

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK**

ALEX BERENSON,

Plaintiff,

v.

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., President of the United States, in his official capacity;

ANDREW M. SLAVITT, Senior Advisor to the COVID-19 Response Coordinator, in his official capacity, and in his individual capacity;

ROBERT FLAHERTY, Director of Digital Strategy at the White House, in his official capacity, and in his individual capacity;

VIVEK MURTHY, M.D., Surgeon General of the United States, in his official capacity, and in his individual capacity;

SCOTT GOTTLIEB, M.D., former FDA Commissioner and Member of the Board of the Directors of Pfizer, Inc.; and

ALBERT BOURLA, PH.D., D.V.M., Chief Executive Officer of Pfizer, Inc.,

Defendants.

Case No.: 1:23-cv-03048-JGLC

FIRST AMENDED COMPLAINT

Jury Trial Demanded

INTRODUCTION

1. In 2017, a well-known politician defended free speech: “The First Amendment is one of the defining features of who we are in the Bill of Rights,” he said. “And to shut it down in the name of what is appropriate is simply wrong. It’s wrong.” Ultimately, “if your idea is big enough it should be able to compete.” National Agenda Speaker Series, Univ. of Delaware, Oct. 17, 2017, at 41-42, <https://tinyurl.com/4tns8rw3>.

2. If President Biden’s deeds had matched his words, this lawsuit would be unnecessary. Instead, members of his administration engaged in a nearly unprecedented conspiracy to suppress Mr. Berenson’s First Amendment rights. Through 2021, they—and a senior board member at Pfizer, Inc. which has made more than \$70 billion selling COVID-19 vaccines—worked together to pressure Twitter to suspend Mr. Berenson’s account and mute his voice as a leading COVID-19 vaccine skeptic. The White House and the Biden Administration did this at the same time government officials promoted their views on the necessity of COVID-19 vaccination on Twitter, effectively blocking Mr. Berenson from commenting on their own statements or making his own.

3. In August 2021, after months of public and secret pressure, Defendants succeeded. Twitter banned Mr. Berenson, after the secret intervention of a Twitter lobbyist whom Defendants had pressured for months and who was the White House’s closest contact at the company. Twitter employees who dealt with the White House were supposed to have no role in the company’s “content moderation” decisions, according to the Twitter executive in charge of those decisions at the time. But—at the behest of Defendants—the lobbyist pushed through Mr. Berenson’s crucial fifth and final COVID-19 “strike” (in Twitter’s lingo) on a Saturday night, without the knowledge or approval of Twitter’s most senior executives, who had been involved in previous decisions about his account. That strike led to Mr. Berenson’s permanent banishment from the platform and even prevented his readers from seeing his earlier reporting on Twitter, a particularly Orwellian form of censorship, and it came only days before President Biden announced a controversial COVID-19 vaccine mandate, which the Supreme Court would ultimately strike down.

4. After those top Twitter executives learned—too late—that Twitter had banned Mr. Berenson, they said internally that Twitter should not have done so and that his tweets represented the kind of reporting and debate on crucial public issues the platform encouraged. “We have wanted to leave room for people to have discussion in this space, and certainly discussion around vaccine mandates feels like an area we should allow to happen . . . I don’t believe a perm suspension is warranted,” Vijaya Gadde, Twitter’s Head of Legal, Policy, and Trust, wrote to another employee the day after Twitter banned Mr. Berenson.

5. But a Twitter spokesperson—who, like the lobbyist, worked out of Twitter’s Washington office—had already made a statement confirming the ban. The public announcement presented Ms. Gadde and other senior executives with a fait accompli—censorship that defied Twitter’s own policies, thanks to the pressure Defendants had exerted on the Twitter employees directly responsible for keeping the company in the good graces of the Biden Administration.

6. The censorship harmed both Mr. Berenson and a clearly identifiable class of nearly 100 million Americans whose interests he helped represent—Americans who either had questions about the vaccine or did not want to be forced to take a shot that they feared had been rushed through development and lost its ability to prevent COVID-19 infections within months.

7. These allegations may sound extraordinary, but the conspirators’ own words, documents from Twitter and the government, and discovery from federal officials in a lawsuit filed by the States of Missouri and Louisiana, detail their efforts. More recently, X Corp., the corporate successor to Twitter, has voluntarily provided new documents that offer further evidence of the conspiracy and Twitter’s response and are the primary basis for this First Amended Complaint. Documents released this spring by a Congressional subcommittee are a

secondary source. None of this information was available to Mr. Berenson when he filed the initial Complaint, coming to light after Defendants' motions to dismiss were fully briefed.

8. As the conspirators knew, Twitter was and remains a vital platform for journalism and debate. The government Defendants, including President Biden, use Twitter as a public forum "as an important tool of governance and executive outreach." *Knight First Amend. Inst. at Columbia Univ. v. Trump*, 928 F.3d 226, 236 (2d Cir. 2019), *cert. granted, judgment vacated sub nom. Biden v. Knight First Amend. Inst. at Columbia Univ.*, 141 S. Ct. 1220 (2021). These efforts were particularly the case with respect to the federal government's attempts to persuade and then coerce Americans to receive a COVID-19 vaccine. President Biden even used Twitter to announce his Administration's COVID-19 vaccine mandate.

9. Meanwhile, through his Twitter account, Mr. Berenson was a highly visible obstacle to their efforts. His Twitter feed received more than 1 billion impressions in 2021, and its popularity increased as the year progressed. President Biden himself was aware of and supportive of his Administration's efforts to force the platforms to act against vaccine skeptics like Mr. Berenson.

10. Only days after President Biden's inauguration in January 2021, federal officials began to press Twitter to remove posts that raised questions about the safety of the mRNA shots. But their specific animus against Mr. Berenson went further. In a secret White House meeting in April 2021, the conspirators—led by Andrew Slavitt, Senior Advisor to the White House's COVID-19 Response Coordinator—specifically targeted Mr. Berenson for removal. The conspirators did not simply ask Twitter to remove a specific post Mr. Berenson made. Rather they pushed Twitter to ban him entirely, an unconstitutional prior restraint on his speech.

11. But Mr. Slavitt and the other conspirators did not count on Twitter's reluctance to suspend Mr. Berenson. Their initial pressure campaign failed. After repeated internal reviews, Twitter found that Mr. Berenson had not violated the platform's rules about COVID-19. During the spring of 2021, Twitter told both the conspirators and Mr. Berenson himself that he had done nothing wrong.

12. Twitter's judgment was correct. Throughout the period in which the conspirators demanded his removal, Mr. Berenson provided links to articles in reputable scientific journals and commentary on them. He was among the first American journalists to note the potential link between the mRNA shots and myocarditis, a connection health authorities have now acknowledged. *See, e.g., CDC, Clinical Considerations: Myocarditis and Pericarditis after Receipt of mRNA COVID-19 Vaccines Among Adolescents and Young Adults, <https://www.cdc.gov/vaccines/covid-19/clinical-considerations/myocarditis.html>* (last updated Sept. 29, 2022).

13. Throughout this period, Mr. Berenson was careful not to attack the mRNA vaccines as wrong for older Americans at the highest risk from COVID-19. In an article published in April 2021, he recommended them for people over 70 and said that people between 50 and 70 should decide for themselves based "on personal risk factors." Many European countries now make similar recommendations. In January 2023, for example, the United Kingdom prospectively barred healthy adults under 50 from receiving a COVID-19 vaccine without a specific recommendation from a medical professional. Joe Pinkstone, *Covid-19 booster jab offer set to end*, The Telegraph, Jan. 25, 2023, <https://archive.is/3a86q#selection-1617.0-1617.136>.

14. Dr. Anthony Fauci himself has now expressed concerns over the effectiveness of the COVID-19 vaccines. In an article he co-authored in January 2023, Dr. Fauci claimed that the “SARS-CoV-2 vaccines saved innumerable lives and helped to achieve early partial pandemic control,” but that as variants emerged “deficiencies” in the COVID-19 vaccines “reminiscent of influenza vaccines have become apparent.” David M. Morens, Jeffrey K. Taubenberger & Anthony S. Fauci, *Rethinking next-generation vaccines for coronaviruses, influenza viruses, and other respiratory viruses*, 31 Cell Host & Microbe 146, 146 (2023), available at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC9832587/pdf/main.pdf>. Regarding flu shots, Dr. Fauci argued those vaccines have “rates of effectiveness... [that] would be inadequate for licensure for most other vaccine-preventable diseases.” *Id.*

15. In fact, the conspirators targeted Mr. Berenson precisely *because* he was not making bizarre accusations about the vaccines. Their own internal discussions reveal they were more concerned about plausible skepticism like his than unlikely theories, like the charge that the vaccines somehow contained “microchips.”

16. In July 2021, the conspiracy to censor Mr. Berenson took on new urgency. The Biden Administration and Pfizer became aware the mRNA vaccines were losing their efficacy against infection far more quickly than they had expected, raising the likelihood that additional “booster” shots and vaccine mandates would soon be required. The White House knew many Americans would dislike those measures, particularly mandates—which President Biden previously said would not be imposed.

17. So the conspirators redoubled their efforts to force Twitter to censor Mr. Berenson. Mr. Slavitt was at the center of the conspiracy. In June, Mr. Slavitt had officially left his federal position as senior advisor for the COVID-19 response, but he remained close to White

House officials, including then White House Chief of Staff Ron Klain, as well as public health officials like Surgeon General Dr. Vivek Murthy. Through at least late July, Mr. Slavitt was in close contact with a senior executive at Facebook, another target of the Biden Administration's censorship efforts. That Facebook executive told other top Facebook officials Mr. Slavitt was serving as an intermediary to the White House and Dr. Murthy.

18. Mr. Slavitt also had a close relationship with Dr. Gottlieb, who was not merely a senior board member at Pfizer Inc. but the former commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration. Mr. Slavitt and Dr. Gottlieb had authored papers together, and Dr. Gottlieb was repeatedly a guest on Mr. Slavitt's podcast, which Mr. Slavitt broadcast before and after working in the White House. But Mr. Slavitt's connection to Pfizer did not end there. Pfizer was a sponsor of Mr. Slavitt's podcast, and Mr. Slavitt interviewed Pfizer Chief Executive Officer Albert Bourla on the podcast in late July 2021.

19. During this period, the conspiracy had both public and private arms. Mr. Slavitt secretly and repeatedly urged Twitter to act against Mr. Berenson. Publicly, Mr. Slavitt and the other conspirators generally avoided mentioning Mr. Berenson by name, but they harshly attacked Twitter and other platforms for allowing skepticism about the COVID-19 vaccines, which they labeled "misinformation."

20. On July 15 and 16, 2021, the White House press secretary publicly demanded social media companies take aggressive action against COVID-19 vaccine skeptics. On July 16 President Biden himself said social media platforms, including Twitter, were "killing people" by allowing users to publish COVID-19 vaccine skepticism. Within *hours* of President Biden's comments, Twitter for the first time took public action against Mr. Berenson, locking him out of

his account. In late July, Twitter suspended Mr. Berenson’s account twice more, putting him at risk of permanent suspension if he received one more “strike.”

21. Since Mr. Berenson filed his initial Complaint in 2023, X Corp.—the corporate successor to Twitter—has voluntarily opened its archives to Mr. Berenson and provided documents that offer significant additional proof of the conspiracy between the White House, Mr. Slavitt, and Dr. Gottlieb.

22. On July 18, 2021, Mr. Slavitt wrote Todd O’Boyle, the Twitter lobbyist who had fielded the initial White House request to ban Mr. Berenson, to introduce him to Dr. Gottlieb. Mr. Slavitt and Dr. Gottlieb wished to discuss a “policy matter” with Twitter, Mr. Slavitt wrote. Mr. O’Boyle replied quickly, offering to have a conference call with the men, who made clear they were acting together. Later emails from both men would show the primary “policy matter” of interest to them was the censorship and ultimate banning of Mr. Berenson’s Twitter account.

23. Throughout late July, Mr. Slavitt repeatedly used his access to Mr. O’Boyle to highlight specific tweets of Mr. Berenson’s for potential censorship and to ask whether Mr. Berenson’s account might be close to permanent suspension. On July 31, after Mr. Slavitt wrote, “If he [(Mr. Berenson)] doesn’t go permanently after this, the outcry will be justified,” Mr. O’Boyle asked Mr. Slavitt to wait for action, telling him, “Our process takes time.” During this period, Mr. O’Boyle also fielded and responded to Dr. Gottlieb’s complaints about Mr. Berenson’s account, offering on August 2, 2021 to schedule a call with Dr. Gottlieb to discuss it.

24. On August 6, a week after his fourth strike, Twitter restored Mr. Berenson’s access to his account. Throughout August, he publicized data showing the vaccines were losing their effectiveness against COVID-19 infection. His tweets received millions of views a day,

about 200 million for the month. Yet Twitter took no action against him, frustrating the conspirators.

25. Meanwhile, the Biden Administration was moving closer to announcing COVID-19 vaccine mandates, which would prove controversial—and profitable for Pfizer. And so on August 23, the conspirators began their final and successful effort to force Twitter to ban Mr. Berenson. On August 23 and 24, the White House, Mr. Slavitt, and Dr. Gottlieb all contacted Mr. O’Boyle about Twitter’s efforts “to elevate the conversation about covid and vaccines,” according to an email Mr. O’Boyle sent to Lauren Culbertson, his boss and Twitter’s top lobbyist for the United States. Mr. O’Boyle explained to Ms. Culbertson he hoped “to keep the target off our back.”

26. On the same day, August 24, Dr. Gottlieb emailed Mr. O’Boyle to complain again about Mr. Berenson and his work. Once again, Dr. Gottlieb was careful to avoid Mr. Berenson by name in writing in his dialogue with Twitter, but the Pfizer director left no doubt about his displeasure with the journalist.

27. Mr. O’Boyle again responded to Dr. Gottlieb with alacrity, scheduling a conference call with him and Ms. Culbertson on Friday, August 27. During the August 27 call, Dr. Gottlieb pressed the company about Mr. Berenson’s continued access to the platform, and Mr. O’Boyle explained to Dr. Gottlieb that if Mr. Berenson received just one more strike under Twitter’s COVID-19 misleading information policy, the journalist would be permanently banned. Less than 24 hours later, on Saturday, August 28, Dr. Gottlieb again contacted Twitter and Mr. O’Boyle, this time over a tweet from Mr. Berenson that began, “It doesn’t stop infection. Or transmission,” and ended, “And we want to mandate it? Insanity.”

28. Twitter initially only applied a “misleading” label to this tweet. The company did not ban him—at least not at first. Mr. O’Boyle and Ms. Culbertson both knew senior executives at Twitter had become involved and reviewed earlier potential enforcement actions around Mr. Berenson’s account because of its visibility and the political pressure around it. However, Mr. O’Boyle did not notify any senior executives about Dr. Gottlieb’s concerns about the tweet. Instead, on Saturday afternoon and evening, he contacted a junior employee at Twitter about it and repeatedly pressured her until she agreed it was violative and attached a fifth strike to it, causing Mr. Berenson to be banned permanently. Mr. O’Boyle then took credit for the suspension to other employees in Twitter’s Washington office, explaining he had “escalated the violative tweet based on a report by former FDA commissioner Scott Gottlieb, with whom LC [(Ms. Culbertson)] and I spoke yesterday afternoon.”

29. But when they learned of the ban, both Ms. Gadde, Twitter’s Head of Legal, Policy, and Trust, and Chief Executive Officer Jack Dorsey said they believed Mr. Berenson’s tweet had not violated Twitter’s policies and Twitter should not have censored his account. “Vijaya and Jack viewed the Tweet and the claims made as mostly criticism of the potential for government vaccine mandates,” a senior Twitter official wrote to Yoel Roth, the company’s head of “trust and safety”—the division that oversaw its “content moderation” efforts, including censoring individual tweets and banning users. At this point, however, Twitter had publicly confirmed the ban and it had received global press coverage, leaving the company with no choice but to stand by the strike Mr. O’Boyle had pushed through at Dr. Gottlieb’s request, else the target on the company’s back also grow. While Ms. Gadde and other employees internally discussed allowing Mr. Berenson to appeal the ban, Twitter never even sent him any notice that

he had received a fifth strike and permanent ban—its standard practice—much less that he had a way to appeal it.

30. Mr. Berenson had to sue his way back onto the platform. As part of resolving that litigation, Twitter itself has now admitted publicly what its top executives said privately three years ago, that Mr. Berenson did not violate its rules. In July 2022—*before* Elon Musk took over Twitter—the same Twitter executives who had banned him settled a lawsuit he had filed against the company by restoring his account without conditions and acknowledging publicly that his “tweets should not have led to his suspension.” Twitter has also removed misleading labels it affixed to Mr. Berenson’s 2021 tweets. But the damage has already been done—to Mr. Berenson and millions of Americans who shared his concerns about the vaccines.

31. In September 2021, just days after Mr. Berenson lost his voice on Twitter, the Biden Administration imposed several workplace vaccine mandates. The broadest mandate forced tens of millions of adult Americans to take COVID-19 vaccines or risk losing their jobs before the Supreme Court struck it down four months later. Banned from Twitter, Mr. Berenson was unable to report and comment on the mandate to his followers, and those to whom they would have forwarded his tweets.

32. Dr. Gottlieb and Pfizer Chief Executive Officer Albert Bourla had financial incentives to silence Mr. Berenson. The Biden Administration had even larger political incentives. Government officials painted vaccination against COVID-19 as a life-and-death issue. To them, Mr. Berenson’s constitutional and legal rights to petition the government, speak freely, and report were mere inconveniences.

33. The First Amendment prohibits governmental conspiracies like this. COVID-19 did not suspend the Constitution or the rights it enumerates for Americans. As the Supreme

Court put it more than 150 years ago, confronting the crisis of a civil war, “[t]he Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine, involving more pernicious consequences, was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government.” *Ex Parte Milligan*, 71 U.S. 2, 120-21 (1866).

34. Similarly, 42 U.S.C. § 1985(3), a federal law that dates to the Reconstruction era, prohibits private and governmental actors from working together to violate the constitutional rights of Americans. This lawsuit seeks to hold *all* the conspirators accountable for their censorship—which both damaged Mr. Berenson personally and helped rig the debate over the Biden Administration’s illegal workplace vaccine mandates.

35. In the case that is the closest immediate precedent to this one, this Court found that President Donald Trump could not block Twitter users from seeing or commenting on his *private* Twitter account. By using the account to make official pronouncements, President Trump turned it into a public forum, and his “blocking of the plaintiffs based on their political speech constitutes viewpoint discrimination that violates the First Amendment.” *Knight First Amend. Inst. at Columbia Univ. v. Trump*, 302 F. Supp. 3d 541, 549 (S.D.N.Y. 2018).

36. Similarly, on March 20, 2023 a federal district court in Louisiana allowed another lawsuit related to federal efforts to suppress dissenting views around COVID-19 to move ahead. As the Court explained in refusing to grant defendants’ motion to dismiss the lawsuit, “Government action, aimed at the suppression of particular views on a subject which discriminates on the basis of viewpoint, is presumptively unconstitutional.” *Missouri v. Biden*, Case No. 3:22-cv-01213-TAD-KDM, ECF No. 224, at 69 (W.D. La. Mar. 20, 2023). “Viewpoint

discrimination is an egregious form of content discrimination,” the district court noted. *Id.* “When the government targets not subject matter, but particular views taken by speakers on a subject, the violation of the First Amendment is all the more blatant.” *Id.* (quoting *Rosenberger v. Rector & Visitors of Univ. of Virginia*, 515 U.S. 819, 829 (1995)). Further, “[t]hreatening penalties for future speech goes by the name of ‘prior restraint,’ and a prior restraint is the quintessential first-amendment violation.” *Id.* (internal quotation marks omitted).

37. Here, President Biden, Mr. Slavitt, and the other actors in this conspiracy used their Twitter accounts to make official pronouncements encouraging vaccination. Mr. Berenson sought to respond by using Twitter to engage in protected speech, including *directly* criticizing President Biden, Mr. Slavitt, their tweets, and their efforts to encourage vaccination. In Mr. Slavitt’s case, Mr. Berenson’s comments occurred only a few weeks before Mr. Slavitt first used his position at the White House try to force Twitter to block him.

