GIOR | GLOBAL INFLUENCE OPERATIONS REPORT

US Amplifiers of Russian 'Ampliganda'

Version 1.0

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Synopsis

A group of prominent US social media influencers from both the right and the left has recently acted as amplifiers of Russian disinformation, claiming the United States is developing biological weapons in a network of labs located in Ukraine. These individuals demonstrated a prior willingness to support Russian positions, and most were known earlier for various forms of COVID denialism. Self-interest, particularly economic, is likely a major reason behind the shift by social media influencers to these Russian narratives.

Report

The Global Influence Operations Report (GIOR) has been tracking Russian disinformation claiming the United States is developing biological weapons in a network of labs located in Ukraine. A recent Twitter thread by disinformation researcher Marc Owen Jones was based on his analysis of twenty thousand Twitter accounts using the terms' #Ukraine' and 'bio labs' to identify the most influential accounts pushing this conspiracy theory. As part of this analysis, Owen identified one cluster promoting the existence of 'biolabs,' mostly with "nefarious undertones." He further identified "a few tight clusters" within that cluster that appeared to push the biolab conspiracy narrative, including numerous Americans, some discussed below.

The manner in which the biolab conspiracy narrative has been pushed falls into the category of "ampliganda," a term coined by Stanford Internet Observatory researcher Renée DiResta, to describe public participation in the spread of propaganda:

In fact, we have a very old word for persuasive communication with an agenda: propaganda. That term, however, comes with historical baggage. It presumes that governments, authority figures, institutions, and mass media are forcing ideas on regular people from the top down. But more and more, the opposite is happening. Far from being merely a target, the public has become an active participant in creating and selectively amplifying narratives that shape realities. Perhaps the best word for this emergent bottom-up dynamic is one that doesn't exist quite yet: ampliganda, the shaping of perception through amplification. It can originate from an online nobody or an onscreen celebrity. No single person or organization bears responsibility for its transmission. And it is having a profound effect on democracy and society.

DiResta goes on to explain how ampliganda is spread by influential social media users:

Some ampliganda takes off because an influential user gets an ideologically aligned crowd of followers to spread it; in other cases, an idea spontaneously emerges from somewhere in the online crowd, fellow travelers give it an initial boost, and the influencer sees the emergent action and amplifies it, precipitating a cascade of action from adjacent factions.

This report will identify and examine some of the US individuals involved in Russian ampliganda, specifically the amplification of Russian propaganda centered on the Ukrainian biolab conspiracy. GIOR has identified a sample set of five individuals prominent on US social media that have been promoting the theory:

US Amplifiers- Rightwing

1. JOHN MICHAEL POSOBIEC III (AKA JACK POSOBIEC)

In his analysis of Twitter accounts pushing the US biolabs conspiracy theory, Marc Owen Jones singled out @JackPosobiec as one of the Twitter accounts among the few "tight" clusters he identified. POSOBIEC is a rightwing, sometimes described as 'alt-right,' political activist, television correspondent and presenter, conspiracy theorist, and provocateur. POSOBIEC began his political activities as a conservative student activist and later became a US naval intelligence officer, detailed to a reserve unit.3 4 From March 2014 through March 2017, he was assigned to a Reserve Intelligence Unit at the Office of Naval Intelligence but resigned from his civilian job claiming his support for Trump led to a "toxic work environment" and because his "political advocacy" was taking off. * POSOBIEC gained national prominence in 2017 when he was retweeted by then-President Trump.⁶ In April 2017, POSOBIEC became the Washington bureau chief of Rebel News (also known as The Rebel Media and The Rebel), a Canadian far-right political and social commentary media website. He left only two months later with no known reason for his departure. From 2018 to 2021, POSOBIEC was employed by ONE AMERICA NEWS NETWORK (OANN), a far-right cable news television channel, as a political correspondent and on-air presenter.8 He left OANN in May 2021 to begin hosting a show for the conservative student organization TURNING POINT USA and to join conservative news site HUMAN EVENTS as a senior editor.9

