EXHIBIT 1

(Declaration of Daniel Froomkin)

Post

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A badge of honor for @elizlanders.bsky.social. More more more.

> **Liz Landers** @elizlanders.bsky.social · 7mo
> I asked President Trump about the FBI reportedly seizing election records in Arizona. He said they must have done that because it was a "rigged" election. I pointed out to him that his own AG said there was not measurable voter fraud to overturn that election. Then he called me a rotten reporter.



6:41 PM · Mar 11, 2026 · Everybody can reply

43 reposts **1** quote **144** likes **1** save

3 44 144

Write your reply

SilkySullivan8 @silkysylluvan8.bsky.social · 7mo
Keep it up!
1 4

Tim Mullaney @timmullaney.bsky.social · 7mo
you could have also pointed out that his claims have already been investigated and adjudicated
1

PatchyGroundFog 🐂 @patchygroundfog.bsky.social · 7mo
I hope Liz called him a rotten president.

EXHIBIT 2

(Declaration of Daniel Froomkin)

Post

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Pretty good piece by @peterbakernyt.bsky.social about “Trump’s own unique reality, one anchored not in fact but in an expression of ego.” Includes critics using words like “delusional” “unhinged” and “brain rot”... www.nytimes.com/2026/09/09/u... 1/3



60 Posts in 10 Hours: How Trump’s Social Media Reflects His Version of Reality (Gift Article)

With an assist from A.I., President Trump offers a window into how he wants to be seen — and, critics say, a barometer of his mental state.

www.nytimes.com

8:51 PM · Sep 9, 2026 · Everybody can reply

24 reposts **51** likes **6** saves

3 24 51

Write your reply

Dan Froomkin/Press Watch/Heads Up News @froomkin.bsky.s... · 1mo

But much like his April piece, in which he quoted critics calling Trump “clearly insane,” “an extremely sick person,” “out of control,” “batshit crazy,” and “a genocidal lunatic”... https://presswatchers.org/2026/04/new-york-times-finally-reports-on-concerns-that-trump-is-clearly-insane/ 2/3



EXHIBIT 3

(Declaration of Daniel Froomkin)

WASHINGTON MEMO

60 Posts in 10 Hours: How Trump's Social Media Reflects His Version of Reality

With an assist from A.I., President Trump offers a window into how he wants to be seen — and, critics say, a barometer of his mental state.

Listen · 12:18 min



By Peter Baker
Peter Baker is the chief White House correspondent. He reported from Washington.

Sept. 9, 2026

Just before noon on a holiday weekend, while many Americans were at the beach, President Trump's social media account roared to life. In what has increasingly become his weekend habit, he unleashed a daylong barrage of posts that put the bully in the modern bully pulpit.

There were images of Mr. Trump intimidating Canada's prime minister with a hockey stick, personally bombing enemy targets and patrolling dark streets with killer robots. There were maps showing the United States taking over other countries, and maps renaming a state. There were attacks on the "Dumocratic Party" and tributes to himself as "the Greatest President of All Time!"

The 60 messages posted online over 10 hours and 41 minutes offered a window into Mr. Trump's own unique reality, one anchored not in fact but in an expression of ego. For years, his social media feed was said to be a mirror of his id. But with A.I., it has become the manifestation of how he wants to be seen in a more visual, visceral way than ever before — as a warrior, as a conqueror, as a historical figure, as a younger and thinner and more muscular version of himself.

In Mr. Trump's digitally enhanced version of the world, he is a giant in every way, a man who defeats every adversary, overcomes every obstacle and sinks every putt. He not only redraws the map of the world but vanquishes the heavens themselves. "The Moon Is Ours," declared one post last weekend with an image of the earth's only satellite. Another posted a few weeks ago showed him leading an extraterrestrial alien in shackles.

The rat-a-tat of ever wilder, ever more outrageous posts each weekend has become a fixture of the president's second term, seen more and more as a barometer of his mental state. Mr. Trump's critics, who never considered him a model of stability in the first place, now point to these frenetic bursts of fantasy and vanity as proof that the 80-year-old president is deteriorating further with age.

Mr. Trump using his phone during a July 4 event on the National Mall in Washington. Posting dozens of memes and A.I.-generated images of himself and his foes has become a hallmark of his second administration. Al Drago for The New York Times

It is a measure of how much Mr. Trump has changed the nature of the presidency that any of this has become routine. Past presidents believed they had a duty to carry themselves with a certain dignity befitting the office. Mr. Trump sees politics like the cage match he sponsored this summer at the White House.

Indeed, the images he posted over the Labor Day weekend included one with his face on Hulk Hogan's rippling body. Another posted a day later imagined a grinning Mr. Trump easily winning an arm wrestling match against Mr. Hogan, the flamboyant wrestling star who died last year.

"He floods the zone with so much of it that we've become numb to just how bizarre it is," said Sarah Matthews, Mr. Trump's former deputy White House press secretary. "An 80-year-old president is spending a ridiculous amount of time consuming and reposting endless A.I. fan fiction portraying him as the biggest, strongest and most important person alive. It feels like we're genuinely watching his brain rot in real time."

To his defenders, Mr. Trump is a master of baiting his adversaries, getting them to react. "It's called: We do a little trolling," as Mr. Trump once put it. The more out there the message is, the more his supporters cheer. As abnormal as the images that he posts may be for a president, Mr. Trump's allies argue that they convey a certain raw, earthy quality that suits an age of no-holds-barred politics.

"With all due respect, the media and President Trump's other critics have spent more than a decade complaining about his use of social media," said Alex Bruesewitz, a former campaign aide. "They keep calling it 'unpresidential,' but if the president is doing it, it is presidential by definition. I think most Americans appreciate the authentic and transparent way he uses these platforms."