38. The pressure exerted on Twitter by Mr. Slavitt and the other defendants to force Twitter to protect their accounts from Mr. Berenson’s questions by blocking him was thus a *prima facie* First Amendment violation. “The irony in all of this is that we write at a time in the history of this nation when the conduct of our government and its officials is subject to wide-open, robust debate,” the Second Circuit noted in affirming this Court’s decision in *Knight*. 928 F.3d at 240. “This debate encompasses an extraordinarily broad range of ideas and viewpoints and generates a level of passion and intensity the likes of which have rarely been seen. This debate, as uncomfortable and as unpleasant as it frequently may be, is nonetheless a good thing,” the court observed, before “remind[ing] the litigants and the public that if the First Amendment means anything, it means that the best response to disfavored speech on matters of public

concern is more speech, not less.” *Id.* This case is about reminding Defendants, including President Biden, of that seemingly forgotten lesson.

PARTIES, JURISDICTION, AND VENUE

39. Independent journalist Alex Berenson is a best-selling author. Mr. Berenson wrote the book *Pandemia* regarding the public policy response to the COVID-19 pandemic. He publishes his journalism on Substack.com under the name *Unreported Truths* and on Twitter at @AlexBerenson. Mr. Berenson is a resident of the State of New York. While he previously received multiple vaccines, Mr. Berenson is not vaccinated against COVID-19.

40. Joseph R. Biden, Jr., is the President of the United States. He is sued in his official capacity.

41. Andrew (Andy) Slavitt is a resident of the State of California. From January through June 2021, Mr. Slavitt served as President Biden’s White House Senior Advisor for the COVID-19 response. He is the author of a book on the COVID-19 pandemic called *Preventable*, which he marketed and promoted on Twitter. He is sued in both his official and individual capacity.

42. Rob Flaherty is the Director of Digital Strategy at the White House. Mr. Flaherty is sued in his official capacity and in his individual capacity.

43. Vivek Murthy, M.D., is the Surgeon General of the United States. Dr. Murthy is sued in his official capacity and in his individual capacity.

44. Scott Gottlieb, M.D., is a resident of the State of Connecticut. From 2017 to 2019, he served as Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration. He currently serves on Pfizer’s Board of Directors and is the author of a book on the COVID-19 pandemic called *Uncontrolled Spread*.

45. Albert Bourla, Ph.D., D.V.M., is a resident of the State of Connecticut. Dr. Bourla is the Chief Executive Officer of Pfizer, manufacturer of one of the COVID-19 vaccines.

46. Defendants are properly joined in this action under Fed. R. Civ. P. 20.

47. While employed by the federal government, President Biden, Mr. Slavitt, Mr. Flaherty, and Dr. Murthy violated the rights of a resident of this forum. Upon leaving the federal government, Mr. Slavitt worked as the general partner of a private equity fund based in New York, New York called Town Hall Ventures. Mr. Slavitt used an employee of Town Hall Ventures to schedule a conference call with Twitter to discuss moderating speech regarding the COVID-19 vaccines, to include, upon information, and belief, Mr. Berenson's speech. Mr. Slavitt has traveled to New York to speak on COVID-19-related matters. In June 2021, St. Martin's Press—a publisher based in this forum—published Mr. Slavitt's book *Preventable: The Inside Story of How Leadership Failures, Politics, and Selfishness Doomed the U.S. Coronavirus Response*. And Twitter's records show the Twitter employee who issued the fifth strike against Mr. Berenson's account was located in New York and this judicial district at the time.

48. Dr. Gottlieb routinely conducts business in this forum as a contributor to CNBC and as a sitting board member of Pfizer, a company which has a principal place of business in New York, New York. In September 2021, HarperCollins—a publisher based in this forum—published Dr. Gottlieb's book *Uncontrolled Spread*. Dr. Bourla similarly engages in business in this forum, including serving as Chief Executive Officer of Pfizer in the company's New York, New York headquarters. In March 2022, New York-based HarperCollins published Dr. Bourla's book *Moonshot: Inside Pfizer's Nine-Month Race to Make the Impossible Possible*. Aware Mr. Berenson is a resident of this forum, Defendants engaged in tortious conduct to harm Mr. Berenson's relationship with Twitter.

49. This Court has personal jurisdiction over Defendants under both the Due Process Clause of the Constitution and New York's Long-Arm Statute.

50. This Court has subject matter jurisdiction under 28 U.S.C. § 1331. This Court has supplemental jurisdiction over Mr. Berenson's state law claims under 28 U.S.C. § 1367.

51. This Court also has subject matter jurisdiction under 28 U.S.C. § 1332 because there is complete diversity of citizenship between the parties and the amount in controversy is greater than \$75,000.

52. Venue is proper in this forum under 28 U.S.C. § 1391.

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

I. Independent journalist Alex Berenson and his critical coverage of the pharmaceutical industry and Pfizer.

53. Alex Berenson is an independent journalist, former *New York Times* reporter, and best-selling author. After graduating from Yale University, Mr. Berenson started his journalism career at *The Denver Post* before joining TheStreet.Com, a groundbreaking financial news website. In 1999, Mr. Berenson joined *The New York Times*, where he reported on the pharmaceutical industry and other topics.

54. In late December 2006, Mr. Berenson reported for the *Times* how Eli Lilly had downplayed the risks of its blockbuster schizophrenia drug Zyprexa. Mr. Berenson reported on internal Eli Lilly documents showing the company knew "the drug might cause unmanageable weight gain or diabetes." Alex Berenson, *Eli Lilly Said to Play Down the Risk of Top Pill*, N.Y. Times, Dec. 17, 2006, at A1. Mr. Berenson's reporting kicked off an investigation that ultimately led to the Indianapolis-based drug maker paying \$1.415 billion as part of a settlement to resolve claims regarding off-label promotion. Eli Lilly and Company Agrees to Pay \$1.415 Billion to

Resolve Allegations of Off-label Promotion of Zyprexa, U.S. Dep't of Justice, Jan. 15, 2009, <https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2009/January/09-civ-038.html>.

55. Mr. Berenson brought this same rigor to his coverage of Pfizer for the *Times*. In 2004, he reported on Pfizer's decision to "immediately stop advertising Celebrex, its best-selling arthritis pain reliever, to consumers after a study showed that high doses were associated with an increased risk of heart attacks." Alex Berenson, *Pfizer to Halt Advertising of Celebrex to Consumers*, N.Y. Times, Dec. 20, 2004. Mr. Berenson also covered Pfizer whistleblowers and changes in the company's management team. E.g., Alex Berenson, *A Long Shot Becomes Pfizer's Latest Chief Executive*, N.Y. Times, July 29, 2006; Alex Berenson, *Pfizer Fires a Vice President Who Criticized the Company's Sales Practices*, N.Y. Times, Dec. 2, 2005.

56. Upon information and belief, long before the COVID-19 pandemic, Pfizer was aware of Mr. Berenson, his reporting on the company, and his reputation as a credible and critical investigative reporter with a demonstrated history of making complex pharmaceutical industry issues accessible to general readers.

II. As a twenty-first century public square with hundreds of millions of users, many of them influential, Twitter is the world's premier outlet for journalism. Defendants used the platform to push Americans to take the COVID-19 vaccines, converting Twitter into a public forum.

57. Twitter's "social media platform . . . allows its users to electronically send messages of limited length to the public." *Knight*, 928 F.3d at 230. A Twitter "user can post their own messages (referred to as tweeting)" and "may also respond to the messages of others (replying), republish the messages of others (retweeting), or convey approval or acknowledgement of another's message by 'liking' the message." *Id.*

58. Twitter is the world's premier forum for journalism and conversation. Twitter reaches hundreds of millions of people. Twitter reported that "[i]n the three months ended

December 31, 2021, [the company] had 217 million average mDAU, which represents an increase of 13% from the three months ended December 31, 2020.” Twitter, Annual Report (Form 10-K), at 42 (Feb. 16, 2022). Related, according to a 2022 survey, “[a]round one-in-five U.S. adults say they use Twitter.” Meltem Odabas, *10 facts about Americans and Twitter*, Pew Res. Ctr., May 5, 2022, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/05/05/10-facts-about-americans-and-twitter/>. Most respondents (fifty-seven percent) reported they consume news on Twitter, with a significant percentage of those adults indicating the platform “increased how much they know about celebrities and public figures.” *Id.*

59. Twitter was well aware of its importance in making journalism accessible globally and hosting dissenting views—its role as a modern “public square” open to all voices. Former Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey testified under oath to Congress that “we,” meaning Twitter, “believe the people use Twitter as they would a public square.” *Jack Dorsey: Twitter users consider it a public square*, CNBC, Sept. 5, 2018, <https://www.cnbc.com/video/2018/09/05/jack-dorsey-twitter-users-consider-it-a-publicsquare.htm>.

60. Twitter’s current owner, industrialist Elon Musk, has framed the platform’s significance in nothing short of civilizational terms. In this regard, Mr. Musk wrote that he acquired the company “because it is important to the future of civilization to have a common digital town square, where a wide range of beliefs can be debated in a healthy manner, without resorting to violence.” Elon Musk (@ElonMusk), Twitter (Oct. 27, 2022, 9:08 AM), <https://twitter.com/elonmusk/status/1585619322239561728>.

61. Defendants in this case recognize Twitter’s critical importance. President Biden maintains two accounts, @JoeBiden and @POTUS, which have 37 and 30 million followers, respectively. Scott Gottlieb’s account, @ScottGottliebMD, has more than 587,000 followers.

Andrew Slavitt maintains a Twitter account under the handle @ASlavitt, with 665,000 followers. Rob Flaherty operates @RFlaherty46 with more than 30,000 followers. Surgeon General Murthy's Twitter accounts, @vivek_murthy and @Surgeon_General, have more than 128,000 and 1.1 million followers, respectively. Albert Bourla's account, @AlbertBourla, has nearly 60,000 followers.

62. Defendants in this case have publicly acknowledged the importance of social media, including Twitter. Rob Flaherty, the White House Director of Digital Strategy, recently wrote that "Twitter's value has always been that it's the railroad junction between media, politics, and culture." Rob Flaherty (@Rob_Flaherty), Twitter (Dec. 18, 2022, 3:58 PM), https://twitter.com/Rob_Flaherty/status/1604581777292525569.

63. Andrew Slavitt went so far as to analogize social media to a weapon of mass destruction, calling it "less like a game of telephone and more like a nuclear arsenal that you can weaponize if you want to mislead the public." Andrew Slavitt, *Exposing the Biggest Vaccine Lies and Liars (with Surgeon General Vivek Murthy)*, July 19, 2021, <https://lemonadamedia.com/podcast/exposing-the-biggest-vaccine-lies-and-liars-with-surgeon-general-vivek-murthy/>.

64. Dr. Scott Gottlieb previously wrote that as "the FDA commissioner" he would "use Twitter as a way to draw attention to actions that were frustrating our public health goals," and that he "saw Twitter as way to instigate steps by others that were important to us achieving our mission." Scott Gottlieb, *Uncontrolled Spread*, at 129 (2021). Dr. Gottlieb described how he repeatedly used the platform to "call on" regulated industry to take certain actions. *Id.*

65. Defendants employed by the federal government routinely use Twitter to communicate regarding policy issues. These Defendants repeatedly took to Twitter to advocate

for Americans to take COVID-19 vaccines, including, Pfizer’s shot. In April 2021, from his account marked as “United States government official,” President Biden tweeted “Get vaccinated, America.” President Joe Biden (@JoeBiden), Twitter (Apr. 25, 2021, 5:05 PM), <https://twitter.com/JoeBiden/status/1386426190861197313>. Less than a month later, from his official @POTUS account, President Biden tweeted that “[t]he rule is now simple: get vaccinated or wear a mask until you do.” President Joe Biden (@POTUS), Twitter (May 13, 2021, 4:12 PM), <https://twitter.com/POTUS/status/1392935847863934987>. “The choice is yours,” President Biden advised. *Id.*

66. President Biden, again utilizing his @POTUS account, later told Americans to “[g]et vaccinated folks. It’s free, it’s effective, and it’s never been easier or more important.” President Joe Biden (@POTUS), Twitter (July 11, 2021, 10:47 AM), <https://twitter.com/POTUS/status/1414235008408162309>. “My message to unvaccinated Americans is this,” President Biden tweeted in September 2021, “[w]hat more is there to wait for? What more is there to see?” President Joe Biden (@POTUS), Twitter (Sept. 10, 2021, 12:32 PM), <https://twitter.com/POTUS/status/1436366944886837260>. “Do the right thing,” President Biden told 100 million Americans. *Id.* President Biden later used Twitter to announce his Administration’s plan to use the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to issue a rule requiring 100 Americans to receive a COVID-19 vaccination. President Joe Biden (@JoeBiden), Twitter (Nov. 4, 2021, 12:03 PM), <https://twitter.com/POTUS/status/1456291123547316224>.

67. President Biden took to Twitter again to criticize unvaccinated Americans in late December 2021. “We know that vaccines are working,” he wrote. “If you are boosted with Pfizer and Moderna, you have a high degree of protection against severe illness with Omicron. If you’re an adult choosing to be unvaccinated, you will face an extremely difficult winter for your

family and community.” President Joe Biden (@POTUS), Twitter (Dec. 20, 2021, 8:46 PM), <https://twitter.com/POTUS/status/1473107461548687360>. In January 2022, President Biden again sounded moral themes, tweeting that getting a COVID-19 vaccine “saves lives,” while referring to receiving the vaccinations as “your patriotic duty.” President Joe Biden (@POTUS), Twitter (Jan. 3, 2022), <https://twitter.com/potus/status/1478110255653564416>.

68. President Biden’s COVID-19 aide, Mr. Slavitt, also used Twitter to promote the COVID-19 vaccines. “Keep getting vaccinated,” Mr. Slavitt tweeted from his government account in May 2021, noting a fall in COVID-19 deaths. Andy Slavitt (@ASlavitt46), Twitter (May 21, 2021, 12:28 AM), <https://mobile.twitter.com/aslavitt46/status/1395597443639779329>. “Get vaccinated to crush the virus,” Mr. Slavitt tweeted on May 31, 2021. Andy Slavitt (@ASlavitt), Twitter (May 31, 2021, 4:08 PM), <https://twitter.com/ASlavitt/status/1399457782689112064>. After leaving the government, Mr. Slavitt tweeted about how “[t]he increasingly assertive position of requiring vaccinations has clear moral grounds,” echoing President Biden. Andy Slavitt (@ASlavitt), Twitter (Aug. 3, 2021, 10:10 PM), <https://twitter.com/ASlavitt/status/1422741799710322690>. “More than ever, get vaccinated. Get boosted,” Mr. Slavitt tweeted in November 2021. Andy Slavitt (@ASlavitt), Twitter (Nov. 28, 2021, 3:08 PM), <https://twitter.com/ASlavitt/status/1465049947695423495>.

69. Surgeon General Murthy used his Twitter account to promote Pfizer’s COVID-19 vaccine. “Last week, the FDA and CDC gave us one more tool to protect the health of Americans during the #COVID19 pandemic: a Pfizer vaccine booster shot for people in three high risk groups,” he tweeted. Surgeon General Vivek Murthy (@Surgeon_General), Twitter (Sept. 29, 2021, 1:01 PM), https://twitter.com/Surgeon_General/status/1443259579001888775. “Starting this week, 12- to 15-year-olds are eligible for the Pfizer #COVID19 vaccine,” Dr.

Murthy wrote. Surgeon General Vivek Murthy (@Surgeon_General), Twitter (May 14, 2021, 6:54 PM), https://twitter.com/Surgeon_General/status/1393338988749021185. “This is a big moment.” *Id.*

III. In early 2020, Alex Berenson emerged as a leading critic of the public policy response to COVID-19, utilizing Twitter as the primary outlet for his reporting. Even though influential third parties complained about his reporting, Twitter resisted censorship calls and kept Mr. Berenson’s voice on the platform, at least initially.

70. After he left *The New York Times*, Mr. Berenson continued to cover health care issues. In January 2019, Mr. Berenson published a book called *Tell Your Children*, in which he reported on marijuana use and mental illness. Mr. Berenson spoke before professional medical societies and even testified in front of Congress about the potential harms of cannabis. Like so many other authors and journalists, Mr. Berenson used Twitter to promote his journalism and *Tell Your Children*.

71. Mr. Berenson joined Twitter in November 2009. The company verified his account in or around 2014, affixing a blue check mark to his account, acknowledging him as a noteworthy member of the Twitter community. As of January 2020, Mr. Berenson had approximately 7,000 Twitter followers, many of whom were drawn to *Tell Your Children* and his previous work in the *Times*.

72. Starting in March 2020, Mr. Berenson’s attention turned to COVID-19. This was as governments around the world, including state and local governments here in the United States, issued far-reaching, and in many ways unprecedented, lockdown orders as part of an effort to “flatten the curve” of viral spread and transmission.

73. In late March 2020, Mr. Berenson reported on revised epidemiology models published by Professor Neil Ferguson of Imperial College London. In a six-tweet thread published on March 26, 2020, Mr. Berenson discussed Dr. Ferguson’s revised mortality

estimates, calling them a “remarkable turn” for an academic who had earlier forecast that 500,000 people would die from COVID-19 in the United Kingdom.

74. The Imperial College London, the recipient of millions of dollars in taxpayer-financed grants from the National Institutes of Health, objected to Mr. Berenson’s reporting on Dr. Ferguson. Instead of publicly engaging Mr. Berenson’s reporting, the College privately took its concerns to Twitter. On March 28, two days after Mr. Berenson’s tweet, the college’s Director of Media Relations, Andrew Scheuber, sent an e-mail to Twitter titled “Misinformation on Covid-19 – Imperial College London.” “I wanted to make sure you are looking at this extremely popular and dangerously misleading thread,” Mr. Scheuber wrote, linking to the tweet above, “among other recent tweets by Alex Berenson.” Mr. Scheuber continued, “[t]hese claims, which begun on Twitter, have now become influential elsewhere with widespread misrepresentation of Neil Ferguson’s important findings ultimately putting lives at risk.” Mr. Scheuber’s entire March 28, 2020 e-mail is shown below.

Von: **Scheuber, Andrew P** <a.scheuber@imperial.ac.uk>
Date: Sa., 28. März 2020, 05:18
Subject: Misinformation on Covid-19 - Imperial College London
To: [REDACTED]@twitter.com [REDACTED]@twitter.com>

Hello,

I wanted to make sure you are looking at this extremely popular and dangerously misleading thread <https://twitter.com/alexberenson/status/1243133211011690499?s=21> among other recent tweets by Alex Berenson.

As the FT reports and explains the claims are “utterly false” <http://ftalphaville.ft.com/2020/03/26/1585245384000/Let-s-flatten-the-coronavirus-confusion-curve/>

These claims, which begun on twitter, have now become influential elsewhere with widespread misrepresentation of Neil Ferguson’s important findings ultimately putting lives at risk. The Washington Post reports on this <https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/03/27/coronavirus-models-politized-trump/>

Please could you delete Berenson’s tweets or at least flag them for making false claims. They are being amplified by influential voices like Elon Musk.

Best wishes,

Andrew Scheuber

Director of Media Relations
Imperial College London

Tel: +44 (0)20 7594 8197 / +44 (0)7748 272 171

Email: a.scheuber@imperial.ac.uk
www.imperial.ac.uk

75. In response to Mr. Scheuber’s request, Twitter “reviewed the thread and the context surrounding it,” and concluded that the company “will not take action on this thread,” meaning Mr. Berenson’s March 25 tweets, “at this time as it does not violate the COVID-19 misleading information policy.”

76. Twitter’s refusal to censor Mr. Berenson’s journalism in March 2020 was consistent with the company’s then commitment to free speech and its approach to so-called COVID-19 misinformation. In a March 4, 2020 blog post, the company pledged its support for “[p]rotecting the conversation.” In a separate blog post co-authored by Twitter’s then Head of Trust and Safety Vijaya Gadde, which was originally published on March 16, 2020, and then updated on April 1, 2020, Twitter unveiled its approach to content moderation. The company announced it was “[b]roadening our definition of harm to address content that goes directly against guidance from authoritative sources of global and local public health information.” Vijaya Gadde & Matt Derella, *An update on our continuity strategy during COVID-19*, Twitter (Mar. 16, 2020, updated Apr. 1, 2020), https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2020/An-update-on-our-continuity-strategy-during-COVID-19.