POSOBIEC is known as a staunch Trump supporter, conspiracy theorist, and disseminator of misinformation. He helped spread the false rumor that former Democratic National Committee staffer Seth Rich was murdered for leaking emails to Wikileaks and for the debunked "Pizzagate" conspiracy theory claiming high-ranking Democratic Party officials were involved in a child sex ring. ^{10 11} POSOBIEC was also reportedly behind the "rape Melania" sign that appeared at an anti-Trump rally in an effort to discredit the protestors. ¹² A Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) investigation concluded that POSOBIEC "has collaborated with white supremacists, neo-fascists, and antisemites for years while producing propaganda that Trump and his inner circle have publicly celebrated." According to the SPLC, he "tweets at a staggering rate" and currently has 1.7 million Twitter followers. ¹⁴

While working for OANN, the SPLC reported that over ten months, POSOBIEC tweeted 28 times links to a website the US government says is backed by Russian intelligence. ¹⁵ According to the Atlantic Council, POSOBIEC also played a major role in what became known as the "Macron Leaks" affair, described by the Atlantic Council as follows:

There was a coordinated attempt to undermine Emmanuel Macron's candidacy, with a disinformation campaign consisting of rumors, fake news, and even forged documents; a hack targeting the computers of his campaign staff; and, finally, a leak—15 gigabytes (GB) of stolen data, including 21, 075 emails, released on Friday, May 5, 2017—just two days before the second and final round of the presidential election. This leak was promoted on Twitter by an

"I just raped Marcon worse than when he

was 15,* ②JackPosoblec just now ②
I documents; a hack
If his campaign staff;
bytes (GB) of stolen
emails, released on
two days before the
the presidential elected on Twitter by an

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a His security clearance is currently suspended with no known reason for the suspension.

army of trolls and fake accounts (bots), with the hashtag #MacronLeaks appearing in almost half a million tweets in twenty-four hours, and so the attack is now remembered as "the Macron Leaks." However, the leak itself was only the pinnacle of a coordinated operation that started months before, with a disinformation campaign and a hack.

According to the Atlantic Council report, POSOBIEC was the first to use the hashtag that would lend its name to the entire operation, and his tweet was retweeted eighty-seven times within five minutes. The report also notes that Cassandra Fairbanks, a family pro-Trump political activist, Sputnik contributor, and "troll," posted a picture on Twitter of POSOBIEC celebrating the affair and tweeting, "I just raped Marcon worse than when he was 15." The Atlantic Council report suggests that all "circumstantial and contextual elements" point to Russia as responsible for the leaks but that the American alt-right could not be ruled out.

Whether or not Russia was behind the Macron leaks, POSOBIEC has played a significant role in amplifying the Ukrainian biolabs disinformation, which did originate from Russia. On 10 March, US rightwing media reported his comments on the subject:

"The undersecretary of state of the United States of America, Victoria Nuland, came out publicly and stated that the United States is working with Ukraine to prevent bio research facilities from falling into Russian hands," said Posobiec of the Tuesday testimony. He said that Nuland had "concern and trepidation in her voice" when testifying to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. 16

POSOBIEC's comments were accompanied by a March 10 tweet "This all started with the US wanting access to Soviet bioweapons program" ¹⁷On 21 March, the Twitter analytic website Trendsmap listed POSOBIEC's tweets on the biolabs as one of the Top Global Tweets. ¹⁸

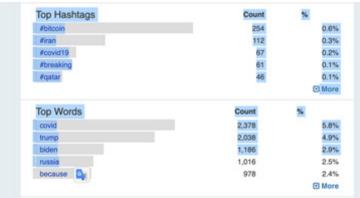


2. JORDAN SCHACHTEL

Jordan SCHACHTEL bills himself as an "Experienced Writer, Researcher, With Advanced Education In International Affairs And National Security."19 From 2013 to 2016, partly while studying for his Master's degree, SHACHTEL began his career at a series of rightwing organizations. Starting in September 2013, he was a Foreign Policy Analyst for the ENDOWMENT FOR MIDDLE EAST TRUTH, an Israeli advocacy organization with numerous right-wing figures serving on its advisory board, including Frank GAFF-NEY and Daniel PIPES.²⁰ ²¹ He later worked from May 2014 to Apr 2016 as a National Security Correspondent for BREITBART NEWS, the far-right media outlet associated with alt-right figure Steve Bannon. In 2016, SHACHTEL resigned from BREITBART, complaining in a statement that the organization has become "something resembling an unaffiliated media Super PAC for the Trump campaign." 22

