



**THE ATTACK ON FREE SPEECH ABROAD: THE CASE OF BRAZIL
PART III**

Interim Staff Report of the
Committee on the Judiciary
of the
U.S. House of Representatives



April 1, 2026

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Committee on the Judiciary is continuing its investigation into how and to what extent foreign laws, regulations, and judicial orders compel, coerce, or influence companies to censor speech in the United States.¹ Previously, in April and May 2024, the Committee issued reports detailing how Brazilian authorities, led by Brazilian Supreme Court Justice Alexandre de Moraes, ordered American social media companies to suspend or remove popular accounts and other content that expresses views disfavored by the Brazilian government—including speech by American users.² The Committee’s work has revealed that Brazil poses a significant threat to Americans’ constitutionally protected free speech rights.³ Based on new documents obtained by the Committee, this report provides additional evidence that Brazil’s censorship regime targets speech within the United States by issuing global removal orders, partnering with censors around the world in the censorship-industrial complex, and removing legal liability protections for social media platforms.

Brazil uses *global* censorship orders.

The Committee’s oversight reveals that Justice Moraes and other Brazilian judicial officials, like an increasing number of foreign censors, seek to impose a global censorship regime by ordering worldwide content removals.⁴ Unlike orders that seek to limit the accessibility of content within only the country of jurisdiction, these global censorship orders are explicitly extraterritorial and restrict speech worldwide, including within the United States.⁵

¹ See, e.g., STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 119TH CONG., THE FOREIGN CENSORSHIP THREAT: HOW THE EUROPEAN UNION’S DIGITAL SERVICES ACT COMPELS GLOBAL CENSORSHIP AND INFRINGES ON AMERICAN FREE SPEECH (Comm. Print July 25, 2025) [hereinafter “DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT I”]; STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 119TH CONG., THE FOREIGN CENSORSHIP THREAT, PART II: EUROPE’S DECADE-LONG CAMPAIGN TO CENSOR THE GLOBAL INTERNET AND HOW IT HARMS AMERICAN SPEECH IN THE UNITED STATES (Comm. Print Feb. 3, 2026) [hereinafter “DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT II”]; Press Release, H. Comm. on the Judiciary, Chairman Jordan Subpoenas Big Tech for Information on Foreign Censorship of American Speech (Feb. 26, 2025), <https://judiciary.house.gov/media/press-releases/chairman-jordan-subpoenas-big-tech-information-foreign-censorship-american>; Rep. Jim Jordan (@Jim_Jordan), X (July 28, 2025, 10:58 AM), https://x.com/Jim_Jordan/status/1949846809238446237; Rep. Jim Jordan (@Jim_Jordan), X (July 29, 2025, 9:30 PM), https://x.com/Jim_Jordan/status/1950368307372020086.

² See STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY AND THE SELECT SUBCOMM. ON THE WEAPONIZATION OF THE FED. GOV’T OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., THE ATTACK ON FREE SPEECH ABROAD AND THE BIDEN ADMINISTRATION’S SILENCE: THE CASE OF BRAZIL (Comm. Print Apr. 17, 2024) [hereinafter “BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT I”]; STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY AND THE SELECT SUBCOMM. ON THE WEAPONIZATION OF THE FED. GOV’T OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., THE ATTACK ON FREE SPEECH ABROAD AND THE BIDEN ADMINISTRATION’S SILENCE: THE CASE OF BRAZIL, PART II (Comm. Print May 7, 2024) [hereinafter “BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT II”].

³ *Id.*

⁴ See, e.g., Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Facebook to globally block specific accounts (July 28, 2020), Ex. 1; Order from Sao Paulo District Court mandating Meta globally remove an account (Oct. 30, 2024), Ex. 3; Order from Sao Paulo District Court requiring Meta to globally remove an account of a U.S. Resident who creates content about being a Brazilian immigrant to the U.S. (Nov. 25, 2024), see Ex. 4; see also Letter from Australia’s eSafety Commission requiring X to take down content worldwide because it can be accessed via VPN (Apr. 18, 2024), Ex. 6; Tom Crowley, ‘Silly’ to demand global takedowns: Dutton weighs in on eSafety case, AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORP. (Apr. 25, 2024).

⁵ *Id.*

Nonpublic documents obtained by the Committee show that Brazilian officials, led by Justice Moraes, regularly issue global takedown orders to social media platforms demanding the platforms remove content, including specific social media accounts, or face daily noncompliance fines.⁶ These takedown orders frequently target critics of Brazil’s Supreme Court who are engaged in core political speech.⁷ These global censorship orders directly harm American speech in the United States by extending Brazilian judicial censorship far beyond Brazil’s borders.

Generally, these global takedown orders are a part of an investigation by Brazilian authorities into the users who posted the content.⁸ Following an investigation, Brazilian authorities may reinstate the user, but only on the condition that the user self-censors by deleting the offending post and agreeing to never post offending content again.⁹ In some of these cases,

⁶ See, e.g., Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Facebook to globally block specific accounts (July 28, 2020), Ex. 1; Order from Sao Paulo District Court mandating Meta globally remove an account (Oct. 30, 2024), Ex. 3; Order from Sao Paulo District Court requiring Meta to globally remove an account of a U.S. Resident who creates content about being a Brazilian immigrant to the U.S. (Nov. 25, 2024), see Ex. 4.

⁷ See, e.g., Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Facebook to globally block specific accounts (July 28, 2020), Ex. 1.

⁸ See Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (May 10, 2024), Ex. 8; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (May 17, 2024), Ex. 9; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (July 15, 2024), Ex. 10; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Aug. 8, 2024), Ex. 11; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Oct. 21, 2024), Ex. 12; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (Oct. 22, 2024), Ex. 13; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 5, 2024), Ex. 14; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 13, 2024), Ex. 15; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 13, 2024), Ex. 16; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 21, 2024), Ex. 17; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 21, 2024), Ex. 18; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 21, 2024), Ex. 19; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 27, 2024), Ex. 20; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (Dec. 2, 2024), Ex. 21; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Dec. 4, 2024), Ex. 22; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Mar. 26, 2025), Ex. 23; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (June 27, 2025), Ex. 24; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (July 7, 2025), Ex. 25; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (July 8, 2025), Ex. 26; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about users under investigation (July 9, 2025), Ex. 27.

⁹ See Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of an account (May 10, 2024), Ex. 28; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024), Ex. 29; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024), Ex. 30; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024), Ex. 31; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 32; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the

the offending content in question was political speech directly criticizing Justice Moraes.¹⁰ In practice, this means users who criticize the Brazilian government online—some of whom live in the United States—can only return to social media under certain restrictions. If their offense is minor, they can return to the platforms after removing the offensive content, promising not to post similar content, and paying their fine. So long as they remain in the good graces of Justice Moraes, these users can use social media in peace. But if the users fail to self-censor and dare to criticize Brazilian government abuses again, they will find themselves locked out of their accounts and have their ability to speak online revoked.

Brazil attempts to silence U.S. speech.

Justice Moraes and other Brazilian judicial officials' censorship orders have repeatedly targeted U.S.-based speech, including the speech of Brazilian journalists and political commentators who live in the United States.¹¹ Many of these orders targeted core political speech.¹² When platforms fail to fully comply with his orders, Justice Moraes fines platforms and even orders them to cease operating in Brazil.¹³ Justice Moraes's attacks on U.S.-based speech

blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 33; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 34; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 35; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 36; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 37; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 38; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 39; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 40; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 41; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 42; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 43; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 44; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 45; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 46; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 47; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 73; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts belonging to Bruno Aiub (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 84.

¹⁰ *See, e.g.*, Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024), Ex. 31.

¹¹ *See* Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for platforms to remove certain channels or face significant, daily fines (June 24, 2024), Ex. 2; Order from Sao Paulo District Court requiring Meta to remove an account of a U.S. Resident who creates content about being a Brazilian immigrant to the U.S. (Nov. 25, 2024), Ex. 4; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (July 24, 2024), Ex. 48; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes imposing a fine on X for failing to comply with previous removal order (Aug. 13, 2024), Ex. 49; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Nov. 16, 2024), Ex. 50; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 16, 2025), Ex. 51; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 21, 2025), Ex. 52; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 27, 2025), Ex. 53.

¹² *See, e.g.*, Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for platforms to remove certain channels or face significant, daily fines (June 24, 2024), Ex. 2.

¹³ *See, e.g.*, Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring Rumble to be shut down in the country of Brazil (Feb. 21, 2025), Ex. 5; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes imposing a fine on X for failing to comply with

show that he is concerned not only about speech in Brazil, but also any speech unfavorable to Brazil’s censorship regime, including speech from the United States.

The Brazilian censorship regime has even sent censorship requests to platforms like X to take down posts praising President Donald Trump and criticizing former President Joe Biden and the Biden-led U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).¹⁴

Brazil coordinates with censors around the world.

The Committee’s oversight has shown how the Stanford Internet Observatory (SIO) played a central role in laundering U.S. government censorship requests to social media platforms, enabling officials in the U.S. government to covertly silence certain voices to influence the 2020 U.S. presidential election.¹⁵ After the Committee exposed the extent to which the SIO facilitated the domestic censorship of American speech,¹⁶ Stanford dismantled it.¹⁷ But Stanford did not fully cease its censorship efforts.