Violence is a recurring theme in Mr. Trump's feed. He relishes the idea of himself as a tough man staring down anyone who gets in his way. He smashes Iran with a giant hammer. He pilots a spacecraft blasting the planet. Most arresting was his post last weekend showing him in a hockey uniform with a stick towering over a

fallen Prime Minister Mark Carney of Canada and taunting, "Get up, Governor," as if Canada really were the 51st state that he says he wants to make it. That one, unsurprisingly, further inflamed international tensions.

Mr. Trump frequently posts images of himself as a tough man, staring down his opponents. Alex Kent/The New York Times

As Mr. Trump surely knew it would. It is hard to imagine any other president picturing himself physically assaulting the leader of an ally. But for Mr. Trump, who has been unable to force Mr. Carney to back down in a tariff fight, the cartoonish image allows him to present himself as winning even when he is not.

Never mind that he may cry foul if anyone else were to picture him as the target of violence. Goaded by Mr. Trump, the Justice Department indicted James B. Comey, the former F.B.I. director, for a social media post showing seashells spelling out the

numbers "86 47," interpreting the image as a threat to the president.

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"This is truly unhinged behavior from the President of the United States," Representative Chellie Pingree, a Maine Democrat, wrote online after the Carney post. "And I don't want to hear 'oh, it's just Trump being Trump' or that he's 'trolling.' Enough. None of this is normal or okay. Republicans cannot keep shrugging this off. Congress, the Cabinet, and everyone around him has a responsibility to stop enabling this dangerous behavior and start asking whether he is fit to hold this office."

The White House shrugged off the criticism. "Truth Social is the most powerful and popular social media platform in the world because it serves as President Trump's authentic voice, where he communicates directly with the American people and the world without the biased media taking him out of context," Davis Ingle, a White House spokesman, said in a statement, using the name of the president's social media platform.

In fact, by traditional measures, Truth Social is nowhere near as popular as major social media platforms like Facebook or X and its traffic has slumped since last year. But it has effectively become the town hall for Mr. Trump's MAGA followers and therefore plays an outsize role in American politics. Either posting himself or approving posts crafted by aides, Mr. Trump uses it as his main outlet for presidential messages to the world.

Last Sunday was a striking day on Truth Social but increasingly typical of the president's weekend blitzes, when he has fewer staff members around him and more unscheduled time. While at his golf club in Bedminster, N.J., Mr. Trump started posting at 11:54 a.m. and kept returning to his account in staccato bursts

throughout the day. At 1:47 p.m., he posted six messages within two minutes. From 2:40 p.m. to 3:43 p.m., he circulated another 27 posts. He continued through the evening, only letting up after his final one of the night at 10:35 p.m.

Mr. Trump uses his social media posts to sometimes bypass traditional media. Pete Marovich for The New York Times

They were the kinds of posts that are common on the internet, just not normally from a head of state — impertinent, insulting, scornful, belligerent and sometimes out-and-out wacky. They offered a Rorschach test for followers, funny to those who admire what they see as Mr. Trump's wry sense of humor, delusional to those who think he has lost his mind.

As with Canada, his many posts on Iran that day portrayed his war as he would like it to be, not how it really is. In the actual Middle East outside of his control, Mr. Trump is stuck in a quagmire with no clear end in sight. In the virtual Middle East of his own creation, Mr. Trump is a triumphal commander in chief bludgeoning Iran into submission.

The flurry of posts last weekend included an image of a bomber attacking with the caption "Bye bye, Kharg," referring to the Iranian island, and a map showing the Strait of Hormuz labeled "New U.S. Territory." Another featured supposed before-and-after maps of Iran with the latter showing the country in the shape of Mr. Trump's own wavy-haired profile.

Maps, in fact, were big with Mr. Trump as he played with his phone that day. He posted a map of the north half of the Western Hemisphere showing the U.S. flag superimposed on Canada, Mexico, Greenland, Iceland, Cuba and all of Central America and the Caribbean islands, all under the label "United States of America."

Canada, Mexico and Greenland have gotten used to this sort of provocation, but Iceland was shocked to be included, and summoned the U.S. ambassador to complain. "There is nothing funny or normal about making fun of the sovereignty of states," Prime Minister Kristrun Frostadottir of Iceland told reporters.

A protest against Mr. Trump's plans to take over Greenland in January. Juliette Pavy for The New York Times

Even as he showcased his imperialist ambitions abroad, Mr. Trump asserted his authoritarian instincts at home, posting multiple maps and images of him peremptorily renaming the state of New Mexico as "New America," something he has no power to do. As with the Icelanders, the New Mexicans were not amused. "Oh hell no!" Representative Melanie Stansbury, a Democrat, wrote online.

While Mr. Trump's posts regularly influence domestic politics and foreign policy, he also uses A.I. to promote grandiose visions of himself as a superhero, a pope and at one point last spring a Jesus-like figure. Last weekend's posts included one that he has circulated before offering his own chart ranking American presidents, with him, naturally, at the top as "The Greatest." Another post asserted: "He Will Go Down In History As the Greatest President of All Time!"

Mr. Trump, who avoided the draft during the Vietnam War with a diagnosis of bone spurs provided by a doctor who was one of his father's tenants, particularly enjoys presenting himself as a martial hero.

In an image posted last month, Mr. Trump wore the military uniform that he never wore in real life standing between Generals George S. Patton and Douglas MacArthur. George Washington has become a regular guest in Mr. Trump's world lately. Sunday's burst included images of him with the father of the country on horseback and in the Oval Office.