Following his departure from BREITBART, SHACHTEL was employed for five months on "Special Projects" for THE ISRAEL PROJECT, a now-defunct Israel advocacy group that, according to a Jewish magazine, had become "hyperpartisan and vitriolic to anyone who questioned not only the pro-Israel line but the pro-Netanyahu pro-Likud line." SHACHTEL left the ISRAEL PROJECT in November 2016 and since has described himself as a "National Security Correspondent" for an organization marked as "hidden" on his LinkedIn resume. He has also come out as a vociferous supporter of Florida governor RON DESANTIS, seen by some as a future Presidential candidate and somebody who is "Out-Trumping Trump." Projects of Proj

SHACHTEL's Twitter feed currently has 186,000 followers, and he averages around 50 tweets a day, although that has risen to over 100/day in recent months.²⁷ ²⁸ He tweets almost universally on "culture war" topics and most often retweets/quotes/replies to right and far-right individuals, including Jack POSOBIEC. His top Twitter hashtags and words include Covid 19, Biden, Trump, and Iran.²⁹



As early as December 2021, SHACHTEL showed a willingness to exploit the Ukrainian conflict by defending Russia in the context of the culture war, tweeting:

Russia is currently more free than Germany, Austria, France Australia & New Xiland, to name a few. Their Ukraine spat is a local issue, not an international problem. Right now, the West is playing pretend with moral authority. Our leaders have abandoned any semblance of freedom.³⁰

SHACHTEL was tweeting the biolabs conspiracy theory as early as 25 February when he referred to "US-hosted virus biolabs." ³¹ He again referred to the labs with conspiratorial contexts on 8 March and 26 March. ³² ³³ He was also tweeting in defense of Russian talking points on the conflict, such as this tweet on 13 March advocating for the Russian government's position:

It's actually the opposite. The policy of the last two decades has been to screw with Russia at every turn, build the NATO alliance to Russia's border, depose pro-Russia regimes, and continue to make Russia the central bogeyman in our domestic politics.³⁴

3. ZERO HEDGE

ZERO HEDGE is ostensibly a financial analysis website launched in 2009 and mainly features news and commentary about financial markets from a libertarian perspective.³⁵ However, in recent years, ZERO HEDGE has become known for amplifying rightwing conspiracy theories on various topics.³⁶ Colin Lokey, one of the three ZERO HEDGE authors writing under a joint pseudonym, explained in a media interview the "formula" behind ZERO HEDGE posts:

The gig had a certain formula, he told Bloomberg: "Russia=good. Obama=idiot. Bashar al-Assad=benevolent leader. John Kerry= dunce. Vladimir Putin=greatest leader in the history of statecraft." For Zero Hedge, Syria was a special obsession, a sign of the essential strength of authoritarian regimes and the weakness of democracies.³⁷

In February 2022, US intelligence officials accused ZERO HEDGE of amplifying Kremlin propaganda:

The officials said Zero Hedge, which has 1.2 million Twitter followers, published articles created by Moscow-controlled media that were then shared by outlets and people unaware of their nexus to Russian intelligence. The officials did not say whether they thought Zero Hedge knew of any links to spy agencies and did not allege direct links between the website and Russia. Zero Hedge denied the claims and said it tries to "publish a wide spectrum of views that cover both sides of a given story." In a response posted online Tuesday morning, the website said it "has never worked, collaborated or cooperated with Russia, nor are there any links to spy agencies."38

During March and April 2022, ZERO HEDGE tweeted multiple times pushing the biolabs conspiracy:

- On March 9, ZERO HEDGE tweeted that China had accused the US of operating "dangerous biolabs" in Ukraine and that the US was warning this Russian-based conspiracy theory could be used to justify a Russian invasion.^{39 40} In this tweet and underlying post, ZERO HEDGE attempted to bolster the biolabs allegation using several tactics, including citing a widely circulated and out-of-context statement by a US Under Secretary of State concerning animal virus research facilities in Ukraine.
- On March 15, ZERO HEDGE tweeted that former US Congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard had been "smeared" over false allegations she had made about US involvement in Ukraine's biological laboratories. 41 42 43 In this tweet and underlying post, ZERO HEDGE asserted there was "undeniable evidence that there are Pentagon-linked biological labs in Ukraine: and that "any concern about the pathogens has been labeled "Russian propaganda" by hawks in Washington."
- On April 2, ZERO HEDGE tweeted, "Pentagon Clarifies There's No 'Offensive' Bioweapons At US-Linked Ukraine Labs." 44 45 Again, the tweet and underlying post employed various techniques to bolster the Russian allegations about US biolabs. For example, the ZERO HEDGE post cited a story from the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, claiming incorrectly that it suggested US-funded labs in Ukraine "might contain Soviet bioweapons." The post omitted the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists' statement in the same story that "The labs in Ukraine are not bioweapons facilities."

