

Overexposed

Profiles and photos of *Overexposed* artwork series. Research assembled by Paolo Cirio, 2014-2015.

<http://paolocirio.net/work/hd-stencils/overexposed>

Keith Alexander



Keith seems excited for this selfie taken by Corrie ██████, a mysterious acquaintance of his whom he shares no apparent social connection with. He has his neck tucked into his collar and an awkward smile plastered across his face. He and Corrie appear to be close and intimate, having fun with the selfie. The location where this photo was taken and how these two met each other is unclear. Corrie stated on her Facebook post, "Look who takes a great #Selfie - General Keith Alexander, the Cowboy of the NSA."

The photo was obtained from Facebook via Corrie ██████ account. Dated May 27th, 2014.¹

Keith Brian Alexander served as Director of the National Security Agency (NSA) until 2013 and is now a retired four-star general. He was also Chief of the Central Security Service (CHCSS) and Commander of the U.S. Cyber Command. Alexander held key staff assignments as Deputy Director, Operations Officer, and Executive Officer both in Germany and during the Persian Gulf War in Operation Desert Shield and Operation Desert Storm. He also served in Afghanistan on a peacekeeping mission for the Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence. In Saudi Arabia he presided over the Navy's 10th Fleet, the 24th Air Force, and the Second Army. Among the units under his command were the military intelligence teams involved in torture and prisoner abuse at Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison.² Two years later, Donald Rumsfeld appointed Alexander director of the NSA.

In 2001, Alexander was in charge of the Army Intelligence and Security Command with 10,700 spies worldwide. When he became NSA director he added 14,000 Cyber Command personnel, including Navy, Army, and Air Force troops. NSA peers jokingly referred to him as "Emperor Alexander"³ and "cowboy"⁴ for breaking legal limits to dominate the terrain. Alexander's bravado is reflected in the sci-fi design of his operations base, a facility known as the Information Dominance Center in Fort Belvoir, Virginia. The media described this base as a war room modeled "after Star Trek's Enterprise."⁵

To deny illegally monitoring American citizens' phone calls and emails, Keith B. Alexander lied several times to legislators and the press. The first case occurred in March 2012 during a U.S. congressional hearing in response to questioning by Representative Hank Johnson concerning allegations made by former NSA officials as to whether or not the personal digital information collected on American citizens was mendacious; Alexander insisted that the NSA does not collect such data.⁶ In July 2012, in response to a question posed by a member of the press as to whether a large data center in Utah was used to collect data on American citizens, Alexander again stated, "No. While I can't go into all the details on the Utah data center, we don't hold data on American citizens."⁷ During the same month, DEF CON founder Jeff Moss⁸ asked him a question related to NSA file-keeping on U.S. citizens. Alexander responded by claiming that the NSA absolutely does not keep data and that, "anybody who would tell you that we're keeping files or dossiers on the American people knows that's not true."⁹