The advent of A.I. has allowed Mr. Trump to go further than the mainly written social media posts of his first term. "Trump has always treated social media as a window into whatever he is thinking at that moment, but A.I. makes that window far more vivid and frankly more disturbing," said Ms. Matthews, his former press aide. "And it feels like the more difficult reality gets for him, the more A.I. slop he posts."

Mr. Bruesewitz, the former campaign aide, called Mr. Trump an innovator who is paving the way to the future of politics. "President Trump is the first true social media president," he said. "He has always adapted to the times, using new technology and platforms to take his message straight to the public. His A.I. posts generate enormous attention whenever he hits send."

No one would debate that they are attention generators. One way or another, that seems to be the point.

Peter Baker is the chief White House correspondent for The Times. He is covering his sixth presidency and sometimes writes analytical pieces that place presidents and their administrations in a larger context and historical framework.

A version of this article appears in print on , Section A, Page 1 of the New York edition with the headline: Trump Posts Stream of A.I. And Pure Ego

EXHIBIT 4

(Declaration of Daniel Froomkin)

Post

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This guy is my hero. He basically called Trump a “crazy bastard” at today’s news conference. Who is he????



Aaron Rupar @atrupar.com · 6mo

Bluesky

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Q: What is your response to critics--

TRUMP: I don't care about critics

Q: What is your response to critics who say it's your mental health that should be examined?

TRUMP: Well, I haven't heard that. You're gonna have to have more people like me



11:07 PM · Apr 6, 2026 Everybody can reply

105 reposts **6** quotes **668** likes **33** saves

9 111 668

Dan Froomkin/Press Watch/Heads Up News @froomkin.bsky.social · 6mo
He has been ID'd! It's Danny Kemp @dannyctkemp.bsky.social House correspondent for AFP. Perhaps not coincidentally he used to cover The Hague. Thank you!

20 168

SkynetAndChill.com @druce.ai · 6mo
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EXHIBIT 5

(Declaration of Daniel Froomkin)

Post

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He has been ID'd! It's Danny Kemp @dannyctkemp.bsky.social White House correspondent for AFP. Perhaps not coincidentally he used to cover The Hague. h/t @sandeen.bsky.social

> **Dan Froomkin/Press Watch/Heads Up News** @froomkin.bsky.social · 6mo
> This guy is my hero. He basically called Trump a "crazy bastard" at today's news conference. Who is he????



Bluesky Create account Sign in

EXHIBIT 6

(Declaration of Daniel Froomkin)

We need the Washington Post too much to give up on it entirely

Dan Froomkin

Jeff Bezos just about killed the Washington Post last week. It was awful.

By the latest reckoning, nearly half the newsroom is gone. The Post is no longer a local newspaper. The Post is no longer an international newspaper. The Post has abandoned readers who care about sports, books, technology, and the arts. It no longer has any photographers.

The Post is more like a Politico knockoff now – oh, the irony! — reduced to focusing on politics, government, and national security.

This is a crushing loss. As a subscriber for most of my life, I mourn. As someone who spent 12 years at the Post working mightily to make it stronger and better, I gnash my teeth.

But the United States at this perilous moment simply cannot afford to entirely lose one of its key guarantors of accountability – no matter how venal the owner, and no matter how mixed a job the Post's political staff has done in the past.

The Washington Post brand, more than any other in the world, stands for holding the powerful accountable. It brought down a president! We need it to continue to live – and, hopefully, to remember its core promise.

Now I realize that hard-hitting coverage of the Trump administration may not be possible anymore, given Bezos's obvious goal of appeasement. This is his third strike: he spiked a Kamala Harris endorsement before the election, reorganized its opinion section around stupid MAGA-friendly content, and has now shattered one of Trump's most hated newsrooms.

And let's be real: even before this disaster, the Post's coverage of Trump featured a lot more misses than hits. When truth-telling was urgently needed, Post coverage was way too often stenographic and credulous. (Just look at my relevant Bluesky posts.)

But there were some important hits. Among them:

- A Post story in December — "ICE documents reveal plan to hold 80,000 immigrants in warehouses" – listed the locations of 23 would-be facilities around the nation, launching what has turned out to be a major new front in the resistance to Trump.
- It was the Post that revealed how Stephen Miller was the driving force behind the murderous bombing of alleged drug boats in the Caribbean.
- It was the Post that laid out so clearly that Trump's antisemitism campaign was in fact a pretext for pursuing an arch-conservative social agenda.
- The Post has published clarifying articles about Trump's reshaping of the global order, his penchant for fake numbers, and how he broke the federal government.

And day in, day out, the Post has been one of the essential sources for reality-based news about what's going on in Washington, even if sometimes you had to read between the lines to get the whole story.

We can't afford to give up on the Post. We need it too badly.

- The often-disappointing New York Times was already the preeminent news organization covering Washington – and it will only get smugger and lazier without the Washington Post nipping at its heels.

- The damage being done by Trump is so vast that we need way more people calling it out, not fewer.
- The Post's Bezos-era slogan — "Democracy Dies in Darkness" – is now a punchline. But it's also true.

I have great respect for the people who are cancelling their subscriptions because they are morally opposed to paying a penny to the wretched centibillionaire who nearly destroyed the institution they love.

And it's absolutely critical that the Post get new leadership. Editor Matt Murray, who no longer has a shred of credibility, needs to go. (The corrupt and incompetent publisher, Will Lewis, departed on Friday.) The only real long-term solution is for Bezos to turn the paper over to someone else – ideally a nonprofit.

But in the meantime, I'm rooting for the reporters left behind.

They must be anguished by the brutality of the carnage and the betrayal of their institution.