77. On May 11, 2020, Twitter announced further action on COVID-19 information. In another blog post, the company explained it “may use labels and warning messages to provide additional explanations or clarifications in situations.” Yoel Roth & Nick Pickles, *Updating our approach to misleading information*, Twitter (May 11, 2020), https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/product/2020/updating-our-approach-to-misleading-information. Nowhere in the blog post did Twitter bar discussion or analysis of clinical data, government information, or research articles.

78. Twitter gave personal assurances to Mr. Berenson regarding the company's commitment to debate and free speech. In response to Twitter's new labeling policy, Mr. Berenson tweeted about his concerns about what the new rules might mean for free speech on the platform. A few hours after Mr. Berenson's tweet, Twitter's then-CEO Jack Dorsey followed his account, meaning Twitter's leadership at the highest level was fully aware of Mr. Berenson and his reporting.

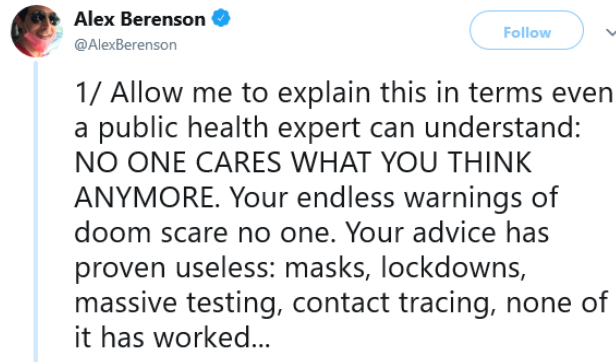
79. The same day Mr. Dorsey followed Mr. Berenson, Brandon Borrman, who then served as Twitter's Vice President of Global Communications, contacted Mr. Berenson about censorship issues. "I work at Twitter and saw your Tweets today," Mr. Borrman said. "Would you be open to having a discussion so I can hear you out? I think you have some nuanced points that could be helpful as [sic] try to move ahead."

80. Mr. Berenson responded, acknowledging Twitter's legitimate interest in reducing the visibility of claims "that the virus is not real, or that it's part of a UN conspiracy to sterilize America, or similar nonsense." Mr. Berenson summarized his approach to reporting on COVID-19 as follows:

I am trying to raise serious, data-driven questions, based wherever possible on government data or peer-reviewed/preprint papers—I think my most recent tweets tonight capture the flavor. Does universal masking work as a broad policy mandate? The truth is the evidence is pretty weak—not that sick people shouldn't wear them, or maybe that people in confined public transportation (aka NY subways) shouldn't, but what states like NY and CA are saying and doing right now far outruns the evidence.

81. Mr. Borrman responded the following day. "We are trying to take a more nuanced approach to this that recognizes that there is a huge amount of emotion and vitriol [on] all sides of the issue," Mr. Borrman explained. "We're trying to make sure that factual debate finds a way through the emotion, but we're obviously not successful all the time."

82. Bolstered by Twitter’s assurances, Mr. Berenson continued to report on COVID-19. In November 2020, for example, Mr. Berenson not only presented critical analysis of lockdowns and mask mandates, but also questioned other non-pharmaceutical interventions such as contact tracing, saying advice from public health experts had “proven useless.” That tweet, which garnered more than 4,700 likes and 1,000 retweets, is shown below.



83. Third parties continued to complain about Mr. Berenson’s reporting, but Twitter took no action against Mr. Berenson’s account, and he continued to use the platform to report on and analyze data.

IV. After the COVID-19 vaccines receive regulatory authorization, Twitter issues a new COVID-19 misleading information policy, reviews Mr. Berenson’s account in March 2021, and concludes he had not violated the company’s rules.

84. On November 9, 2020, Pfizer and BioNTech announced positive clinical trial results regarding their COVID-19 vaccine. Far from being “anti-vax,” having taken vaccines himself and allowing his children to be vaccinated, Mr. Berenson tweeted that while “more safety data” is needed, “this is legitimately good news,” arguing that the emergence of a COVID-19 vaccine might offer a pathway out of the pandemic.

85. One week later, on November 16, Moderna released clinical trial results regarding its vaccine candidate. Mr. Berenson again reacted positively, tweeting that the development was “[m]ore good topline vaccine news,” while linking to an article in the *Washington Post* with the

headline “Moderna’s coronavirus vaccine found to be nearly 95 percent effective in a preliminary analysis.”

86. In December 2020, Twitter announced a new policy regarding misleading COVID-19 vaccine information. Twitter Safety, *COVID-19: Our approach to misleading vaccine information*, Twitter (Dec. 16, 2020),

https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2020/covid19-vaccine. The company announced it would start to “remove Tweets which advance harmful or misleading narratives about COVID-19 vaccinations, including” the following:

- False claims that suggest immunizations and vaccines are used to intentionally cause harm to or control populations, including statements about vaccines that invoke a deliberate conspiracy;
- False claims which have been widely debunked about the adverse impacts or effects of receiving vaccinations; or
- False claims that COVID-19 is not real or not serious, and therefore that vaccinations are unnecessary.

Id. Twitter explained “we may label or place a warning on Tweets that advance unsubstantiated rumors, disputed claims, as well as incomplete or out-of-context information.” *Id.* The company simultaneously promulgated a new COVID-19 misleading information policy, which specifically addressed the COVID-19 vaccines. *COVID-19 misleading information policy*, Twitter (Dec. 16, 2020), <https://web.archive.org/web/20201216200114/https://help.twitter.com/en/rules-and-policies/medical-misinformation-policy>.

87. In the new policy, Twitter again broadcast its relationship with governments. Twitter explained that “we are enforcing this policy *in close coordination with trusted partners*, including public health authorities, NGOs and *governments*, and continue to use and consult with information from those sources when reviewing content.” *Id.* (emphasis added).

88. Mr. Berenson was concerned that the new policies indicated Twitter might start censoring his journalism. Mr. Berenson contacted Twitter executive Brandon Borrman on December 17, the day after Twitter released its new policy, looking for assurances that Twitter would continue to allow his reporting on COVID-19 vaccines. Many “people [are] complaining I’m raising questions about the vaccine,” Mr. Berenson wrote to Mr. Borrman. “So you know, there’s no conspiracy theory nonsense,” rather “[e]verything I point to about safety comes from the clinical trial data,” and “my broader point is simply that we shouldn’t be mandating this for adults.”

89. Mr. Borrman responded less than four hours later to reassure Mr. Berenson. “The points you’re raising should not be an issue at all,” Mr. Borrman wrote. “The policy is designed to allow debate and discussion, but to discourage conspiracy theories, etc. Please let me know if you run into any issues.”

90. In the winter of 2021, Mr. Berenson continued to tweet skeptically about the vaccines, for example pointing to outbreaks in Israel that had followed the first dose of Pfizer’s mRNA shot to raise questions whether the vaccines were working as well as authorities suggested. Twitter took no action against these tweets.

91. On March 1, 2021, Twitter announced a new five-strike policy as part of the company’s bar on medical misinformation. *COVID-19 misleading information policy*, Twitter (Mar. 1, 2021), <https://web.archive.org/web/20210827062904/https://help.twitter.com/en/rules-and-policies/medical-misinformation-policy>. Accounts that committed “[r]epeated violations of this policy” are subject to increasing levels of discipline, up to and including permanent suspension for five or more violations. *Id.*

92. The day after Twitter announced the five-strike policy, Mr. Berenson again contacted the company, seeking assurances he could continue reporting on COVID-19 using the platform:

Just following up on this in the wake of Twitter's announcement yesterday. I intend to continue to write about the vaccines—as always, with a heavy reliance on governmental data (whether from Israel, the US, or elsewhere) and published studies. I appreciate the fact that Twitter has allowed me to provide a risk-benefit analysis that people are generally not seeing elsewhere and I respect that you do not want conspiracy theories, etc, on the site. If your fact-checkers do have questions about something I've written, I hope you will let me know and give me a chance to respond to it before taking any action.

93. Mr. Borrmann responded the same day, *again* reassuring Mr. Berenson that his work was not being targeted under Twitter's policies. "I will say that your name has never come up in the discussions around these policies," Mr. Borrmann said. "If it does I will try to ensure you're given a heads up before an action is taken, but I am not always made aware of them before they're executed. If something happens, please let me know."

94. Meanwhile, third party pressure to censor Mr. Berenson continued, leading Twitter to examine his account and find it compliant with the company's rules. In mid-March 2021, Twitter passed an inquiry from a journalist to its Global Escalation Team (GET) unit, which handles complaints about tweets. One Twitter employee quoted the unit's conclusions regarding Mr. Berenson's account. GET had "reviewed [Mr. Berenson's] account against our COVID-19 policy," and found that "[w]hile the user leverages individual data points from a combination of various sources (some authoritative, others not), he avoids making demonstrably false or misleading claims about COVID-19 vaccines." (Emphasis in original.) The internal Twitter e-mail containing the conclusions, which are italicized, is shown below.

On Sun, Mar 14, 2021 at 9:55 PM [REDACTED]@twitter.com> wrote:
Hi [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] — Sorry to bother you on a Sunday.

This is **not urgent**, but I wanted to loop you on this escalation as I do think [this account](#) may get more attention moving forward. I need to go back to the reporter tomorrow — she wants to pick up the phone, so I just want to be sure I 100 percent understand our line of thinking here.

Here's what GET shared on Friday: *Thanks for your patience. We reviewed the account against our COVID-19 policy. While the user leverages individual data points from a combination of various sources (some authoritative, others not), he avoids making demonstrably false or misleading claims about COVID-19 vaccines. We want to ensure to protect the ability for users to debate and interpret evolving scientific data about the efficacy and safety of vaccines, so long as they're not spreading patently false information to do so. Let us know if you have any other questions.*

To reiterate — not trying to imply Twitter Service is wrong or encourage any type of enforcement action here, just hoping for additional guidance.

Thanks in advance!
[REDACTED]

95. As shown below, the next day, on March 15, 2021, another Twitter employee confirmed that the above-discussed response was the product of a “**deep dive** [(emphasis added)] on Alex Berenson’s account.” Again confirming the platform’s support for debate, the employee wrote that “it’s important to leave room for discussion around the evolving science around vaccines and to allow folks to explore skepticism as long as they are not making demonstrably false or misleading claims.” The employee noted that Twitter flagged as misleading one of Mr. Berenson’s tweets that the vaccines on the traditional childhood vaccination schedule are “nothing like the mRNA/LNP biotechnology, which is more properly described as a gene therapy than a vaccine,” but the company gave Mr. Berenson no notice that this was a “strike” under the policy, and the tweet did not lead to him being locked out of his account.

On Mon, Mar 15, 2021 at 10:36 AM [REDACTED]@twitter.com> wrote:
Hi [REDACTED]

On Friday, [REDACTED] and I with the help of GET did a deep dive on Alex Berenson's account and worked with GET to provide that response. Berenson often cites (at times outdated) studies to piece together his arguments against the use of vaccines. One of the things we'd like to avoid from a policy perspective is wading into the nuances of scientific arguments about the vaccine. That's when we get into tricky territory from a policy perspective and it's something we want to avoid weighing in on. I would flag the "Public debate about the advancement of COVID-19 science and research" section of the [COVID-19 help center article](#). From our perspective, it's important to leave room for discussion around the evolving science around vaccines and to allow folks to explore skepticism as long as they are not making demonstrably false or misleading claims about the vaccine.

However, last night we did take action on one of Berenson's [tweets](#) that has been consistent with our past enforcements of the policy. His claim suggests that the mRNA vaccine is gene therapy and thus the vaccine would alter genetic code, which has been debunked by the [CDC](#). I understand that Berenson has provided other documentation, including a Moderna filing and older articles that reference mRNA vaccines generally as associated with gene therapy and an article with the headline "COVID-19 vaccine candidates show gene therapy is a viable strategy". In our assessment neither of those shared references conclude that the mRNA vaccines being administered today are associated with what he referenced as "gene therapy". Our assessment of labeling that particular tweet will remain the same.

Please let me know if you have any further questions or if I can provide more information or clarity. I understand this can be a particularly tricky space, so I want to provide as much as I can from our perspective on this one.

V. Seeing Americans’ decision whether to get a COVID-19 vaccine as a life-and-death choice, the Biden Administration directly pressures Twitter to censor Alex Berenson’s reporting on the vaccines.

A. “A Case of Life and Death” in a “Wartime Effort”: The Biden Administration’s View of the COVID-19 Vaccines

96. Even before he took office, President-elect Biden cast Americans’ decision on whether to get a COVID-19 shot as a life-and-death choice. President Biden promised to “confront this historical challenge with the full strength of the federal government.” *Id.* Then he outlined the stakes: “The health and economic security of our nation depend on it.” *Id.* Fact Sheet: President-elect Biden Outlines COVID-19 Vaccination Plan, Jan. 15, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/01/15/fact-sheet-president-elect-biden-outlines-covid-19-vaccination-plan/>.

97. Less than a week into his Administration, President Biden called the COVID-19 vaccination campaign “a wartime effort; it’s not hyperbole.” Remarks by President Biden on the Fight to Contain the COVID-19 Pandemic, Jan. 26, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/01/26/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-fight-to-contain-the-covid-19-pandemic/>. President Biden explained that “more than 400,000 Americans have already died,” exceeding our nation’s World War II death toll. *Id.* In President Biden’s view, fully vaccinating “300 million Americans” would be “enough . . . to beat this pandemic.” *Id.*

98. On February 19, 2021, in remarks at a Pfizer manufacturing facility in Kalamazoo, Michigan, President Biden thanked Pfizer Chief Executive Officer Albert Bourla for “what you do.” President Biden said. Remarks by President Biden at Pfizer Manufacturing Site, Feb. 19, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/02/19/remarks-by-president-biden-at-pfizer-manufacturing-site/>. “This is—this is a case of life and death. We’re talking about people’s lives.” *Id.*

99. President Biden’s senior advisors repeatedly attested to the safety and efficacy of the vaccines, and the life-and-death stakes regarding vaccination. At a March 29, 2021 press briefing, Mr. Slavitt introduced Dr. Rochelle Walensky, Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Press Briefing by White House COVID-19 Response Team and Public Health Officials, Mar. 29, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2021/03/29/press-briefing-by-white-house-covid-19-response-team-and-public-health-officials-21/>. “Millions remain unvaccinated and are at risk,” Mr. Slavitt said in his introductory remarks. *Id.* “[G]etting vaccinated saves lives—not just your own, but your family and friends and neighbors too.” *Id.*

100. But the Biden Administration was well aware that vaccine hesitancy was concentrated in particular demographic groups—notably African-Americans and political conservatives. In February 2021, responding to a question regarding the fact that “less than 3 percent of blacks” had been vaccinated against COVID-19, President Biden said getting the vaccines to that group “is a priority, number one,” while acknowledging African-Americans’ hesitancy is based on “being used as guinea pigs and other experiments,” a reference to the infamous federally-funded Tuskegee Syphilis Study, in which 399 African-American men with syphilis were allowed to go untreated for decades. Remarks by President Biden in a CNN Town Hall with Anderson Cooper, Feb. 16, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/02/17/remarks-by-president-biden-in-a-cnn-town-hall-with-anderson-cooper/>. President Biden raised similar issues in June 2021. Remarks by President Biden Highlighting the Importance of Getting Vaccinated and Kicking Off a Community Canvassing Event, June 24, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches->

[remarks/2021/06/24/remarks-by-president-biden-highlighting-the-importance-of-getting-vaccinated-and-kicking-off-a-community-canvassing-event/](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/remarks/2021/06/24/remarks-by-president-biden-highlighting-the-importance-of-getting-vaccinated-and-kicking-off-a-community-canvassing-event/).

101. In February 2021, while still serving in the White House, Mr. Slavitt observed that political conservatives were more likely to be skeptical of the COVID-19 vaccines. “I think the data is [sic] say that conservatives have a disproportionate, low disproportionate and lower acceptance of vaccines.” Andy Slavitt, *Andy Slavitt from Inside the White House*, Feb. 2021, <https://lemonadamedia.com/podcast/andy-slavitt-from-inside-the-white-house/>. Mr. Slavitt continued:

But I don’t know that that’s necessarily a political thing. It might be it may be political, and that one of the reasons that people don’t say that they don’t like vaccines, they don’t like the government telling them what to do. And it’s [sic] feels heavy handed from government, so they’re more reluctant or more skeptical. That’s not necessarily political. It may be cultural. It may be other things. You know, I was on Hugh Hewitt show last week, and I’ve been talking to a lot of conservative evangelical leaders, and people who are all very pro-vaccine.

Id.

102. Shortly after leaving the White House, Mr. Slavitt attacked conservatives for their vaccine skepticism more aggressively. “But it’s taken an ugly turn in the last week. In the last week, for some reason an element of the conservative wing or the right wing has decided that they want this to be their platform,” Mr. Slavitt said. *Fox News Contributing to Declining Vaccine Rates*, The Mehdi Hasan Show, July 12, 2021, <https://youtu.be/MmSOzs8v8U8> (starting at 2:25 mark). Commenting further on vaccine hesitancy, Mr. Slavitt said “[t]he reason is because their base, about three-quarters of their base, finds this kind of rhetoric appealing and muscular and anti-government and they can attach it to things like religious freedom. They’re just being populist.” *Id.*

103. In September 2021, with the Biden Administration’s COVID-19 vaccine mandate beckoning, Mr. Slavitt took up the religious freedom issue, rejecting religious exemptions from

the mandate. “A religious exemption to a vaccine. That’s a big no. You can be both infectious and religious. I’m sure it happens all the time.” Andy Slavitt (@ASlavitt), Twitter (Sept. 15, 2021, 3:18 AM), <https://twitter.com/aslavitt/status/1438039417537523712>.

B. The Early Days of the Biden Administration’s Misinformation War

104. President Biden tackled COVID-19 vaccine “misinformation”—or skepticism—from the outset of his Administration. The day after his inauguration, President Biden issued an executive order “to facilitate the gathering, sharing, and publication of COVID-19-related data with the Coordinator of the COVID-19 Response and Counselor to the President . . . to the extent permitted by law.” Ensuring a Data-Driven Response to COVID-19 and Future High-Consequence Public Health Threats, Executive Order No. 13994, 86 Fed. Reg. 7189, 7189 (Jan. 21, 2021). “These efforts shall assist Federal, State, local, Tribal, and territorial authorities in developing and implementing policies to facilitate informed community decision-making, to further public understanding of the pandemic and the response, and *to deter the spread of misinformation and disinformation.*” *Id.* (emphasis added).

105. During an interview the very next day, Dr. Vivek Murthy, President Biden’s future Surgeon General, said that “whether it’s mis or disinformation, we find that too much incorrect information is being spread on social media sites and through other avenues.” Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Vivek Murthy About His COVID-19 Plan, N.Y. Times, Feb. 4, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/04/podcasts/ezra-klein-podcast-vivek-murthy-transcript.html>. “And we’ve got to work closely with those companies to make sure that whatever the platform may be, that they are doing everything they can to root out that misinformation and the disinformation campaigns because they literally cost lives.” *Id.*

106. Dr. Fauci later echoed Dr. Murthy regarding the high stakes of social media misinformation and disinformation. During his deposition in separate litigation, in response to a question about social media platforms, Dr. Fauci said “misinformation and disinformation, particularly that encourages people to avoid lifesaving interventions, can certainly result in the unnecessary death of people whose lives would have been saved. So when misinformation and disinformation leads people to avoid a lifesaving intervention, *that is equivalent to contributing to the death of that person.*” Dep. of Dr. Anthony Fauci, at 345:8-15, available at https://ago.mo.gov/docs/default-source/press-releases/135885afauci112322_full_redacted.pdf?sfvrsn=35f4a425_2 (emphasis added).

107. The Biden White House put these sentiments into action. On January 23, 2021, within three days of President Biden’s inauguration, the White House contacted Twitter regarding a post by Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., about the COVID-19 vaccines and the death of baseball legend Hank Aaron. “Wanted to flag the below tweet and am wondering if we can get moving on the process for having it removed ASAP,” wrote Clarke Humphrey, the Digital Director for the White House COVID-19 Response. “And then if we can keep an eye out for tweets that fall in the same ~genre that would be great.” Twitter responded the next day, stating “[w]e recently escalated this.” The e-mail exchange is shown below.

