

# IRA and American politics

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**Abstract**—In this paper we analyze a collection of tweets from the IRA (Internet Research Agency), an organization sponsored by the Russian government. These tweets were suspected to have a political agenda and strategies to influence the public opinion on several American political topics.

## I. INTRODUCTION

At the era of fast and world wide communication, new means of influence are getting developed. With the omnipresence of social media it is now possible to present contents to a large number of individuals. Furthermore with the relay of these information, it is getting harder and harder to distinguish trustworthy content from fake news. Russia took advantage of this during the last few years pushing politically engaged tweets in order to influence political public opinions. The challenge was to reach as many persons as possible while keeping their agenda and identity hidden.

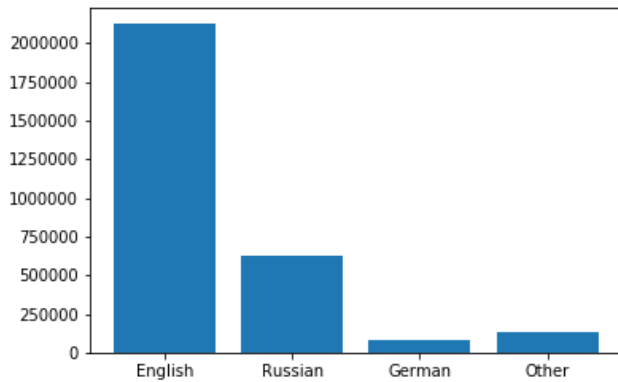


Fig. 1. Amount of tweet per language

## II. DATA EXPLORATION

The data is composed of approximately 3 millions tweets, some of them being retweets. The tweets were in different languages as shown in the Figure 1. The great majority of them are English tweets enlightening the international goal of the agency, thought over 600 000 are written in Russian. In all likelihood to promote their national agenda. The first tweets appeared in 2012 and the activity reaches its climax during the American presidential election of 2016. Figure 2 shows the evolution of the IRA activity.

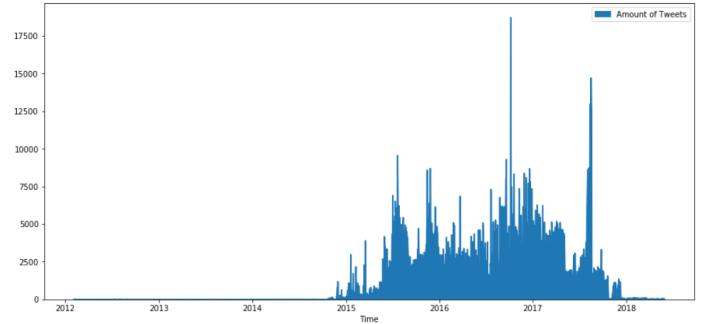


Fig. 2. Repartition of tweets over time

The peaks in tweets publication are due to public event in the USA like the release of Hillary Clinton's email in October 2016, the presidential election in November 2016, the syrian conflict in the third quarter of 2017 with the defeat of ISIS in Raqqa by the Syrian Democratic Forces and the Americans. It is interesting to notice that the IRA took a really slow start in the first years, probably not to raise any suspicions and suggesting that they planned their operations way ahead. The fast decrease in tweet number at the end of 2017 must be due