Documents produced to the Committee show that on September 24, 2025, Stanford held a roundtable event titled “Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape,” which brought together foreign officials from regimes that have built the burgeoning global censorship regime—including Brazil.¹⁸ Mariana Ferreira Thiele, Brazil’s Deputy Consul in San Francisco, joined the likes of Julie Inman Grant, Australia’s eSafety Commissioner; Gerard de Graaf, Senior European Union (EU) Envoy for Digital to the United States; Giulia Geneletti, the Digital Services Act (DSA) Policy Officer for the European Commission and EU Office in San Francisco; and Jonathan Porter, Senior Economic Advisor for the United Kingdom’s (UK) Office of Communications (Ofcom).¹⁹ The ostensible purpose of the event was to “bring[] together policymakers, academics, and experienced Silicon Valley experts to discuss the state of

censorship orders (June 17, 2024), Ex. 7; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes imposing heavy sanctions on X for failing to comply with censorship orders (Aug. 18, 2024), Ex. 54; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes that X cease operating in Brazil (Aug. 30, 2024), Ex. 75.

¹⁴ See Letter from Global Government Affairs, X, to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary (Jan. 7, 2026), see Ex. 78; see also Eduardo José Oliveira Duailibe Mendonça (@EduardoJosOli15), X (Apr. 9, 2025, 12:19 PM), <https://x.com/EduardoJosOli15/status/1909823536128020926>; Shirley Barros (@Shirley69896433), X (May 7, 2025, 12:22 AM), <https://x.com/Shirley69896433/status/1919971189797032030>; Ely Barreiros (@elybarreiros), X (May 8, 2025, 3:42 PM), <https://x.com/elybarreiros/status/1920565030283624869>.

¹⁵ See STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY AND THE SELECT SUBCOMM. ON THE WEAPONIZATION OF THE FED. GOV’T OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., THE WEAPONIZATION OF ‘DISINFORMATION’ PSEUDO-EXPERTS AND BUREAUCRATS: HOW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PARTNERED WITH UNIVERSITIES TO CENSOR AMERICANS’ FREE SPEECH (Comm. Print Nov. 6, 2023).

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ See Casey Newton & Zoë Schiffer, *The Stanford Internet Observatory is being dismantled*, PLATFORMER (June 13, 2024)

¹⁸ Overview of Stanford Dialogue Event: *Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape* (Sept. 24, 2025), see Ex. 85; see also Letter from Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary, to Dr. Jeff Hancock, Director, Stanford Cyber Policy Center (Oct. 22, 2025); see Teddy Ganea et al., *Stanford’s Cyber Policy Center Coordinates International Internet Censorship*, THE STANFORD REV. (Oct. 29, 2025); Michael Shellenberger, *Obama-Liked Stanford Center Held Secret Meeting With Foreign Governments To Plot Global Internet Censorship*, PUBLIC (Oct. 28, 2025).

¹⁹ Overview of Stanford Dialogue Event: *Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape* (Sep. 24, 2025), see Ex. 85.

compliance and enforcement of existing regulations related to online trust and safety.”²⁰ In reality, this roundtable brought together foreign officials who have directly targeted American speech and represent a serious threat to the First Amendment.²¹

Justice Moraes attempts to silence political opponents.

Many of Justice Moraes’s censorship orders target his and President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva’s political opponents, at home and abroad, ahead of Brazil’s upcoming presidential elections. For example, between September 2025 and February 2026, Justice Moraes issued a number of orders against Eduardo Bolsonaro—the son of former Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro and brother of Flavio Bolsonaro, a leading candidate in this Brazilian presidential election—who currently lives in the United States²² and is a key advocate for the United States to impose sanctions on Justice Moraes.²³ These censorship orders from Justice Moraes and the information requests from the Brazilian Federal Police relating to the underlying investigation prohibit platforms “from disclosing the decision to lift confidentiality—as well as the data preservation itself—to the profile owners, given the confidential nature of the investigation and the risk of obstruction,” making the orders secret from both the public and the target of censorship.²⁴

Additionally, in November 2025, at the same time that he was issuing those censorship orders, Justice Moraes was one of the Brazilian Supreme Court Justices who voted to put Eduardo Bolsonaro on trial for his U.S. political advocacy.²⁵ The trial and censorship orders only reinforce the concerning pattern in which Justice Moraes issues aggressive censorship orders against those who criticize him and the Brazilian Supreme Court.²⁶

Justice Moraes’s censorship and lawfare campaign strikes at the heart of Brazilian democracy and threatens speech in America. Eduardo Bolsonaro’s older brother, Flavio, is a leading candidate in Brazil’s presidential election, with polls showing that he and incumbent Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva are “virtually tied” ahead of the country’s October 2026 elections.²⁷ Justice Moraes’s censorship orders and lawfare against the Bolsonaro family and their supporters may significantly harm their ability to speak online about matters of public importance in the months leading up to the Brazilian presidential election.

This political targeting has resulted in Brazilian dissidents who reside in the U.S., like Eduardo Bolsonaro, being censored by Justice Moraes and the Brazilian government despite

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.*; see also Michael Shellenberger, *Obama-Liked Stanford Center Held Secret Meeting With Foreign Governments To Plot Global Internet Censorship*, PUBLIC (Oct. 28, 2025).

²² See Marilia Marasciulo, *Jair Bolsonaro’s son targets Brazilian Supreme Court justice from US getaway*, COURTHOUSE NEWS SERVICE (Apr. 10, 2025).

²³ Orders and Decisions from Justice Alexandre de Moraes to Censor and Provide Data on Eduardo Bolsonaro and Two Other Individuals (Sep. 23, 2025); see Ex. 79.

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ *Eduardo Bolsonaro to face trial in Brazil for seeking Trump help in his father’s legal case*, REUTERS (Nov. 14, 2025).

²⁶ See *infra* Sect. II, Subsect. B, D, & E.

²⁷ *Lula, Flavio Bolsonaro tied in Brazil run-off, poll shows*, REUTERS (Feb. 25, 2026).

their speech occurring in America.²⁸ This represents a threat to American speech, generally, because a foreign government is asserting the authority to censor speech occurring in the U.S.

Justice Moraes targets Virtual Private Network (VPN) use because it threatens the effectiveness of his censorship orders.

VPNs allow users to access geo-restricted content by redirecting a user's internet traffic through servers in a different region or country.²⁹ Justice Moraes, understanding that VPNs can limit the effectiveness of his censorship orders, has sought to curb VPN use by implementing fines on those who used them to access banned sites and platforms in Brazil.³⁰

Foreign officials around the world have increasingly used the availability of VPNs as a pretext to order worldwide removals of content they dislike.³¹ For example, in April 2024, Australia's eSafety Commissioner told X that the platform's geo-blocking of certain content for users within Australia was insufficient, and that a global removal was needed, because Australian users could use VPNs to access the content.³² Global takedown orders are inherently extraterritorial and directly harm American free speech rights. Thus, as users around the world resist their governments' censorship efforts by using VPNs, there is a serious risk that more governments will seek to utilize global takedown orders as a remedy.³³

Brazil has removed social media companies' legal liability protections.

In June 2025, Brazil's Supreme Court stripped legal liability protections from social media platforms that fail to immediately remove certain user-flagged content.³⁴ Brazilian Supreme Court Justice Gilmar Mendes, a colleague of Justice Moraes, appeared to acknowledge Brazil's ambitions to shape online discourse worldwide, noting that the decision could create a "paradigm for the world" for "how to deal with social media."³⁵ Troublingly, the Brazilian Supreme Court's decision will likely chill worldwide speech by incentivizing social media companies to proactively remove content, including content within the United States, to avoid liability.³⁶

²⁸ See *infra* Sect. II, Subsect. B, D, & E.

²⁹ Zachary McAuliffe, *Geo-Blocking Explained: What to Know and How You Can Get Around It*, CNET (Dec. 16, 2023).

³⁰ *Fact Check: Brazilians Can Be Fined for Using VPN to Access X*, REUTERS (Sep. 6, 2024).

³¹ See, e.g., *id.*; Letter from Australia's eSafety Commission requiring X to take down content worldwide because it can be accessed via VPN (Apr. 18, 2024), Ex. 6; Tom Crowley, 'Silly' to demand global takedowns: Dutton weighs in on eSafety case, AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORP. (Apr. 25, 2024).

³² See Letter from Australia's eSafety Commission requiring X to take down content worldwide because it can be accessed via VPN (Apr. 18, 2024), Ex. 6; Tom Crowley, 'Silly' to demand global takedowns: Dutton weighs in on eSafety case, AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORP. (Apr. 25, 2024).

³³ See, e.g., Liv McMahon, *VPNs Top Download Charts as Age Verification Law Kicks In*, BBC (July 28, 2025).

³⁴ See Michael Pooler, *Brazil Supreme Court Rules Digital Platforms Are Liable for Users' Posts*, FINANCIAL TIMES (June 27, 2025).

³⁵ Guilherme Grandi, *Gilmar Mendes Says That the Trial of the Networks' Accountability Could Be a "Paradigm for the World"*, GAZETA DO POVO (June 2, 2025).

³⁶ *Id.*; see also Patricia Campos Mello, *Google Admits It May Limit Operations in Brazil If the Supreme Federal Court Enacts Drastic Rule Changes*, FOLHA DE S.PAULO (June 24, 2025) (Fabio Coelho, President of Google Brazil, stated that an "unwanted outcome" of weakening or removing the liability shield "would be platforms preemptively removing a much larger volume of content.").

* * *

Brazil's global removal orders, its coordination with U.S. and foreign censors, and its removal of legal protections for American social media platforms are a threat to Americans' free speech.³⁷ These actions show Brazil does not seek merely to silence political dissent within its borders, but instead seeks to suppress speech worldwide, including in the United States. The Committee will continue its oversight of foreign censorship threats to inform legislation to protect the fundamental rights of American citizens.