From: [REDACTED]@twitter.com]
Sent: 1/23/2021 1:08:36 AM
To: Humphrey, Clarke EOP/WHO [REDACTED]@who.eop.gov]
CC: [REDACTED]@twitter.com]; Flaherty, Robert EOP/WHO [REDACTED]@who.eop.gov]
Subject: [EXTERNAL] Re: Flagging Hank Aaron misinfo

Thanks. We recently escalated this.

On Fri, Jan 22, 2021 at 8:05 PM Humphrey, Clarke EOP/WHO [REDACTED]@who.eop.gov> wrote:

Hey folks —

Wanted to flag the below tweet and am wondering if we can get moving on the process for having it removed ASAP:

<https://twitter.com/RobertKennedyJr/status/1352748139665645569>

And then if we can keep an eye out for tweets that fall in this same ~genre that would be great.

Thanks!
Clarke

--

[REDACTED]
Twitter, Inc. | Public Policy
[@TwitterGov](#) & [@Policy](#)

108. In the winter of 2021, the White House and Pfizer were not overly concerned with COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy, because demand for the shots exceeded supply. At the time, messaging around the vaccines advised people to wait until “it’s your turn.” But the vaccine companies and government knew that more than 100 million adult Americans had concerns around taking the shots. They anticipated that demand would lag by early spring. For example, on February 8, 2021, Dr. Gottlieb told the financial news channel CNBC that he expected vaccine supply to exceed demand by April. Kevin Stankiewicz, *Dr. Scott Gottlieb expects Covid vaccine appointments to be widely available by April in the U.S.*, CNBC, Feb. 8, 2021, <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/02/08/covid-vaccine-scott-gottlieb-expects-wide-availability-by-april-in-us.html>.

109. Thus, in March and April 2021, the Biden Administration pivoted to attacking vaccine skeptics more aggressively by increasing pressure on social media companies. In an April 22 e-mail to YouTube executives, the White House’s Rob Flaherty explained that “we want to be sure that you have a handle on vaccine hesitancy generally and are working toward making the problem better.” E-mail from Rob Flaherty, Director of Digital Strategy at the White

House, to YouTube Executives (Apr. 22, 2021), *available at* https://ago.mo.gov/docs/default-source/press-releases/highest-level.pdf?sfvrsn=615f2fb1_2. “This is a concern that is shared at *the highest (and I mean the highest) levels* of the [White House],” directly referring to President Biden. *Id.* (emphasis added).

110. During the spring and summer of 2021, some vaccine skeptics made bizarre, inflammatory claims about the Pfizer and Moderna vaccines, including that they contained “nanochips” which would lead people who received them to be tracked by 5G mobile towers, and that they would cause people to become magnetized. These statements—which Mr. Berenson did not make—attracted significant attention and mockery.

111. But the White House’s own internal discussions show that it was far more focused on critics like Mr. Berenson, who offered factually accurate and truthful criticisms of the vaccines. On March 22, Mr. Flaherty emailed Mr. Slavitt and Facebook executives, “[W]e are all aligned that the problem does not fit in ‘microchips’-land.” He went on, “it seems plausible that the things that drive the most actual hesitancy sit in ‘sensational’ and ‘skeptical What interventions are being taken on ‘skepticism?’ I could see a range of actions” E-mail from Rob Flaherty, Director of Digital Strategy at the White House, Facebook Executives (Mar. 22, 2021), *available at* https://ago.mo.gov/docs/default-source/press-releases/virality.pdf?sfvrsn=9081bccd_2.

C. The White House targets independent journalist Alex Berenson, demanding to know why Twitter had not banned him from the platform.

112. Throughout early 2021, Mr. Berenson continued building his audience on the Twitter platform. As of March 17, 2021, Mr. Berenson had more than 229,000 followers. He continued his reporting and commentary on both the public policy response to COVID-19 and the vaccines. In April 2021, his importance as a COVID-19 vaccine skeptic was highlighted by

The Atlantic magazine, which proclaimed, “Berenson has a big megaphone. He has more than 200,000 followers on Twitter and millions of viewers for his frequent appearances on Fox News’ most-watched shows”—appearances that were often driven by his tweets. Derek Thompson, *The Pandemic’s Wrongest Man*, *The Atlantic*, April 1, 2021,

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/04/pandemics-wrongest-man/618475/>.

113. Mr. Berenson repeatedly used his platform on Twitter to interact with the Defendants in this action. As shown below, on March 6, 2021, while Mr. Slavitt was still serving in the White House, Mr. Berenson issued an acerbic tweet in which he tagged Mr. Slavitt, accusing President Biden’s advisor of “lick[ing]” since-disgraced New York Governor Andrew Cuomo’s “shiny boots.” The tweet garnered tens of thousands of impressions.



Alex Berenson (@AlexBerenson), Twitter (Mar. 6, 2021, 11:14 PM),

<https://twitter.com/AlexBerenson/status/1368414849353592833>.

114. Mr. Berenson trained his Twitter pen on incoming Surgeon General Vivek Murthy, criticizing President Biden’s appointee for receiving substantial payments from healthcare entities for giving speeches prior to joining the government.



Alex Berenson (@AlexBerenson), Twitter (Feb. 8, 2021, 12:22 PM),

<https://twitter.com/AlexBerenson/status/1358828511088279557>.

115. By mid-April, if not before, Mr. Berenson had the White House’s attention. On April 21, 2021, as part of the government’s efforts to crack down on COVID-19 skepticism, Biden Administration officials Mr. Flaherty, Mr. Slavitt, and Kelsey Fitzpatrick met with four Twitter employees, including Lauren Culbertson, Twitter’s head of government affairs for the United States and Canada. Mr. Flaherty initiated the meeting. Culbertson would later write that “one of the first meeting requests from the Biden White House was about COVID-19 misinformation ... Biden’s staff focused on vaccines and high-profile anti-vaxxer accounts, including Alex Berenson.” David Zweig (@DavidZweig), Twitter (Dec. 26, 2022, 9:26 AM), <https://twitter.com/davidzweig/status/1607382379018190849>.

116. The meeting, titled “Twitter Vaccine Misinfo Briefing,” included discussion by Twitter about “trends seen generally about vaccine misinformation . . . and ways the White House (and our COVID-19 experts) can partner in product work” as well as “recent policy

changes,” which would include the company’s COVID-19 misleading information, which is described further below. The body of the meeting invitation is shown below.

From: Flaherty, Rob EOP/WHO [redacted]@who.eop.gov]
Sent: 4/16/2021 4:25:15 PM
To: Flaherty, Rob EOP/WHO [redacted]@who.eop.gov; Slavitt, Andrew M. EOP/WHO [redacted]@who.eop.gov; [redacted]@twitter.com; [redacted]@twitter.com; [redacted]@twitter.com
CC: Fitzpatrick, Kelsey V. EOP/WHO [redacted]@who.eop.gov; [redacted] (HHS/OASH) [redacted]@hhs.gov]
Subject: Twitter Vaccine Misinfo Briefing
Location: [redacted]
Start: 4/21/2021 2:00:00 PM
End: 4/21/2021 3:00:00 PM
Show Time As: Tentative
Recurrence: (none)

White House Staff will be briefed by Twitter on vaccine misinfo. Twitter to cover trends seen generally around vaccine misinformation, the tangible effects seen from recent policy changes, what interventions are currently being implemented in addition to previous policy changes, and ways the White House (and our COVID experts) can partner in product work.

117. The following day, Twitter employees discussed the meeting on a private, internal company Slack channel. A Twitter employee said the White House “had one really tough question about why Alex Berenson hadn’t been kicked off the platform.” The Twitter employee did *not* say the government had named any other users for suppression. Neither did Ms. Culbertson’s later note. The employee distinguished the pressure the White House brought regarding Mr. Berenson from questions about other Twitter users, which the employee called “pointed but fair—and mercifully we had answers.” The exchange is shown below.

Channel: dm-[redacted]-[redacted]
Channel Type: Slack Channel Private
Start Date: 2021-04-22 13:14:03 UTC **End date:** 2021-04-22 13:20:21 UTC

[redacted] at 2021-04-22 13:14:03

How was WH:crossed_fingers::skin-tone-3:!?

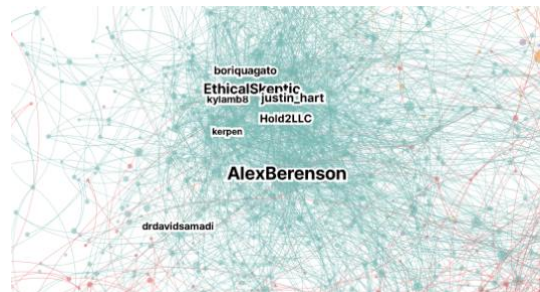
[redacted] at 2021-04-22 13:15:59

Overall, pretty good! they had one really tough question about why Alex Berenson hasn’t been kicked off from the platform; otherwise their questions were pointed but fair - and mercifully we had answers.

118. The employee did not say why the White House had targeted Mr. Berenson specifically, but he noted that the White House had “done some data visualization that shows he’s, like, ground zero for COVID-19 misinformation that radiates outward.” The Slack channel comment is shown below.

[REDACTED] at 2021-04-22 13:18:31
They allege that they’ve done some data visualization that shows he’s, like, ground zero for covid misinformation that radiates outward.

Upon information and belief, researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology created the data visualization referred to in this comment. Crystal Lee et al., *The Data Visualizations Behind COVID-19 Skepticism*, Mar. 1, 2021, <http://vis.mit.edu/covid-story/>. The authors derided Mr. Berenson as the “anchor” of a so-called “anti-mask” network. A true and accurate screenshot of the MIT data visualization is shown below.



119. In a separate discussion on Slack about the meeting, a Twitter employee mentioned Mr. Slavitt “really wanted to know about Alex Berenson” because of his impact on the “persuadable public.” That comment is also shown below.

[REDACTED] at 2021-04-22 19:07:34
thanks for clarifying. and yes, they really wanted to know about Alex Berenson. Andy Slavitt suggested they had seen data viz that had showed he was the epicenter of disinfo that radiated outwards to the persuadable public.

120. Notably, none of these officials presented Twitter with any evidence that Mr. Berenson's tweets were false, much less that he might be breaking any law. They could not, because what he was simply tweeting true information that was inconsistent with the government's preferred narrative regarding the COVID-19 vaccines.

121. Upon information and belief, Mr. Slavitt's targeting of Mr. Berenson was also retaliatory. As noted above, just weeks before the White House's secret meeting with Twitter, Mr. Berenson tagged Mr. Slavitt's Twitter account in a thread critical of Mr. Slavitt's treatment of New York Governor Andrew Cuomo's handling the COVID-19 pandemic. Alex Berenson (@AlexBerenson), Twitter (Mar. 6, 2021), <https://twitter.com/AlexBerenson/status/1368414849353592833>. Further, in May 2020, Mr. Berenson had criticized Mr. Slavitt for offering a "conspiracy theory" regarding the number of COVID-19 deaths in Florida. Alex Berenson (@AlexBerenson), Twitter (May 29, 2020, 11:06 AM), <https://twitter.com/AlexBerenson/status/1266385386026291200>. Within less than five minutes, Mr. Slavitt responded, directly engaging with Mr. Berenson. Andy Slavitt (@ASlavitt), Twitter (May 29, 2020, 11:10 AM), <https://twitter.com/ASlavitt/status/1266386495495168005>.

122. As it had consistently since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, Twitter said the company did not believe Mr. Berenson had violated its rules. "I've taken a pretty close look at his account and I don't think any of it's violative," an employee wrote in the Slack discussion. Yet, feeling pressure from Mr. Slavitt, Twitter agreed to examine the account again. "We told him," i.e., Mr. Slavitt, "that we'd ask you to take a look," the Slack discussion continued. "Have you given it a thorough vetting recently?" "Last month," the employee charged with reviewing Mr. Berenson account responded, before repeating that Mr. Berenson did not violate Twitter's rules and was "referencing science and statistics."

123. Mr. Flaherty corroborated this account recently. During the meeting, “Mr. Flaherty recalls Mr. Slavitt expressing his view Twitter was not enforcing its content guidelines with respect to Alex Berenson’s tweets, and that employees from Twitter disagreed with that view.” (Ex. A attached at 57.) “Mr. Slavitt suggested at the end of the meeting that Mr. Flaherty would follow up with Twitter employees about” Mr. Berenson.” (*Id.*) Later, “a Twitter employee who Mr. Flaherty thinks was Todd O’Boyle,” called Mr. Flaherty and “indicated that Twitter would not be removing Mr. Berenson because Mr. Berenson had not violated Twitter policies at that time.” (*Id.*)

124. Mr. Slavitt has also stated that “I’m sure that [Mr. Berenson’s] name was brought up as one of the examples” discussed during the White House’s meeting with Twitter. Andy Slavitt, *The White House’s Plan to Contain Monkey Pox*, Aug. 17, 2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20220826165119/https://lemonadamedia.com/podcast/the-white-houses-plan-to-contain-monkeypox/>.

125. Documents released in May 2024 by the House Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government show the pressure Mr. Slavitt and his colleagues placed on Facebook in April 2021, just days before the White House first targeted Mr. Berenson. On Sunday, April 18, 2021, Facebook executive Nick Clegg, who previously served as Deputy Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, wrote that he “[j]ust got off hour long call with Andy Slavitt.” House Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Gov’t, *The Censorship-Industrial Complex: How Top Biden White House Officials Coerced Big Tech to Censor Americans, True Information, and Critics of the Biden Administration*, at 294 (May 1, 2024), available at <https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Censorship-Industrial-Complex-WH->

[Report Appendix.pdf](#) (hereinafter “House Report”). Mr. Clegg reported that Mr. Slavitt “was outraged—not too strong a word to describe his reaction—that we did not remove this post which was third most highly ranked data set we sent to him.” *Id.* at 295. A true and accurate depiction of the post is shown below, a meme featuring Leonardo DiCaprio from the film *Once Upon a Time in Hollywood*.



126. Mr. Clegg, a man from a country without the First Amendment, “countered that removing content like that would represent a significant incursion into traditional boundaries of free expression in the US but he [(Mr. Slavitt)] replied that the post was directly comparing Covid vaccines to asbestos poisoning in a way which demonstrably inhibits confidence in Covid vaccines.” House Report at 295. In other words, at least as Mr. Clegg reported the conversation to his colleagues, Mr. Slavitt believed the First Amendment was irrelevant to speech that discouraged the use of COVID-19 vaccines and that the Biden Administration could tell social media companies what specific posts to carry.

127. After the White House’s April 21 discussion with Twitter, more meetings followed. As Twitter’s Lauren Culbertson recounted, the pressure from the White House continued and actually increased after the April meeting. “The Biden White House was not

satisfied with Twitter’s enforcement approached as they wanted Twitter to do more and to de-platform several accounts,” she wrote. David Zweig (@DavidZweig), Twitter (Dec. 26, 2022, 9:32 AM), <https://twitter.com/davidzweig/status/1607383819287515137>. “Because of this dissatisfaction, we were asked to join several other calls. *They were very angry in nature.*” (emphasis added).

128. Yet Twitter continued to defend Mr. Berenson, and he continued to build his audience. He had previously used Twitter to market his *Unreported Truths* pamphlets on the pandemic, and he looked forward to leveraging his audience to promote his book *Pandemia*, which was set to be released in December 2021, on the same issues.

129. The White House continued to press other large technology companies to censor and moderate speech. In March 2021, Amazon made changes to its bookstore policies to placate “the Biden people.” House Report at 2. A draft internal Facebook memorandum from April 28, 2021 reports to Mark Zuckerberg and Sheryl Sandberg that “[w]e are facing continued pressure, including the White House and the press, to *remove* more COVID-19 vaccine discouraging content.” *Id.* at 319 (emphasis in original). The memorandum contains additional advice related to how to change the company’s moderation practices. In August 2024, Mark Zuckerberg, chief executive of Meta, which owns Facebook, acknowledged in a letter to House Judiciary Committee chair Jim Jordan (R-OH) that “[i]n 2021, senior officials from the Biden Administration, including the White House, repeatedly pressured our teams for months to censor certain COVID-19 content.” House Judiciary GOP (@JudiciaryGOP), X (Aug. 26, 2024, 6:44 PM), <https://x.com/JudiciaryGOP/status/1828201780544504064>.

130. In May, consistent with the White House’s ongoing efforts, the federal government escalated its campaign against free speech regarding COVID-19. The United States

Department of Homeland Security included the promotion of “conspiracy theories concerning the origins of COVID-19 and effectiveness of vaccines” in one its summaries of major terrorist threats. U.S. Dep’t of Homeland Security, Summary of Terrorism Threat to the U.S. Homeland, May 14, 2021, <https://www.dhs.gov/ntas/advisory/national-terrorism-advisory-system-bulletin-may-14-2021>.

131. Even so, Mr. Berenson continued reporting on COVID-19 and the vaccines on Twitter. He specifically criticized President Biden. As shown below, After President Biden tweeted “the rule” regarding COVID-19 vaccination, Mr. Berenson quote-tweeted the @JoeBiden “government official account,” chiding President Biden, “Yes, boss. For sure, boss. Whatever you say, boss.”



Alex Berenson (@AlexBerenson), Twitter (May 13, 2021, 5:04 PM), <https://mobile.twitter.com/AlexBerenson/status/1392948912802181122>.

132. In a foreshadowing of the COVID-19 vaccine mandates to come, Mr. Berenson quote-tweeted the official @POTUS Twitter account, accusing President Biden of trying to scare Americans into getting vaccinated. “The bribes aren’t working,” referring the various

vaccination lotteries and offers of Shake Shack indulgences,¹ “so they’re back to this nonsense.” “Next up: Coercion,” Mr. Berenson forecast.



Alex Berenson (@AlexBerenson), Twitter (June 8, 2021, 2:14 PM), <https://twitter.com/alexberenson/status/1402328160851709957>.

133. Mr. Berenson also directly and aggressively criticized the CDC. On June 24, Mr. Berenson asked whether the CDC “is lying or just stupid?” On July 8, he accused the CDC of “lying again,” “[j]ust like it lied when it said myocarditis wasn’t a risk,” he wrote. “Many fully vaccinated people are becoming severely ill and dying. To say flatly that vaccines protect against ‘severe disease and death’ is lie.” Yet, consistent with its previous defense of Mr. Berenson’s right to express his views, Twitter took no action against any of these tweets.

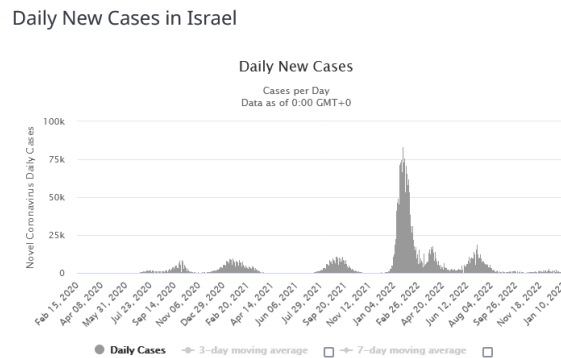
VI. Under continued, relentless government pressure, and following direct intervention by Andrew Slavitt and Pfizer board member Scott Gottlieb, Twitter takes away Alex Berenson’s most important platform for speech and journalism as the federal government works to mandate COVID-19 vaccines, including Pfizer’s.

A. The efficacy of the COVID-19 vaccines wane while the federal government’s coercion campaign escalates.

134. During the spring of 2021, the COVID-19 vaccines seemed to be working well. Countries that utilized the mRNA vaccines saw a rapid plunge in cases. For example, as shown

¹ Shake Shack, *NYC: Get Vaxed, Get Shack*, Sept. 18, 2021, <https://shakeshack.com/blog/local-news/nyc-get-vaxed-get-shack#/>.

in the chart below, daily new cases in Israel, the first country to mass vaccinate its adult population with Pfizer's vaccine, dropped to near zero in spring 2021.



WorldOMeter, *Israel*, <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/israel/>.