But I hope they can prove the critics wrong and deliver vital reporting on the disastrous impact of the Trump presidency. I hope they can continue to expose information that Trump wants hidden. I hope they can ask tough questions and fact-check the answers.

I will keep reading them. And I will keep holding *them* accountable.

EXHIBIT 7

(Declaration of Daniel Froomkin)

Democracy Dies in Darkness

Inside the powerful task force spearheading Trump's assault on colleges, DEI

Critics say the Trump administration, which just struck a deal with Columbia University, is using antisemitism probes to pursue an unrelated conservative agenda.

Updated July 24, 2025 More than **1 year ago**

By Laura Meckler, Dan Rosenzweig-Ziff, Susan Svrluga, Perry Stein and Emily Davies

Editor's note: This story originally published on July 18 but has been updated to reflect the Trump administration's deal with Columbia University.

In 2021, future vice president JD Vance delivered a speech titled "The Universities Are the Enemy." A few years later, during his campaign, Donald Trump called college leaders "Marxist maniacs."

Now their administration is using the full force of the federal government to investigate long-standing conservative complaints about universities, making sweeping demands and cutting billions of dollars in federal funding as it works to bring campuses to heel.

The most powerful vehicle for the onslaught has been the Joint Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism, which recorded what the White House cast as a significant victory Wednesday with a sweeping agreement with Columbia University.

The administration established the task force in February to counter what it describes as widespread failure by universities to protect Jewish students since the start of campus protests against the Israel-Gaza war. In reality, many of the task force's unprecedented demands and punishments have nothing to do with antisemitism. Instead, they seek hiring and programming changes to strip long-standing conservative targets including DEI and a liberal worldview from higher education.

The agreement with Columbia includes provisions that deal with race, as well as others meant to combat antisemitism. Under the deal, Columbia promised not to sponsor any programs that promote "unlawful DEI goals" and not to consider race in hiring and admissions.

A White House official, who was not authorized to speak publicly and spoke on the condition of anonymity, said the task force began by focusing on antisemitism but described antisemitism as only "the symptom" of a broken and corrupt culture on college campuses "and not the disease." The official said the same campus culture that labels Jews as oppressors also isolates White students in favor of promoting racial minorities. That assertion was echoed by several administration officials and some conservative Jewish leaders.

The administration's critics, including some Jewish leaders and groups, say stripping diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives from colleges won't prevent antisemitism and predict the task force's tactics will prompt a backlash. The administration is using antisemitism investigations as a pretext to pursue an unrelated conservative agenda, they argue.

"It's self-evident it's not about antisemitism," said Yehuda Kurtzer, president of the Shalom Hartman Institute, a Jerusalem-based research and educational center focused on world Jewish life and pluralism. "Why would that have anything to do with cutting funding for research? It's about conservative fears of higher education, and antisemitism is an excuse."

Unlike Columbia, Harvard University is fighting the Trump administration's federal funding cuts in court. These issues were on display this week in a federal court in Boston, when attorneys for Harvard and the Trump administration faced off in a pivotal hearing in a lawsuit the university filed in an attempt to restore the funding.

This account of the antisemitism task force's mission and tactics is based on interviews with 40 administration officials, administration allies, university officials and others familiar with the task force's work. Some spoke on the condition of anonymity to avoid retribution for speaking without authorization.

White House spokesman Harrison Fields said fighting antisemitism and DEI are both administration priorities.

"The suggestion that the Administration is weaponizing the fight against antisemitism to implement commonsense policies to end DEI is outrageous and baseless," he said in a statement.

He said both efforts are "fully aligned with upholding federal law, which these practices clearly violate."

From antisemitism to DEI

The Trump administration's rhetorical, administrative and financial attack on higher education is like none other since the federal government ramped up funding to universities in the aftermath of World War II.

The work — which at times has ignored legal norms and procedures — is driven by the task force, made up of senior officials in the Justice, Education, and Health and Human Services departments, as well as the little-known General Services Administration. Since almost the start of Trump's second term, they have invoked both antisemitism and DEI in a quest to transform the culture of campuses and stamp out what many Republicans see as outright hostility to conservative values, discourse and thought.

For supporters, DEI is a way to ensure that all types of people — regardless of race, gender and other factors — are represented and feel included and that institutions address structural barriers that may prevent equal opportunity. But critics — including many conservatives — say DEI divides people based on identity, leads to discrimination based on race and gender and ignores merit in favor of quotas.

Timeline: The battle against antisemitism on college campuses

For years, Republicans have complained that elite colleges and universities are hostile to conservative thought. Now the Trump administration is acting on those complaints with an unprecedented series of demands and punishments.

One task force member said it makes sense to create a "global settlement" with universities that would encompass a range of alleged violations. Task force investigations sometimes start out examining allegations of antisemitism, this person said, but then identify what members see as other concerns, such as race-conscious admissions, which the Supreme Court has ruled are unconstitutional.

Now, even as Harvard fights the Trump administration in court, the administration's hard-edged approach is paying dividends, with schools including Harvard and Columbia — the two biggest targets — agreeing to some government demands.

In interviews, several administration officials argued that antisemitism and DEI are inextricably linked and said the task force's mandate is widely understood internally to include both issues. They argued that both are rooted in racism and that both violate civil rights law.

"History has shown that antisemitism is oftentimes the canary in the coal mine for deeper civil rights issues," said Josh Gruenbaum, a Trump appointee who is commissioner of the General Services Administration's Federal Acquisition Service and a member of the task force. At one White House meeting, a senior Justice Department official compared the people behind campus antisemitism to protesters in liberal movements such as Black Lives Matter and Occupy Wall Street, attendees said.