³⁷ See *infra* Sect. II.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY..... 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS 8

I. INVESTIGATIVE HISTORY 9

II. BRAZIL’S EXTRATERRITORIAL CENSORSHIP EFFORTS 10

 A. Brazil’s global censorship orders harm American speech. 10

 B. Brazil targets Americans and U.S.-based speech. 13

 C. Brazil coordinates with censors around the world. 20

 D. Justice Moraes attempts to target political opponents..... 21

 E. Justice Moraes permanently silences those with whom he disagrees. 23

 F. Justice Moraes targets Virtual Private Network (VPN) use because it threatens the effectiveness of his censorship orders. 24

 G. Brazilian courts have removed legal liability protections from social media companies. . 25

III. CONCLUSION..... 26

APPENDIX 28

I. INVESTIGATIVE HISTORY

For nearly two years, the Committee has investigated foreign censorship efforts that directly or indirectly threaten American free speech rights.³⁸ On April 17, 2024, the Committee issued a 540-page report on Brazil’s censorship efforts and the Biden-Harris Administration’s silence on the issue.³⁹ The Committee’s report described how Brazilian Supreme Court Justice Alexandre de Moraes and other Brazilian authorities targeted and successfully censored conservative members of the federal legislature, members of the judiciary, journalists, radio stations, and even a gospel singer.⁴⁰

On May 7, 2024, the Committee published a second, 85-page report on Brazil’s censorship regime, which included an April 2024 order from Brazil to X as well as nine orders to Rumble or entities owned by Rumble.⁴¹ These documents confirmed the first report’s key finding: Brazilian authorities, led by Justice Moraes, ordered American social media companies to suspend or remove popular accounts and content, including those of Americans.⁴²

The Committee later broadened its efforts to expose and combat foreign censorship to include government censorship emanating from the European Union (EU),⁴³ the United Kingdom (UK),⁴⁴ and Australia.⁴⁵

The Committee continues to receive documents relating to Brazil’s censorship efforts pursuant to subpoenas issued to online platforms.⁴⁶ These documents show that Brazil’s censorship efforts still threaten speech outside of Brazil’s borders, including speech in the United States.⁴⁷

³⁸ See DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT I, *supra* note 1; DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT II, *supra* note 1; BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT I, *supra* note 2; BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT II, *supra* note 2.

³⁹ See BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT I, *supra* note 2.

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ See BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT II, *supra* note 2.

⁴² *Id.* Notably, on December 22, 2023, Rumble’s CEO, Chris Pavlovski, announced that Rumble would not comply with the censorship demands from Brazilian courts and instead would “disable access to Rumble for users in Brazil.” See Chris Pavlovski (@chrispavloski), X (Dec. 22, 2023, 4:05 PM), <https://twitter.com/chrispavlovski/status/1738304870434631800>.

⁴³ See, e.g., DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT I, *supra* note 1; DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT II, *supra* note 1.

⁴⁴ See, e.g., Rep. Jim Jordan (@Jim_Jordan), X (July 28, 2025, 10:58 AM), https://x.com/Jim_Jordan/status/1949846809238446237; Rep. Jim Jordan (@Jim_Jordan), X (July 29, 2025, 9:30 PM), https://x.com/Jim_Jordan/status/1950368307372020086.

⁴⁵ Letter from Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary, to Ms. Julie Inman Grant, Australian eSafety Commissioner (Nov. 18, 2025); Letter from Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary, to Ms. Julie Inman Grant, Australian eSafety Commissioner (Dec. 30, 2025).

⁴⁶ See Press Release, H. Comm. on the Judiciary, Chairman Jordan Subpoenas Big Tech for Information on Foreign Censorship of American Speech (Feb. 26, 2025), <https://judiciary.house.gov/media/press-releases/chairman-jordan-subpoenas-big-tech-information-foreign-censorship-american>.

⁴⁷ See *infra* Sect. II.

II. BRAZIL'S EXTRATERRITORIAL CENSORSHIP EFFORTS

Documents obtained by the Committee under subpoena reveal many alarming examples of Brazilian officials, led by Justice Moraes, ordering tech companies, including American social media platforms, to remove content *globally* or face daily fines.⁴⁸ Global takedown orders from any foreign government necessarily and directly harm online speech in the United States.

These documents also show that Brazil has targeted Americans with its censorship orders and colluded with both foreign censors and Stanford University to advance its censorship regime.⁴⁹ Brazil's actions, including global takedown orders, the targeting of Americans, collusion with U.S. and foreign censors, and removal of social media company legal liability protections, harm online speech outside of Brazil's borders and threaten Americans' constitutional right to free speech.

A. Brazil's global censorship orders harm American speech.

Brazilian judicial orders—most notably from Justice Moraes—have not only sought to compel tech companies to remove or censor accounts in Brazil,⁵⁰ but also *globally*, which

⁴⁸ See Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Facebook to globally block specific accounts (July 28, 2020), Ex. 1; Order from Sao Paulo District Court mandating Meta globally remove an account (Oct. 30, 2024), Ex. 3; Order from Sao Paulo District Court requiring Meta to globally remove an account of a U.S. Resident who creates content about being a Brazilian immigrant to the U.S. (Nov. 25, 2024), *see* Ex. 4.

⁴⁹ See Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for platforms to remove certain channels or face significant, daily fines (June 24, 2024), Ex. 2; Order from Sao Paulo District Court requiring Meta to remove an account of a U.S. Resident who creates content about being a Brazilian immigrant to the U.S. (Nov. 25, 2024), Ex. 4; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (July 24, 2024), Ex. 48; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes imposing a fine on X for failing to comply with previous removal order (Aug. 13, 2024), Ex. 49; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Nov. 16, 2024), Ex. 50; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 16, 2025), Ex. 51; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 21, 2025), Ex. 52; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 27, 2025), Ex. 53; Overview of Stanford Dialogue Event: *Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape* (Sep. 24, 2025), Ex. 85.

⁵⁰ See, e.g., Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (Aug. 18, 2024), Ex. 55; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (Apr. 24, 2024), Ex. 56; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms block certain accounts (June 4, 2025), Ex. 57; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (June 11, 2024), Ex. 58; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (June 13, 2024), Ex. 60; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (June 18, 2024), Ex. 61; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (June 24, 2024), Ex. 62; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (June 26, 2024), Ex. 63; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (July 15, 2024), Ex. 64; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (July 24, 2024), Ex. 65; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Aug. 7, 2024), Ex. 66; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block certain accounts (Aug. 8, 2024), Ex. 67; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Aug. 16, 2024), Ex. 68; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Aug. 19, 2024), Ex. 69; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (Sep. 27, 2024), Ex. 70; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Nov. 23, 2024), Ex. 71; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block the accounts and access of an individual (Dec. 9, 2024), Ex. 72; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block certain accounts

directly infringes on American free speech online.⁵¹ These global censorship orders date back to at least July 2020, when Justice Moraes ordered Meta to globally remove 16 profiles to stop the “continued dissemination of fraudulent news (fake news), slanderous accusations, threats and offenses imbued with animus . . . that affect the honor and safety of the FEDERAL SUPREME COURT.”⁵² With these orders, Justice Moraes explicitly sought to globally censor those who criticize him and the Brazilian Supreme Court.

INQUIRY 4,781 FEDERAL DISTRICT	
RAPPORTEUR	: MIN. ALEXANDRE DE MORAES
AUTHOR(S)	: UNDER CONFIDENTIALITY
ATTOR.(S)	: UNDER CONFIDENTIALITY
DECISION	
<p>From the establishment of this inquiry by GP Ordinance No. 69, of March 14, 2019, of the Honorable President Minister, pursuant to Art. 43 of the Internal Regulations of this COURT, investigative and blocking measures were determined to stop the continued dissemination of fraudulent news (fake news), slanderous accusations, threats and offenses imbued with animus caluniandi, diffamandi or injuriandi, that affect the honor and safety of the FEDERAL SUPREME COURT, its members and their families, going beyond freedom of expression, as potential conduct was identified that could be typified, in theory and at first examination, under articles 138, 139, 140 and 288 of the Criminal Code, and articles 18, 22, 23 and 26 of Law 7.170/1983.</p>	

July 28, 2020, order from Brazilian Supreme Court Justice Alexandre de Moraes to Facebook to remove 16 accounts

(July 11, 2025), Ex. 74; *see also* Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes denying users’ request to have their accounts reinstated (June 13, 2024), Ex. 59.

⁵¹ *See* Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Facebook to globally block specific accounts (July 28, 2020), Ex. 1; Order from Sao Paulo District Court mandating Meta globally remove an account (Oct. 30, 2024), Ex. 3; Order from Sao Paulo District Court requiring Meta to globally remove an account of a U.S. Resident who creates content about being a Brazilian immigrant to the U.S. (Nov. 25, 2024), *see* Ex. 4.

⁵² Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Facebook to globally block specific accounts (July 28, 2020), *see* Ex. 1.

