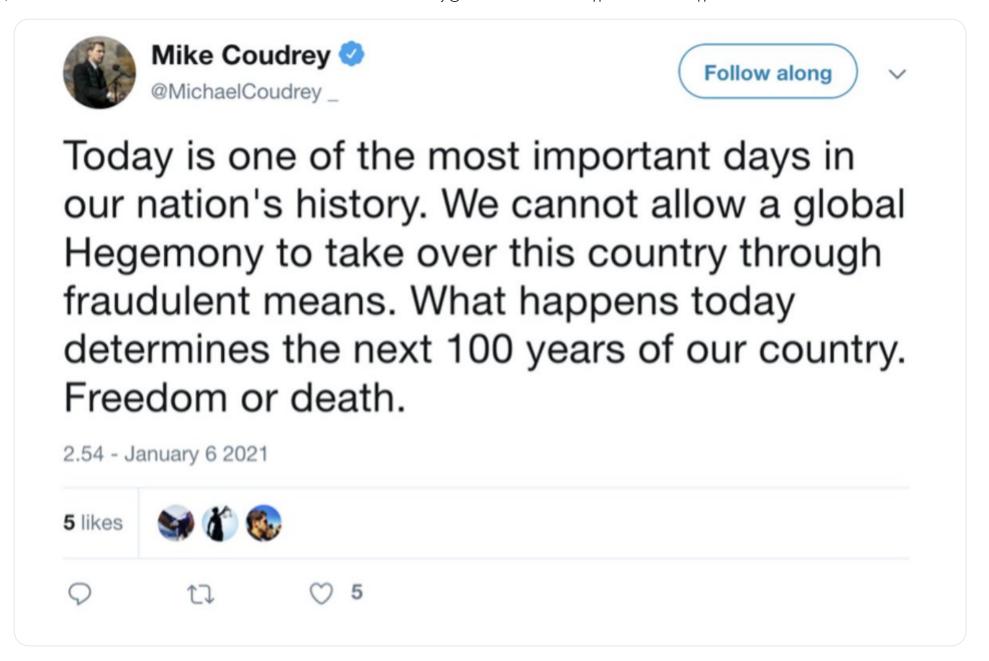
@mentions

56. When panic first breaks out on J6 there's a fair share of WTF-type posts, mixed in with frantic calls for Twitter to start deploying its full arsenal of moderation tools. "What is the right remediation? Do we interstitial the video?" asks one employee, in despair:



@mentions

57. This "Freedom or Death" tweet from <u>#StopTheSteal</u> gadfly Mike Coudrey elicits heated reactions:



58. Roth groans about Coudrey: "THIS asshole," but still seems determined to stick at least superficially to rules, itching to act "if" this "constitutes incitement."



Yoel Roth12:45:14

THIS asshole:

{https://twitter.com/MichaelCoudrey/status/1346772108 664315905}



12:45:34

oh god



Yoel Roth12:45:53

He is on his last strike for 3 different policies



Yoel Roth12:45:57

If this constitutes incitement, I will PS him

@mentions

59. At 2:39 p.m. PST, a comms official asked Roth to confirm or deny a story that they'd restricted Trump's ability to tweet. Roth says, "We have not."



Hi Yoel. Appreciate all your hard work today. We've heard from a reporter that they have a "trusted source" telling them we've restricted Trump's ability to Tweet



Sorry for this annoying request but wanted to chase it down with you before starting an email chain, etc.