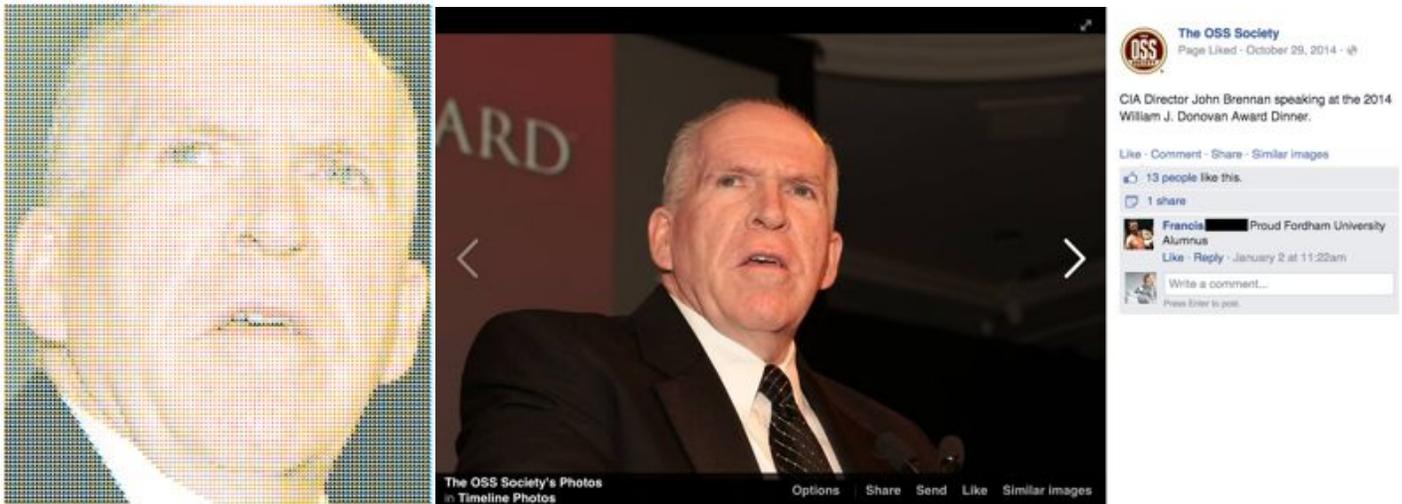
Keith Alexander's regard for secrecy was noticeable in 2006, when senior NSA employee Thomas Drake released an interview about Trailblazer, one of Alexander's inefficient programs. In response, federal prosecutors charged Drake with 10 felony counts and up to 35 years in prison; this occurred despite the fact that all of the information Drake was alleged to have leaked was not only unclassified and already in the public domain.

In 2014, Keith B. Alexander funded his consulting firm, IronNet Cybersecurity. With this firm, he offered his security expertise, including his, "new technology, based on a patented and unique approach to detecting malicious hackers" to the banking industry for a \$1 million fee per month.¹⁰ In response, congressman Rep. Alan Grayson sent a letter to the Security Industries and Financial Markets Association (SIFMA) to inform them that Keith Alexander might attempt to sell classified information and technology that he had access to during his career at the NSA.¹¹

Keith Alexander's quote:

"In the United States, we would have to go through an FBI process, a warrant [...] and serve it to somebody to actually get it [the information]. [...] We don't have the technical insights in the United States [...] you have to have something to intercept or some way of doing that, either by going to a service provider with a warrant or you have to be collecting in that area. We're not authorized to collect nor do we have the equipment in the United States to actually collect that kind of information."²

John Brennan



John is shown here at The OSS Society, presumably during an ongoing or post-conference talk at the William J. Donovan dinner. With his mouth gracelessly open, the most controversial CIA figure of the last two decades appears preoccupied with an unfinished sentence. *The photo was obtained from Facebook via OSS Society. Dated October 29th, 2014.*¹³

John Owen Brennan is the current Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and has spent 25 years with the agency to date. Brennan became Deputy Executive Director of the CIA in March 2001 under George W. Bush. He has served as chief counterterrorism advisor to U.S. President Barack Obama; his official title was Deputy National Security Advisor for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, and Assistant to the President.

As director of the CIA, John Brennan is responsible violating several human rights and international laws. While in office, he has presided over mass levels of surveillance, the hacking of global communication networks of allies, secretive drone attacks condemned by the UN, as well as the brutal torture of suspects without trial at secret prisons organized through extraordinary rendition flights outside of U.S. jurisdiction.