US Amplifiers- Leftwing

1. GLENN GREENWALD

Glen Greenwald is an American journalist, author, and lawyer. In 1996, he opened his own law practice focused primarily on constitutional law and civil liberties cases. ⁴⁷ By 2005, he was describing himself as a blogger opposed to the "radicalism" of George Bush and "the Iraq War, or Guantanamo and torture, or the abolition of habeas corpus." ⁴⁸ In 2014, while working at The Guardian, he won the Pulitzer Prize for reporting on the revelation of widespread secret surveillance by the National Security Agency. ⁴⁹ In 2014, Greenwald was a co-founder of The Intercept, an American non-profit investigative news organization aimed at topics such as national security, the military-industrial complex, terrorism, and domestic surveillance. ⁵⁰ In October 2020, Greenwald quit The Intercept accusing the publication of "censoring" an article he wrote about alleged media silence surrounding allegations of corruption by Presidential candidate Joe Biden and his son, Hunter. ⁵¹ The remaining editors accused Greenwald of pushing a factually inaccurate piece. Since then, he has been publishing on Substack, an online newsletter-based journalism platform. ⁵²

Recently, Greenwald has been accused of a dramatic shift to the political right. In June 2021, the Daily Beast published an article about Greenwald titled "Is Glenn Greenwald the New Master of Right-Wing Media?" According to the article:

And so during a recent episode of The Ingraham Angle, Glenn Greenwald—who is so familiar to the top-rated cable channel's millions of viewers that he requires only a surname—put on a suit and tie in Rio de Janeiro, where he lives, to continue doing what has occupied his energies for much of the past month. That's deploying every conceivable platform—from Twitter (where he has 1.6 million followers) to YouTube to Substack to an array of popular conservative websites to the very top of the ziggurat, Rupert Murdoch's corporate cash cow—to denounce former friends and colleagues at The Intercept, the left-leaning digital news and opinion site he co-founded with Laura Poitras and Jeremy Scahill in 2013.⁵³

The Daily Beast goes on to describe Greenwald's role at Fox News:

And now he is effectively operating as something of a Fox News assignment editor, as indicated by The Daily Beast's spot check of the frequency with which Greenwald's online musings on social media and elsewhere, especially his Substack page, have served as the basis for dozens of articles on Fox News' website.

The article notes that since December 2017, Greenwald appeared on Fox 72 times, 40 of which were on Tucker Carlson Tonight, where he pushed various rightwing culture war issues such as "cancel culture" and alleged "big tech" censorship of conservative opinions.

In early March 2021, Carlson was claiming that the US was "funding the creation of deadly pathogens" in Ukraine and devoted much of his episode trying to cast aspersions on US explanations of biological research facilities located there. ⁵⁴ Carlson reportedly devoted three different episodes to the topic, and on 10 March, he brought on Greenwald, who said"

When the government comes out and emphatically denies that they have biological weapons," Greenwald said. "We know they're not telling the truth." ⁵⁵

In March 2022, Greenwald joined US rightwing amplifiers in claiming that a US Under Secretary of State statement concerning animal virus research facilities in Ukraine was proof of the biolabs conspiracy theory. According to Foreign Policy magazine:

Writer Glenn Greenwald, increasingly aligned with far-right polemicists, spun an imaginary narrative where Rubio was "visibly stunned," characterizing Nuland's comments as confirmation of U. S-controlled or created biological weapons in Ukraine. "The only reason to be 'quite concerned' about these 'biological research facilities' falling into Russian hands is if they contain sophisticated materials that Russian scientists have not yet developed on their own and which could be used for nefarious purposes," Greenwald writes. "Either advanced biological weapons or dual-use 'research' that has the potential to be weaponized." ⁵⁶