135. But in July 2021, the vaccines abruptly began to fail in Israel, the first country to vaccinate most adults with Pfizer's vaccines. Between June 15 and July 15, new coronavirus infections soared 75-fold in Israel, and they continued to rise throughout August. Hospitalizations and deaths also rose. The sudden drop in vaccine effectiveness led public health officials to wonder whether it might be necessary to rapidly provide booster vaccines to previously vaccinated people. It also caused the Biden Administration to consider COVID-19 vaccine mandates, a possibility President Biden rejected prior to his inauguration. *Biden: COVID-19 vaccine should not be mandatory*, Reuters, Dec. 4, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e6QNsNMFH5s>.

136. On Saturday, July 10, 2021, Mr. Berenson participated in a panel discussion at a political convention in Dallas, Texas. During the session, Mr. Berenson commented on the government's failure to persuade Americans to take COVID-19 vaccines.

137. The following day, Dr. Anthony Fauci, President Biden's Chief Medical Advisor, called Mr. Berenson's remarks "horrifying." Mr. Berenson had criticized repeatedly Dr. Fauci throughout the COVID-19 pandemic. According to Dr. Fauci, Mr. Berenson was "someone

saying that it's a good thing for people not to try and save their lives." Olafimihan Oshin, *Fauci: 'Horrible' to hear CPAC crowd cheering anti-vaccination remarks*, The Hill (July 11, 2021), <https://thehill.com/homenews/sunday-talk-shows/562453-fauci-horrifying-to-hear-cpac-crowd-cheering-missed-vaccine-goal>. Mr. Berenson was observing that many Americans, particularly younger Americans at low risk from COVID-19, had simply concluded the risks of taking a COVID-19 vaccine outweighed the benefits for them.

138. In his deposition in the Missouri lawsuit, Dr. Fauci did not deny discussing Mr. Berenson with other officials in the government. Instead, Dr. Fauci said such discussions "may have occurred, but I don't recall." Dep. of Dr. Anthony Fauci, at 343:22-23, *supra*.

139. Mr. Berenson's remarks in Dallas also caught Andrew Slavitt's attention. In June 2021, Mr. Slavitt officially left his post in the White House but remained in close contact with his former colleagues in the Biden Administration, as well as Dr. Gottlieb, as explained further below. On Monday, July 12, Mr. Slavitt appeared on the Peacock network. *Fox News Contributing to Declining Vaccine Rates, supra*. Discussing the federal government's efforts to promote the COVID-19 vaccines, Mr. Slavitt referred to a need to "get rid of all this garbage coming out of CPAC," a reference to Mr. Berenson's remarks. *Id.*

140. The host played Mr. Berenson's comments and invited Mr. Slavitt to comment. Mr. Slavitt argued that "we" should be focused on the ten percent of the adult population, or roughly 25 million unvaccinated Americans, he viewed as being open to receiving a COVID-19 vaccine—an apparent reference to the "persuadable public" discussed during the April 21, 2021 White House meeting with Twitter. *Id.* "As for people like Alex Berenson," Mr. Slavitt continued, "I know nobody more worthy of being ignored than Alex Berenson." *Id.* Mr. Slavitt expressed further hostility toward Mr. Berenson, telling the audience that "they," meaning

people like Mr. Berenson, “don’t really care whether it’s good for people or bad for people, so I think we’re better off ignoring him.” *Id.*

141. Mr. Slavitt played the clip of Mr. Berenson’s remarks on his podcast several days later. Andy Slavitt, *Should I Get a Booster? And the Politics of Vaccines (with David Axelrod)*, July 14, 2021, <https://lemonadamedia.com/podcast/should-i-get-a-booster-and-the-politics-of-vaccines-with-david-axelrod/>. Again, expressing his animus, Mr. Slavitt maligned Mr. Berenson as “a conspiracy theorist,” going so far as to characterize him as “[s]omeone who frankly I don’t intend to dignify by mentioning his name.” *Id.* During the same conversation, Mr. Slavitt noted his continued conversations with Biden Administration personnel, including White House Press Secretary Jen Psaki and the CDC’s Dr. Rochelle Walensky. *Id.*

142. The next step in the public pressure campaign against social media companies came on July 15, when Surgeon General Vivek Murthy published a report titled “Confronting Health Misinformation.” Vivek H. Murthy, *Confronting Health Misinformation: The U.S. Surgeon General’s Advisory on Building a Healthy Information Environment* (2021), available at <https://www.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/surgeon-general-misinformation-advisory.pdf>. Dr. Murthy noted that “while there have been significant efforts to address health misinformation,” specifically citing Twitter’s COVID-19 policy, *id.* at n.49, “there is much more to be done.” He explained that “[t]he threat of misinformation raises important questions we must answer **together.**” *Id.* (emphasis in original). In this regard, later in the report, he called for social media platforms to “[p]rioritize early detection of misinformation ‘super-spreaders’ and repeat offenders,” and recommended the companies “[i]mpose clear consequences for accounts that repeatedly violate platform policies.” *Id.* at 12.

143. Showing his continuing connection to the federal government, Mr. Slavitt invited Dr. Murthy onto his podcast to discuss his report. Andy Slavitt, *Exposing the Biggest Vaccine Lies and Liars (with Surgeon General Vivek Murthy)*, July 19, 2021, <https://lemonadamedia.com/podcast/exposing-the-biggest-vaccine-lies-and-liars-with-surgeon-general-vivek-murthy/>. At the outset of the program, Mr. Slavitt took notice of “[a] small number of loud voices” whose aim is “to prevent people from getting vaccinated.” *Id.* Mr. Slavitt characterized this speech as “a legitimate killer,” and later referred to “misinformation” as “a public health crisis.” *Id.*

144. On the podcast, Dr. Murthy elaborated on the platforms’ duty to act:

And I think that comes with a responsibility to do something about it. If you create a product, you should not only enjoy the benefits that it brings to the world, but you should be responsible for, you know, is certainly on a moral level for the harms that it may do society. And in this case, we see significant harm coming from social platforms that don’t have strong enough guardrails and measures to reduce the flow of misinformation.

Id. (emphasis added). Dr. Murthy acknowledged some of the companies’ steps, “[b]ut with that said, there are times when the urgency of the problem demands that we ratchet up our efforts, that we dramatically increase, you know, how aggressive we’re being, and putting solutions in place and this is one of those moments.” *Id.* Dr. Murthy explained that “my worry, my concern with some of our technology companies is that they’re not doing enough, and they’re certainly not doing it fast enough.” *Id.*

145. Dr. Murthy raised the issue of censorship. “[F]ree speech is a bedrock value of our country,” he said. *Id.* “We need to protect freedom of speech.” *Id.* But he then went on to argue that free speech should not always be protected: “*But that doesn’t mean that we need to allow misinformation that we know harms people’s health to run rampant.*” *Id.* (emphasis added).

146. On the day he released his advisory, Dr. Murthy appeared at a White House press briefing to discuss it. Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jen Psaki and Surgeon General Dr. Vivek H. Murthy, July 15, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2021/07/15/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-jen-psaki-and-surgeon-general-dr-vivek-h-murthy-july-15-2021/>. Asked about “actions that the federal government can take to ensure their [(social media companies’)] cooperation,” Press Secretary Psaki responded that “we are in regular touch with these social media platforms, and those engagements typically happen through members of our senior staff.” *Id.* Press Secretary Psaki explained that the federal government had “proposed changes . . . to social media platforms.” *Id.* Among them, Ms. Psaki said the government “recommended—proposed that they [(the companies)] create a robust enforcement strategy that bridges their properties and provides transparency.” *Id.*

147. The following day, July 16, Ms. Psaki again explained that the government is “in regular touch with social media platforms . . . about areas where have concern.” *Id.* Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jen Psaki, July 16, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2021/07/16/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-jen-psaki-july-16-2021/>. Signaling that the White House was aware its actions might be unconstitutional, Ms. Psaki later offered a pro forma denial that the White House had asked for the removal of specific users. “[A]ny decision about platform usage and who should be on the platform is *orchestrated* and determined by private-sector companies.” *Id.* (emphasis added). That is “their decision to do,” Ms. Psaki explained. *Id.* “That is not the federal government doing that.” *Id.* Ms. Psaki did not disclose that months before, the White House had asked Twitter a “really tough” question why it continued to allow Mr. Berenson to speak on its platform.

148. At around the same time of the briefing, in response to a reporter who asked, “On COVID-19 misinformation, what’s your message to platforms like Facebook,” President Biden said, “They’re killing people.” *President Biden: “They’re killing people”*, C-SPAN, July 16, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gJoOtLn4goY>. President Biden’s statement caused other media to conclude that the government “blamed” social media companies “for spreading misinformation about the coronavirus and vaccines,” creating “stalling U.S. vaccine rates.” Lauren Egan, *‘They’re killing people’: Biden blames Facebook, other social media for allowing COVID-19 misinformation*, NBC News (July 16, 2021, 4:10 PM EDT), <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/they-re-killing-people-biden-blames-facebook-other-social-media-n1274232>.

149. Less than four hours after President Biden’s comment and Press Secretary Psaki’s briefing, Twitter locked Mr. Berenson’s account for the first time. Under the five-strike policy, the lock was his second strike, though the company had not previously informed him of the first strike.

150. In the following days, the Biden Administration continued its public pressure campaign. Four days after President Biden’s comments, USA Today reported “[t]he White House is assessing whether social media platforms are legally liable for misinformation spread on their platforms.” Matthew Brown, *‘They should be held accountable’: White House reviews platforms’ misinformation liability*, USA Today, July 20, 2021, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2021/07/20/white-house-reviews-section-230-protections-covid-misinformation/8024210002/>. The report noted “[r]elations are tense between the Biden administration and social media platforms,” and that the government was “examining how misinformation fits into the liability protections granted by Section 230 of the

Communications Decency Act, which shields online platforms from being responsible for what is posted by third parties on their sites.” *Id.*

151. White House Communications Director Kate Bedingfield went further, saying social media platforms “should certainly be held accountable,” and that President Biden has spoken “very aggressively about” the issue. Jessica Bursztynsky, *White House says social media networks should be held accountable for spreading misinformation*, CNBC, July 20, 2021, <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/07/20/white-house-social-networks-should-be-held-accountable-for-spreading-misinfo.html>. Ms. Bedingfield also raised “reform” of the federal law known as Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act as a possibility. *Id.*

152. Section 230 provides Twitter and other social media companies with essentially absolute immunity for content that third parties post on them. The potential loss of the protection that statute offers is such a significant threat to Twitter’s business that the issue was listed as a risk factor in the company’s annual report. Twitter described the risk as follows:

[T]here are various Executive and Congressional efforts to restrict the scope of the protections from legal liability for content moderation decisions and third-party content posted on online platforms that are currently available to online platforms under Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, and our current protections from liability for content moderation decisions and third-party content posted on our platform in the United States could decrease or change, potentially resulting in increased liability for content moderation decisions and third-party content posted on our platform and higher litigation costs.

Twitter, Annual Report (Form 10-K), at 29 (Feb. 16, 2022). The federal government’s threats to change section 230 struck at the heart of Twitter’s business model, putting additional pressure on the platform to censor Mr. Berenson.

153. Lauren Culbertson, Twitter’s top U.S. lobbyist, perceived the threat immediately. On July 20, forwarding a press release regarding Ms. Bedingfield’s announcement about section 230, Ms. Culbertson noted that “[w]e met with the Surgeon General’s Office ahead of his

announcement and have established a positive partnership.” (Ex. B attached at TWTR_BERENSON0001443.) She noted that “[t]hanks to quick xfn collaboration with Policy Comms, we were able to get out this statement/Tweet that strikes a productive tone *to further distinguish us from Facebook.*” (*Id.* (emphasis added)).

154. Even so, Ms. Culbertson was developing a contingency plan, reporting that her team was working “on a playbook in case the White House decides to turn on Twitter. While we have no indication that will happen right now, the politics are ripe as the Administration struggles to hit their vaccination goals and Delta rages.” (*Id.*) “As for our **overall strategy**, we’re aiming to be productive, responsive, and honest partners to the Biden Administration and keeping this under the radar and behind the scenes as much as possible given the heated political landscape and litigation risks,” she continued. (*Id.* (emphasis in original).)

155. Two days later, on July 22, Ms. Culbertson e-mailed Twitter’s Vice President of Global Public Policy, Monique Meche, regarding a proposed bill introduced by Senator Amy Klobuchar on section 230. “We will always be proactive and vigilant about protecting 230,” Ms. Culbertson wrote. (*Id.* at TWTR_BERENSON0001460.) The concern was relayed to Twitter’s top leaders, as Ms. Meche asked Ms. Culbertson to “give a heads-up to Vijaya [Gadde, Twitter’s general counsel and effective head of all Twitter’s non-technology and non-revenue units] and Sean [Edgett, Twitter’s deputy general counsel,] and let them know how we are planning to counter [potential threats to section 230].” (*Id.*)

156. Meanwhile, despite officially having left the White House, Mr. Slavitt continued to serve as an intermediary for its censorship efforts. On July 19, Facebook’s Nick Clegg wrote that “I’ve spent the last several days pretty well non stop on this Covid/Biden furore, including tel calls with Andy Slavitt on several occasions.” House Report at 561. On July 22, Mr. Clegg

relayed “Andy Slavitt’s overnight advice on how to understand where the WH is coming from,” including regarding how “[m]illions of persuadable people are getting bad info.” *Id.* at 573. Mr. Clegg reported that Mr. Slavitt “claims he is trying to be helpful by passing on our POV to the Surgeon General before the Fri meeting.” House Report at 573.

157. Around the same time, in mid-to-late July, in text messages with Mr. Clegg, Mr. Slavitt complained about vaccine-related content. “They are promoted and highly viewed,” Mr. Slavitt said. *Id.* at 470. “The WH wants FB to come clean with how many people see these posts and what it’s doing about them.” *Id.* at 471. Mr. Slavitt, in apparent recognition of the legal tightrope he was walking by continuing to speak for the White House at a time when he was not officially a federal employee, said “I want to really stay out of the middle and want you guys to communicate.” Even so, Mr. Slavitt would later say in a podcast published on July 30, 2021 that he was “on the phone with and talking to the White House and the CDC and with states and with other foreign governments you know as often as people need me and usually that’s on a daily basis when things get to crunch time.” SoCal in 17, July, 30, 2021, 5:00 AM PT, <https://spectrumnews1.com/ca/la-west/socal-in-17/2021/07/29/vaccines--lies-and-social-media--andy-slavitt-explains-how-covid-19-myths-spread-like-wildfire> (starting at 14:00 mark) (emphasis added).

B. Andrew Slavitt and former FDA Commissioner and Pfizer board member Scott Gottlieb, who maintained and cultivated contacts with Mr. Slavitt and the Biden Administration, secretly work to prevent Alex Berenson from reporting on Twitter about Pfizer’s COVID-19 vaccine while the federal government moves to mandate the shots.

158. Scott Gottlieb joined the Pfizer board on June 27, 2019, three months after stepping down as the Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, where he oversaw the approval and regulation of Pfizer’s drugs and vaccines in the United States. For his work as a director, Pfizer paid Dr. Gottlieb over \$1.4 million from 2019 through 2022.

159. In 2020, Dr. Gottlieb became the head of the Board’s “regulatory and compliance committee,” which Pfizer created in 2010 as part of a settlement with its shareholders over the company’s repeated violations of federal laws. Duff Wilson, *Pfizer plans \$75 million fund to address shareholder lawsuits*, N.Y. Times, Dec. 3, 2010, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/04/business/04drug.html>. The regulatory and compliance committee oversees Pfizer’s compliance with healthcare laws and marketing programs for drugs and vaccines. Dr. Gottlieb is also one of only seven members of Pfizer’s executive committee, where he serves alongside Pfizer Chief Executive Officer Albert Bourla.

160. After COVID-19’s emergence in winter 2020, Dr. Gottlieb became prominent in the debate over ways to contain its threat. He frequently appeared on political talk shows and CNBC, where he is a contributor. He was also in contact with both the Trump and Biden Administrations. On December 7, 2020, he said had given “some advice” to the Biden Administration’s transition team and added, “I’m available. I pick up the phone, I call people back, and I try to be helpful to whomever I can.” *On COVID-19 vaccine, ‘get as many shots in arms as possible, right away’: ex-FDA chief Q&A*, USA Today, Dec. 7, 2020, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2020/12/07/covid-vaccine-get-many-shots-arms-possible-right-away-opinion/6483439002/>.

161. Among Dr. Gottlieb’s closest contacts was Andrew Slavitt. In April 2020, Dr. Gottlieb and Mr. Slavitt coauthored a letter to Congress calling for a \$46.5 billion program for contact tracing and “voluntary self-isolation” for people with COVID-19. *Bipartisan Public Health Leaders Letter on COVID19 Tracking and Tracing*, NPR, Apr. 27, 2020, <https://apps.npr.org/documents/document.html?id=6877567-Bipartisan-Public-Health-Leaders-Letter-on>. Dr. Gottlieb and Mr. Slavitt also appeared on interviews together in 2020 and 2021,

and when Mr. Slavitt was named senior advisor for the Biden Administration's COVID-19 response team, Dr. Gottlieb lauded the appointment on Twitter, focusing on Mr. Slavitt's ability to "improv[e] vaccine access and opportunity." Dr. Scott Gottlieb (@ScottGottliebMd), Twitter (Jan. 14, 2021, 5:26 PM), <https://twitter.com/scottgottliebmd/status/1349845492860121091>.

162. Dr. Gottlieb remained in "pretty regular" contact with Mr. Slavitt and other Biden Administration officials throughout the winter and spring of 2021, according to a comment Mr. Slavitt made on his podcast on July 7, 2021. Andy Slavitt, *The Latest Science of Fighting COVID-19 (with Dr. Scott Gottlieb)*, July 7, 2021, <https://lemonadamedia.com/podcast/the-latest-science-of-fighting-covid-19-with-dr-scott-gottlieb/>.

163. In November 2020, Pfizer and its corporate partner BioNTech reported results from their pivotal clinical trial of Comirnaty. The results appeared to show that Comirnaty was 95 percent effective at reducing infections with SARS-CoV-2. On December 11, 2020, the FDA authorized the use of the vaccine in the United States for people 16 and over. Comirnaty quickly became Pfizer's top-selling product. In 2021, Pfizer reported sales of \$36.8 billion for the vaccine, the highest annual sales of *any* drug or vaccine ever.

164. As a Pfizer board member, Dr. Gottlieb was a vocal advocate for COVID-19 vaccinations. On December 7, 2020, even before the FDA authorized his company's vaccine, he called for the United States to "get as many shots in arms as possible, right away." USA Today, *supra*. On March 28, 2021, he said governments "should be looking at every single interaction that patients have with the medical system and trying to offer a vaccination at those points of care." *Transcript: Scott Gottlieb discusses coronavirus on 'Face the Nation,'* CBS News, Mar. 28, 2021, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/transcript-scott-gottlieb-discusses-coronavirus-on-face-the-nation-march-28-2021/>.

165. As the government’s public pressure campaign escalated, Twitter dutifully began to issue “strikes” against Mr. Berenson’s account. Twitter issued the second strike within hours of President Biden’s July 16 complaint—in response to a tweet that in its entirety read, “Something really odd is going on. The vaccines are failing.”

166. On Sunday July 18, two days after Mr. Berenson was first locked out of his account, Mr. Slavitt contacted Twitter’s Todd O’Boyle, Mr. Slavitt’s contact from his time at the White House, to introduce Dr. Gottlieb. Mr. Slavitt introduced Dr. Gottlieb as the former FDA Commissioner under President Trump, and asked for an audience with Mr. O’Boyle for the three men to speak about a “policy matter,” promising a “[f]ully bipartisan convo,” acknowledging the political dynamics. (Ex. B attached at TWTR_BERENSON_0001688.) Mr. O’Boyle immediately agreed. As shown below, Mr. Slavitt broadcast his governmental connection with this message, inviting recipients to send “Government Email” to his White House e-mail address.

From: Todd O'Boyle <toboyle@twitter.com>
Sent: Monday, July 19, 2021 1:22 PM UTC
To: Andy Slavitt <andy.slavitt@gmail.com>
Subject: Re: Todd, Andy Slavitt

Hi Andy -

Thanks for getting in touch. I'd be glad to speak with you and Scott. I have availability this afternoon at 3, 330 and 430 ET. We can also look at other times this week - let me know what works best for you gentlemen.

On Sun, Jul 18, 2021 at 9:59 PM Andy Slavitt <andy.slavitt@gmail.com> wrote:

I wonder if you would be open to a 20 minute call with Scott Gottlieb and me about a policy matter. As you know Scott was FDA commissioner in Trump. I was part of running COVID response under Biden. Fully bipartisan convo if you're up for it.