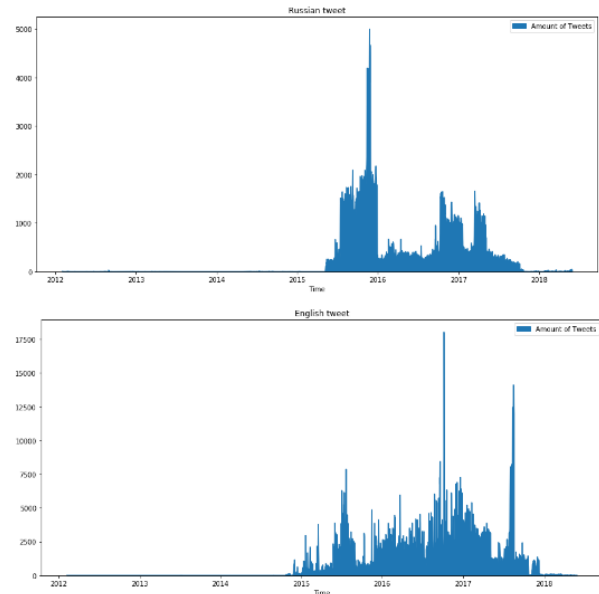


Fig. 3. Russian (above) and English (below) tweets over time



position. It was simply a matter of presenting the news in an advantageous way for the Russian government and chose the topics they wanted to present. The Russian trolls were also aware of emerging conspiracy theories and helped propagate them, as they are an efficient way to install doubt. Two of the massively relayed conspiracy theories are #QAnon, and #FollowTheWhiteRabbit. QAnon is supposed to be an anonymous American citizen with high level security clearance who wants to get rid of evil and establish an oligarchy. #FollowTheWhiteRabbit is a reference at Lewis Carroll's children book *Alice in Wonderland* and hints a belief that there are hidden truths being concealed by a global elite heavily involved in a pedophile network – which Donald Trump is trying to bring to justice. These hashtags first appear in October 2017 from anonymous users but were reused thousands of times by the IRA between November and December 2017 with theories such as Hillary Clinton and personalities of her staff wearing ankle bracelets and being on the verge of arrest, or Trump's allusion to *a storm coming* which led to hundreds of tweets with the hashtags #theStorm, #theStormHasArrived or #theStormIsUponUs. This storm was supposed to be a group of radical actions from Trump's administration and consequent efforts were deployed by the IRA to push this information.

Another noticeable thing is that the use of the most controversial hashtags were almost non-existent after Trump's

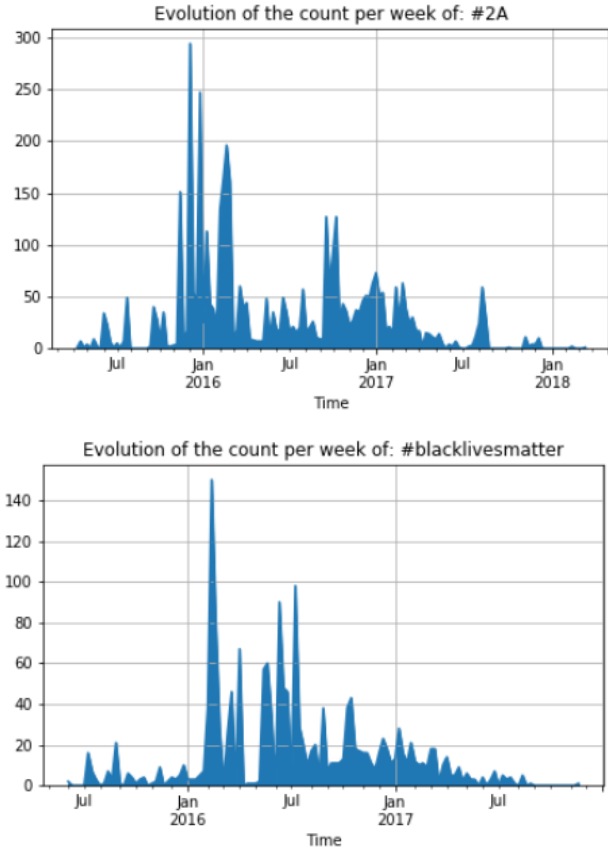


Fig. 6. Evolution of use of controversial hashtags

election. Figure 6 shows the results for #2A, a gun related topic and #blacklivesmatter a racism topic. Other hashtags such as #crime, #ACAB or #IslamKills have similar trends. It makes sense to believe that after this point they didn't need to rely on anger of both sides and stopped the usage of these debateable hashtags. On the contrary, #maga was still highly used in 2017.

Additionally to their objective of division, the IRA also had to remain hidden and defend itself from potential accusation. In mid 2017 was launched the *Special Counsel Investigation* to examine the role Russia might have played in the presidential election. This investigation was led by Robert Muller, former head of FBI. Figure 7 shows the immediate reactions of the IRA condemning this *witch hunt* with hashtags like "#CorruptCongress", "#FireMueller", "#FireMcMaster", "#DirtyCongress" being among the most frequent (McMaster is the former National Security Advisor known for his anti-Kremlin positioning)

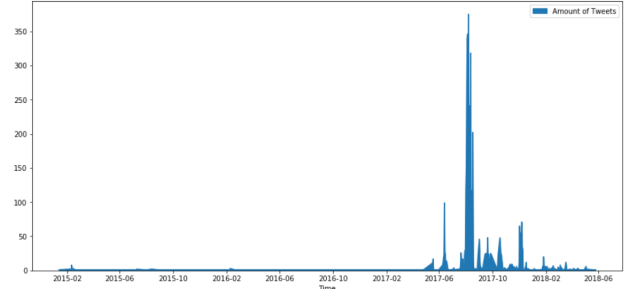


Fig. 7. Evolution of tweets mentioning Robert Mueller

#### IV. RETWEET SCHEMES

In this section, we try to determine how the IRA deployed its resources to reach as many people as possible with their tweets. 44% of the tweets are actually retweets and 6% of them are retweets from their own tweets. It makes sense to believe that they want to emphasize the topics in these retweets since it is the content they render the most visible. Half of the 20 most active accounts retweet almost exclusively their own content and 178 accounts are only retweeters.