When asked for comments on his statement, Greenwald's response was described as follows:

... Greenwald said that he is "not saying evidence exists to say there are bio weapons programs in Ukraine" and that his objection "is to US media outlets calling it false without knowing that." He added that "there is a lot of circumstantial evidence that makes the question valid and reasonable to ask" and pointed to a Reason.com post making similar points. He points in particular to Nuland's claims that it would be dangerous for the Ukraine facilities to be captured by Russia as evidence that there could be weapons research going on there. ⁵⁷

2. MAX BLUMENTHAL

Max BLUMENTHAL is an American journalist, author, and blogger whose father, Sydney Blumenthal, was an aide to President Bill Clinton and known for his partisan journalism.⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ After graduating from university in 1999, Max BLUMENTHAL began his own career as a political JOURNALIST writing for left-leaning publications such as Salon and the Nation.⁶⁰ BLUMENTHAL is a harsh and vociferous critic of Israel who is considered by even leftwing sources to be "a profoundly unreliable narrator" and whose work is celebrated on major anti-Semitic, neo-Nazi,

and conspiracy theory websites; such as Stormfront and David Duke's Rense."⁶¹ He is currently the editor of the left/far-left news website THE GRAYZONE, famous for its sympathetic coverage of authoritarian regimes and promotion of conspiracy theories.⁶² Blumenthal has appeared often on RT (formerly known as Russia Today), including as a paid speaker for RT's December 2015 '10 Years On Air' anniversary party attended by Russian President Vladimir Putin and former Trump official US Lieutenant General Michael Flynn (ret), among others.⁶³ Blumenthal has also contributed to Sputnik Radio, Iran's Press TV, and China's CGTN.⁶⁴ ⁶⁵

In November 2017, Blumenthal appeared on Fox News to discuss the decision of the US Department of Justice to classify RT as a "foreign agent." in an interview with Tucker Carlson, he said,

"I go on RT fairly regularly, and the reason I do so is because, while the three major cable networks are promoting bombing and sanctioning half the world, at least the noncompliant nations, RT is questioning that."

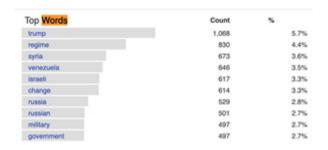
In 2017, Atlantic Magazine reported that Blumenthal called accounts of President Trump and his administration colluding with Russia in the 2016 presidential election "Russia hysteria" used as an excuse to avoid "doing anything remotely progressive." In 2018, he was described as being "found almost every week defending Russian foreign policy on platforms such as RT and Sputnik," including defending RT from the charge that it's Kremlin propaganda. In 2018, the Ukrainian fact-checking organization StopFake described Blumenthal as follows:

Well-known pro-Russia American journalist. Senior editor of the Grayzone Project, which tweets frequently about Ukrainians being neo-Nazis. On July 2 the Grayzone Project announced a partnership with the UK's far-left outlet The Canary, which also promotes Russian propaganda. A typical comment by Blumenthal to Russia's RT in December 2017 was expressed in their headline:" 'Russia collusion allegations unproven; what we are looking at is Israelgate' – Max Blumenthal."

On 18 March 2022, BLUMENTHAL wrote an article for GRAYZONE titled "Was bombing of Mariupol

theater staged by Ukrainian Azov extremists to trigger NATO intervention?"⁷⁰

Blumenthal's Twitter account currently has 303,809 followers, and he mostly frequently retweets or quotes his colleagues at The Grayzone. Historically his most frequent tweets have centered on topics such as Trump, Syria, and Israel but also various forms of COVID denialism. ⁷²



a THE GRAYZONE has an additional 138,000 followers.

More lately, BLUMENTHAL's tweets have frequently parroted Russian propaganda on Ukraine, accusing the Ukrainians of being Nazis and Ukrainian forces of human rights abuses. ^{73 74 75} On 14 March, BLUMENTHAL tweeted the following sarcasm in support of the biolabs conspiracy theory:

Contrary to Tucker Carlson's treasonous claims, US biological research labs in the vibrant democracy of Ukraine have a completely legitimate purpose, just like Hunter Biden's job. We asked several current and former US government officials, and that is what they told our news org.⁷⁶

In addition, GRAYZONE has published multiple articles supporting the biolabs theory.^{77 78}

Conclusions

From both the US right and left, the above demonstrates the willingness of prominent social media influencers to support Russian narratives on Ukraine, specifically the US biolabs conspiracy theory. All these influencers demonstrated a prior willingness to support Russian positions. The rightwing influencers had earlier been known for "culture war" commentary and various forms of conspiracism related to the COVID-19 epidemic. In contrast, the two Individuals on the left had a background in harsh criticism of the US and its foreign policy, but one of the two was also involved with COVID denialism.

