#### **Pinned Tweet**



#### Michael Shellenberger

@ShellenbergerMD

# 1. TWITTER FILES, PART 4 The Removal of Donald Trump: January 7 As the pressure builds, Twitter executives build the case for a permanent ban

On Jan 7, senior Twitter execs:

- create justifications to ban Trump
- seek a change of policy for Trump alone, distinct from other political leaders
- express no concern for the free speech or democracy implications of a ban

This #TwitterFiles is reported with @lwoodhouse

For those catching up, please see: Part 1, where @mtaibbi documents how senior Twitter executives violated their own policies to prevent the spread of accurate information about Hunter Biden's laptop;



#### **Matt Taibbi**

@mtaibbi - Dec 2

1. Thread: THE TWITTER FILES Show this thread

Part 2, where @bariweiss shows how senior Twitter execs created secret blacklists to "de-amplify" disfavored Twitter users, not just specific tweets;

**Quote Tweet** 



#### **Bari Weiss**

@bariweiss · Dec 8

THREAD: THE TWITTER FILES PART TWO. TWITTER'S SECRET BLACKLISTS. Show this thread

And Part 3, where @mtaibbi documents how senior Twitter execs censored tweets by Trump in the run-up to the Nov 2020 election while regularly engaging with representatives of U.S. government law enforcement agencies.



#### **Matt Taibbi**

#### @mtaibbi · Dec 9

1. THREAD: The Twitter Files THE REMOVAL OF DONALD TRUMP Part One: October 2020-January 6thShow this thread

For years, Twitter had resisted calls to ban Trump.

"Blocking a world leader from Twitter," it wrote in 2018, "would hide important info... [and] hamper necessary discussion around their words and actions."



#### **Twitter Public Policy**

#### @Policy · Jan 5, 2018

Blocking a world leader from Twitter or removing their controversial Tweets would hide important information people should be able to see and debate. It would also not silence that leader, but it would certainly hamper necessary discussion around their words and actions.

#### Show this thread

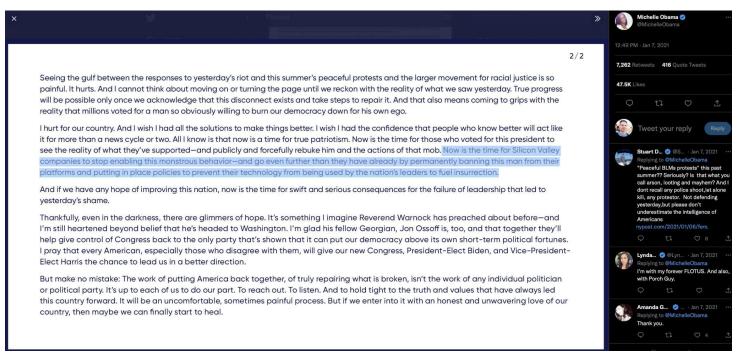
But after the events of Jan 6, the internal and external pressure on Twitter CEO @jack grows.

Former First Lady @michelleobama, tech journalist @karaswisher, @ADL, high-tech VC @ChrisSacca, and many others, publicly call on Twitter to permanently ban Trump.



You've got blood on your hands, @jack and Zuck. For four years you've rationalized this terror. Inciting violent treason is not a free speech exercise. If you work at those companies, it's on you too. Shut it down.







### It's Time for Social-Media Platforms to Permanently Ban Trump

By Kara Swisher



We have seen the Kraken, and it is Trump. Photo: Warner Bros. Pictures

Donald Trump finally unleashed the Kraken yesterday, although it had little to do with electoral fraud. Instead, it had everything to do with creating frightening chaos and swallowing up enemies whole, which is, for those who



Two bare minimum tweets after the Capitol has been stormed by extremists is too little, too late.

.@jack, it's overdue to suspend @realDonaldTrump until his account stops promoting disinformation and inciting violence.



This claim about election fraud is disputed



○ Official

ADL Statement on Violence at the U.S. Capitol Building: adl.org/news/press-rel..

#### ADL Statement on Violence at U.S. Capitol Building

New York, NY, January 6, 2021 ... ADL (Anti-Defamation League) CEO Jonathan Greenblatt issued the following statement regarding today's violence at the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington, D.C.:

As ADL has said again and again, extremists must be taken at their word. First there was volatile rhetoric online, then explicit calls to violence and now people are acting on those calls in the nation's capital and flagrantly breaking the law. It must end now.

The President has promoted sedition and incited violence. People assaulting law enforcement officers or breaching government buildings must be arrested and held accountable.