In October 2024, a Brazilian court ordered Meta to globally remove an account containing alleged defamation of a famous Brazilian musical artist and his wife.⁵³ The order demanded that Meta globally remove the account within five days under threat of fines.⁵⁴

DISTRICT COURT [logo] SP [São Paulo] February 3, 1834	DISTRICT COURT OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF BARUERI JURISDICTION OF BARUERI [stamp:] SAO03732 OCT. 30, 2024 FOURTH CIVIL COURT Rua Des. Celso Luiz Limongi, 84 – Barueri-SP [São Paulo] - CEP (<i>Código de Endereçamento Postal</i> [ZIP Code]) 06400-000 [hw:] 25 Public Service Hours: 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.
NOTIFICATION LETTER – DIGITAL PROCEEDINGS	
Digital Proceedings No.:	0006678-84.2024.8.26.0068
Class – Subject:	Compliance with Provisional Ruling – CIVIL LAW
Plaintiff:	Mirosmar Jose de Carmargo and other party
Defendant:	Facebook Serviços Online do Brasil Ltda.
Notified party: Facebook Serviços Online do Brasil Ltda. Avenida Brigadeiro Faria Lima, 3732 (andar 1 A, 4 6 A, 12, 14 E, 15), Itaim Bibi São Paulo-SP CEP 04538-932	
By this letter, you are hereby NOTIFIED with regard to the ruling (page 55) handed down via the internet.	
is 15 (fifteen) consecutive days (art. 525 of the CPC). Furthermore, regarding the content of STJ Precedent 410, the notification letter is hereby issued to the judgment debtor, ordering it to temporarily suspend the new profile of the anonymous user, @lanalimass, accessible at https://www.instagram.com/lanalimass/, also at the global level, within five days, under penalty of an increase in the fine, without derogating from imposition of an additional fine of up to 20% of the value of the case per act deemed to undermine the dignity of the justice system. Accordingly, the judgment creditor shall pay one (01) postal fee. Notification concluded. All parties to be notified. Barueri, October 10, 2024.”	

Oct. 2024 order from the District Court of Sao Paulo to Facebook to remove an account globally

Brazilian global removal orders have even targeted U.S. residents.⁵⁵ In November 2024, the District Court of Sao Paulo issued Meta a global removal order against an account of a user who lives in the United States and creates content about being a Brazilian immigrant.⁵⁶ The order stated that the Brazilian court could issue this global suspension for an account based “outside [Brazil’s] national borders” because the profile “causes potential harm to a Brazilian citizen.”⁵⁷

⁵³ Order from Sao Paulo District Court mandating Meta globally remove an account (Oct. 30, 2024), *see* Ex. 3. Meta informed the Committee that it has not taken steps to globally remove the account as it appeals the Brazilian court’s decision. Letter from Counsel for Meta to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary (Mar. 21, 2025) (on file with the Comm.).

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ Order from Sao Paulo District Court requiring Meta to remove an account of a U.S. Resident who creates content about being a Brazilian immigrant to the U.S. (Nov. 25, 2024), *see* Ex. 4.

⁵⁶ *Id.* *See also* Letter from Counsel for Meta to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary (Mar. 21, 2025) (on file with the Comm.) (explaining that this court order is a “demand[] for [a] global takedown”).

⁵⁷ *Id.*

RULING - OFFICIAL LETTER

Case: 1005245-40.2024.8.26.0161 - Common Civil Proceedings
Plaintiff: Viviane Ronsalez Wolff
Attorney: Dr. Alexandre Salgado Nobrega
Defendant: Junior Pena and other party
Attorney: Dr. Attorney for the Main Defendant << Information not available >>

Judge at Law: ANDRE PASQUALE ROCCO SCAVONE

Having considered the matter,

This is a REITERATION of the motion for interlocutory relief, in which the plaintiff is requesting the social networks to inform her who is behind the profile @junior_pena01.

With all due respect, if the company operates in Brazil, it should abide by the rulings of the local courts, including with regard to disclosure outside its borders. Brazilian citizens are the domestic consumers and they are protected by local legislation. The difficulty of the defendants to comply with the law is incomprehensible, other than as an outright intent to remain above the law.

The SUSPENSION of a profile that causes potential harm to a Brazilian citizen is grounds for protection by the Brazilian judicial branch, even if the disclosure occurs due to facts outside national borders. It should be asked, what harm is caused to the defendants. Why so much resistance?

With regard to the foregoing, I ORDER Facebook, Instagram and Telegram to provide the registration data linked to the aforementioned profile [REDACTED]@hotmail.com) and to SUSPEND the profile within 48 hours, until subsequent ruling by this court, subject to a daily fine of BRL 2,000.00 in the event of breach, up to an initial limit of BRL 30,000.00, which may be increased when necessary in order to ensure compliance.

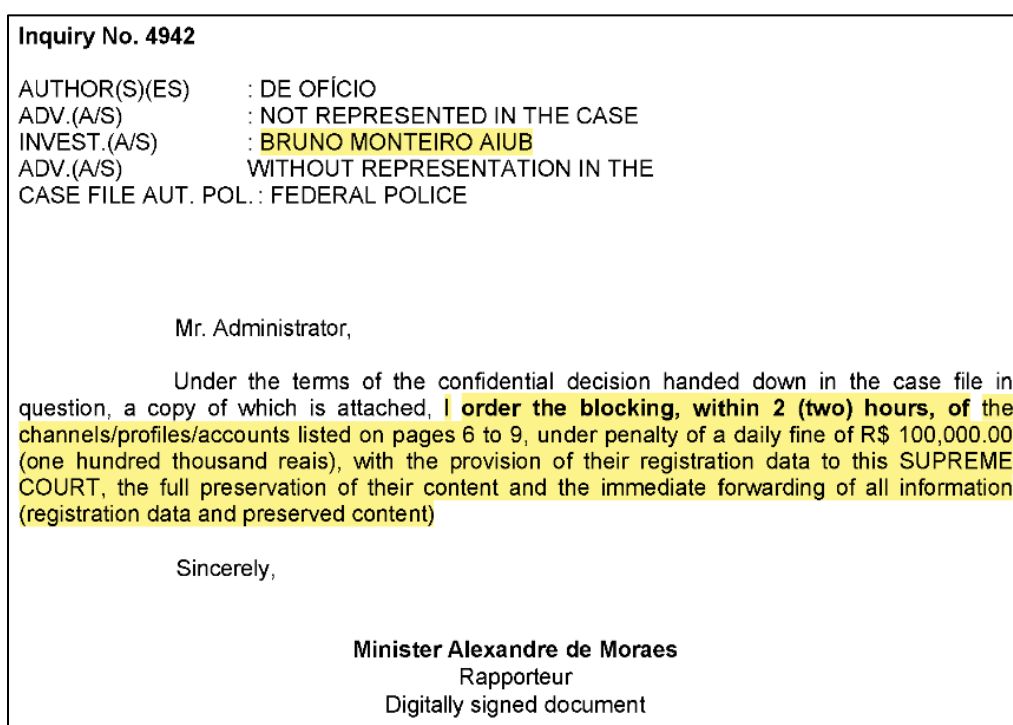
Nov. 25, 2024, order from the District Court of Sao Paulo to Facebook, Instagram, and Telegram to remove an account globally

Global censorship orders from Brazil directly harm Americans' free speech rights by directing companies to make content inaccessible worldwide—including in the United States. Such actions are a direct affront to American sovereignty.

B. Brazil targets Americans and U.S.-based speech.

Brazilian courts, led by Justice Moraes, have attempted to directly silence people in the United States. For example, on June 24, 2024, Justice Moraes ordered the removal of several accounts and channels related to Bruno Aiub—a popular Brazilian podcaster who lives in

Florida⁵⁸—under threat of 100,000 reais (approximately \$18,500) in daily fines.⁵⁹ The order required the takedown of approximately 40 accounts related to “Monark” (Aiub’s online alias) across 24 platforms including TikTok, YouTube, Apple, and Rumble.⁶⁰ It also required Alphabet to produce information about the ownership of a Gmail account.⁶¹ Justice Moraes described the order as “a new order to stop the possible spread of hate speech, subversion of order and encouragement to break institutional and democratic normality,” stating that “blocking accounts on social networks is necessary, appropriate, and urgent.”⁶² Documents produced to the Committee also show that Justice Moraes issued four nonpublic orders in 2023 and 2024 demanding that Spotify remove and demonetize Aiub’s account and prevent him from creating a new one.⁶³ In 2025, Moraes allowed Spotify to unblock Aiub’s account on the condition that the allegedly offensive content remained inaccessible.⁶⁴ Aiub lives in Florida,⁶⁵ so these attempts to censor him and remove his account represent a direct threat to speech in United States.



June 24, 2024, order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes to Rumble to remove and provide information about accounts relating to Bruno Aiub

⁵⁸ Monark (@monarkbanido), X, <https://x.com/monarkbanido>.

⁵⁹ See Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for platforms to remove certain channels or face significant, daily fines (June 24, 2024), Ex. 2.

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Spotify to censor Bruno Aiub (Aug. 4, 2023), *see* Ex. 80; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Spotify to censor Bruno Aiub (June 24, 2024), *see* Ex. 81; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Spotify to censor Bruno Aiub (July 28, 2023), *see* Ex. 82; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for platforms to censor Bruno Aiub (July 28, 2023), *see* Ex. 83.

⁶⁴ Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts belonging to Bruno Aiub (Feb. 7, 2025), *see* Ex. 84.

⁶⁵ Monark (@monarkbanido), X, <https://x.com/monarkbanido>.