Let me know and can arrange as soon as you're able.

Thanks so much.

Andy

Andy Slavitt

For Government Email, Please Send to Andrew.M.Slavitt@who.eop.Gov

167. The next day, July 19, Dr. Gottlieb e-mailed Mr. O’Boyle directly with the subject line “personal and confidential.” “I had a high regard for the role you play in providing a platform to help inform the public. I continue to share that view. But I am growing very

concerned about a handful of accounts on Twitter that are fueling dangerous and false narratives on key public health issues related to the pandemic. They are negatively impacting public health and harming patients,” Dr. Gottlieb explained. (*Id.* at TWTR_BERENSON_0001464.) The former FDA Commissioner and Pfizer director then took direct aim at “a subset of accounts that are being frequently cited to me as authoritative sources by conservatives, even members of Congress, because they are verified accounts—even if those accounts are spreading clearly false information.” (*Id.*)

168. Upon information and belief, one of the “verified accounts” Dr. Gottlieb was referring to belonged to Mr. Berenson. Less than three weeks before Dr. Gottlieb’s e-mail, Mr. Berenson had spoken to about a dozen conservative members of Congress about the COVID-19 vaccines in a private meeting at the Capitol Hill Club, and barely a week earlier Mr. Berenson had spoken out publicly about the vaccines at the Conservative Political Action Conference. As noted above, Dr. Fauci characterized those remarks as “horrifying” and Mr. Slavitt referred to them as “garbage.”

169. Dr. Gottlieb next offered a proto-legal analysis of Twitter’s contractual relationship with its users. For the “verified accounts,” he argued that “Twitter has an affirmative obligation in these cases.” (*Id.*) Dr. Gottlieb pressed on:

These aren’t small accounts, they have large audiences that have been verified by Twitter, and therefore the account holders have been granted a special franchise by your platform. They were able to grow larger by the status conferred by that imprimatur. In these cases, I think there is more that must be done. Verified accounts should be held to some appropriately higher standard. I am happy to discuss more offline the accounts in question.

(*Id.*) Dr. Gottlieb did not further explicate the source of the platform’s “affirmative obligation,” which would run contrary to the very basis of the section 230 liability protection Twitter and other social media platforms enjoy. Dr. Gottlieb’s argument did underscore his understanding of

Twitter's operation and policies. Dr. Gottlieb did not raise concerns about violence or threats of violence in this entreaty.

170. Mr. O'Boyle responded to Dr. Gottlieb within an hour and "suggested the three of us talk." (*Id.*) Demonstrating the urgency of the issue, Mr. O'Boyle quickly forwarded his response to Ms. Culbertson, who forwarded it to her superior, Jessica Herrera-Flanigan, Twitter's Vice President of Public Policy for the Americas, with this comment:

Heads up that we **could be** next. Todd and I are triaging. The other backchanneling suggests that we're on much better footing than FB but need to keep up the responsiveness. I'll let you know if we think it's going to go sideways. Hopefully, we can keep us in a good place.

(*Id.* (emphasis in original).) In other words, Ms. Culbertson—Twitter's head of United States public policy—made no distinction between the pressure that Dr. Gottlieb and Mr. Slavitt were applying and the overall pressure the Biden Administration was placing on social media platforms at the time. In response, another Twitter employee wrote "[w]e're working through some potential statements / a scenario plan should we get called out directly," which Ms. Culbertson praised as a "worthwhile investment." (*Id.*)

171. On Friday July 23, Mr. O'Boyle contacted Dr. Gottlieb and Mr. Slavitt, seeking to arrange a conference call. (*Id.* at TWTR_BERENSON_0001650.) Mr. Slavitt instructed his executive assistant, an employee at New York City-based Town Hall Ventures, to schedule a call. (*Id.*) Due to scheduling conflicts, Dr. Gottlieb agreed to speak with "Todd separately and share some notes with Andy." (*Id.*) The call invitation, shown below, shows "Call: Todd O'Boyle & Andy Slavitt" scheduled for Monday, July 26, from 2 PM to 2:30 PM "Eastern Time – New York."

Subject: Invitation: Call: Todd O'Boyle & Andy Slavitt @ Mon Jul 26, 2021 2pm - 2:30pm (EDT) (toboyle@twitter.com)
Start: Monday, July 26, 2021 6:00 PM UTC
End: Monday, July 26, 2021 6:30 PM UTC
Show Time As: Busy
Recurrence: None
Meeting Status: Not yet responded
Required Attendees: toboyle@twitter.com <toboyle@twitter.com>
Attachment(s): "invite.ics"

You have been invited to the following event.

Call: Todd O'Boyle & Andy Slavitt

When: Mon Jul 26, 2021 2pm - 2:30pm Eastern Time - New York [more details >](#)

Calendar: toboyle@twitter.com

Who:

- andy.slavitt@gmail.com - organizer
- [REDACTED]@downhallventures.com - creator
- toboyle@twitter.com

Going (toboyle@twitter.com)? [Yes](#) - [Maybe](#) - [No](#) [more options >](#)

Invitation from [Google Calendar](#)

You are receiving this email at the account toboyle@twitter.com because you are subscribed for invitations on calendar toboyle@twitter.com.
To stop receiving these emails, please log in to <https://calendar.google.com/calendar/> and change your notification settings for this calendar.
Forwarding this invitation could allow any recipient to send a response to the organizer and be added to the guest list, or invite others regardless of their own invitation status, or to modify your RSVP. [Learn More](#)

172. This exchange was prompted by a follow-up e-mail from Dr. Gottlieb earlier in the day on July 23. As shown below, Dr. Gottlieb wrote “Todd, sorry we have not connected. I am likely to be discussing some of my perspectives below on TV this weekend and wanted to just see if you still wanted to connect so I may have the benefit of your views.”

On Fri, Jul 23, 2021 at 5:20 PM Todd O'Boyle <toboyle@twitter.com> wrote:

Hi Scott -
I am absolutely available to connect. I sent an email to you and Andy earlier this week in case you wanted to speak jointly - did it not go though? If so, my sincerest apologies. In any event I'll be free in about 20 minutes if you'd like to dial me directly at 252.903.3606.

On Fri, Jul 23, 2021 at 4:58 PM Scott Gottlieb, MD <scott.gottlieb@gmail.com> wrote:

Todd, sorry we have not connected. I am likely to be discussing some of my perspectives below on TV this weekend and wanted to just see if you still wanted to connect so I may have the benefit of your views. Many thanks for considering. Scott

On Mon, Jul 19, 2021 at 11:39 AM Todd O'Boyle <toboyle@twitter.com> wrote:

Scott -
Thank you for your note. A mutual colleague let me know you might be getting in contact and suggested the three of us talk. I offered a few times as soon as this afternoon to get on the phone. Bottom line we all agree this is a very serious issue - I'm available to talk at your convenience.

On Mon, Jul 19, 2021 at 11:00 AM Scott Gottlieb, MD <scott.gottlieb@gmail.com> wrote:

Todd, Scott Gottlieb here. In my former position as FDA commissioner, I had high regard for the role you play in providing a platform to help inform the public. I continue to share that view. But I am growing very concerned about a handful of accounts on Twitter that are fueling dangerous and false narratives on key public health issues related to the pandemic. They are negatively impacting public health and harming patients. There are a subset of accounts that are being frequently cited to me as authoritative sources by conservatives, even members of Congress, because they are verified accounts -- even when those accounts are spreading clearly false information. I do believe Twitter has an affirmative obligation in these cases. These aren't small accounts, they have large audiences that have been verified by Twitter, and therefore the account holders have been granted a special franchise by your platform. They were able to grow larger by the status conferred by that imprimatur. In these cases, I think there is more that must be done. Verified accounts should be held to some appropriately higher standard. I am happy to discuss more offline the accounts in question. I appreciate your taking the time to read my note. Scott Gottlieb (mobile 202-270-1991)

(*Id.* at TWTR_BERENSON_0001683.) With his reference to “TV this weekend,” Dr. Gottlieb was plainly referring to the Sunday morning talk shows frequented by national political leaders

like CBS' *Face the Nation*, where the Pfizer director had appeared previously. Faced with the possibility that Dr. Gottlieb planned to air his views about Twitter's so-called "affirmative obligation" to censor speech, Mr. O'Boyle responded promptly to quell the threat.

173. July 23, the same day Mr. Slavitt and Dr. Gottlieb were working to schedule this call, Mr. O'Boyle spoke to the White House's Rob Flaherty. Mr. O'Boyle reported to Ms. Culbertson that he told Mr. Flaherty that Twitter would follow a "whole-of-society" approach to COVID-19 misinformation, echoing Surgeon General Murthy's demands, meaning the company would respond to the federal government to achieve the Biden Administration's policy goals. Mr. Flaherty "acknowledged the steps we've been taking and asked for time to meet soon," Mr. O'Boyle wrote. (*Id.* at TWTR_BERENSON_0002489.)

174. Twitter issued a third strike against Mr. Berenson on July 27. At this point, the conspirators had reason to believe they were close to success. Mr. Slavitt secretly contacted Mr. O'Boyle about Mr. Berenson on July 28, between his third and fourth strikes, arguing that Mr. Berenson "knows he's gone," and that he was "milk[ing] Twitter for audience."

175. Also on July 28, Albert Bourla, Pfizer's Chief Executive Officer, appeared on Mr. Slavitt's "In The Bubble" podcast. On July 7, Dr. Gottlieb had also appeared on the show. In a podcast recorded either July 24 or 25 and released in part on July 28, Mr. Slavitt interviewed Dr. Bourla for over an hour. "I know Albert somewhat from the work in the White House we did, rolling out the vaccines," Mr. Slavitt said. Andy Slavitt, *EXCLUSIVE: Pfizer CEO Albert Bourla on the Delta Variant, Boosters and Masks Indoors (Part 1)*, July 28, 2021, <https://lemonadamedia.com/podcast/exclusive-pfizer-ceo-albert-bourla-on-the-delta-variant-boosters-and-masks-indoors-part-1/>.

176. On the July 28 podcast, Mr. Slavitt lauded the first vaccine mandates and said he expected to see more soon. Vaccine mandates are “something that I have been working on slowly and in the background over the last couple of weeks,” he said. *Id.* “And I think people are really priming that pump.” *Id.* He went on to accuse people who opposed vaccine mandates of “slavish devotion to individual liberties.” *Id.*

177. Sounding similar themes, Dr. Bourla would later express his contempt for free speech, accusing those who spoke skeptically about his company’s COVID-19 vaccine, of being “criminals because they have cost literally millions of lives.” Berkley Lovelace Jr., *Pfizer CEO says people who spread misinformation on Covid vaccines are ‘criminals’*, CNBC, Nov. 9, 2021, <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/11/09/covid-vaccines-pfizer-ceo-says-people-who-spread-misinformation-on-shots-are-criminals.html>.

178. On the same day as the podcast was released, July 28, Dr. Bourla and Pfizer’s general counsel, Douglas Lankler, traveled to the White House for a meeting that had been scheduled only one day before and was not disclosed until the White House released its visitor logs months later. Upon information and belief, the agenda for that meeting included COVID-19 booster shots and vaccine skepticism.

179. On the same day, July 28, Pfizer released a “preprint” update to its pivotal clinical trial results for its COVID-19 vaccine. The pivotal clinical trial covered approximately 40,000 people; its November 2020 preliminary findings had led to the rapid approval of the vaccine. The updated findings included approximately six months of safety data. It showed that 15 people who received the vaccine during the trial had died from all causes, compared to 14 people who received placebo injections. In other words, the vaccine did not reduce “all-cause” mortality, a crucial measure of the success of any preventative measure. Stephen J. Thomas et al., *Six Month*

Safety and Efficacy of the BNT162b2 mRNA COVID-19 Vaccine, July 28, 2021,

<https://www.medrxiv.org/content/10.1101/2021.07.28.21261159v1.full.pdf>. The results also

showed vaccine recipients had more cardiovascular deaths than placebo recipients. Because the placebo recipients had been offered the vaccine in early 2021, after the Food and Drug Administration authorized its use, no further direct comparisons of vaccine and placebo recipients would be possible.

180. The next day, July 29, Mr. Berenson tweeted the following about the preprint:

The pivotal clinical trial for the @pfizer #COVID-19 vaccine shows it does nothing to reduce the overall risk of death. ZERO.

15 patients who received the vaccine died; 14 who received placebo died.

The end.

The trial blind is broken now. This is all the data we will ever have.

These statements were all factually accurate. The tweet received more than 2,000 retweets and more than 2.3 million views. Upon information and belief, this tweet received more views on Twitter than the Leonardo Di Caprio meme on Facebook which outraged Mr. Slavitt.

181. On July 30, Twitter gave Mr. Berenson his fourth COVID-19-related strike for the tweet about the preprint, even though it was neither false nor misleading. Under Twitter's rules, a fourth strike resulted in a one-week suspension and was the final warning before a permanent suspension.

182. The same day, July 30, Mr. O'Boyle emailed Mr. Slavitt a link to Mr. Berenson's tweet about the Pfizer clinical trial and informed him Mr. Berenson had been suspended again and that "[f]urther violations of the rules will result in permanent suspension." The e-mail exchange is shown below.

From: [REDACTED]@twitter.com]
Sent: 7/30/2021 7:09:30 PM
To: Andy Slavitt [andy.slavitt@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Screenshot 2021-07-28 at 12.37.29 PM

<https://twitter.com/AlexBerenson/status/1420839456228118535>

He's on a 7 day suspension. Further violations of the rules will result in permanent suspension.

On Wed, Jul 28, 2021 at 3:40 PM Andy Slavitt <andy.slavitt@gmail.com> wrote:
It turns out that without Twitter sub stack doesn't work. He knows he's gone. Now it's time to milk Twitter for audience but he can't seem to resist. Yikes

183. Behind the scenes, however, Twitter's most senior executives were questioning whether Twitter should be sanctioning Mr. Berenson and whether he was violating the platform's rules. After Twitter issued its second strike against Mr. Berenson on July 16, chief executive Jack Dorsey had written Vijaya Gadde, "Doesn't seem right to me. These are queries." (Ex. B attached at TWTR_BERENSON_0001697.) After the second strike, Ms. Gadde and Mr. Dorsey became increasingly actively involved in the discussions around Mr. Berenson's account. They raised questions and delayed the third and fourth strikes, though Ms. Gadde ultimately signed off on them.

184. In an internal Slack message from July 28, members of Twitter's trust and safety team noted that no action could be taken on Mr. Berenson's account without "sign off from leadership." (*Id.* at TWTR_BERENSON_0003402.) Two days later, on July 30, a Twitter employee decided that Mr. Berenson's tweet on Pfizer's clinical trial warranted a fourth strike. The employee flagged the tweet, which led to an internal review. A more senior Twitter trust and safety employee explained that Mr. Berenson's account was politically and legally sensitive, instructing the junior employee to "[r]emove the label for now." (*Id.* at TWTR_BERENSON 3341.)

185. The more senior employee asked for a conference call to explain further. "I can give you some background on this particular account and some of the issues we're likely to run

into on this particular tweet and taking action . . . we will probably going to have to wait for sign off, given some previous discussion around this account earlier this week . . . I want to give some more background on this (nothing bad, but proper context is needed).” (*Id.*)

186. In an email on July 31, Ms. Gadde told Mr. Dorsey that Twitter was considering “updated enforcement guidance given the dynamic situation related to the delta variant”—a euphemism for potentially allowing *more* criticism of the vaccines, whose failure to prevent infection was becoming obvious. (*Id.* at TWTR_BERENSON_0003083.) More broadly, Ms. Gadde and Mr. Dorsey appeared concerned that political pressure was pushing Twitter from its roots as a platform that encouraged free speech even when it was potentially unpopular.

187. But Ms. Culbertson and Mr. O’Boyle, Twitter’s top lobbyists, were more concerned with avoiding public and private pressure from the White House, Mr. Slavitt, and Dr. Gottlieb than in protecting Mr. Berenson’s free speech rights, as their emails showed. On July 30, as Twitter considered giving Mr. Berenson his fourth strike, Ms. Culbertson said she approved of the move and suggested “it would be ideal to move fast,” (*id.* at TWTR_BERENSON_0002925), upon information and belief, before Mr. Dorsey and Ms. Gadde might stop the strike.

188. On July 31, the day after Mr. Berenson’s fourth strike, Mr. Slavitt again secretly demanded Mr. Berenson to be banned from the platform. “If he doesn’t go permanently after this,” referring to a tweet by Mr. Berenson, “the outcry will be justified,” Mr. Slavitt wrote to Twitter. Mr. Slavitt did not explain how or why anything Mr. Berenson said broke any of Twitter’s rules or policies, including the company’s COVID-19 misleading information policy. The e-mail is shown below.

From: Andy Slavitt [andy.slavitt@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/31/2021 7:13:43 PM
To: [REDACTED]@twitter.com]
Subject: Screenshot 2021-07-31 at 12.11.11 PM
Attachments: Screenshot 2021-07-31 at 12.11.11 PM.png; _; image0.jpeg; _; .txt

[REDACTED] if he doesn't go permanently after this, the outcry will be justified.

Mr. O'Boyle responded, imploring Mr. Slavitt to be patient. "Our process takes time," Mr. O'Boyle explained. (*Id.* at TWTR_BERENSON_0003021.) Mr. O'Boyle did not cite the "any or no reason" language in Twitter's terms of service. Further, and notably, by referring to Twitter's "process," Mr. O'Boyle was specifically advising Mr. Slavitt that the company was actively applying its COVID-19 misleading information policy to Mr. Berenson.

189. The screenshot attached to Mr. Slavitt's e-mail was a tweet from Mr. Berenson with the words "Impfung macht frei," which caused a furor given the phrase's connection to Auschwitz. (The phrase translates into "vaccines make free" and refers to the famous lie on the gates of the Auschwitz camp that "arbeit macht frei," or "work makes free." To be clear, Mr. Berenson, who is Jewish, was not suggesting that COVID-19 vaccines were in any way comparable to the Nazi concentration camps, but rather making a sarcastic comment on what he saw as the falsity of promises from the Biden Administration and other governments that vaccines were the only possible solution to the COVID-19 epidemic.) The following day, August 1, Dr. Gottlieb emailed Mr. O'Boyle to complain about the same tweet from Mr. Berenson, attaching a link to his own tweet on the topic in the bottom of the email. (Throughout this period, Dr. Gottlieb kept his messages to Mr. O'Boyle extremely terse, preferring to speak on conference calls rather than leave a written record.)

190. Dr. Gottlieb's since deleted tweet regarding Mr. Berenson is shown below, including a call by one of Dr. Gottlieb's followers to "[g]et" Mr. Berenson's "ass."



Scott Gottlieb, MD (@ScottGottliebMD), Twitter (Aug. 1, 2021, 5:54 AM),

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210801125558/https://twitter.com/ScottGottliebMD/status/1421816668376997895>.

191. By July 30, Twitter had given Mr. Berenson three strikes in just two weeks, including two in only three days. Mr. Slavitt, his former colleagues in the Biden Administration, and Pfizer's executives had every reason to believe Twitter would give Mr. Berenson a final strike and permanently suspend him almost immediately after his return to the platform on August 6—finishing the job the White House started in April 2021. But after August 6, Twitter took no action against Mr. Berenson's account for three weeks.

192. Throughout August, Mr. Berenson highlighted the rapidly declining effectiveness of the vaccines, pointing to data from Israel, Britain, and elsewhere. He also repeatedly discussed the Pfizer preprint on his Substack newsletter. *See, e.g., Alex Berenson, On the Pfizer study that caused Twitter to block me*, Unreported Truths, Aug. 6, 2021,

<https://alexberenson.substack.com/p/on-the-pfizer-study-that-caused-twitter>. Pfizer was fully aware of these articles. Not only was Pfizer acquainted with Mr. Berenson based on his previous critical coverage of the company while at *The New York Times*, members of Pfizer's government

affairs team subscribed to Mr. Berenson's Unreported Truths Substack. And, of course, Dr. Gottlieb had complained repeatedly about Mr. Berenson to Mr. O'Boyle.