More than anything, what is happening right now at the Capitol is a direct result of the fear and disinformation that has been spewed consistently from the Oval Office. President Trump has a responsibility to call for an end to this violence and unrest that he has sowed. His campaign of disinformation is a clear and present danger to our democracy.

But until such time as that happens, social media companies should suspend his accounts ASAP as they would do for anyone else advocating disinformation and promoting violence. It's time.

ADL

12:50 PM · Jan 6, 2021

Dorsey was on vacation in French Polynesia the week of January 4-8, 2021. He phoned into meetings but also delegated much of the handling of the situation to senior execs @yoyoel, Twitter's Global Head of Trust and Safety, and @vijaya Head of Legal, Policy, & Trust.

As context, it's important to understand that Twitter's staff & senior execs were overwhelmingly progressive.

In 2018, 2020, and 2022, 96%, 98%, & 99% of Twitter staff's political donations went to Democrats.



#### **Matt Taibbi**

@mtaibbi · Dec 2

- 11. This system wasn't balanced. It was based on contacts. Because Twitter was and is overwhelmingly staffed by people of one political orientation, there were more channels, more ways to complain, open to the left (well, Democrats) than the right.
- opensecrets.org/orgs/twitter/s.....Show this thread

#### Contributions by Party of Recipient



Cycle	• Total	• Democrats	% to Dems	Republicans	% to Repubs	0
2022	\$185,267	\$165,969	99.73%	\$451	0.27%	
2020	\$968,749	\$909,431	98.47%	\$14.137	1.53%	
2018	\$309.394	\$295,722	96.38%	\$11,100	3.62%	

In 2017, Roth tweeted that there were "ACTUAL NAZIS IN THE WHITE HOUSE."

In April 2022, Roth told a colleague that his goal "is to drive change in the world," which is why he decided not to become an academic.





#### Yoel Roth at 2022-04-28 16:05:00

Yeah.... academia is by far the most abusive working environment I've ever been in. The entire system is exploitative in a ton of ways. And also not necessarily productive if your goal is to drive change in the world (which was the main reason I left).

On January 7, @Jack emails employees saying Twitter needs to remain consistent in its policies, including the right of users to return to Twitter after a temporary suspension

After, Roth reassures an employee that "people who care about this... aren't happy with where we are"



#### Yoel Roth19:09:57

Jack's emails have been \_fine\_... but ultimately, I think people want to hear from Vijaya, or Del, or someone closer to the specifics of this who can reassure them that people who care about this are thinking deeply about these problems and aren't happy with where we are. A few engineers have reached out to me directly about it, and I'm chatting with them... but it's so clear they just want to know that \_someone\_ is doing something about this, and it's not that we're ignoring the issues here.

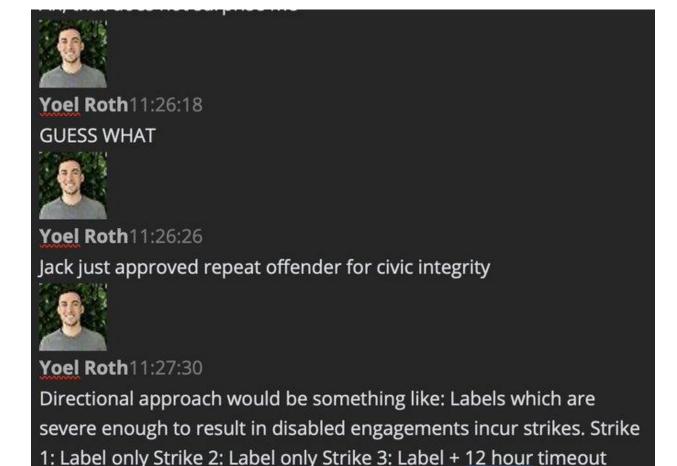


I think there's also an opportunity to help people understand that, while it seems obvious and simple that we "should" permaban his personal account, we can't afford to take that immediate action without first "playing the movie out" and anticipating all the other things that can happen, and then figure out the plans for those possible scenarios (e.g., if we suspend the personal account and he posts the same thing on the official government account, do we suspend that too?). People can be forgiven for not thinking beyond the thing that's immediately in front of them, but Jack/Vijaya/Del/you don't have the luxury of just pulling the trigger without thinking things through. We tell them repeatedly that 'people are on it' and 'people are working on it' and they're scratching their heads wondering, how hard can it be to decide if this single account is in violation?