After Hamas attacked Israel on Oct. 7, 2023, and Israel responded with a deadly incursion into Gaza, large-scale pro-Palestinian protests erupted on many college campuses. Some Jewish students said certain actions and rhetoric amounted to antisemitism, and colleges faced a challenge balancing the free speech rights of protesters against those concerns.

Protests were particularly intense and divisive in the 2023-2024 school year, and some Jewish students reported being frightened by the language demonstrators used and being excluded from clubs on campus. While many protests were peaceful, some demonstrators celebrated the Oct. 7 attack, handed out fliers promoting Hamas, and spray-painted target symbols and death threats. At Columbia, a class about Israel was disrupted by protesters, the protest encampments barred "Zionists" from entering, and a Jewish student just outside the school gates reported being punched in the face.

A survey last fall by the American Jewish Committee of current and recent Jewish college students found about 1 in 3 reported experiencing antisemitism during their time as a student, and nearly as many said they felt uncomfortable or unsafe at a campus event at least once because of their Jewish identity.

Soon after taking office, the Trump administration ordered schools to adopt stronger policies on protests and enforce them, ban masks on campus, and change academic programs that deal with the Middle East.

But the task force also demanded a wide range of changes related to DEI and race. Among them: changes to admissions, closing DEI offices and altering hiring practices.

To push colleges to comply, the administration has frozen billions of dollars in federal funding to at least six highly selective universities — notably Harvard and Columbia, which have seen the highest-profile federal cuts — but also Cornell, Northwestern, Brown and Princeton.

Officials also wrote to 60 schools in March to warn that they might be subject to "enforcement actions" based on their responses to antisemitism, though more than 20 of them have heard nothing from the administration since then, according to a Washington Post survey.

One targeted school, Brown University, said its funding was cut without "any formal notification or explanation" from the federal government and "in spite of Brown's cooperation with multiple government reviews and our compliance with the law."

This mishmash of enforcement has frightened universities across the country. Government attorneys are using well-established processes to investigate some complaints against universities. But in other cases, political appointees are directing and announcing punishments and demands before schools have a chance to respond to the allegations and before the administration attempts to negotiate an agreement, as civil rights law directs.

Some penalties are being challenged in court. But Columbia has agreed to a number of changes demanded by the administration. The agreement reached Wednesday includes detailed promises to not consider race in admissions or hiring and to provide an outside monitor with detailed data for audit. At Harvard, talks are ongoing about creating a "pluralism hub" to promote viewpoint diversity — a response to the conservative critique of overly liberal faculties. In April, Harvard renamed its Office for Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Belonging; it is now called Community and Campus Life.

Other universities are also making changes in line with administration priorities, Education Secretary Linda McMahon said.

"What we've seen, since we really began this effort, you know, it was kind of a hard hammer at first," she said at an event in June hosted by Bloomberg News. "And so we've now seen a lot of other universities who are starting to look at their practices and their programs and getting ahead of the curve so that they can report back."

A task force unlike any other

The task force was created on Feb. 3, days after Trump signed an executive order directing "additional measures to combat antisemitism." Operated out of the Justice Department, its members ultimately report to the White House, a White House official said, with Deputy Chief of Staff Stephen Miller playing an oversight role.

The public face is Leo Terrell, a civil rights attorney who left his job as a Fox News contributor to take a senior position in Trump's Justice Department. Republicans refer to him as "Leo 2.0" — an affectionate nod to his political transformation from Democrat to Trump supporter.

Terrell posts on social media throughout the day, echoing some of the right's most incendiary and baseless claims. He also rails against diversity, equity and inclusion, often simply posting "I hate DEI" and tagging people of color with whom he disagrees as DEI hires.

He's also echoed antisemitic comments, such as when he shared a post on X by the then-head of Identity Evropa, which later changed its name to American Identity Movement, a now-defunct group that the Anti-Defamation League dubbed a white-supremacist organization. The post suggested that Trump "revoke" Sen. Charles E. Schumer's "Jew card" because of his views on the conflict in Israel.

Multiple people said Terrell has little experience in the type of legal work the task force is undertaking and is not involved in its day-to-day legal strategy. He acts as a messenger sometimes, they said, sending directives from the White House and updating Trump officials on the group's work.

He has been eager to sit down with conservative Jewish leaders, people who have met with him said. But he hasn't met with groups that represent larger shares of the Jewish community, such as the Union for Reform Judaism, the association representing the largest Jewish denomination in the U.S., the group said. The American Jewish Committee waited months to get a meeting, officials said.

Terrell declined multiple interview requests. A Justice Department spokesperson also declined to comment on Terrell's role and actions.

Much of the task force's work is being shepherded by lower-profile senior administration officials: Tom Wheeler and Sean Keveney, the acting general counsels of the departments of Education and Health and Human Services, and Gruenbaum from the General Services Administration, according to two task force members. Harmeet Dhillon directly oversees the group's work as head of the Justice Department's civil rights division.

The Education and Justice departments have long been involved in enforcing civil rights laws on campuses. Involving HHS and GSA in investigations is a newer approach that has given the administration a powerful stick. HHS controls many of the federal grants on which universities depend. GSA, as the federal government's central procurement agency, has a deep understanding of data on grants and contracts to the universities across agencies.

It's not the only novel strategy the task force is deploying.

Typically, government lawyers and investigators who are not political appointees lead the process of collecting evidence and decide whether there is cause to launch an investigation, avoiding public announcements in case there is no finding of wrongdoing.

Dhillon and her political team scour social media to identify instances of antisemitism and determine what investigations to launch. They often speak and post about some of those efforts publicly.