193. On August 23 and 24, following the Food and Drug Administration's decision to fully approve under a Biologics License Application (as opposed to authorize under an Emergency Use Authorization) Pfizer's COVID-19 vaccine, Mr. Slavitt, Dr. Gottlieb, and Mr. Flaherty again made coordinated inquiries to Mr. O'Boyle, according to an email Mr. O'Boyle wrote to Ms. Culbertson, his boss in Twitter's Washington office. As Ms. Culbertson had in July, Mr. O'Boyle suggested he viewed the nominally private approaches from Mr. Slavitt and Dr. Gottlieb as part of the federal government's outreach. Mr. O'Boyle explained to Ms. Culbertson he wanted "key players [to] know all the good work we are doing to elevate the conversation about covid and vaccines... I sent the WH, Andy [Slavitt], and Scott Gottlieb (former Trump admin covid advisor and frequent cable talker) notes to this effect." Mr. O'Boyle explained his goal was "*to keep the target off our back.*" (Ex. B attached at TWTR_BERENSON_0003969 (emphasis added).)

194. Later that day, Dr. Gottlieb again contacted Mr. O'Boyle, this time complaining directly to Mr. O'Boyle that Twitter was not censoring Mr. Berenson. Dr. Gottlieb's pretext for demanding Twitter censor Mr. Berenson was his supposed safety concerns for Dr. Anthony Fauci—who was, of course, at the time a federal employee as well as another former colleague of Dr. Gottlieb. Dr. Gottlieb forwarded one of Mr. Berenson's Substack articles regarding Dr. Fauci, whom Dr. Gottlieb causally referred to as "Tony," to a Twitter employee. "This is what[sic] promoted on Twitter," Dr. Gottlieb complained. "This is why Tony needs a security detail." A copy of the e-mail is shown below.

From: Scott Gottlieb, MD <scott.gottlieb@gmail.com>
Date: Tue, Aug 24, 2021 at 3:26 PM
Subject: Fwd: Quite frankly
To: [REDACTED]@twitter.com>

This is what's promoted on Twitter. This is why Tony needs a security detail.

From: Alex Berenson from Unreported Truths <alexberenson@substack.com>
Date: August 24, 2021 at 3:04:38 PM EDT
Subject: Quite frankly
Reply-To: Alex Berenson from Unreported Truths
<reply+o0pj7&mzdty&&ac14e9c6f744799332435edc1fcb904cf27f6d068cb41dad8165c3fd5788
d762@mg1.substack.com>

195. To be clear, Dr. Gottlieb framed Mr. Berenson's reporting, an exercise of his First Amendment right to cover government officials, as inciting violence and threats of violence against Dr. Fauci. Mr. Berenson's Substack article did nothing of the sort, of course, but rather criticized Dr. Fauci. Nor did Dr. Gottlieb offer any explanation for how or why the article might be dangerous to Dr. Fauci. The truth is that Mr. Berenson's reporting was dangerous to Pfizer's multi-billion-dollar product. Nonetheless, Dr. Gottlieb's assertion got Twitter's attention. Within an hour of receiving Dr. Gottlieb's message, a Twitter employee proposed scheduling a call with Dr. Gottlieb with another Twitter colleague.

196. Mr. O'Boyle next reached out to Dr. Gottlieb to schedule a conference call. "Lauren Culbertson, our head of US Public Policy and I would like to chat," Mr. O'Boyle wrote. (Ex. B attached at TWTR_BERENSON_0003944.) "We look forward to updating you on our approach and hearing your thoughts." (*Id.*) As shown below, the group set the call for 4 PM to 4:30 PM "Eastern Time – New York," utilizing the Google Meet platform.

From: tob Boyle@twitter.com <toboyl@twitter.com> on behalf of Google Calendar <calendar-notification@google.com>
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2021 6:36 PM UTC
To: tob Boyle@twitter.com <toboyl@twitter.com>
Subject: Accepted: Twitter/Scott @ Fri Aug 27, 2021 4pm - 4:30pm (EDT) (toboyl@twitter.com)
Attachment(s): "invite.ics"

scott.gottlieb@gmail.com has accepted this invitation.

Twitter/Scott

When: Fri Aug 27, 2021 4pm - 4:30pm Eastern Time - New York

Joining info: Join with Google Meet
meet.google.com/juy-zhqb-pso

Join by phone
(US) +1 484 816 4473 (PIN: 48352291)
[More phone numbers](#)

Calendar: tob Boyle@twitter.com

Who:

- toboyl@twitter.com - organizer
- lculbertson@twitter.com
- scott.gottlieb@gmail.com

Looking forward to tomorrow's conversation.

Best,
Todd

Invitation from [Google Calendar](#)

You are receiving this email at the account toboyl@twitter.com because you are subscribed for invitation replies on calendar toboyl@twitter.com.
To stop receiving these emails, please log in to <https://calendar.google.com/calendar/> and change your notification settings for this calendar.
Forwarding this invitation could allow any recipient to send a response to the organizer and be added to the guest list, or invite others regardless of their own invitation status, or to modify your RSVP. [Learn More](#)

197. Three days after the August 24 e-mail exchange, on August 27, Dr. Gottlieb and Twitter held a call for approximately thirty minutes. Prior to the call, a Twitter employee, upon information and belief Mr. O’Boyle, wrote on a private company Slack channel that “I plan on keeping this conversational—hearing what he has to say, listening to his concerns, etc.” As shown below, the employee stated “hopefully we can hear him out and share a few steps we’ve taken on misinfo.”

[REDACTED] at 2021-08-27 19:19:25
Hi [REDACTED] for the 4pm with Scott Gottlieb, I plan on keeping this conversational - hearing what he has to say, listening to his concerns etc. In fact, the email he sent my way was a substack, not a Tweet. I have a few slides to fall back on if necessary, but hopefully we can hear him out and share a few steps we’ve taken on misinfo

198. But Twitter’s internal Slack channel shows the call was rapidly directed to discussion of Mr. Berenson. It contains a reference between Twitter employees to “Berenson 4th COVID-19 strike as of 7/27” approximately eleven minutes into Twitter’s discussion with Dr. Gottlieb, demonstrating both that the Pfizer board member was targeting Mr. Berenson specifically, and that Dr. Gottlieb was fully aware of Twitter’s COVID-19 misleading information policy. There is no record that Dr. Gottlieb ever explained how anything Mr. Berenson said violated any Twitter rule or policy or that Mr. Berenson’s reporting was inaccurate regarding Pfizer’s product.

199. Dr. Gottlieb had both political and financial leverage over Twitter. Not only was he a former FDA Commissioner close to the Biden Administration, but he was also a board member of Pfizer, which spent millions of dollars each year advertising on Twitter. If Twitter did not comply with Dr. Gottlieb’s demands to censor speech about Pfizer’s vaccine, Pfizer could pull back this advertising spend. This was not an academic issue for Twitter, which ran on razor thin margins. Ultimately, after Elon Musk acquired Twitter and reinstated banned accounts, to

include accounts critical of Pfizer’s COVID-19 vaccine, the company promptly stopped advertising on the platform. Molly Schuetz & Bloomberg, *Twitter advertiser exodus deepens as Volkswagen, Pfizer and General Mills hit pause on ad spending*, Fortune, Nov. 4, 2022, <https://fortune.com/2022/11/04/twitter-advertiser-exodus-deepens-volkswagen-pfizer-general-mills-pause-ad-spending/>.

200. The next day, Saturday, August 28, Dr. Gottlieb took an even more active role in the conspiracy to force Twitter to silence Mr. Berenson. On Saturday afternoon, Mr. Berenson again criticized mandating the use of Pfizer’s most valuable product when he tweeted:

It doesn’t stop infection. Or transmission.

Don’t think of it as a vaccine.

Think of it—at best—as a therapeutic with a limited window of efficacy and terrible side effect profile that must be dosed IN ADVANCE OF ILLNESS.

And we want to mandate it? Insanity.

Dr. Gottlieb e-mailed the text of this tweet to Todd O’Boyle.

Message

From: Scott Gottlieb, MD [scott.gottlieb@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/28/2021 7:31:32 PM
To: [REDACTED]@twitter.com
Subject: It doesn't stop infection. Or transmission. Don't think of it as a vaccine. Think of it - at best - as a therapeutic with a limited window of efficacy and terrible side effect profile that must be dosed IN ADVANCE OF ILLNESS. And we want to mandate it? Insanity.

AlexBerenson (@Alex Berenson) Tweeted: It doesn’t stop infection.
Or transmission.

Don’t think of it as a vaccine.

Think of it - at best - as a therapeutic with a limited window of efficacy and terrible side effect profile that must be dosed IN ADVANCE OF ILLNESS.

And we want to mandate it?

Insanity. <https://twitter.com/alexberenson/status/1431669119208787974?s=27>

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Scott Gottlieb, MD
Scott.Gottlieb@gmail.com

201. Twitter initially only labeled this tweet, calling it “misleading,” but the company did not permanently suspend Mr. Berenson—at least not at first. At 6:20 PM Eastern Standard Time, upon information and belief approximately one hour before Dr. Gottlieb’s e-mail, Mr.

Berenson took a screenshot of the labeled tweet and challenged Twitter’s censors by asking “what is misleading about this tweet? Please be specific, The @cdcgov and everyone else now agree the #Covid vaccines do not prevent infection or transmission. Nor am I suggesting that anyone specific not be vaccinated, only that mandates don’t make sense” An image showing that August 28 tweet is shown below.



Alex Berenson (@AlexBerenson), X (Aug. 28, 2021, 6:20 PM),

<https://x.com/AlexBerenson/status/1431743472617369605>.

202. Mr. Berenson’s third and fourth strikes had undergone intensive review before being issued, with the company’s top executives ultimately weighing in on them. A fifth strike would result in a permanent ban and the loss of Mr. Berenson’s account, as Mr. O’Boyle knew, and was thus far more consequential for him and the company. When Twitter suspended accounts, it rendered them invisible to all users. So a fifth strike would mean not only that Mr. Berenson would be censored from posting further, but that all his previous reporting on the COVID-19 vaccines would be permanently erased from Twitter, effectively removing it from any public view. Yet Mr. O’Boyle did not notify any senior managers in Twitter’s “trust and safety” division—much less Ms. Gadde, Mr. Dorsey, or other top Twitter executives—that he believed the tweet might be problematic.

203. Instead, he routed Dr. Gottlieb’s complaint to an internal Twitter unit responsible for routine strike determinations on tweets, referring to it as a “partner report.” An internal Twitter report from February 2022 explained that the moderators were generally contract employees based in the Philippines who were treated as “second-class citizens.”

204. Over the next several hours, Mr. O’Boyle kept up the pressure. He did not simply forward the tweet for review, but demanded that he be given an explanation if the moderators decided not to give it a strike. A junior member of Twitter’s “Strategic Response Team,” “labeled” the tweet as misleading. But Mr. O’Boyle insisted that it be given a strike, writing, “was it strike eligible?” When the employee did not respond immediately, he pressed again, writing “Is this not the fifth strike under the policy?”

205. Finally, at 4:36 p.m. Pacific time on August 28, 2021, the relentless pressure campaign succeeded. The employee reported to Mr. O’Boyle that Mr. Berenson’s account has “been suspended for the fifth strike,” permanently banning him from the platform. After almost five months, Dr. Gottlieb, Dr. Bourla, Pfizer, Mr. Slavitt, and the federal government had won.

206. Only then did Mr. O’Boyle flag the suspension for Twitter’s in-house legal team. “Alex Berenson has been suspended,” he wrote. (TWTR_BERENSON_0003956.) “There may be press inquiries.” (*Id.*) Mr. O’Boyle credited Dr. Gottlieb for tipping him to the tweet. “For background, I escalated the violative tweet based on a report by former FDA commissioner Scott Gottlieb, with whom L[auren] C[ulbertson] and I spoke yesterday afternoon. (*Id.*)

207. Minutes after Twitter issued the ban, Dr. Gottlieb’s co-author and co-conspirator Mr. Slavitt exulted by broadcasting his approval of Twitter’s censorship, as shown below.



Andy Slavitt (@ASlavitt), Twitter (Aug. 28, 2021, 7:45 PM), <https://twitter.com/ASlavitt/status/1431764823600029701>. Upon information and belief, Mr. O’Boyle communicated news of Mr. Berenson’s suspension to Mr. Slavitt prior to this tweet.

208. At 8:03 p.m. Eastern Standard Time, less than a half-hour after Twitter suspended Mr. Berenson, NBC reporter Ben Collins tweeted that “Alex Berenson has been permanently suspended by Twitter.” “The account you referenced has been permanently suspended for

repeated violations of our COVID-19 misinformation rules,’ a Twitter spokesperson said, in a statement sent to NBC News.” News of the suspension rapidly spread, with newspapers in the United States, Israel, Britain and elsewhere, all reporting it.

209. At the time Mr. Slavitt and Mr. Collins posted their tweets about Mr. Berenson’s suspension, Ms. Gadde, Mr. Dorsey, and the senior Twitter managers who were normally responsible for deciding whether to sanction major accounts did not even know Twitter had banned Mr. Berenson. At 8:32 p.m., Ms. Gadde wrote managers in Twitter’s trust and safety division, “Hi all - did we perm suspend Alex berenson? Typically these are flagged to me first? Did I miss something?” (Ex. B attached at TWTR_BERENSON_0004019.) A senior manager in Twitter’s “site integrity” unit, the part of the “trust and safety” division normally responsible for assigning COVID-19 strikes, responded, “it looks like this was not an action taken by SI, we’re investigating what happened.” (*Id.*)

210. The next morning, Ms. Gadde warned the manager that the strike had not followed Twitter’s policies and Mr. Berenson should not have been banned, “I had a chance to discuss with Jack [Dorsey] and he doesn’t believe we made the right decision here . . . I’d like to reconsider our action here. From the beginning, we have wanted to leave room for people to have discussion in this space, and certainly discussion around vaccine mandates feels like an area we should allow to happen . . . I don’t believe a perm suspension is warranted.” (*Id.*) Notably, Ms. Gadde’s interpretation of the tweet tracked Mr. Berenson’s 6:20 PM tweet from August 28 where he noted that he was not “suggesting that anyone specific not be vaccinated, only that mandates don’t make sense.” The manager later stated he agreed that the company needed to allow “debate and discourse around vaccine mandates and other related issue,” and that Twitter would “rescind the strike and restore the account” if Mr. Berenson appealed. (*Id.*)

211. Yet—trapped by its own public statement—Twitter took no action to restore Mr. Berenson’s account, notify him that he might appeal the suspension, or correct the public statement its spokesperson had made. It did not even send him a standard email notification that his account had been sanctioned, as it had for his second, third, and fourth strikes.

212. As for Dr. Gottlieb, incredibly, the Pfizer board member did not stop trying to censor Mr. Berenson’s criticism of Pfizer’s product and of government mandates for its use. After Twitter banned Mr. Berenson, he briefly activated an alternative account. Dr. Gottlieb quickly contacted Twitter about the new account. “[S]eems he switched accounts on you,” Dr. Gottlieb wrote, forwarding a Substack post by Mr. Berenson to Mr. O’Boyle.

Message

From: Scott Gottlieb, MD [scott.gottlieb@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/29/2021 1:53:03 AM
To: [REDACTED]@twitter.com]
Subject: Fwd: Hello Twitter!

seems he switched accounts on you.

From: Alex Berenson from Unreported Truths <alexberenson@substack.com>
Date: August 28, 2021 at 8:21:32 PM EDT
To:
Subject: Hello Twitter!
Reply-To: Alex Berenson from Unreported Truths
 <reply+o6ftg&mzdty&&cc648cb0cfd3601448f92c3309a72138946c072221a3563c33a1e16a7df6a92a@mg1.substack.com>

213. Mr. O’Boyle rapidly forwarded Dr. Gottlieb’s complaint, and when Twitter’s content moderators did not immediately respond, brought in Stacia Cardille, a senior lawyer at Twitter, to force action. As shown below, Mr. O’Boyle followed through to make sure that door was also shut to Mr. Berenson, pushing Twitter’s content moderators to ban the alternate account.

From: Todd O’Boyle <toboyle@twitter.com>
Sent: Monday, August 30, 2021 6:31 PM UTC
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: [JIRA] UE-113318 “It doesn’t stop infection”

Hi gents -
 Any chance you're across this and can provide some more context on @genrescue situation? Is there a Jira I can track regarding the potential re-assessment of ban evasion? As I mentioned earlier in the thread, Berenson appeared to mock our approach to enforcement in his substack and flaunt the multi-account/ban evasion etc.

Best,
 TO

After Twitter banned the new account, Mr. Slavitt retweeted that suspension as well.

214. Upon information and belief, Dr. Gottlieb, a close associate of both Mr. Slavitt and Dr. Bourla, acted with full knowledge and approval of Pfizer's Chief Executive Officer. From Dr. Bourla's vantage point, what Mr. Berenson was doing was "criminal," and it had to be stopped. Lovelace, *supra*.

215. After Mr. Berenson discovered and publicized the conspiracy through discovery that followed his December 2021 successful lawsuit against Twitter, Mr. Slavitt and Dr. Gottlieb both publicly attempted to explain their actions. Mr. Slavitt minimized his role. Despite publicly debating with Mr. Berenson on Twitter, cheering his suspension, inquiring about Mr. Berenson during a meeting with Twitter at the White House in April 2021, repeatedly discussing Mr. Berenson's reporting on his podcast and on the Peacock network, and repeatedly contacting Twitter about Mr. Berenson in July 2021, Mr. Slavitt would later tell *The Atlantic* he had "only passing familiarity" with Mr. Berenson. Kaitlyn Tiffany, *A Prominent Vaccine Skeptic Returns to Twitter*, *The Atlantic*, Aug. 24, 2022, <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2022/08/alex-berenson-twitter-ban-lawsuit-covid-misinformation/671219/>. In the article, Mr. Slavitt said, "I think his name was in a magazine article," and that "I don't remember anything else about him." *Id.*

216. In October 2022, Dr. Gottlieb tried to defend his lobbying effort. He did not deny that he was speaking on behalf of Pfizer. He did not explain how anything Mr. Berenson said violated Twitter's rules. Instead, the Pfizer board member told a national television audience that he was concerned with violent threats, impugning Mr. Berenson's character in the process. Squawk Box (@SquawkCNBC), Twitter (Oct. 14, 2022, 9:28 AM), <https://twitter.com/SquawkCNBC/status/1580913476847177728>. In reality, Dr. Gottlieb was

concerned about silencing a critic of Pfizer’s products—products which had generated tens of billions of dollars in revenue for the company. For his part, Dr. Bourla never addressed or otherwise distanced himself from Dr. Gottlieb’s conduct.

C. Under coercive pressure from Defendants, Twitter serially and materially violated its own stated policies and procedures in banning Alex Berenson from the platform.

217. In September 2023, Twitter’s Yoel Roth offered his observations on the ongoing litigation in *Missouri v. Biden*. In providing a list of recommendations for technology companies to consider “that could leave open the door for collaboration while making platforms more resilient to outside pressure,” Mr. Roth wrote of a need to “[s]eparate government relations and trust and safety organizations.” Yoel Roth, *Getting the Facts Straight: Some Observations on the Fifth Circuit Ruling in Missouri v. Biden*, Knight First Amend. Inst. at Columbia Univ., Sept. 27, 2023, <https://knightcolumbia.org/blog/getting-the-facts-straight-some-observations-on-the-fifth-circuit-ruling-in-missouri-v-biden-1>. Mr. Roth critiqued the corporate structure of Meta, the company that owns Facebook, noting that “content moderation decisions fall under the purview of the company’s public policy team.” *Id.* This setup “leave[s] significant space for government jawboning to effectively influence platforms.” *Id.* “For platforms that subordinate trust and safety to public policy, appeasing elected officials may win out in moments of ambiguity,” Mr. Roth wrote. *Id.*

218. Mr. Roth claimed Twitter employed “[a]n alternate model” to the one Meta used. *Id.* “At Twitter, we maintained a strict separation between the teams responsible for lobbying and government relations and the teams responsible for direct content moderation activities.” *Id.* Mr. Roth claimed “[t]he Twitter Files paint a similar picture: While members of Twitter’s public policy and legal teams are shown receiving a wide range of reports, their actions in every case

are to funnel those reports into operational processes that result in independent review and evaluation.” *Id.*

219. In reality, as the documents X Corp. has provided to Mr. Berenson have proven, the enforcement process at Twitter was just as politicized as at Meta, and in Mr. Berenson’s case even more so. Mr. Roth knew this firsthand. In an e-mail on July 30, as Twitter was debating whether to give Mr. Berenson a fourth strike, Mr. Roth himself referred to the “context” around Mr. Berenson’s account and asked “[h]as anyone on PP”—a reference to Twitter’s public policy department, in other words Ms. Culbertson and Mr. O’Boyle—“reviewed?” (Ex. B attached at TWTR_BERENSON_0003275.)