Around 11:30 am PT, Roth DMs his colleagues with news that he is excited to share.

"GUESS WHAT," he writes. "Jack just approved repeat offender for civic integrity."

The new approach would create a system where five violations ("strikes") would result in permanent suspension.



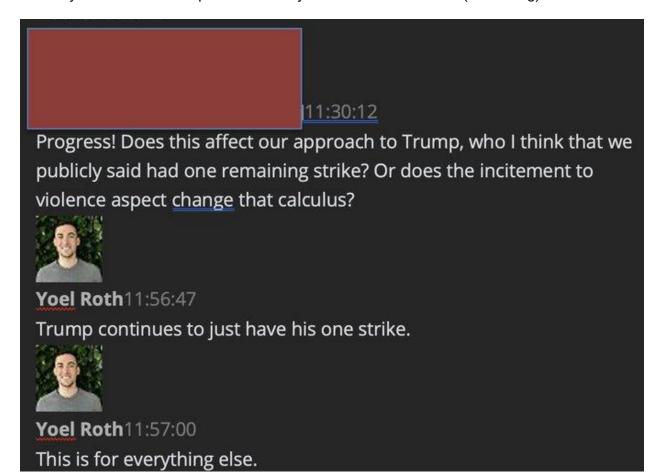
"Progress!" exclaims a member of Roth's Trust and Safety Team.

Strike 4: Label + 7 day timeout Strike 5: Perm Suspension

The exchange between Roth and his colleagues makes clear that they had been pushing @jack for greater restrictions on the speech Twitter allows around elections.

The colleague wants to know if the decision means Trump can finally be banned. The person asks, "does the incitement to violence aspect change that calculus?"

Roth says it doesn't. "Trump continues to just have his one strike" (remaining).



Roth's colleague's query about "incitement to violence" heavily foreshadows what will happen the following day.

On January 8, Twitter announces a permanent ban on Trump due to the "risk of further incitement of violence."

## Permanent suspension of @realDonaldTrump

By Twitter Inc.

Friday, 8 January 2021 y f in 8

After close review of recent Tweets from the @realDonaldTrump account and the context around them — specifically how they are being received and interpreted on and off Twitter — we have permanently suspended the account due to the risk of further incitement of violence.

On J8, Twitter says its ban is based on "specifically how [Trump's tweets] are being received & interpreted."

But in 2019, Twitter said it did "not attempt to determine all potential interpretations of the content or its intent."

https://blog.twitter.com/en\_us/topics/company/2019/worldleaders2019

(See link)

After close review of recent Tweets from the @realDonaldTrump account and the context around them — specifically how they are being received and interpreted on and off Twitter — we have permanently suspended the account due to the risk of further incitement of violence.

We focus on the language of reported Tweets and do not attempt to determine all potential interpretations of the content or its intent.

The \*only\* serious concern we found expressed within Twitter over the implications for free speech and democracy of banning Trump came from a junior person in the organization. It was tucked away in a lower-level Slack channel known as "site-integrity-auto."

#### 08:11:57

This might be an unpopular opinion but <u>one off</u> ad hoc decisions like this that don't appear rooted in policy are <u>imho</u> a slippery slope and reflect an alternatively equally dictatorial problem. This now appears to be a fiat by an online platform CEO with a global presence that can gatekeep speech for the entire world - which seems unsustainable.

"This might be an unpopular opinion but one off ad hoc decisions like this that don't appear rooted in policy are imho a slippery slope... This now appears to be a fiat by an online platform CEO with a global presence that can gatekeep speech for the entire world..."

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Twitter employees use the term "one off" frequently in their Slack discussions. Its frequent use reveals significant employee discretion over when and whether to apply warning labels on tweets and "strikes" on users. Here are typical examples.

Friday, November 6th 2020 08.38.11 by there's always AbuseOne-Off

Friday, November 6th 2020 08.38.33 by Bounce. (One-off) is the option

could have Bounced with a strike. I don't see any scenario where we would decide not the bounce here. Just want to check if there are any concerns, otherwise, I can bounce under RTP and close this one before I go. \*FYIs\* \*Account for review: @USAsecession\* - We are trying to understand the one-off decision here. A few

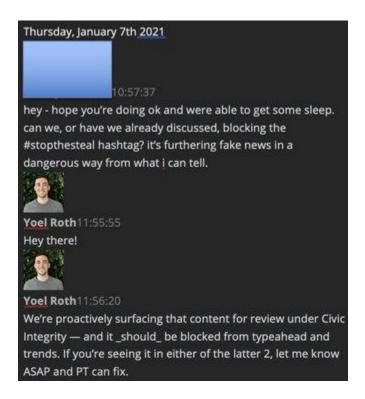
Recall from #TwitterFiles2 by @bariweiss that, according to Twitter staff, "We control visibility quite a bit. And we control the amplification of your content quite a bit. And normal people do not know how much we do."