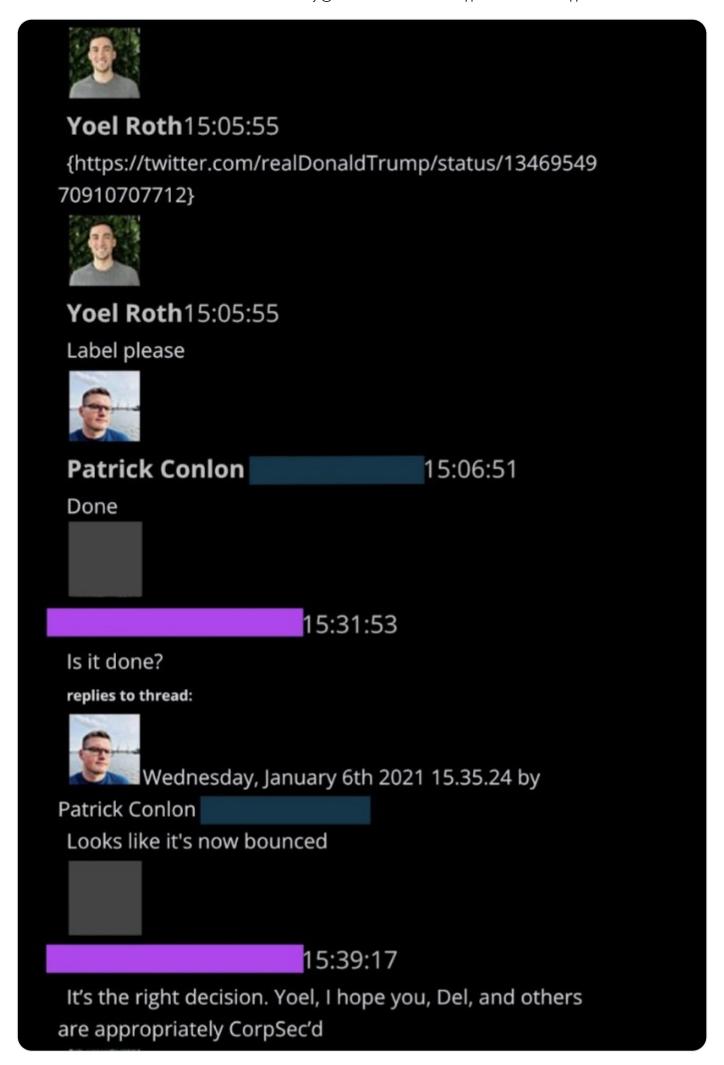


Yoel Roth14:45:39

We have not

@mentions

60. Minutes later, Roth executed the historic act of "bouncing" Trump, i.e. putting him in timeout. "I hope you... are appropriately CorpSec'd," says a colleague.



This theme of Policy perhaps being stressed by queries from Communications executives – who themselves have to answer the public's questions – occasionally appears. Two days later, you see chatter about pulling Comms out of the loop:



We are already getting questions about conspiracy theories and our enforcement process all the time. Not a wait and see thing.



Lauren Culbertson 12:24:26

Let's talk about that but we need to hammer that out ahead of an emergency and evolving situation



12:24:57

Respectfully, it needs to be your team doing so holisitically.



Lauren Culbertson12:25:27

I don't think it's wise to reach out to comms folks proactively on this

@mentions

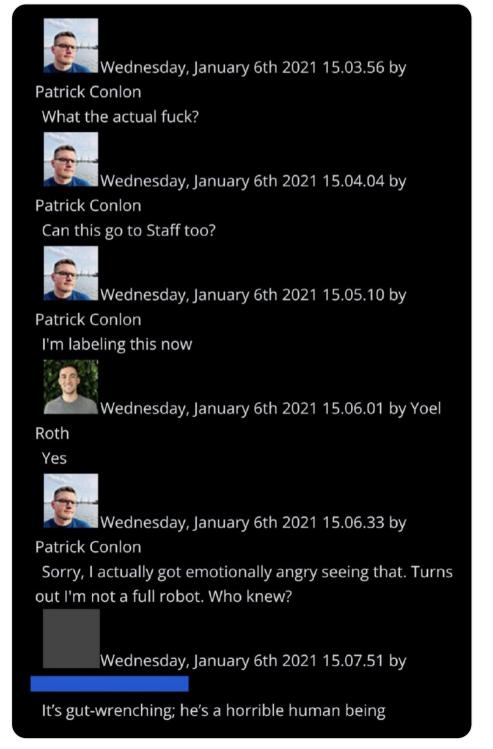
61. The first company-wide email from Gadde on January 6th announced that 3 Trump tweets had been bounced, but more importantly signaled a determination to use legit "violations" as a guide for any possible permanent suspension:

Here's the email from Vijaya: ```Hi team, An update on actions we're taking as a result of what's happening in DC today. We have removed (bounced) 3 tweets from @realDonaldTrump on 6 January 2020 for making unfounded claims of voter fraud and election theft, which must be viewed in the context of violence in Washington DC today and reasonably can be expected to continue to incite and inspire violent acts around the country. We are requiring a 12-hour timeout following the removal of these tweets. We also have tweeted so there's transparency in our actions and making it clear that future violations of the Twitter Rules will result in permanent suspension. {https://twitter.com/TwitterSafety/status/1346970430062485 505} Thanks, Vijaya```

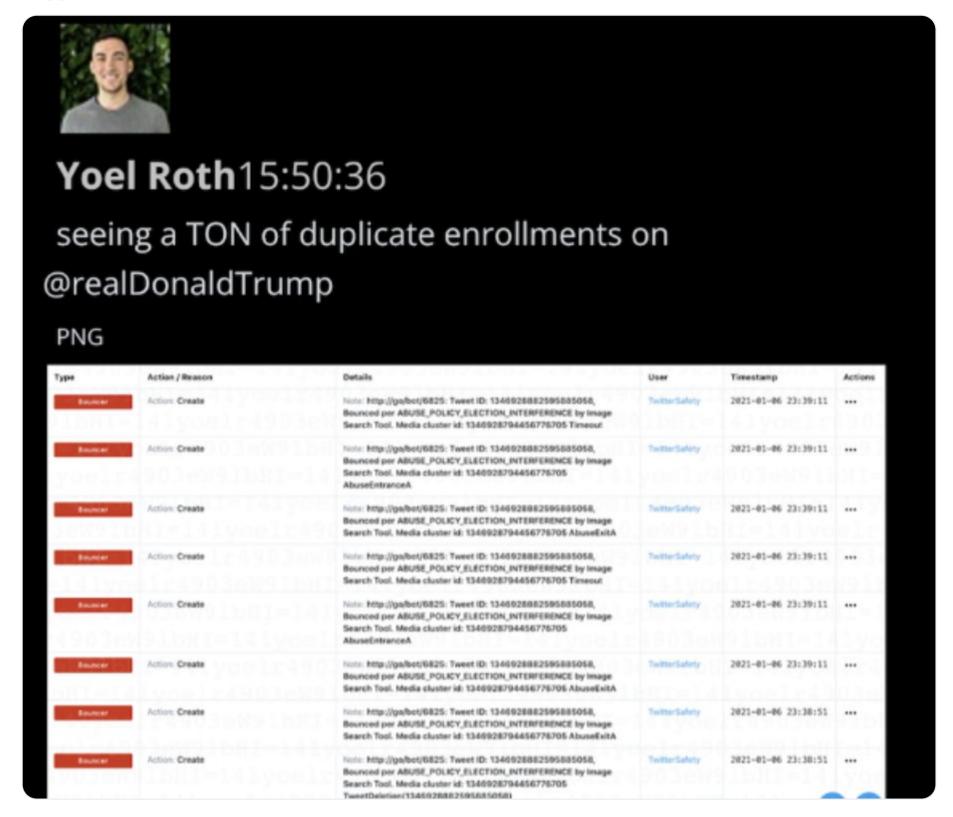
@mentions

62. "WHAT THE ACTUAL FUCK?" Safe to say Trump's "Go home with love & in peace" tweet mid-riot didn't go over well at Twitter HQ:





63. A few last notes about January 6th. Roth at one point looked and found Trump had a slew of duplicate bot applications:



@mentions

64. By the end of the first day, the top execs are still trying to apply rules. By the next day, they will contemplate a major change in approach. Watch this weekend for the play-by-play of how all that went down.

@mentions

65. By January 8th, which will describe Sunday, Twitter will be receiving plaudits from "our partners" in Washington, and the sitting U.S. president will no longer be heard on the platform.

@mentions

66. Lastly, people on the left, right, and in between want to know what else is in the <u>#TwitterFiles</u>, from suppression/shadow-banning of leftists to lab-leak theorists, or amplification of military propaganda or conservative accounts. We know everyone has questions.

@mentions

67. And while we've stumbled on tidbits here and there about topics ranging from COVID to foreign policy, the reality is the data sets are enormous and we're still working through them.

More is coming. Good night, all.

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