The administration has also deployed the State Department and Department of Homeland Security to try to prevent Harvard from enrolling foreign students, a move blocked so far by a federal court.

And a May letter to Harvard signed by the usually measured and diplomatic McMahon was written in the style of Trump. It was strewn with all-caps words, insults and exclamation points. “Harvard should no longer seek GRANTS from the federal government, since none will be provided,” the letter said.

Another letter, from the task force to Harvard, included a litany of demands that had little to do with resolving allegations of antisemitism, as well as some that did relate. It demanded that Harvard cease alleged racial hiring and admissions preferences, shutter all DEI initiatives, and conduct an audit to assure “viewpoint diversity” in the student body, faculty, staff and leadership, as well as in every department, field and teaching unit.

The letter was sent in error, according to two people familiar with the situation. Still, administration officials stood behind it.

Harvard refused to comply, and within hours, the first funding freeze hit. Harvard then responded with its lawsuit.

Ignoring legal procedures

The legal basis for the crackdown on universities centers on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in programs or activities — including universities — that receive federal funding. That includes discrimination based on shared national ancestry, such as Jewish heritage.

By law, the government is supposed to investigate complaints and, if they are substantiated, give the university an opportunity to come into compliance. Typically, the institution will negotiate an agreement, which might include policy changes and monitoring by the government.

If talks fail, the government can take the case to court, where a judge would consider whether funding should be denied.

“The statutes and regulations set out a really careful process the government is supposed to follow,” said Shaheena Simons, who worked as a civil rights attorney at the Justice Department for 17 years, including nine as head of the educational opportunities section.

Under the law, she said, “withdrawal of federal funds is treated as a last resort action.”

In several high-profile cases, the Trump task force has skipped all these steps. For instance, it announced an investigation into actions of Columbia University on March 3. Four days later, it froze $400 million in federal grants and contracts.

There is also no indication that the administration investigated Harvard before freezing about $2.5 billion in funding, declaring the university would no longer receive any future federal funding and attempting to bar foreign students from enrolling in the school.

“The speed with which they are putting out these so-called findings suggests these are not bona fide investigations,” Simons said. “Legitimate investigations take time.”

McMahon defended the task force’s approach, saying the violations were obvious from news reports of pro-Palestinian protests against the Israel-Gaza war on college campuses last year.

“If you watched on television … students really were attacked. Professors were attacked. There was an action that needed to be taken,” she said at the Bloomberg event.

In legal filings in Harvard’s lawsuit, the Trump administration has said that it had not canceled contracts because of violations to civil rights law — even though officials repeatedly invoke these laws in rebuking universities. Rather, the administration said, it canceled contracts for “policy purposes,” explaining that the “policy purpose is to not fund institutions that fail to address antisemitism.”

The courts will decide whether it is legal to pull funding without a formal investigation, negotiation and court finding, said Kenneth L. Marcus, who headed the Education Department’s civil rights office during the first Trump administration and is founder and chairman of the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law, which works to combat antisemitism.

Marcus welcomed the administration’s approach as an overdue and aggressive response to what he sees as dangerous levels of antisemitism. But he agreed that the administration is jettisoning procedures established in law that he followed when in government.

“The Trump administration is really saying they’re not going to use the same procedures used by prior administrations because we have an exceptional circumstance here,” he said. “That is an assertion that would have to be litigated in the courts.”

Some of the administration’s threats have yet to materialize.

In February, the task force promised to visit 10 schools that have experienced antisemitism and meet with a wide range of people in the campus community to investigate the incidents. But four of those schools said no visits have been requested. (Four universities declined to comment, and two did not respond to requests for comment.)

George Washington University, for instance, located one mile from the White House, has publicly said it responded to the notification by asking how the school could prepare for a visit, but school officials said they have not yet heard from the administration.

Many schools are unsure of the status of their investigations after hearing little or nothing from the administration, said Jonathan Fansmith, senior vice president for government relations and national engagement at the American Council on Education.

He said one reason might be the gutting of staff at the Education Department's Office for Civil Rights, including closing seven of 12 regional offices. Beyond that, he suggested the administration appears more interested in drawing public attention than using established procedures to investigate and prove its cases.

"What's very, very clear is that they're not really putting the resources into the processes that are dictated in law, that people understand, that lead to actual resolutions that improve the situations," Fansmith said. "They're putting a lot of time and resources into things that grab attention and that they can use for headlines, but without any sort of follow-up or implementation."

From antisemitism to gun rights

The administration's broad view of the relationship between antisemitism and DEI was on display at a private White House meeting for Jewish leaders in early June, which followed a brutal attack on demonstrators in Boulder, Colorado, who were calling for a release of Israeli hostages held by Hamas in Gaza. Top Trump administration officials including Dhillon and White House Chief of Staff Susie Wiles spoke to the group.

Dhillon repeatedly connected fighting antisemitism to other conservative causes, according to two people at the event. She said the attack showed why Americans need expanded gun rights, these people said. And she compared people guilty of antisemitism to those involved in movements including Black Lives Matter, Occupy Wall Street and antifa, saying all are ideologically aligned with Marxism.

Some guests said they took that comment to mean there was antisemitism in those movements, too, and the spread of antisemitism on college campuses is the natural progression. Others left confused about the task force's true purpose.

In interviews, administration officials disagreed about whether the task force was always meant to address a wide swath of issues or whether it morphed in that direction, but they agreed that the mission extends beyond whether colleges have protected Jews on campus.

"The original version of it was just antisemitism," a White House official said. "But practically, the antisemitism task force ends up folding in a lot of other conversations."