Similarly, in July 2024, Justice Moraes targeted Brazilian journalist Allan Dos Santos, who lives in the United States.⁶⁶ On July 24, 2024, Justice Moraes ordered X to “block the channel/profile/account” listed as “@allanconta” (Allan Lopes Dos Santos).⁶⁷ On August 13, 2024, Justice Moraes imposed a fine on X for failing to censor Dos Santos as he had ordered.⁶⁸ Justice Moraes also issued severe sanctions against X for failing to censor Dos Santos, including: (1) freezing X’s bank accounts and financial assets; (2) freezing the company’s motor vehicle and real estate assets; (3) blocking any aircraft registered to the company from entering or leaving the country; (4) blocking Brazil’s central bank from sending X assets abroad; and (5) blocking payment-processing platforms from giving X owed payments or processing future payments.⁶⁹ Then, just twelve days later, on August 30, 2024, Justice Moraes ordered X to cease operations in Brazil.⁷⁰ After some negotiation, Justice Moraes allowed X to resume Brazilian operations in October 2024.⁷¹ However, X soon received additional orders mandating that X “block” and immediately suspend the monetization of “the channel/profile/account” owned by Allan Dos Santos in November 2024 and January 2025.⁷²

In February 2025, Justice Moraes similarly targeted Rumble, a popular video sharing platform, for failing to censor Allan Dos Santos’s U.S. speech.⁷³ Justice Moraes alleged that Rumble failed to comply with previous orders to censor Dos Santos, allowing him to circumvent court-ordered censorship by creating new accounts on the platform.⁷⁴ In response to Rumble’s refusal to censor a U.S.-based user, Justice Moraes required Rumble to cease its operations in Brazil.⁷⁵ Although Justice Moraes’s order admitted that at least some of the speech at issue occurred *in the United States*, it characterized Rumble’s non-compliance with previous censorship orders as an act of “flagrant disregard of [Brazilian] national legislation and sovereignty and an insurmountable obstacle to the continuity of its services in national territory.”⁷⁶ The order also labeled Rumble CEO Chris Pavlovski’s tweet defending Dos Santos’s free speech rights as “a message inciting hatred against this SUPREME COURT.”⁷⁷

⁶⁶ See Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (July 24, 2024), Ex. 48; Jonathan Stempel, *US Judge Says Trump Media, Rumble Need Not Follow Brazilian Order They Deem Censorship*, REUTERS (Feb. 25, 2025) (“Dos Santos lives in the United States.”).

⁶⁷ Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (July 24, 2024), *see* Ex. 48.

⁶⁸ Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes imposing a fine on X for failing to comply with previous removal order (Aug. 13, 2024), *see* Ex. 49.

⁶⁹ Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes imposing heavy sanctions on X for failing to comply with censorship orders (Aug. 18, 2024), *see* Ex. 54.

⁷⁰ Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes that X cease operating in Brazil (Aug. 30, 2024), *see* Ex. 75.

⁷¹ *Musk’s X Gets Ok to Resume Service in Brazil After Bending to Top Court’s Demands*, REUTERS (Oct. 9, 2024).

⁷² See Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Nov. 16, 2024), Ex. 50; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 16, 2025), Ex. 51; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 21, 2025), Ex. 52; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 27, 2025), Ex. 53.

⁷³ See Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring Rumble to be shut down in the country of Brazil (Feb. 21, 2025), Ex. 5; Email from Brazilian judicial official to Rumble attaching subpoena (Feb. 11, 2025), Ex. 76.

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ *Id.*; *see also* Email from Brazilian judicial official to Rumble attaching subpoena (Feb. 20, 2025), Ex. 77.

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ *Id.*

The illegality is even more serious, because even when effectively subpoenaed to comply with the orders to block profiles, whose posts reproduce criminal content investigated in the case files, the aforementioned platform incurred judicial disobedience, and decided, criminally, to disclose a message inciting hatred against this SUPREME COURT, as verified in the post of CHRIS PAVLOVSKI, dated 02/19/2025:

“Hi @alexandre
Rumble will not comply with your illegal orders. Instead, we will see each other in court.
Sincerely,
Chirs Pavlovski.”

Similarly, after the determination of a subpoena to the company RUMBLE INC. to documentarily appoint the company’s LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE in Brazil, with broad powers, including the appointment of lawyers, as well as to prove the regularity and validity of the legal representation of the company RUMBLE INC., with documentary evidence from the respective Board of Trade of the regular incorporation of the company, under penalty of immediate suspension of the company’s activities in the Brazilian territory, CHRIS PAVLOVSKI, CEO of the company, again informed that he would not comply with the orders of this SUPREME COURT, in a post dated 02/20/2025:

“Hi @alexandre
We received another illegal and secret order last night, requiring us to comply by tomorrow night.
You have no authority over Rumble here in the U.S. unless you pass through the U.S. government.
Again - we’ll see each other in court.
Chris Pavlovski”

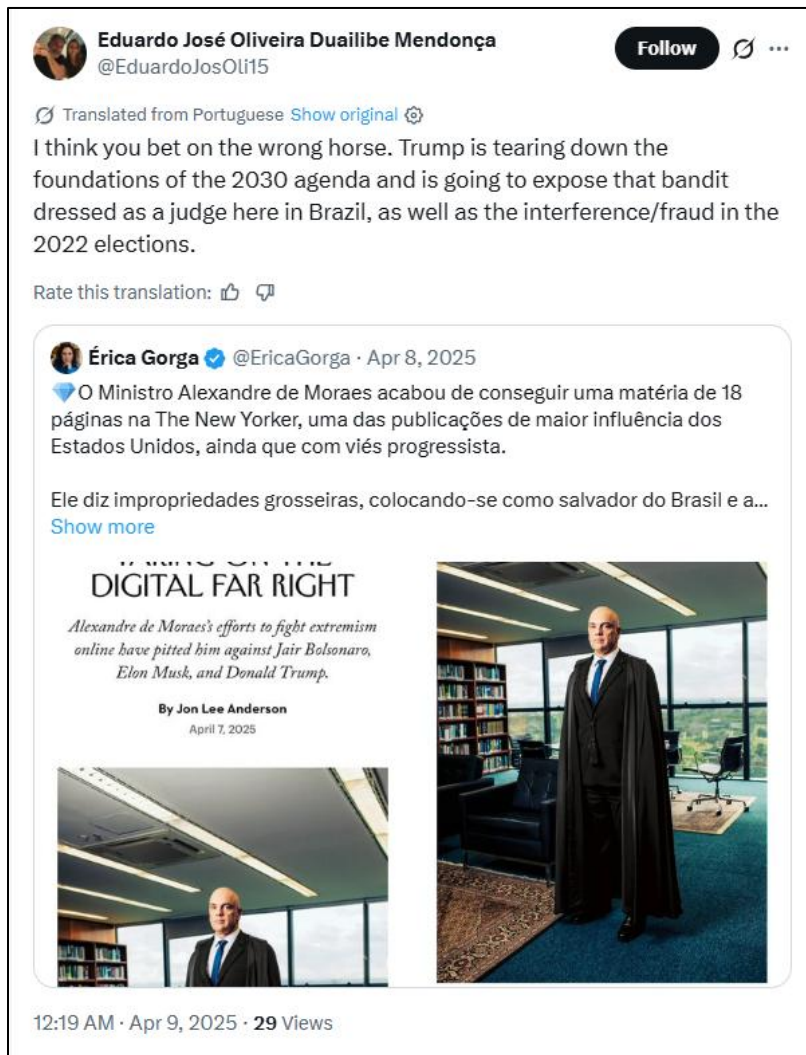
CHRIS PAVLOVSKI confuses FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION with a non-existent FREEDOM OF AGGRESSION, deliberately confuses CENSORSHIP with CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION OF HATE SPEECH AND INCITEMENT OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC ACTS, ignoring the teachings of one of the greatest liberals in defense of the freedom of expression in history, JOHN STUART MILL.

February 21, 2025, order from Justice Moraes requiring Rumble to suspend operations in Brazil

While Justice Moraes claimed the offending post represented a “flagrant disregard for national legislation and [Brazilian] sovereignty,”⁷⁸ his orders to target a U.S.-based company and censor U.S.-based speech violated fundamental tenets of American liberties and U.S. sovereignty.

⁷⁸ *Id.*

Justice Moraes’s attitude toward the United States and American speech permeates the Brazilian censorship regime. Documents produced to the Committee show that Brazil’s censorship agency—the *Centro Integrado de Enfrentamento à Desinformação e Defesa da Democracia* (CIEDDE), or the Integrated Center for Confronting Disinformation and Defending Democracy—requested that X remove political speech about Presidents Donald Trump and Joe Biden.⁷⁹ For example, Brazilian censors asked for removal of an April 9, 2025, post claiming that President Trump was “going to expose that bandit dressed as a judge [Justice Moraes] here in Brazil, as well as the interference/fraud in the 2022 elections.”⁸⁰ In its takedown request, the CIEDDE cited the sentence about President Trump as the reason for the request.⁸¹



April 9, 2025, X post flagged by Brazilian censors for saying President Donald Trump would expose Justice Moraes and alleged Brazilian electoral fraud.

⁷⁹ Letter from Global Government Affairs, X, to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary (Jan. 7, 2026); see Ex. 78.

⁸⁰ *Id.*; see Eduardo José Oliveira Duailibe Mendonça (@EduardoJosOli15), X (Apr. 9, 2025, 12:19 PM), <https://x.com/EduardoJosOli15/status/1909823536128020926>.

⁸¹ *Id.*

Similarly, CIEDDE issued takedown requests for two other posts that accused President Biden and USAID of helping to facilitate election fraud in Brazil’s 2022 elections.⁸² For one of the posts, CIEDDE’s justification for the request was merely because it was about “election fraud.”⁸³ For the other post, the CIEDDE cited the whole contents of the post—including the language about President Biden and USAID—as justification for the takedown request.⁸⁴



May 7, 2025, X post flagged by Brazilian censors for accusing President Joe Biden and USAID of being involved in Brazilian electoral fraud.