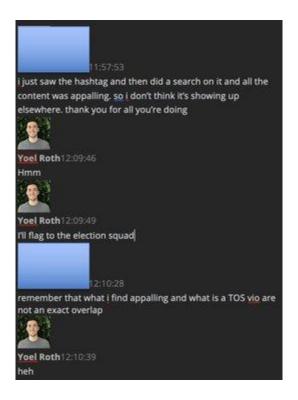
#### **Bari Weiss**

#### @bariweiss · Dec 8

11. "We control visibility quite a bit. And we control the amplification of your content quite a bit. And normal people do not know how much we do," one Twitter engineer told us. Two additional Twitter employees confirmed. Show this thread

Twitter employees recognize the difference between their own politics & Twitter's Terms of Service (TOS), but they also engage in complex interpretations of content in order to stamp out prohibited tweets, as a series of exchanges over the "#stopthesteal" hashtag reveal.





Roth immediately DMs a colleague to ask that they add "stopthesteal" & [QAnon conspiracy term] "kraken" to a blacklist of terms to be deamplified.

Roth's colleague objects that blacklisting "stopthesteal" risks "deamplifying counterspeech" that validates the election.



#### Yoel Roth12:11:06

know there's a lot going on - any objections to adding "stopthesteal" and "kraken" to the CHA Q term lists if they aren't there already?



#### Yoel Roth12:11:18

The daylight separating Q and the Stop The Steal stuff now is effectively zero.



kraken for sure if it's not already there

12:12:11

i'm too worried about the risk of deamplifying counterspeech with stopthesteal



Yoel Roth12:12:20

ack

Indeed, notes Roth's colleague, "a quick search of top stop the steal tweets and they're counterspeech"

But they quickly come up with a solution: "deamplify accounts with stopthesteal in the name/profile" since "those are not affiliated with counterspeech"

12:12:42

<u>yeah</u> just a quick search of top stop the steal tweets and they're counterspeech

12:13:36

kraken i'm comfortable with - top tweets are generally Q related and im noticing an absence of counterspeech



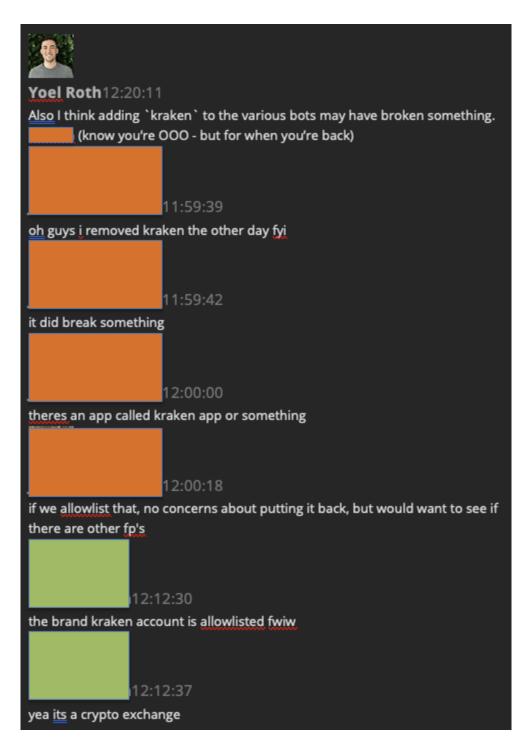
Yoel Roth12:13:48

It's also super common on profiles

12:14:26

actually can we deamplify accounts with stopthesteal in the name/profile level - those are not affiliated with counterspeech