Critics are skeptical, noting that Trump has been accused of antisemitic rhetoric himself. This month, for instance, he used an antisemitic slur while referencing unscrupulous bankers. In November 2022, he had dinner with the rapper Ye, formerly known as Kanye West, who has made anti-Jewish remarks, and Nick Fuentes, an antisemite and white nationalist who has called Republicans who work with Jewish people "race traitors."

Trump replied that he didn't know the comment about bankers was considered antisemitic. As for the dinner, he said at the time that he "never met and knew nothing about" Fuentes before he arrived with Ye at his club. He wrote that Ye "expressed no anti-Semitism" at the dinner.

At a congressional hearing in June, Rep. Jamie Raskin (D-Maryland) said Trump would not associate with antisemites if he was committed to eradicating anti-Jewish bias.

"Seizing control of college student admissions, faculty hiring and curricular content at colleges and universities has nothing to do with protecting Jewish students," Raskin said.

Many Jewish leaders say they are concerned about DEI programs that have divided the world into "oppressed" and "oppressors," with Jews cast as oppressors despite antisemitism that has persisted over centuries. In the aftermath of the Oct. 7 Hamas attack on Israel, some universities had "systemic blind spots" about the antisemitism that Jewish students were encountering, and DEI initiatives might have contributed, said Pamela Nadell, director of the Jewish Studies Program at American University and author of a forthcoming book on antisemitism.

But she said the answer is to widen the definition of DEI to include Jews, not to eliminate DEI.

“Ultimately, I am deeply worried that under the pretext of ending hatred of Jewish people — an historic, worldwide problem — the antisemitism task force’s demands to dismantle DEI as the root of antisemitism will further isolate Jews in American colleges and universities,” she said. “Jews will be blamed for its abolition. But antisemitism will not disappear from the campus.”

Paige Winfield Cunningham, Michelle Boorstein and Danielle Douglas-Gabriel contributed to this report.

EXHIBIT 8

(Declaration of Daniel Froomkin)

Democracy Dies in Darkness

Trump's answer to numbers he doesn't like: Change them or throw them away

From D.C. crime rates to census collection to labor statistics, the administration has suppressed inconvenient data and conjured inaccurate statistics to bolster policy objectives.

August 14, 2025 More than **1 year ago**

By Cat Zakrzewski, David Ovalle, Scott Dance and Laura Mec

President Donald Trump presented inaccurate crime statis
police. He announced plans for the census to stop countin
the firing of the official in charge of compiling basic statist
report.

This month marked an escalation in Trump's war on data,
that threaten his agenda and distorts figures to bolster his
actions the administration has taken across federal health,
overhaul data collection to align with the administration's agenda and worldview.

The president's manipulation of government data threatens to erode public trust in facts that leaders of both parties have long relied on to guide policy decisions. A breakdown in official government statistics could also create economic instability, restrain lifesaving health care and limit forecasts of natural disasters. Trump has routinely spread misinformation since the start of his political career, but his efforts in his second term to bend data to support his agenda have invited comparisons to information control in autocratic countries.

"What he's trying to do is to present the best possible picture of what he's doing, even if that means he has to cook the numbers, even if that means he has to distort the data," said Robert Cropf, a political science professor at St. Louis University. "It's basically a page from the authoritarian playbook."

Trump has also tried to use his social media megaphone to influence data produced by private companies. On Monday, he called for Goldman Sachs to replace a veteran economist who produced reports that warned that tariffs could cause inflation. But he may find himself in a game of whack-a-mole: On Thursday, a benchmark that measures the prices producers get for goods and services showed hotter-than-expected inflation, partly because of tariffs. Trump has not commented yet on the report.

Other countries have demonstrated the risk of undermining statistics, which can erode citizens' trust in their government and nations' standing in the international community. China has been widely accused of inflating economic figures, prompting other countries to seek alternative data sources for a more trustworthy picture of the nation's financial situation. In Greece, the government produced false deficit numbers for years, and the government repeatedly sought to criminally prosecute the statistician who produced accurate budget figures. Argentina manipulated economic statistics for years to minimize the extent of inflation, even as consumers paid for significantly more expensive groceries and goods.

The false deficit numbers in Greece contributed to the country's debt crisis. The cooked numbers in Argentina made it more difficult for the government to enact policies that could limit inflation, and citizens lost faith in the ability to trust the government data to inform major purchases.

White House spokeswoman Taylor Rogers said that the president's actions are intended to "restore" Americans' trust in data so they can make their own decisions.

“President Trump is preserving — not eroding — democracy by ensuring that the American people can rely on government data that actually reflects reality,” Rogers said in a statement.

Government statistics have traditionally been considered more reliable and comprehensive than those collected by private-sector companies motivated by profits, said Paul Schroeder, the executive director of the Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics. The data is needed to provide an accurate picture of what is happening. Without it, governments, corporations and individuals lack information that can inform decisions about everything from mortgage rates to weight loss.

“It’s almost like an airline pilot losing his instrument panel when driving the plane,” Schroeder said of the erosion.

Trump’s decision to fire Bureau of Labor Statistics Commissioner Erika McEntarfer was widely condemned by statisticians and economists, who warned that the move could have a chilling effect on the work of federal number crunchers who produce reports the president doesn’t like.

Trump claimed without evidence that the nation’s job statistics were “rigged,” following a revision to the May and June jobs figures that showed the labor market was weaker than previously known. Revisions to job reports are common, but many economists have acknowledged falling response rates to government surveys, and long-standing budget strains have made it harder for economic agencies to collect and analyze reliable data.

“President Trump believes that businesses, households, and policymakers deserve accurate data to inform their decision-making, and he will restore America’s trust in the BLS,” Rogers said.