Brennan and the CIA were also accused of hacking into the computers of U.S. Senate employees in order to surveil the release of the Intelligence Committee report on the CIA's detention and interrogation program. John Brennan lied when he insisted that the CIA had not improperly accessed the computers of Senate staffers investigating the agency's role in torturing detainees. Later, an internal investigation confirmed that the CIA had truly hacked the Senate's computer network, and Brennan was forced to apologize to Senate Intelligence Committee members by affirming that the CIA had spied on the Senate Panel. In July 2014, two senators of the Intelligence Committee demanded Mr. Brennan's resignation because of his false testimony and unconstitutional spying on Congress.¹⁴

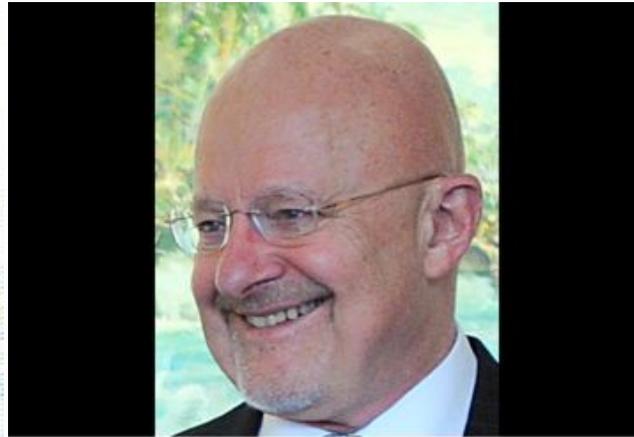
John O. Brennan also repeatedly lied about the civilian casualties caused by the highly secretive drone program¹⁵ which for years had neither been disclosed to the press nor to U.S. government oversight committees. Several civil liberties and human rights groups have attempted to force transparency in this regard. For instance, in March 2015, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a disclosure lawsuit for a secret so-called *Kill List* for drone strikes¹⁶. In February 2013, Senator Lindsey Graham estimated that the drone program had killed 4,700 people,¹⁷ this statement is in direct contradiction to Brennan's June 2011 claim that U.S. counterterrorism operations had not resulted in "a single collateral death."¹⁸

In March 2015, Brennan announced the creation of a new division called the Directorate of Digital Innovation, which will handle the CIA's cyber-operations, taking on the responsibilities of two existing directorates: the Open Source Center and the Information Operations Center. The former monitors social media, while the latter conducts cyber-penetrations and attacks. Brennan's creation marked a major overhaul of the agency's organizational structure, and ended the traditional separation between spies and analysts. With the creation of ten new mission centers, Brennan claims that he "will bring the full range of operational, analytic, support, technical, and digital personnel and capabilities." According to Brennan, the new digital directorate would have significantly more leeway than both its predecessors. He told reporters: "What we need to do as an agency is make sure we're able to understand all of the aspects of that digital environment."¹⁹

John Brennan's quote:

*"As far as the allegations of the CIA hacking into Senate computers, nothing could be further from the truth... We wouldn't do that. I mean, that's just beyond the, you know, the scope of reason in terms of what we do."*²⁰

James Clapper



Michael @cypherpunks_ · 16 Dec 2013
A rare photo of US Masterspy James Clapper smiling. 3 December 2013 cryptome.org/clapper-13-120... (via @Cryptomeorg) :D

👍 2 ⭐ 2 ...

James looks uncharacteristically happy to be surrounded by nature. This is a mysterious photo with an unknown source that was leaked on cryptome.org and circulated in the hacker community. Founded in 1996, Cryptome.org was the first leaking platform created for the publication of prohibited, secret, and classified documents. It contains more than 70,000 files, including grisly photos of American soldiers slaughtered during the Iraq War. The tweet accompanying this photo describes Clapper in the following words: "A rare photo of US Masterspy James Clapper smiling." *The photo was obtained from Twitter; however, the source remains unknown. Dated December 3rd, 2013.*²¹

James Robert Clapper is the current Director of National Intelligence (NI); from 1992 to 1995, he served as Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). While teaching at Georgetown University, he was nominated by President George W. Bush to be Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence (USDI).