220. If anything, the process of censorship at Twitter was more vulnerable to federal government and White House pressure than that at Meta. Senior officials at Meta pushed back against federal demands for censorship. And in his August letter to House Judiciary Committee chair Jim Jordan, Meta chief executive Mark Zuckerberg wrote that Meta had ultimately made its own decisions “whether or not to take content down.” House Judiciary GOP (@JudiciaryGOP), *supra*. The same can hardly be said at Twitter, whose own top executives believed the company had violated its policies when Defendants and Mr. O’Boyle pushed through Mr. Berenson’s ban. In their emails to each other, Mr. O’Boyle and Ms. Culbertson revealed that their primary concerns were ensuring that Twitter’s section 230 protection remained strong and avoiding the kind of public and private pressure from the Biden Administration that Facebook and Meta had faced, a fact Defendants exploited when they disregarded Mr. Berenson’s First Amendment rights and pressured Mr. O’Boyle to violate Mr. Berenson’s contract with Twitter.

221. Mr. Berenson later appealed and filed a lawsuit against Twitter. But it was not until resolution of the litigation that the company allowed Mr. Berenson back onto the platform.

The company simply let its lie that Mr. Berenson had repeatedly violated the platform’s COVID-19 misinformation rules stand, content to take its chances in litigation where social media platforms have had overwhelming success by leveraging section 230 to evade legal accountability, the very shield the White House was threatening to revisit as it pushed to censor speech on social media.

222. Twitter’s failure to stand up for Mr. Berenson under the pressure Defendants exerted—even though the company knew it was not following its own rules—proves the foresight of the Supreme Court’s 1963 warning in *Bantam Books Inc v. Sullivan*, 372 U.S. 58 (1963), of the potential effectiveness of government censorship against third parties—book distributors in that case, social media platforms in this one. In *Bantam*, the Court found that “pragmatic considerations argue strongly for the standing of publishers in cases such as the present one. The distributor who is prevented from selling a few titles is not likely to sustain sufficient economic injury to induce him to seek judicial vindication of his rights. The publisher has the greater economic stake, because suppression of a particular book prevents him from recouping his investment in publishing it.” *Id.* 64 n.6. Mr. Berenson’s account was vital to him and the millions of people who read his posts each day, but to Twitter it was only one account. Twitter simply failed to stand up to the pressure it faced to censor him and interfere with his contract with the company, forcing Mr. Berenson to protect his own rights with this lawsuit.

VII. Defendants’ censorship campaign imposes harmful, ongoing effects on Mr. Berenson, who remains dedicated to reporting on issues of public concern come what may.

223. The effect of the suspension on Mr. Berenson was immediate, concrete, and negative. Overnight, he lost access to his more than 300,000 Twitter followers, the primary outlet for his reporting. He lost the chance to engage with government and public health officials on Twitter, including President Biden and other Defendants employed by the federal government.

Mr. Berenson also lost the opportunity to promote his longer form journalism on Substack. Further, unlike Dr. Gottlieb and Mr. Slavitt, who both used Twitter to promote their books on COVID-19, Mr. Berenson lost the opportunity to promote *Pandemia*, his book on the pandemic, which was released in December 2021.

224. Mr. Berenson's followers and the general public also lost. They lost the opportunity to obtain factual, critical information about the safety and efficacy of the COVID-19 vaccines and to share that reporting with others. The censorship of Mr. Berenson drove further polarization of the debate about the COVID-19 vaccines, pushing people off the global public square and into more isolated ideological communities. In this regard, even COVID-19 vaccine advocates and supporters of mandates lost. As a *New York Times* contributor wrote on March 28, 2023, "Those who seek to suppress disinformation may be destined, themselves, to sow it." Megan K. Stack, *Dr. Fauci Could Have Said a Lot More*, N.Y. Times, Mar. 28, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/28/opinion/covid-lab-leak-theory-disinformation.html>.

225. Secure in victory, Defendants believed their actions would never see the light of day. In December 2021, however, Mr. Berenson sued Twitter in federal district court. In July 2022, nearly a year after his permanent suspension, Mr. Berenson and Twitter settled their lawsuit. Twitter reinstated Mr. Berenson to the platform. Twitter issued a public statement regarding Mr. Berenson's permanent ban. "Upon further review," the company publicly stated, "Twitter acknowledges Mr. Berenson's Tweets should not have led his suspension at that time." Tiffany, *supra*. Mr. Berenson obtained many of the above-cited internal Twitter e-mails and communications from his case against the company.

226. As for Defendants, Twitter's public statement demonstrates that, consistent with Twitter's prior, repeated findings regarding his reporting, *Mr. Berenson did nothing wrong*. He

did not violate Twitter's COVID-19 misleading information policy. He did not advocate violence or incite violence. The nature, accuracy, and quality of Mr. Berenson's reporting did not change—Twitter's moderation decisions did under relentless political and financial pressure from Defendants. Twitter's silencing of Mr. Berenson was forced by a public-private partnership aimed at censoring critics of the federal government and the COVID-19 vaccines.

227. Less than two weeks after Mr. Berenson was silenced, President Biden announced a federal vaccine mandate that attempted to compel tens of millions of American adults to choose between their livelihoods and their right to determine whether they should receive mRNA shots. President Biden's COVID-19 vaccine mandates covered "100 million Americans—close to two-thirds of the American workforce." Kevin Liptak & Kaitlan Collins, *Biden announces new vaccine mandates that could cover 100 million Americans*, CNN, Sept. 9, 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2021/09/09/politics/joe-biden-covid-speech/index.html>. The mandate further enriched Pfizer, a company that had already raked in tens of billions of dollars in COVID-19 vaccine revenues. While debate raged about the mandates, Mr. Berenson was excluded from the world's largest, most important digital public forum, consigned there by a censorious, unconstitutional public-private partnership.

228. President Biden was right in 2017. Censorship is "simply wrong." Now Defendants must be held accountable for their misconduct.

229. Further, unless and until Defendants are enjoined, Mr. Berenson's rights remain under threat. President Biden and his Administration continue to view COVID-19 vaccination as a life-saving measure, and thus the federal government might continue or start anew its efforts to silence Mr. Berenson, who has since returned to Twitter.

230. The revelations within the Twitter Files, “Elon Musk’s release of internal Twitter documents,” provided the public insight into “the degree to which government officials, law enforcement and politicians regularly communicate with Twitter, along with other tech platforms, by flagging content that may violate the company’s policies and sharing threat assessments.” Shannon Bond, *Ex-Twitter officials reject GOP claims of government collusion*, NPR, Feb. 8, 2023, <https://www.npr.org/2023/02/08/1155491204/ex-twitter-officials-reject-gop-claims-of-government-collusion>. Nothing in the Twitter files has caused Defendants, including President Biden, or any member of his Administration to cease their efforts with respect to influencing Twitter’s moderation practices.

231. If anything, the Twitter Files have raised the ire of the federal government, as the Federal Trade Commission has demanded Twitter’s communications with and the names of journalists involved in the project. Ryan Tracy, *FTC Twitter Investigation Sought Elon Musk’s Internal Communications, Journalist Names*, Mar. 8, 2023, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/twitter-investigation-ftc-musk-documents-db6b179e>. Even with Twitter’s new ownership, and Mr. Musk’s stated commitment to free speech, the federal government appears to be using other tools in its regulatory oversight to impact moderation on the platform.

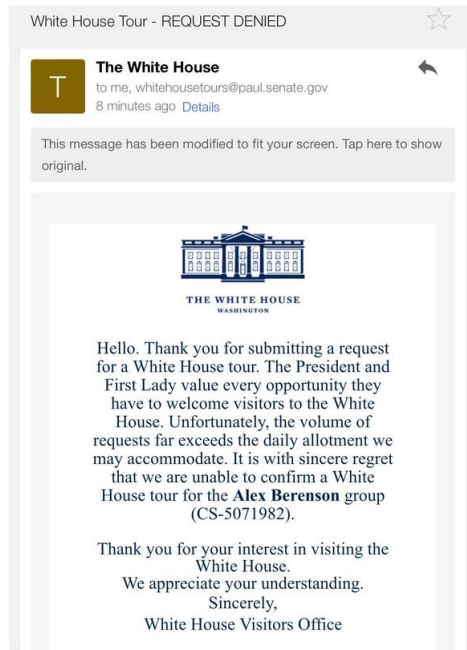
232. A recent hearing of the House Judiciary Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government corroborates this. During the hearing, members of Congress inquired regarding the sources for journalists Matt Taibbi and Michael Shellenberger’s reporting. *See* Hearing on Twitter Documents About Content Moderation Decisions, H. Judiciary Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Federal Government, Mar. 9, 2023, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?526578-1/house-panel-examines-twitter-moderation-practices>.

233. Since his return to Twitter, Mr. Berenson has continued to write about the COVID-19 vaccines and the public policy choices and failures of the last three years. He now has almost 500,000 followers on Twitter. He remains at risk from future government censorship efforts. And so does anyone else, journalist or citizen, who criticizes the federal government or posts facts that federal officials wish to suppress. Defendants targeted Mr. Berenson once before, and there is no reason to think they will not do so again, unless this Court enjoins their Orwellian efforts once and for all.

234. This claim is not speculative or academic. Most recently, on July 6, 2024, Mr. Berenson broke a story on Substack and then on his X social media account that a Parkinson's disease specialist had made "at least nine" trips to the White House. Alex Berenson, *VERY URGENT: A Parkinson's disease specialist has visited the White House residence medical clinic at least nine times since July 2023*, Unreported Truths, July 6, 2024, <https://alexberenson.substack.com/p/very-urgent-a-parkinsons-disease>. Mr. Berenson's scoop became a viral sensation, and was followed by *The New York Times* and other mainstream outlets. The story was part of a stream of news which ultimately led to President Biden being the first incumbent since President Lyndon Johnson to withdraw from the presidential race.

235. Upon information and belief, the White House now appears to be retaliating against Mr. Berenson for his reporting on that issue as well as his previous work. In June, Mr. Berenson arranged for a White House tour with his family through Senator Rand Paul's office. Both Mr. Berenson and Senator Paul's staff expected the request to be granted, as public tours are generally granted on a first-come first-serve basis, and the White House tour portal available to Congressional offices indicated that slots were available at the time Mr. Berenson made the

request. Instead the White House denied the request. As shown below, the White House explained it was “unable to confirm a White House” tour for Mr. Berenson and his family.



236. This apparent retaliation is visible. It does not include what other private pressure Defendants may place on social media companies to prevent Mr. Berenson from sharing inconvenient and “unreported truths” with his hard-won audience.

237. This case is not just about the past, but the future. It is not just about Twitter, but all social media outlets. And it is not just about Mr. Berenson, but all Americans who wish to exercise their First Amendment rights in the face of corporate and government pressure to silence them.

CLAIMS FOR RELIEF

COUNT I VIOLATION OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT

Free Speech

Right to Petition the Government

Freedom of the Press

Against President Biden, Mr. Slavitt, Mr. Flaherty, and Dr. Murthy

238. Mr. Berenson incorporates by reference and realleges the foregoing paragraphs.

239. The First Amendment guarantees freedom of speech, the right to petition the government, and freedom of the press.

240. At all relevant times, to include his time serving in the White House, Mr. Slavitt worked on behalf of and as a joint actor with the federal government's censorship efforts. Mr. Slavitt's actions make him a state actor in this case. Mr. Slavitt worked further with Dr. Gottlieb and Dr. Bourla to further the federal government's censorship agenda.

241. Throughout 2021, President Biden, Mr. Slavitt, Mr. Flaherty, and Dr. Murthy (the "government Defendants") created an atmosphere of censorship to facilitate Mr. Berenson's suspension from Twitter, including at least the following:

- a. The Biden Administration threatening Twitter's protection under section 230 of the Communications Decency Act if the company did not censor more COVID-19 misinformation; and
- b. Dr. Murthy issuing an advisory on COVID-19 misinformation to social media companies and urging the platforms to censor constitutionally protected speech.

242. The government Defendants specifically targeted Mr. Berenson's constitutionally protected speech and journalism in at least the following ways:

- a. Making pointed inquiries to and veiled threats against Twitter during an April 21, 2021 meeting between White House Staff, including Mr. Flaherty and Mr. Slavitt, and Twitter regarding why Mr. Berenson had not been suspended from the platform;
- b. Following Twitter's initial refusal to deplatform Mr. Berenson, the White House, including Mr. Flaherty and Mr. Slavitt, holding "very angry" phone calls with Twitter urging the platform to censor Mr. Berenson's speech;

c. Mr. Slavitt targeting Mr. Berenson's speech in July 2021, urging Twitter to deplatform the journalist, by arguing Mr. Berenson was "begging for it";

d. Dr. Gottlieb targeting Mr. Berenson's criticisms of Dr. Fauci on August 24, 2021, falsely accusing Mr. Berenson of inciting violence against Dr. Fauci to get Twitter to suspend Mr. Berenson;

e. Dr. Gottlieb engaging in a secret, private phone call with Twitter on August 27, 2021 in which he urged Twitter to censor Mr. Berenson;

f. Dr. Gottlieb sending Mr. Berenson's August 28, 2021 tweet regarding the COVID-19 vaccines, which Dr. Gottlieb falsely reported as violating Twitter's COVID-19 misleading information policy; and

g. Dr. Gottlieb urging Twitter to deplatform Mr. Berenson after he began posting on the platform under a different account.

243. The government Defendants, including President Biden, treated Twitter as a public forum. President Biden and his aides used Twitter as an important tool of governance and executive outreach by announcing policy initiatives and public awareness campaigns, including with respect to the COVID-19 vaccines.

244. Even though the government Defendants treated and continue to treat Twitter as a public forum, they engaged in viewpoint discrimination by working to completely censor Mr. Berenson from Twitter. In this regard, the government Defendants' conduct was even more censorious and unconstitutional than prior President Trump blocking accounts from responding to his tweets.

245. COVID-19 misinformation was a concern at the "highest levels" of the White House. The actions above were carried out under President Biden's direction and leadership.

246. The actions described above caused Mr. Berenson’s deplatforming from Twitter, preventing him from speaking, engaging in journalism, and from speaking with, questioning, or otherwise interacting with the government officials who used Twitter as a public forum.

247. The actions cited above violated Mr. Berenson’s First Amendment rights.

248. The violations described above may and are likely to recur unless the government Defendants are enjoined.

249. Mr. Berenson suffered damages on account of the government Defendants’ actions.

COUNT II
VIOLATION OF THE KU KLUX KLAN ACT
CONSPIRACY TO VIOLATE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS
42 U.S.C. § 1985(3)
Against All Defendants

250. Mr. Berenson incorporates by reference and realleges the foregoing paragraphs.

251. The Ku Klux Klan Act creates a private right of action “[i]f two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire . . . for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of persons equal protection of the laws, or equal privileges and immunities under the laws.” 42 U.S.C. § 1985(3).

252. In his journalism and reporting, Mr. Berenson was speaking on behalf of an identifiable class of Americans who had chosen not to receive a COVID-19 vaccine, a class of which Mr. Berenson is apart. This class of unvaccinated Americans includes a disproportionate number of African-Americans, political conservatives, and evangelical Christians.²

253. Defendants bore animus against Mr. Berenson’s reporting, which they directly and indirectly charged was leading to preventable deaths.

² See Ewan Palmer, *The Least Vaccinated Groups in America*, Newsweek, Sept. 29, 2021, <https://www.newsweek.com/least-vaccinated-groups-covid-poll-1633913>.

254. Defendants deliberately and specifically targeted Mr. Berenson’s journalism and reporting.

255. As described above, Defendants conspired together to deprive Mr. Berenson of his First Amendment rights, causing him to be deplatformed from Twitter.

256. As alleged above, Mr. Berenson suffered damages on account of Defendants’ conspiracy to deprive him of his First Amendment rights.

COUNTS III-V
TORTIOUS INTERFERENCE
Against Dr. Gottlieb, Mr. Slavitt, and Dr. Bourla

257. Mr. Berenson incorporates by reference and realleges the foregoing paragraphs.

258. Mr. Berenson is a resident of New York.

259. Mr. Slavitt is a resident of California. Dr. Gottlieb and Dr. Bourla are both residents of Connecticut.

260. The States of New York, California, and Connecticut all recognize tortious or intentional interference with contract.

261. A contract existed between Mr. Berenson and Twitter, the latter being headquartered in San Francisco.

262. Mr. Berenson and Twitter’s contract was not an at-will contract. Though Twitter’s operative terms of service at the time the company allowed the company to “suspend or terminate” an account for “any or no reason,” Twitter, Terms of Service, https://twitter.com/en/tos/previous/version_16 (in force as of August 19, 2021), Twitter modified its contract with Mr. Berenson by, among other things, “establishing a specific, detailed five-strike policy regarding COVID-19 misinformation” which the company then violated, *Berenson v. Twitter, Inc.*, No. C 21-09818 WHA, 2022 WL 1289049, at *2 (N.D. Cal. Apr. 29, 2022).

263. At least Mr. Slavitt and Dr. Gottlieb were aware of that contract, including Twitter's COVID-19 misleading information policy. Upon information and belief, Dr. Bourla was also aware of Mr. Berenson's contract with Twitter.

264. Dr. Gottlieb and Mr. Slavitt intentionally interfered with Mr. Berenson's relationship with Twitter by secretly lobbying the platform to ban him, by falsely charging that Mr. Berenson's reporting was damaging, harming people, and causing or inducing threats of violence. Dr. Gottlieb also threatened to use his access to television and media to air his view that Twitter had an "affirmative obligation" to censor speech from Twitter users like Mr. Berenson. Upon information and belief, Dr. Gottlieb acted with Dr. Bourla's knowledge and approval.

265. Neither Mr. Slavitt nor Dr. Gottlieb had any legitimate complaint against Mr. Berenson. Mr. Slavitt was motivated by his animus against Mr. Berenson, which is set forth in detail above, and further supported by the fact that Mr. Slavitt later falsely stated he had a limited recollection of Mr. Berenson. Mr. Slavitt also brandished his connections to the federal government as part of his efforts to silence Mr. Berenson. Dr. Bourla and Dr. Gottlieb had both pecuniary motives for their conduct. They wanted to silence Mr. Berenson because he was criticizing Pfizer's vaccine.

266. As a result of their efforts, Twitter banned Mr. Berenson's account even though the company later acknowledged that none of his reporting should have led to his suspension.

267. Mr. Berenson incurred damages on account of Dr. Gottlieb, Dr. Bourla, and Mr. Slavitt's conduct, including but not limited to by losing access to his Twitter following as well as the opportunity to promote his Substack account and upcoming book.

PRAYER FOR RELIEF

WHEREFORE, Mr. Berenson respectfully prays that this Court:

- A. Declare that the government Defendants’ viewpoint-based targeting of Mr. Berenson’s speech and journalism violated the First Amendment;
- B. Enjoin Defendants and other persons acting in coordination or concert with them from further violating Mr. Berenson’s First Amendment rights to free speech, right to petition the government, and freedom of the press;
- C. Award Mr. Berenson damages arising out of Defendants’ violation of 42 U.S.C. § 1985;
- D. Award Mr. Berenson damages arising out of Dr. Bourla, Dr. Gottlieb, and Mr. Slavitt’s interference with Mr. Berenson’s contractual relationship with Twitter;
- E. Award Mr. Berenson general and special damages;
- F. Award Mr. Berenson punitive damages;
- G. Award Mr. Berenson attorney’s fees under the Equal Access to Justice Act; and
- H. Award any other relief to Mr. Berenson which this Court deems necessary and proper.

DEMAND FOR TRIAL BY JURY

Mr. Berenson requests a jury trial on all issues so triable.

Respectfully submitted, this __ day of ____, 202__.

By: /s/ James R. Lawrence, III
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