Trump’s attempts to change how the government collects data have invited backlash, especially his proposal to overhaul the census amid a fight over redistricting. Civil liberties groups have said they would challenge any attempt to change the census, warning that the president’s proposal to eliminate undocumented immigrants from the count could erode the political power and financial resources of diverse communities. The census is used not only to determine congressional seats but also to distribute federal funding and decide where to build schools.

Trump justified his decision to deploy federal law enforcement and the National Guard on D.C. streets with claims that crime is surging in Washington, but violent crime in D.C. has been on the decline since 2023. The White House has cast doubt on the accuracy of local statistics, citing a July NBC News report that said that the District suspended a police commander accused of manipulating crime numbers in his district.

Rogers added that the data “doesn’t change the on-the-ground reality that many D.C. residents and visitors have experienced on our streets.”

In other instances, the administration has halted the collection of data that advocates and experts warn is essential for Americans' well-being and safety. At the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, scientists are now forbidden to collect gender data on any programs. That includes abortion data and information for sexually transmitted disease prevention, violence prevention and mental health programs. The lack of data could undermine efforts to prevent the spread of STDs and prevent school shootings and suicides.

Federal collection of abortion data stopped on April 1 following widespread layoffs across the Department of Health and Human Services. Most states put out their own abortion data, but no other federal agency collects abortion data, according to a former CDC employee familiar with those programs. The government uses the data to predict birth rates, a crucial statistic that governments and businesses use to make decisions about the health system, education and the economy.

CDC staff members are also no longer collecting concussion data for the creation of a concussion surveillance system, which has had strong bipartisan congressional support. The agency is also no longer analyzing data to prevent drowning — the leading cause of death in children aged 1 to 4 — because all of those staff members were laid off.

Researchers have warned about the diminishing of data programs that are key to understanding the ever-evolving drug crisis in the United States — and to building the best prevention and treatment programs. In June, the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration stopped updating the Drug Abuse Warning Network, a nationwide surveillance system of drug use trends and insights drawn from emergency department visits.

The loss of that data will make it more difficult for researchers such as Daniel Ciccarone, a professor at the University of California at San Francisco School of Medicine, to track street drugs and overdoses. Ciccarone studies trends in the fentanyl supply, which kills tens of thousands of Americans each year, as well as new synthetic drugs seeping into regional supplies.

“We need surveillance data at a historic time of an undulating drug supply — we don’t know what’s going to happen next,” Ciccarone said.

Public health advocates have raised concerns about the future of the National Youth Tobacco Survey, an annual report that measures how young people are using nicotine products. The report helped alert the country to the epidemic of teen vaping and led to stricter controls on the industry. The program has long been run through the Food and Drug Administration and the CDC’s Office on Smoking and Health, which was shut down in the spring.

An HHS spokesperson did not respond when asked about the future of the survey, saying only that the CDC “remains deeply committed to tobacco prevention and control and … continues to support this critical public health priority through a range of efforts, including outreach, education, and surveillance.”

The Trump administration has also discontinued dozens of climate databases and government-funded studies, including efforts to quantify the damage caused by natural disasters and to understand how the heaviest rainfall will intensify as the planet warms.

Officials have removed key climate data and reports from the internet. The administration took down the website of the U.S. Global Change Research Program, which shared congressionally mandated reports about climate change impacts across the country. And it deleted climate.gov, a repository for research and forecasts, though it said such information would continue to be posted on a National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration website.

Trump's budget proposal for NOAA would eliminate nearly all of the agency's labs focused on climate, weather and oceans — institutions whose studies are key to weather and climate forecasting and improving our understanding of everything from summer thunderstorms to the El Niño climate pattern. Businesses rely on this data to inform plans for tourism, fisheries and shipping.

The changes reflect the administration's commitment to "eliminating bias and producing Gold Standard Science research driven by verifiable data," Rogers said in a statement.

As the Trump administration attempts to shutter the Education Department, its ability to publish accurate and timely data was thrown into question after deep cuts to the department's staff. Virtually the entire staff of the National Center for Education Statistics was laid off, and while much of the work is done by contractors, researchers worry that there are no longer enough government workers to check and disseminate collected data.

The center's work is critical to researchers, policymakers and journalists, with a wide range of data including the demographics of students and schools, courses offered, crime on campuses, and school spending.

Already, the Education Department missed its June deadline to publish the annual Condition of Education report, the authoritative source for education data from preschool through university. The agency has continued to publish some data tables but far fewer than in past years.

The Trump administration has also called for more information about the consideration of applicants' race in college admissions.

"Greater transparency is essential to exposing unlawful practices and ultimately ridding society of shameful, dangerous racial hierarchies," Trump said in a memorandum issued last week, as he ordered the Education Department to begin collecting detailed data from all colleges that receive federal financial aid. That includes grades and test scores for both applicants and students, broken down by race.

The White House has argued that a lack of data has hindered enforcement of a 2023 Supreme Court ruling that the use of race-conscious admissions is unconstitutional.

But a higher education leader argued that the information requested won't provide good data: Applicants don't disclose their race, and while colleges do survey students who enroll, participation is voluntary, and even those who respond may choose not to disclose their race.

"They're going to gather a bunch of information and try to make sense of it," said Ted Mitchell, president of the American Council on Education. "I worry that they're not going to be able to make much sense of it."

The impact of these changes could affect the nation long after Trump leaves office, Cropf said. Even if the government resumes collecting data, there will be gaps from the Trump era, and the public may view the figures as more politicized.

"It taints the waters," he said. "It seriously undermines faith in our institutions if we can't have any guarantees the institutions are providing us with reliable data or that they're making decisions based on reliable data."

Lena H. Sun and Susan Svrluga contributed to this report.