The European Digital Media observatory (EDMO) has observed how both the mainstream news media and the "disinformation environment" shifted quickly from covering the Covid-19 pandemic to reporting about the war. As the EDMO explains, social media influencers have shifted from Covid misinformation to supporting pro-Russian disinformation and propaganda:

Since the beginning of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, on February 24, 2022, the mainstream news cycle quickly passed from covering the Covid-19 pandemic to reporting about the war. The same trend has been observed in the disinformation environment: users and channels which for years focused on spreading false or misleading information about vaccines and lockdowns now pivoted - in most cases - to supporting pro-Russian disinformation and propaganda. Narratives have been adapted to fit into the new context: for instance, according to conspiracy theorists, both the pandemic and now the war would have been staged to divert our attention from some larger scheme managed by Western élites (the huge disinformation theory of the "Great Reset"). Sometimes, actors also remained the same, and overnight Bill Gates and George Soros passed from creating the Sars-CoV-2 virus to financing the conflict. As a consequence, communities which have been most exposed to Covid-19 disinformation are now more likely to be the main recipients of pro-Russian disinformation. Even though we don't know who is responsible for creating and spreading false news about Ukraine in the first place, it is a fact that the majority of them favor Russia's interests and follow the main elements of its propaganda.⁷⁹

The Russian propaganda amplified by the individuals identified in this report fits squarely into the definition of "ampliganda" discussed at the beginning of this report. As the EDMO goes on to suggest, self-interest, mainly economic, is likely a significant reason behind the shift by social media influencers to Russian narratives:

The shift from pandemic to war-related conspiracy theories can be due to different factors. First of all, the potential audience provided by such a disruptive event as a war on European soil is certainly appealing for disinformation spreaders, who could see it as an opportunity to grow their popularity. In the online ecosystem this popularity can translate into economic benefits, therefore the spread of disinformation can also be motivated by economic gain.

Endnotes

- 1 Russian Media Spreading Disinformation About Alleged US Bioweapons As Troops Mass Near Ukraine - Global Influence Operations Report https://www.global-influence-ops.com/russian-mediaspreading-disinformation-about-alleged-us-bioweapons-astroops-mass-near-ukraine/
- 2 (2) Marc Owen Jones on Twitter: "□1/ This is an analysis of all accounts using the terms '#Ukraine' and 'bio labs'. I wanted to see which accounts were pushing this narrative the most, & which were the most influential. This is an analysis of around 20k Twitter interactions from approx 17k unique accounts https://t.co/Rbp9GYxh4q" / Twitter https://twitter.com/marcowenjones/status/1502052062519083008
- 3 How Jack Posobiec Became the King of Fake News Philadelphia Magazine
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- 7 Pro-Trump Media Figure And Conspiracy Theory Peddler Jack Posobiec Is Out At The Rebel https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/janelytvynenko/jackposobiec-out-at-the-rebel
- 8 Notorious Pizzagater Jack Posobiec Leaves OAN for Conservative Youth Group Turning Point USA https://www.thedailybeast.com/notorious-pizzagater-jackposobiec-leaves-oan-for-conservative-youth-group-turningpoint-usa
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- 31 Jordan Schachtel @ dossier.substack.com on Twitter: "I have been made aware of a conspiracy floating around the web claiming that Putin is engaged in a humanitarian bombing campaign against US-hosted virus biolabs in Ukraine. Perhaps the dumbest thing I've heard through all of 2022. For the love of God, have some self respect." / Twitter https://twitter.com/JordanSchachtel/status/1497018949351112706
- 32 Jordan Schachtel @ dossier.substack.com on Twitter:

 "Again I must offer my humble apologies to the conspiracy theorists □□□ https://t.co/RmkH5uVVFV"

 / Twitter
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