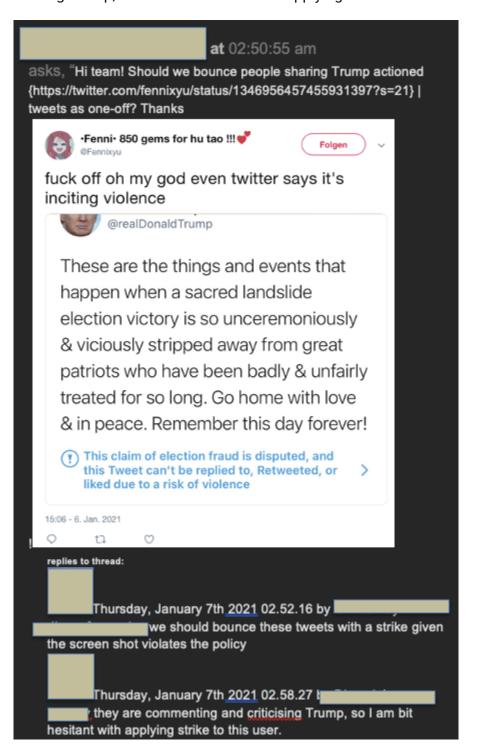
But it turns out that even blacklisting "kraken" is less straightforward than they thought. That's because kraken, in addition to being a QAnon conspiracy theory based on the mythical Norwegian sea monster, is also the name of a cryptocurrency exchange, and was thus "allowlisted"



Employees struggle with whether to punish users who share screenshots of Trump's deleted J6 tweets

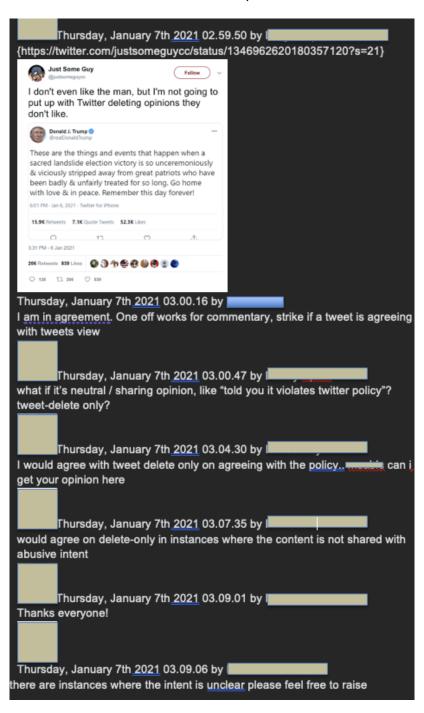
"we should bounce these tweets with a strike given the screen shot violates the policy"

"they are criticising Trump, so I am bit hesitant with applying strike to this user"



What if a user dislikes Trump \*and\* objects to Twitter's censorship? The tweet still gets deleted. But since the \*intention\* is not to deny the election result, no punishing strike is applied.

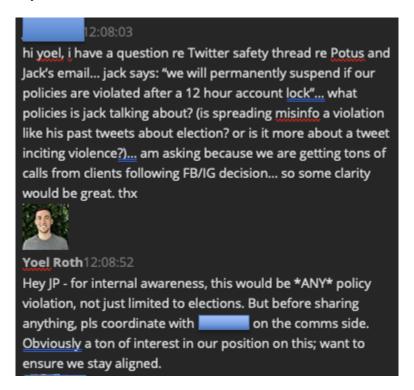
"if there are instances where the intent is unclear please feel free to raise"



Around noon, a confused senior executive in advertising sales sends a DM to Roth.

Sales exec: "jack says: 'we will permanently suspend [Trump] if our policies are violated after a 12 hour account lock'... what policies is jack talking about?"

Roth: "\*ANY\* policy violation"



What happens next is essential to understanding how Twitter justified banning Trump.

Sales exec: "are we dropping the public interest [policy] now..."

Roth, six hours later: "In this specific case, we're changing our public interest approach for his account..."

#### 13:25:56

thanks yoel; will connect w Comms team for sure; one last question: in the past, we 'exempted policy violation' from a world leader due to the public interest value... are we dropping the public interest now and any new violation could be a trigger... for me to understand... again will check w/ comms re what we can / cannot share publicly



#### Yoel Roth19:18:02

Apologies for the slow reply. I've been <u>back to back</u> all day today. In this specific case, we're changing our public interest approach for his account to say any violation would result in suspension. We aren't completely getting rid of the public interest approach - though we do have work planned on revisions in H1 2021.

The ad exec is referring to Twitter's policy of "Public-interest exceptions," which allows the content of elected officials, even if it violates Twitter rules, "if it directly contributes to understanding or discussion of a matter of public concern" <a href="https://help.twitter.com/en/rules-and-policies/public-interest">https://help.twitter.com/en/rules-and-policies/public-interest</a>

At present, we limit exceptions to one critical type of public-interest content—Tweets from elected and government officials—given the significant public interest in knowing and being able to discuss their actions and statements.