⁸² *Id.*; Shirley Barros (@Shirley69896433), X (May 7, 2025, 12:22 AM), <https://x.com/Shirley69896433/status/1919971189797032030>; Ely Barreiros (@elybarreiros), X (May 8, 2025, 3:42 PM), <https://x.com/elybarreiros/status/1920565030283624869>.

⁸³ Letter from Global Government Affairs, X, to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary (Jan. 7, 2026), *see* Ex. 78; Shirley Barros (@Shirley69896433), X (May 7, 2025, 12:22 AM), <https://x.com/Shirley69896433/status/1919971189797032030>.

⁸⁴ Letter from Global Government Affairs, X, to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary (Jan. 7, 2026), *see* Ex. 78; Ely Barreiros (@elybarreiros), X (May 8, 2025, 3:42 PM), <https://x.com/elybarreiros/status/1920565030283624869>.



May 8, 2025, X post flagged by Brazilian censors for accusing President Joe Biden and USAID of being involved in Brazilian electoral fraud.

X has refused to take down these and similar posts critical of the Brazilian regime.⁸⁵ But the message from Brazilian censors to X and other U.S. companies is clear: Brazilian authorities believe that they can make censorship demands relating to opinions about U.S. presidents.

⁸⁵ Letter from Global Government Affairs, X, to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary (Jan. 7, 2026), *see* Ex. 78.

C. Brazil coordinates with censors around the world.

Brazil has coordinated its censorship efforts with Stanford University and other, similar foreign censorship regimes. This coordination is especially concerning because of Stanford’s central role in laundering U.S. government censorship requests to social media companies in an attempt to influence the 2020 U.S. elections.⁸⁶ After the Committee exposed this censorship effort, Stanford disbanded the Stanford Internet Observatory, the university entity responsible for it.⁸⁷ However, documents obtained by the Committee show that, rather than stopping its censorship efforts, Stanford has shifted from enabling domestic censorship to aiding and abetting foreign censors.⁸⁸

Documents produced to the Committee revealed that Stanford University hosted an event on September 24, 2025, titled “Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape,” where the online regulators from several foreign governments met to coordinate a global digital censorship initiative.⁸⁹ This roundtable brought together foreign officials who have architected the burgeoning global censorship regime—including a high-ranking Brazilian official—and directly targeted American speech.⁹⁰ While the ostensible purpose of the event was to “bring[] together policymakers, academics, and experienced Silicon Valley experts to discuss the state of compliance and enforcement of existing regulations related to online trust and safety,”⁹¹ in reality, this roundtable brought together the foreign officials who have directly targeted American speech and who represent a serious threat to the First Amendment.⁹²

For example, the keynote speaker at this Stanford event was Julie Inman Grant, the Australian eSafety Commissioner who has explicitly argued that governments have the authority

⁸⁶ STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY AND THE SELECT SUBCOMM. ON THE WEAPONIZATION OF THE FED. GOV’T OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., THE WEAPONIZATION OF ‘DISINFORMATION’ PSEUDO-EXPERTS AND BUREAUCRATS: HOW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PARTNERED WITH UNIVERSITIES TO CENSOR AMERICANS’ FREE SPEECH (Comm. Print Nov. 6, 2023); *see also* STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY AND THE SELECT SUBCOMM. ON THE WEAPONIZATION OF THE FED. GOV’T OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., THE WEAPONIZATION OF CISA: HOW A “CYBERSECURITY” AGENCY COLLUDED WITH BIG TECH AND “DISINFORMATION” PARTNERS TO CENSOR AMERICANS (Comm. Print June 26, 2023).

⁸⁷ *See* Casey Newton & Zoë Schiffer, *The Stanford Internet Observatory is being dismantled*, PLATFORMER (June 13, 2024)

⁸⁸ Overview of Stanford Dialogue Event: *Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape* (Sept. 24, 2025), *see* Ex. 85; *see* Letter from Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary, to Mr. Jeff Hancock, Director, Stanford Cyber Policy Center (Oct. 22, 2025); Teddy Ganea et al., *Stanford’s Cyber Policy Center Coordinates International Internet Censorship*, THE STANFORD REV. (Oct. 29, 2025); Michael Shellenberger, *Obama-Liked Stanford Center Held Secret Meeting With Foreign Governments To Plot Global Internet Censorship*, PUBLIC (Oct. 28, 2025).

⁸⁹ Overview of Stanford Dialogue Event: *Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape* (Sept. 24, 2025), *see* Ex. 85

⁹⁰ *Id.*

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² *Id.*; *see* DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT I, *supra* note 1; DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT II, *supra* note 1; BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT I, *supra* note 2; BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT II, *supra* note 2; Rep. Jim Jordan (@Jim_Jordan), X (July 28, 2025, 10:58 AM), https://x.com/Jim_Jordan/status/1949846809238446237; Rep. Jim Jordan (@Jim_Jordan), X (July 29, 2025, 9:30 PM), https://x.com/Jim_Jordan/status/1950368307372020086.

to demand and enforce *global* takedowns of content.⁹³ Brazil’s representative was its Deputy Consul in San Francisco, Mariana Ferreira Thiele.⁹⁴ Other officials from some of the entities with the worst track records of extraterritorial censorship included Jonathan Porter, Senior Economic Advisor for the UK’s Ofcom; Giulia Geneletti, the Digital Services Act Policy Officer for the European Commission and EU Office in San Francisco; and Joanna Smolinska, the Deputy Head of the EU Office in San Francisco.⁹⁵

These international coordination forums, where global censors share legislative ideas and best censorship practices, represent a real threat to American free speech rights. While Stanford’s previous coordination with U.S. government entities to censor American speech remains deeply concerning, it is all the more troubling that Stanford is now helping to coordinate the efforts of the foreign censorship regimes around the world.

D. Justice Moraes attempts to target political opponents.

Many of Justice Moraes’s censorship orders target his political enemies and may have an effect on Brazil’s upcoming presidential election. Aside from the censorship orders targeting his critics discussed above,⁹⁶ Justice Moraes has issued orders against Eduardo Bolsonaro, the son of former Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, for “the crime of spreading false information about Banco do Brasil” after he allegedly told customers of the bank to withdraw their money when the United States imposed sanctions on Justice Moraes.⁹⁷ Eduardo Bolsonaro was reportedly involved in the effort to lobby the U.S. government to take action against Justice Moraes for his censorship and unfair legal treatment of President Bolsonaro.⁹⁸

In September 2025, shortly after the United States sanctioned Justice Moraes,⁹⁹ he issued the first in a series of secret orders demanding that platforms like Google, X, Meta, and Telegram turn over certain personal data about Eduardo Bolsonaro—who had been living in the

⁹³ Overview of Stanford Dialogue Event: *Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape* (Sept. 24, 2025), *see* Ex. 85; *see* Letter from Australia’s eSafety Commission requiring X to take down content worldwide because it can be accessed via VPN (Apr. 18, 2024), Ex. 6; Tom Crowley, ‘Silly’ to demand global takedowns: Dutton weighs in on eSafety case, AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORP. (Apr. 25, 2024).

⁹⁴ Overview of Stanford Dialogue Event: *Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape* (Sept. 24, 2025), *see* Ex. 85.

⁹⁵ *Id.*; *see also* DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT I, *supra* note 1; DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT II, *supra* note 1; BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT I, *supra* note 2; BRAZIL CENSORSHIP REPORT II, *supra* note 2; Rep. Jim Jordan (@Jim_Jordan), X (July 28, 2025, 10:58 AM), https://x.com/Jim_Jordan/status/1949846809238446237; Rep. Jim Jordan (@Jim_Jordan), X (July 29, 2025, 9:30 PM), https://x.com/Jim_Jordan/status/1950368307372020086.

⁹⁶ *See infra* Sect. II, Subsect. A & B.

⁹⁷ Orders and Decisions from Justice Alexandre de Moraes to Censor and Provide Data on Eduardo Bolsonaro and Two Other Individuals (Sep. 23, 2025), *see* Ex. 79.

⁹⁸ *See* Marilia Marasciulo, *Jair Bolsonaro’s son targets Brazilian Supreme Court justice from US getaway*, COURTHOUSE NEWS SERVICE (Apr. 10, 2025).

⁹⁹ Press Release, U.S. Dep’t of the Treasury, Treasury Sanctions Alexandre de Moraes (July 30, 2025), <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sb0211>; *see also* Secretary Marco Rubio (@SecRubio), X (July 30, 2025, 1:17 PM), <https://x.com/SecRubio/status/1950606791693214074>.

United States since March 2025¹⁰⁰—and two other individuals.¹⁰¹ These orders continued through February 2026 and restricted the platforms “disclosing the decision to lift confidentiality—as well as the data preservation itself—to the profile owners, given the confidential nature of the investigation and the risk of obstruction.”¹⁰² Justice Moraes’s orders targeting the Bolsonaro family appear to be punitive. Along with the censorship orders directed at those who criticized him and the Brazilian Supreme Court,¹⁰³ these actions raise concerns that Justice Moraes is using judicial orders to target his political opponents.