We have drawn a graph of users and represented their 'retweet connections' with edges, an author's position is calculated with a PCA on his feature vector:

$$x = [x_0, x_1, x_2, x_3]$$

$x_0$  = amount of hashtags supporting Trump  
 $x_1$  = amount of hashtags supporting Hillary  
 $x_2$  = amount of hashtags concerning BLM  
 $x_3$  = amount of gamer related hashtags

We got some insightful results from graphs in Figure 8:

- First of all, we see that before Hillary Clinton won over Bernie Sanders at the Democratic party (6 June 2016),

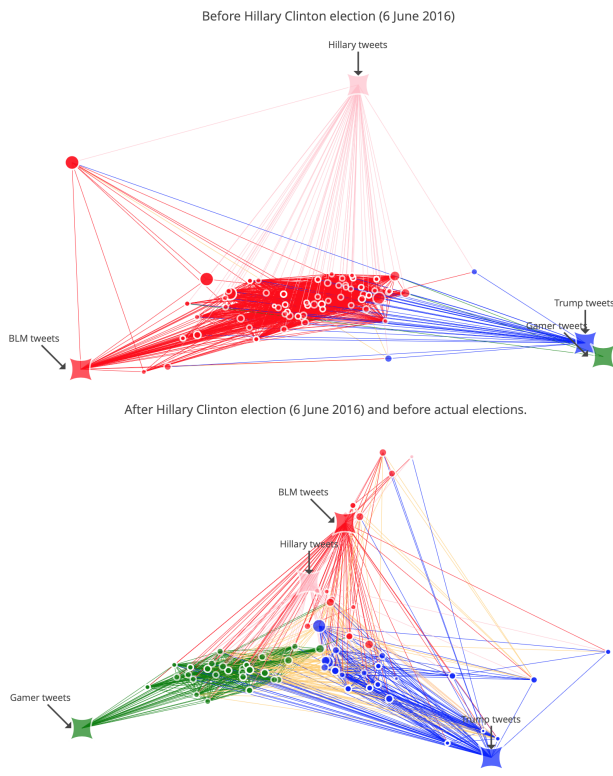


Fig. 8. Graph of retweet connections through different periods

among the above categories, Black Lives Matters was the most tweeted and retweeted by IRA accounts. Much more than support toward Trump or Hillary. So it seems that at this time the IRA really tried to emphasize on the topics that divide the country instead of supporting any of them.

- After Hillary Clinton won at the democratic party, we see that BLM and Hillary centers got very close, this means that the people posting content about BLM were often the same people as the ones posting content about Hillary and vice-versa, as if now the IRA wanted people to make associations between BLM and Hillary support. At the same time, a lot of political content (supporting Trump) is being posted and retweeted by the IRA accounts, we also notice the apparition of gamer like users that seem to secretly support other political views (the yellow edges in Figure 8 represents retweets to a different categories). So here it seems that the IRA waited for Hillary to win the election against Sanders to completely pull out their strategy, helping Trump win popularity over Clinton. As if they wanted Hillary to win over Sanders.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

The Internet Research Agency tweets were an attempt by Russia to push certain subjects in the center of discussions in American politics. Their goal was supposedly to influence the 2016 American election which saw Donald Trump become president. In an attempt to stay undetected, the vast majority

of tweets were not creating fake news but relaying selected information from local news, or at least presenting them according to a specified narrative. The proceeds of the IRA was the following, they established some accounts as being local newspapers, political whistleblowers, relaying information in a biased way to achieve some disruption in the public thinking as well as creating division on social issues such as : racism, gun rights, immigration.

This is an attack on the political system, which can be seen on multiple front, such as underlying the difference in treatment by the justice department based on skin color, some anonymous whistle blowers propagating conspiracy theory, or promoting the greatness of a system based on oligarchy. Finally, we saw that they add developed long term strategies with the evolution of trending hashtags over time.

Thought it is hard to quantify the impact these tweets had on the presidential election, it remains nonetheless an unprecedented aggression on free will. It raises numerous questions on how to detect and prevent such attacks on the future.

## VI. HASHTAGS APPENDIX

- **#MAGA**: Make America Great Again
- **#PJNET**: Patriot Journalist Network
- **#TCOT** : Top Conservatives On Twitter
- **#2A**: Second amendment (gun regulation)
- **#CCOT**: Conservatives Christians On Twitter
- **#GOP** : Grand Old Party (Republican Party)
- **#POTUS** : President Of The United States
- **#USFA** : United States Fire Administration
- **#ACAB** : All Cops Are Bastards

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