



Archivist of the
United States

February 18, 2022

The Honorable Gary C. Peters
Chairman
Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs
U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I write to you pursuant to my authority under section 2203(e) of the Presidential Records Act (PRA), as amended (44 U.S.C. §§ 2201-2209), which establishes that I may “request the advice” of the appropriate committees of the House and the Senate when I consider that a proposed disposal of Presidential records by the incumbent President “may be of special interest to the Congress” or that “consultation with the Congress regarding the disposal of these particular records is in the public interest.” While this provision specifically applies to disposals proposed by the incumbent President, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has always interpreted it to apply to disposals of Presidential records of which I was not informed.

Under the PRA, all Presidential records automatically transfer to NARA’s legal custody when the President leaves office. With respect to the Trump Presidential records, the legal transfer took place on January 20, 2021. However, it is not uncommon for there to be a delay before NARA takes physical custody of all of the records. The complex technical work needed to transfer hundreds of terabytes of electronic records, coupled with a one-term transition, meant that the physical transfer could not be completed between the Presidential election and Inauguration Day. It took until November 2021 for NARA to receive all of the electronic Trump Presidential records.

Included among the Trump Presidential electronic records are those created on social media platforms. NARA recognizes that social media records are a relatively recent phenomenon, that capturing records on social media platforms is an evolving process, and that different platforms pose different issues with respect to how records are defined and managed.

By this letter, I am advising you that the Trump Administration did not fully capture, and therefore NARA did not receive, all of the Presidential records created by President Trump and White House staff that were posted on social media platforms, as summarized in more detail below:

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- Early in the Trump Administration, questions were raised about President Trump's use of his personal Twitter account to conduct official government business and whether deleted tweets were being captured and preserved as Presidential records. In March 2017, NARA advised the Trump Administration that it should capture and preserve as Presidential records all tweets that the President posts in the course of his official duties, whether on his personal @realDonaldTrump account or on the official @POTUS account, including those tweets that were subsequently deleted. As I reported in a March 30, 2017, letter to Senators Claire McCaskill and Tom Carper, NARA was "informed by White House officials that they [were], in fact, doing so."

Since the end of the administration, we have learned that the White House initially used a manual process to capture tweets that were deleted from @realDonaldTrump and @POTUS by copying them from non-governmental organizations that were capturing them, such as Propublica and Factba.se. The White House did not begin using the vendor ArchiveSocial to automate the capture of tweets and other social media records in real-time until January 2018. Moreover, @realDonaldTrump was not enrolled until August 2018 and the tool stopped capturing @realDonaldTrump in April 2020. The official @POTUS was enrolled in February 2018 and remained connected throughout the rest of the administration.

When properly implemented, ArchiveSocial captures all versions of content as it appears on the platforms, along with any changes, such as deleted or edited content, changes to an account profile, and direct or private messages. However, it cannot capture such changes retroactively. If a social media account is not enrolled or subsequently becomes disconnected from ArchiveSocial, any changes, including deleted or modified posts, cannot be captured.

The Twitter account @realDonaldTrump was disconnected from ArchiveSocial in April 2020. A key feature of ArchiveSocial is that it sends automated alerts to the account owners/system administrators every three to five days to remind them to reconnect any disconnected accounts. The tool also displays information about the account status in the dashboard. This account was not re-enrolled.

When White House officials brought this problem to our attention near the end of the administration, Twitter had permanently suspended @realDonaldTrump. NARA contacted Twitter directly to ask if it retained the account data between April 20th and the account's suspension. Twitter provided us with a copy of the available account data. However, it did not include previously deleted tweets, which are not retained by the company. Accordingly, we were unable to obtain a complete set of these Presidential records from the Trump Administration or Twitter. While we do have access to copies of deleted tweets collected by other non-governmental sources, we do not consider them as official Presidential records and cannot ensure the completeness of their captured account data.

- The Trump White House did not take any steps to capture deleted content from any Trump Administration social media account other than @realDonaldTrump or @POTUS prior to enrolling them with ArchiveSocial. As with @realDonaldTrump, many other Trump Administration social media accounts were not enrolled until the summer or fall of 2018, even though these accounts were active for over a year prior to enrollment, during which time deleted or modified Presidential record content was not captured. Other accounts were not enrolled until just prior to the end of the administration.
- The ArchiveSocial tool included the ability to capture direct messages that may have been used on the platforms, but the Trump Administration opted not to enable capture of direct messages, and was unable to report whether direct messaging was actually used on any of the platforms by the account holders.
- NARA identified seven Twitter accounts that we think contain presidential record information, but were not captured by the Trump Administration. These accounts belonged to Andrew Giuliani, Chad Gilmartin, Ivanka Trump, Kayleigh McEnany, Kellyanne Conway, Mark Meadows, and Peter Navarro. After the end of the administration, NARA obtained the publicly available tweets from these accounts in order to supplement its archival collection.
- In January 2021, administration officials advised NARA that two social media accounts they thought contained Presidential record content were not enrolled in ArchiveSocial and could not be retroactively enrolled as they had been suspended by the platforms. These accounts were Donald J. Trump on Facebook and @realDonaldTrump on Instagram. NARA endeavored to work with Facebook, which operates Instagram, to obtain access to the accounts, but Facebook was not able to provide access.
- SnapChat was used by the Trump Administration (@realdonaldtrump and @whitehouse), which advised NARA that it was capturing content posted to the platform. NARA has not yet been able to locate any SnapChat content in the records transferred to us. SnapChat ultimately banned President Trump from the platform, and it is not possible to see any previous content. SnapChat advised NARA that the Trump Administration used the @whitehouse account approximately five times during four years. However, the administration regularly used the @realdonaldtrump account. News reports indicate that the account had 1.5 million followers on the platform. We do not know whether direct messaging was enabled on the account. We are not able to determine to what extent @realdonaldtrump SnapChat contained unique Presidential records as compared to content duplicative from other platforms, or purely campaign related information, which would not have been a Presidential record.

Please let me or my staff know if you have questions or would like to discuss this issue further.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David S. Ferriero". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

DAVID S. FERRIERO
Archivist of the United States

cc: The Honorable Rob Portman, Ranking Member