These concerns are reinforced by fact that Justice Moraes was among the Brazilian Supreme Court Justices who voted to accept criminal charges brought against Eduardo Bolsonaro and put him on trial for his advocacy work in the United States to protect free speech and fair elections in Brazil.¹⁰⁴ This November 2025 prosecution occurred at the same time that Justice Moraes was issuing orders to social media platforms for personal, nonpublic information about Eduardo Bolsonaro.¹⁰⁵

These orders and trials may be more than simply retaliatory actions by Justice Moraes—they could have implications for Brazil’s upcoming elections. While Eduardo Bolsonaro currently resides in the United States in order to advocate for his father and avoid politicized prosecution in Brazil,¹⁰⁶ his older brother Flavio Bolsonaro is a leading candidate in Brazil’s presidential election.¹⁰⁷ Recent reporting shows that Flavio Bolsonaro and incumbent Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva are “virtually tied” in the polls ahead of the country’s October elections.¹⁰⁸ The timing of these censorship orders against the Bolsonaro family, which prevent the Bolsonaro family from speaking freely online in the months leading up to the Brazilian presidential election, could raise questions about the fairness of the upcoming Brazilian presidential election. These concerns are amplified by the fact that the Brazilian Supreme Court issued similar censorship orders for negative content about candidate Lula da Silva during the 2022 presidential election,¹⁰⁹ which ended up being decided by a narrow margin of less than two percentage points.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁰ See Marilia Marasciulo, *Jair Bolsonaro’s son targets Brazilian Supreme Court justice from US getaway*, COURTHOUSE NEWS SERVICE (Apr. 10, 2025).

¹⁰¹ Orders and Decisions from Justice Alexandre de Moraes to Censor and Provide Data on Eduardo Bolsonaro and Two Other Individuals (Sep. 23, 2025), *see* Ex. 79.

¹⁰² *Id.*

¹⁰³ *See infra* Sect. II, Subsect. A & B.

¹⁰⁴ *Eduardo Bolsonaro to face trial in Brazil for seeking Trump help in his father’s legal case*, REUTERS (Nov. 14, 2025).

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*; Orders and Decisions from Justice Alexandre de Moraes to Censor and Provide Data on Eduardo Bolsonaro and Two Other Individuals (Sep. 23, 2025), *see* Ex. 79.

¹⁰⁶ *Eduardo Bolsonaro to face trial in Brazil for seeking Trump help in his father’s legal case*, REUTERS (Nov. 14, 2025).

¹⁰⁷ *Lula, Flavio Bolsonaro tied in Brazil run-off, poll shows*, REUTERS (Feb. 25, 2026).

¹⁰⁸ *Id.*

¹⁰⁹ Anne Dias, *Brazil’s Rogue Court is Receiving Global Blowback*, REASON (July 17, 2025).

¹¹⁰ Brian Ellsworth & Lisandra Paraguassu, *Lula narrowly defeats Bolsonaro to win Brazil presidency again*, REUTERS (Oct. 30, 2022).

E. Justice Moraes permanently silences those with whom he disagrees.

When Brazilian judges—particularly Justice Moraes—issue a censorship order, it is most often in the course of an investigation into the post and underlying account. These censorship orders are generally issued at the beginning of the investigation, when the post is first brought to the government’s attention. The investigations conducted by Brazilian authorities into users who post disfavored content require the relevant social media platforms to disclose information like the identity, registration information, and sometimes technical log-in data of specific individuals.¹¹¹ Occasionally, after an investigation is finalized, Brazilian courts conclude that a user is not as dangerous as first believed and the account no longer needs to be censored.¹¹² When this occurs, the courts issue orders to unblock the account.¹¹³ However, these orders come with conditions, including: (1) the user must remove the content for which they were being investigated; (2) the user must not post similar content moving forward; and (3) the social media platform acknowledges its responsibility in helping ensure the user does not post further objectionable content.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ See Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (May 10, 2024), Ex. 8; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (May 17, 2024), Ex. 9; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (July 15, 2024), Ex. 10; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Aug. 8, 2024), Ex. 11; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Oct. 21, 2024), Ex. 12; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (Oct. 22, 2024), Ex. 13; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 5, 2024), Ex. 14; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 13, 2024), Ex. 15; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 13, 2024), Ex. 16; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 21, 2024), Ex. 17; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 21, 2024), Ex. 18; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 21, 2024), Ex. 19; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 27, 2024), Ex. 20; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (Dec. 2, 2024), Ex. 21; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Dec. 4, 2024), Ex. 22; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Mar. 26, 2025), Ex. 23; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (June 27, 2025), Ex. 24; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (July 7, 2025), Ex. 25; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (July 8, 2025), Ex. 26; Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about users under investigation (July 9, 2025), Ex. 27.

¹¹² See Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of an account (May 10, 2024), Ex. 28; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024), Ex. 29; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024), Ex. 30; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024), Ex. 31; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 32; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the

In many cases, the content that courts ordered to be removed prior to a user’s account reinstatement was political speech directly criticizing Justice Moraes.¹¹⁵ For example, a user made a post on X displaying the images of three Brazilian Supreme Court Justices, including Justice Moraes, with the caption “THE NATION WANTS TO SEE THESE DICTATORS IN PRISON. They are violating democracy and tearing up the constitution. THEY ARE A THREAT TO THE FUTURE OF THE NEW GENERATION.”¹¹⁶ To be reinstated, the court required the user to delete this post and agree to never post content criticizing Justice Moraes again.¹¹⁷

For social media users who criticize the Brazilian government online, the conditions on when—or if—they can return to social media vary. If their offense is minor, their ban from social media may only be short. So long as they pay the fine imposed on them by the court order and do not criticize Justice Moraes again, these users can use social media in peace. But if they violate the terms of their deal and dare to say something Justice Moraes opposes, they will find themselves once again locked out of their accounts and unable to speak online. Rather than protecting political speech online as a right, Justice Moraes has turned it into a privilege, the exercise of which is contingent on the opinion being shared.

F. Justice Moraes targets Virtual Private Network (VPN) use because it threatens the effectiveness of his censorship orders.

VPNs have proven to be an obstacle to Justice Moraes’s censorship regime. Among other benefits, VPNs allow users to access content that may not be available in their country by routing internet traffic through servers around the globe, giving websites and platforms the impression a

blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 33; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 34; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 35; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 36; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 37; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 38; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 39; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 40; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025), Ex. 41; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 42; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 43; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 44; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 45; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 46; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 47; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 73; Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts belonging to Bruno Aiub (Feb. 7, 2025), Ex. 84.

¹¹³ *See id.*

¹¹⁴ *See id.*

¹¹⁵ *See* Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024), Ex. 31.

¹¹⁶ *Id.*

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

user is accessing content from a place that is different from their physical location.¹¹⁸ VPNs frustrate officials like Justice Moraes because they enable users to easily circumvent location-based restrictions on accounts, posts, and even entire platforms.

Justice Moraes tried to limit VPN use by imposing a fine on Brazilians who used VPNs to access X while it was banned in Brazil in 2024.¹¹⁹ He announced fines of up to 50,000 reais (approximately \$9,000) per day for individuals who used VPNs to access X.¹²⁰ Justice Moraes also ordered Google and Apple to remove VPN apps from their virtual stores.¹²¹

Justice Moraes's attempts to enforce his censorship orders by outlawing VPNs mirror similar conduct by other foreign censors. In April 2024, Australian eSafety Commissioner Julie Inman Grant told X that geo-blocking content in Australia was an insufficient response to censorship demands because Australian users could use VPNs to access the content and, therefore, that X must remove the content globally.¹²² Brazil and Australia's actions show there is a serious risk that foreign officials will continue to use the existence of VPNs as a pretext for global removals.

G. Brazilian courts have removed legal liability protections from social media companies.

In June 2025, the Brazilian Supreme Court stripped legal liability protections from social media platforms that do not immediately remove certain user-flagged content.¹²³ The decision means that companies may be liable for certain content posted on their platforms if the companies do not take near-immediate action after being notified.¹²⁴ This development will likely have a chilling effect on speech by incentivizing companies to proactively remove more content to avoid liability, potentially including American content.¹²⁵ Brazilian Supreme Court Justice Gilmar Mendes, a colleague of Justice Moraes on the court, applauded the potential extraterritorial effects of this development, noting that the court's decision could create a "paradigm for the world" for "how to deal with social media."¹²⁶

Justice Mendes's statement reveals the pernicious nature of censorship regimes like those in Brazil. Removing legal protections for companies that do not act on content flagged by users or the government makes it nearly impossible for companies to operate without changing their

¹¹⁸ Zachary McAuliffe, *Geo-Blocking Explained: What to Know and How You Can Get Around It*, CNET (Dec. 16, 2023).

¹¹⁹ *Fact Check: Brazilians Can Be Fined for Using VPN to Access X*, REUTERS (Sep. 6, 2024).

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ *Id.* The order directing Google and Apple to remove VPN apps from their virtual stores was later dropped.

¹²² Letter from Australia's eSafety Commission requiring X to take down content worldwide because it can be accessed via VPN (Apr. 18, 2024), Ex. 6; Tom Crowley, *'Silly' to demand global takedowns: Dutton weighs in on eSafety case*, AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORP. (Apr. 25, 2024).

¹²³ See Michael Pooler, *Brazil Supreme Court Rules Digital Platforms Are Liable for Users' Posts*, FINANCIAL TIMES (June 27, 2025).

¹²⁴ *Id.*

¹²⁵ *Id.*; see also Patricia Campos Mello, *Google Admits It May Limit Operations in Brazil If the Supreme Federal Court Enacts Drastic Rule Changes*, FOLHA DE S.PAULO (June 24, 2025).