The political timeline reveals Clapper's consistent insincerity in his false testimony on NSA surveillance programs; this has resulted in several lawsuits brought against him. Clapper was sued for the warrantless wiretapping program in the case, *Amnesty International vs. Clapper*²², in which ultimately, the Supreme Court held that the plaintiffs did not have standing to challenge the constitutionality of the NSA's program. The case, *Amnesty v. Clapper*, was filed in 2009 on behalf of a broad coalition of attorneys and human rights, labor, legal, and media organizations whose work requires them to engage in sensitive and sometimes privileged telephone and email communications. The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), enacted by Congress in 1978 following the abuses of the 1960s and 70s, regulates the government's conduct of intelligence surveillance inside the United States. It generally requires the government to seek warrants before monitoring Americans' communications. In 2001, however, President Bush authorized the National Security Agency to launch a warrantless wiretapping program and in 2008, Congress ratified and expanded that program, giving the NSA almost unlimited power to monitor Americans' international phone calls and emails²³. In December 2013, just a few months after Snowden's revelations, Clapper was sued in the case, *American Civil Liberties Union v. James Clapper*²⁴. This case challenged the legality of the NSA's bulk phone metadata collection program. On December 27th 2013, the court dismissed the case, ruling that metadata collection did not violate the Fourth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.²⁵

In March 2013, while under oath and serving as the Director of National Intelligence, Clapper gave false testimony to the Senate Intelligence Committee. Citing the keynote speech given by NSA Director Keith B. Alexander at the 2012 DEF CON, Senator Ron Wyden asked Clapper to confirm or deny: "Does the NSA collect any type of data at all on millions or hundreds of millions of Americans?" Clapper responded, "No sir [...] Not wittingly. There are cases where they could inadvertently perhaps collect, but not wittingly²⁶." On June 6th 2013, Director Clapper released a statement admitting that the NSA collects telephony metadata on millions of Americans' telephone calls. In early 2014, a group of congressmen wrote a letter to President Obama requesting James Clapper's resignation, indicating that he misled Congress about the extent of the NSA's surveillance activity²⁷.

Edward Snowden would later reveal in an interview in Moscow that his decision to leak classified documents was also motivated by Clapper's lies to Congress: "Sort of the breaking point was seeing James Clapper [was] directly [lying] under oath to Congress. Seeing that really meant for me there was no going back²⁸." A few months after Snowden's revelations, Clapper banned intelligence employees from any kind of unauthorized contact with reporters²⁹. On March 10th 2015 Wikimedia filed a lawsuit against Clapper over the large-scale search and seizure of Internet communications³⁰.

James Clapper's quote:

*"What I said was, the NSA does not voyeuristically pore through U.S. citizens' emails. I stand by that."
Later on: "My response was clearly erroneous."³¹*

David Petraeus



David appears comical but with a thin veil of obvious unease over his face. Lighthearted and insincerely friendly, Petraeus stands next to Yannis [redacted], Dean of the [redacted] School of Engineering at the University of Southern California. They are in a post-conference socialite gathering where the all of the top elites rub shoulders. Petraeus is referred to by his friends as “Peaches,” which is a military cultural turn of its own. Petraeus is an avid jogger and also a survivor: of a bullet wound to the chest and an accidental fall from a parachute.³² The photo was obtained from Dean [redacted] Twitter account. Dated March 26th, 2013.³³

David Howell Petraeus served as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from 2011 until his resignation in 2012. Petraeus took charge of multinational forces in Iraq in 2007, after four years of filling various command roles in the country, including combat roles. He was placed in charge of United States Central Command in 2008, and became commander of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan two years later. General David Petraeus - who coincidentally, was in the same class as Keith Alexander at the United States Military Academy at West Point - called upon an array of fellow West Point graduates to rewrite a document that would end up changing the war: the Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24. Military academics consider this manual an internal form of insurgency.