Roth pushes for a permanent suspension of Rep. Matt Gaetz even though it "doesn't quite fit anywhere (duh)"

It's a kind of test case for the rationale for banning Trump.

"I'm trying to talk [Twitter's] safety [team] into... removal as a conspiracy that incites violence."

12:27:24

What's latest on Antifa claims? Anything brewing policy-wise? C is yelling from the other room that we should just ban Gaetz



Yoel Roth12:27:36

Yeah - SP and SI are working on that



Yoel Roth12:28:20

It doesn't quite fit anywhere (duh)

12:28:26

Right



Yoel Roth12:28:28

But I'm trying to talk safety into treating it as incitement



Yoel Roth12:29:28

I think we'll get over the line for removal as a conspiracy that incites violence



Yoel Roth12:29:35

Vijaya was directionally okay with it

Around 2:30, comms execs DM Roth to say they don't want to make a big deal of the QAnon ban to the media because they fear "if we push this it looks we're trying to offer up something in place of the thing everyone wants," meaning a Trump ban.

14:26:16

We're good either way. We'll discuss, but I'm generally in the space of let's start taking action and not do a big comms push around this. We can explain why if we're asked, but worry if we push this it <u>looks</u> we're trying to offer up something in place of the thing everyone wants.



Yoel Roth14:26:25

Yep.

That evening, a Twitter engineer DMs to Roth to say, "I feel a lot of debates around exceptions stem from the fact that Trump's account is not technically different from anybody else' and yet treated differently due to his personal status, without corresponding \_Twitter rules\_.."

<u>r.</u> Hi Yoel, I'm

sure you are very busy right now, and my apologies if this is distraction to your work. I wonder if there has been discussion about reshaping the rules around "official accounts" (e.g. {https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump}) and other accounts (e.g. <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump> or an unverified account)? I feel a lot of debates around exceptions stem from the fact that Trump's account is not technically different from anybody else' and yet treated differently due to his personal status, without corresponding \_Twitter rules\_ to clarify the responsibilities that should come with that status.

Roth's response hints at how Twitter would justify deviating from its longstanding policy. "To put a different spin on it: policy is one part of the system of how Twitter works... we ran into the world changing faster than we were able to either adapt the product or the policy."



#### Yoel Roth19:15:54

I think you're spot on. To put a different spin on it: policy is one part of the system of how Twitter works. There are different things you can change when you want to effect different behaviors. Policy and enforcement are one; the product is another; partnerships and outreach are another; etc. And all of that is situated in a bigger system, i.e. the world, which influences how everything else operates in practice. When you change one part of the system, you necessarily have to adapt the rest. And I think we ran into the world changing faster than we were able to either adapt the product or the policy. But we can and should do both. Not directly

The evening of January 7, the same junior employee who expressed an "unpopular opinion" about "ad hoc decisions... that don't appear rooted in policy," speaks up one last time before the end of the day.

https://twitter.com/ShellenbergerMD/status/1601738653805387779

Earlier that day, the employee wrote, "My concern is specifically surrounding the unarticulated logic of the decision by FB. That space fills with the idea (conspiracy theory?) that all... internet moguls... sit around like kings casually deciding what people can and cannot see."

### Thursday, January 7th<u> 2021</u> 08.51.27 by

My concern is specifically surrounding the unarticulated logic of the decision by FB. That's the space that fills with the idea (conspiracy theory?) that all social media heads and internet moguls at every layer sit around like kings casually deciding what people can and cannot see, and it's unhelpful to the internet ecosystem as a whole. Again this is IMHO only.

The employee notes, later in the day, "And Will Oremus noticed the inconsistency too...," linking to an article for OneZero at Medium called, "Facebook Chucked Its Own Rulebook to Ban Trump." <a href="mailto:onezero.medium.com">onezero.medium.com</a>

Facebook Chucked Its Own Rulebook to Ban Trump

The move is a reminder of social platforms' power over online speech—and the inconsistency with which they wield it

"The underlying problem," writes @WillOremus, is that "the dominant platforms have always been loath to own up to their subjectivity, because it highlights the extraordinary, unfettered power they wield over the global public square...

"... and places the responsibility for that power on their own shoulders... So they hide behind an ever-changing rulebook, alternately pointing to it when it's convenient and shoving it under the nearest rug when it isn't."

"Facebook's suspension of Trump now puts Twitter in an awkward position. If Trump does indeed return to Twitter, the pressure on Twitter will ramp up to find a pretext on which to ban him as well."

Indeed. And as @bariweiss will show tomorrow, that's exactly what happened.

/END