¹²⁶ Guilherme Grandi, *Gilmar Mendes Says That the Trial of the Networks' Accountability Could Be a "Paradigm for the World"*, GAZETA DO POVO (June 2, 2025).

content moderation policies to suit the whims of the censorious government. These policies are implemented globally and enforced at scale using automated tools,¹²⁷ meaning that content moderation policy changes initiated in response to Brazilian censorship demands infringe on Americans' free speech rights. This poses a significant threat to American speech, as many of the platforms being targeted are American (e.g., Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and X) and much of the speech Brazilian censors have sought to curtail originated in America.¹²⁸ The removal of legal protections for platforms in Brazil may force them to choose between protecting free expression and continuing to operate in Brazil.

III. CONCLUSION

Justice Moraes's global removal orders and platform bans for U.S. residents directly infringe on Americans' First Amendment rights, as does the Brazilian government's coordination with foreign censors and Stanford University. Combined with the recent decision by Brazilian courts to degrade social media platforms' legal protections, American companies are effectively required to engage in mass censorship to continue operating in Brazil.¹²⁹ The chilling effect could be global: companies have to consider removing more content, including non-Brazilian content, proactively to avoid liability.¹³⁰ And the global reach of these censorship orders and legal changes appears not to be an accidental outcome, but the intended effect.¹³¹ The Brazilian Supreme Court's actions, and particularly the issuance of global takedown orders, threaten fundamental liberties such as free speech and core expression, like investigative journalism and satire, around the world.

Americans' speech rights should never be curtailed by foreign government officials seeking to silence dissent beyond their borders. These attacks on free speech are a clear and growing threat to Americans' constitutional rights.¹³² As witnesses have testified to the Committee, the United States must be careful to protect and defend freedom of speech in America, especially amid a wave of government censorship and other anti-democratic actions worldwide.¹³³ To this end, the Committee will continue to conduct oversight and develop legislative remedies to protect the First Amendment from foreign censorship threats.

¹²⁷ See DSA CENSORSHIP REPORT II, *supra* note 1, at 40-42.

¹²⁸ See *infra* Sect. II, Subsect. A-C.

¹²⁹ See Michael Pooler, *Brazil Supreme Court Rules Digital Platforms Are Liable for Users' Posts*, FINANCIAL TIMES (June 27, 2025).

¹³⁰ *Id.*; see also Patricia Campos Mello, *Google Admits It May Limit Operations in Brazil If the Supreme Federal Court Enacts Drastic Rule Changes*, FOLHA DE S.PAULO (June 24, 2025).

¹³¹ See Guilherme Grandi, *Gilmar Mendes Says That the Trial of the Networks' Accountability Could Be a "Paradigm for the World"*, GAZETA DO POVO (June 2, 2025).

¹³² See generally *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't of the H. Comm. on the Judiciary*, 118th Cong. (Nov. 30, 2023) (written testimony of Rupa Subramanya).

¹³³ *Id.* ("Across the world right now, governments, in the name of the good, are considering or adopting measures like we have in Canada. In Dublin, they're about to enact a draconian hate-crime bill that poses a dire threat to free speech. In Paris, President Emanuel Macron has called for censoring online speech. In Brussels, the EU's Internal Market Commissioner is calling for a crackdown on "illegal content." **In Brasilia, they're fighting "fake news" and "disinformation" by clamping down on legitimate online speech.** To say nothing of Russia and China and Iran. America is so exceptional—indispensable really. Please do not succumb to the same illiberal, the same

authoritarianism. Please keep fighting for what you know is right. Canada is watching. The *whole world* is watching.”) (bolded emphasis added; italicized emphasis in original).

APPENDIX

APPENDIX TABLE OF CONTENTS

Exhibit 1: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Facebook to globally block specific accounts (July 28, 2020)..... 35

Exhibit 2: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for platforms to remove certain channels or face significant, daily fines (June 24, 2024)..... 39

Exhibit 3: Order from Sau Paulo District Court mandating Meta globally remove an account (Oct. 30, 2024)..... 52

Exhibit 4: Order from Sau Paulo District Court requiring Meta to globally remove an account of a U.S. Resident who creates content about being a Brazilian immigrant to the U.S. (Nov. 25, 2024)..... 55

Exhibit 5: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring Rumble to be shut down in the country of Brazil (Feb. 21, 2025)..... 57

Exhibit 6: Letter from Australia’s eSafety Commission requiring X to take down content worldwide because it can be accessed via VPN (Apr. 18, 2024)..... 90

Exhibit 7: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes imposing a fine on X for failing to comply with censorship orders (June 17, 2024)..... 92

Exhibit 8: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (May 10, 2024)..... 97

Exhibit 9: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (May 17, 2024)..... 102

Exhibit 10: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (July 15, 2024)..... 104

Exhibit 11: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Aug. 8, 2024)..... 113

Exhibit 12: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Oct. 21, 2024)..... 123

Exhibit 13: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (Oct. 22, 2024)..... 126

Exhibit 14: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 5, 2024)..... 133

Exhibit 15: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 13, 2024)	144
Exhibit 16: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 13, 2024)	151
Exhibit 17: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 21, 2024)	160
Exhibit 18: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 21, 2024)	168
Exhibit 19: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Nov. 21, 2024).....	175
Exhibit 20: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (Nov. 27, 2024).....	183
Exhibit 21: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Dec. 2, 2024).....	190
Exhibit 22: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Dec. 4, 2024).....	198
Exhibit 23: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (Mar. 26, 2025).....	211
Exhibit 24: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (June 27, 2025).....	219
Exhibit 25: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about a user under investigation (July 7, 2025).....	223
Exhibit 26: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to turn over additional information about users under investigation (July 8, 2025).....	229
Exhibit 27: Subpoena from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to turn over additional information about users under investigation (July 9, 2025).....	235
Exhibit 28: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of an account (May 10, 2024).....	243
Exhibit 29: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024).....	245

Exhibit 30: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024).....	250
Exhibit 31: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Aug. 28, 2024)	256
Exhibit 32: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	262
Exhibit 33: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	266
Exhibit 34: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	270
Exhibit 35: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	274
Exhibit 36: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	279
Exhibit 37: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	290
Exhibit 38: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	294
Exhibit 39: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	299
Exhibit 40: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	303
Exhibit 41: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 6, 2025).....	307
Exhibit 42: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025).....	312
Exhibit 43: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025).....	317
Exhibit 44: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025).....	322

Exhibit 45: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025)	327
Exhibit 46: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025)	332
Exhibit 47: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025)	336
Exhibit 48: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (July 24, 2024)	340
Exhibit 49: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes imposing a fine on X for failing to comply with previous removal order (Aug. 13, 2024)	352
Exhibit 50: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Nov. 16, 2024)	362
Exhibit 51: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 16, 2025)	367
Exhibit 52: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 21, 2025)	373
Exhibit 53: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to prevent a user from creating new accounts (Jan. 27, 2025)	379
Exhibit 54: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes imposing heavy sanctions on X for failing to comply with censorship orders (Aug. 18, 2024)	387
Exhibit 55: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (Aug. 18, 2024)	445
Exhibit 56: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (Apr. 24, 2024)	447
Exhibit 57: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms block certain accounts (June 4, 2025)	452
Exhibit 58: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (June 11, 2024)	468
Exhibit 59: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes denying users’ request to have their accounts reinstated (June 13, 2024)	474

Exhibit 60: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (June 13, 2024).....	484
Exhibit 61: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (June 18, 2024).....	490
Exhibit 62: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (June 24, 2024).....	497
Exhibit 63: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (June 26, 2024).....	509
Exhibit 64: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (July 15, 2024).....	511
Exhibit 65: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (July 24, 2024).....	519
Exhibit 66: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Aug. 7, 2024).....	531
Exhibit 67: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block certain accounts (Aug. 8, 2024).....	536
Exhibit 68: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Aug. 16, 2024).....	539
Exhibit 69: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Aug. 19, 2024).....	547
Exhibit 70: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block an account (Sep. 27, 2024).....	556
Exhibit 71: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring platforms to block certain accounts (Nov. 23, 2024).....	558
Exhibit 72: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block the accounts and access of an individual (Dec. 9, 2024).....	565
Exhibit 73: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts (Feb. 7, 2025).....	571
Exhibit 74: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes requiring X to block certain accounts (July 11, 2025).....	577

Exhibit 75: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes that X cease operating in Brazil (Aug. 30, 2024).....	579
Exhibit 76: Email from Brazilian judicial official to Rumble attaching subpoena (Feb. 11, 2025).....	631
Exhibit 77: Email from Brazilian judicial official to Rumble attaching subpoena (Feb. 20, 2025).....	634
Exhibit 78: Letter from Global Government Affairs, X, to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary (Jan. 7, 2026).....	652
Exhibit 79: Orders and Decisions from Justice Alexandre de Moraes to Censor and Provide Data on Eduardo Bolsonaro and Two Other Individuals (Sep. 23, 2025).....	662
Exhibit 80: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Spotify to censor Bruno Aiub (Aug. 4, 2023).....	684
Exhibit 81: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Spotify to censor Bruno Aiub (June 24, 2024).....	704
Exhibit 82: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for Spotify to censor Bruno Aiub (July 28, 2023).....	716
Exhibit 83: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes for platforms to censor Bruno Aiub (July 28, 2023).....	719
Exhibit 84: Order from Justice Alexandre de Moraes conditionally revoking the blocking of certain accounts belonging to Bruno Aiub (Feb. 7, 2025).....	732
Exhibit 85: Overview of Stanford Dialogue Event: <i>Compliance and Enforcement in a Rapidly Evolving Landscape</i> (Sept. 24, 2025).....	738