Petraeus’s downfall began the moment it was disclosed that he leaked classified information to the woman with whom he was having an extramarital affair. Petraeus admitted to improperly retaining a number of bound notebooks (so called “black books”) and sharing them with his lover and biographer, Paula Broadwell. The notebooks contained “classified information regarding the identities of covert officers, war strategy, intelligence capabilities and mechanisms, diplomatic discussions, quotes and deliberative discussions from high-level National Security Council meetings, and with the President of the United States of America.”³⁴ Petraeus initially lied to FBI investigators on October 26th 2012, telling them in an interview at CIA headquarters that he had never provided Broadwell with classified information³⁵. Petraeus received more media attention for his sexual affair and less backlash for his constant transgressions against human rights in his position as general during the Iraq invasion. Whistleblower Thomas Drake pointed out that the plea deal offered to former CIA director Petraeus was nothing but a slap on the wrist³⁶. This claim was made even clearer by the 2015 settlement in which Petraeus received a nominal \$100,000 fine, two years probation and zero prison time³⁷. After the scandal, in January 2012, Paula Broadwell published her book, *All In: The Education of General David Petraeus*³⁸. Interestingly enough, the general was also spied on by the NSA and much of the information concerning his extramarital affair was obtained from what the agency had covertly discovered.

David Petraeus’s quote:

“Items of interest will be located, identified, monitored, and remotely controlled through technologies such as radio-frequency identification, sensor networks, tiny embedded servers, and energy harvesters — all connected to the next-generation Internet using abundant, low-cost, and high-power computing, the latter now going to cloud computing, in many areas greater and greater supercomputing, and, ultimately, heading to quantum computing.”³⁹

Caitlin Hayden



Caitlin appears gleeful in this wedding photo, featured as a profile picture on her Facebook page. Judging by her Facebook friend list, her company appears to consist of dubious friends employed in war zones. She possesses an unique array of photos, including one where she's smiling and casually standing with military personnel in Iraq during the United States' illegal occupation of the country.

*The photo is obtained from Hayden's personal Facebook account. Dated January 2nd, 2015.*⁴⁰

Caitlin Hayden was National Security Council (NSC) spokeswoman until October 2014. She began working as a civil servant at the State Department one day before September 11th 2001. She was also spokeswoman for the US embassy in Kabul during the first years of the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. Her stint at the State Department included postings in Kuwait, Iraq, Pakistan and the United Kingdom⁴¹. She currently works as a Senior Strategic Communications and Global Media Relations Professional in Washington D.C.⁴²

She came to prominence after *Der Spiegel's* disclosure of secret documents that shed light on the NSA's surveillance database of more than 120 world leaders. At first, Hayden made a false statement to the general press regarding the clandestine operations, claiming that the NSA did not conduct spying ops on foreign political leaders, including Chancellor Merkel. In particular in a statement to *The Intercept*, she claimed that the U.S. is "not monitoring and will not monitor the communications of Chancellor Merkel."⁴³ However, Hayden did not deny that surveillance had occurred in the past. Then, in a contradictory statement, she said, "We have made clear that the United States gathers foreign intelligence of the type gathered by all nations."⁴⁴ It wasn't only Chancellor Angela Merkel's mobile phone that was on the NSA's target list; German media reports claim the US spy agency also tapped Gerhard Schröder's phone calls in the run-up to the 2003 Iraq War. Caitlin Hayden would later tell *Der Spiegel* that "no such data collection took place."⁴⁵ On another occasion, in dismissing James Clapper's false testimony to Congress, Caitlin Hayden said in an email statement that Obama has "full faith in Director Clapper's leadership of the intelligence community. The Director [...] made clear that he did not intend to mislead the Congress."⁴⁶

Caitlin Hayden is particularly active on social media, posting frequently on her personal Facebook and Twitter accounts; she also uses LinkedIn and has hundreds of contacts with government employees. She currently presents herself on Twitter as "Former Obama NSC Spox and recovering national security wonk. Extremely energetic Alabama football fan. Re-tweeting does not necessarily equal endorsement."⁴⁷

Caitlin Hayden's quote:

*"I can tell you that our intelligence activities are focused on the national security needs of our country. [...] We do not give intelligence we collect to US companies to enhance their international competitiveness or increase their bottom line."*⁴⁸

Avril Haines



oSTEM and NOGLSTP joint meeting

JANUARY 21, 2015 BY AFFINITY STAFF — LEAVE A COMMENT

Out in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics Inc. hosted its 4th Annual Conference in conjunction with the National Organization of Gay and Lesbian Scientists and Technical Professionals' Out to Innovate™ 2014 in Atlanta. Held at the Georgia Tech Hotel, the event offered workshops, panel discussions and an awards ceremony.



Avril Haines, deputy director,
Central Intelligence Agency

Avril is captured flustered and awkwardly mid-sentence at The National Organization of Gay and Lesbian Scientists and Technical Professionals' Out to Innovate conference. The photo appears to be taken by an amateur photographer; the quality and angle is unprofessional and obviously unflattering on Haines who is normally seen impeccably dressed and behaved in public.

The photo is obtained from an Affinity blog post from a conference in Atlanta at the Georgia Tech Hotel. Dated November, 2014.⁴⁹

Avril Dannica Haines is the current White House Deputy National Security Advisor. She previously served as Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the first woman to hold that position at an agency that is still dominated by men. Prior to her appointment to the CIA, she served as Deputy Counsel to the President for National Security Affairs in the Office of White House Counsel. Her term as CIA Deputy Director coincided with the global surveillance disclosures, the CIA hacking into the computers of U.S. Senate employees, and the release of the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee report on CIA torture.⁵⁰

Haines was also Obama's direct advisor on the controversial *Targeted Killings*, or as it is more commonly known, the *Kill List*. She worked closely with CIA Director John Brennan on the new targeted killing policy and a wide array of highly complicated and legally sensitive issues, including covert operations, drone strikes and espionage on foreign countries and companies. According to a 2013 *Newsweek* profile which appeared just as she was about to assume her position at CIA, one of the people she could expect to come up have to work with at the agency was the mysterious chief of the CIA's counterterrorism center known only as "Roger," the first name of his cover identity, who has presided over the drone program for years. Haines also worked on reducing the backlog of over six hundred secret agreements with a number of countries in Eastern Europe allowing the CIA to set up black sites to hold and harshly interrogate suspected terrorists.⁵¹ Haines is regarded by many as a liberal pragmatist when it comes to national-security law and is not uncommonly an advocate of military restraint.⁵²

Avril Haines became the subject of increased media attention when she was appointed to her position at the CIA for having hosted erotic literature readings at a Baltimore bookstore-cafe that she ran together with her husband during the 90s between college and law school⁵³. Speculation and gossip in the media marks the uncontrollable personal information that is permanently irremovable from the Internet.

Avril Haines's quote:

"Everything is a nail and we're a hammer."⁵⁴

Michael Rogers



John [redacted] Mar 1

Admiral Michael Rogers, director of the NSA. He had an awesome message here at [@TheFlyinIrish](#) tournament. [@NSA_PAO](#)

← ↻ ☆ 1 ⋮

Mike appears to be tired yet struggling to beam in this selfie. He is seen next to a young and eager soldier at the military-oriented Flyin' Irish Basketball Tournament. John [redacted] tweeted this selfie in March with the caption: "Admiral Michael Rogers, director of the NSA. He had an awesome message here at [@TheFlyinIrish](#) tournament. [@NSA_PAO](#)."

The photo was obtained from Twitter via [@\[redacted\]](#). Dated March 1st, 2015.⁵⁵

Michael S. Rogers has served as Director of the National Security Agency (NSA), Commander of U.S. Cyber Command, and Chief of the Central Security Service since April 3rd, 2014. Prior to that, Rogers served as Commander Navy's 10th Fleet and U.S. Fleet Cyber Command. During the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, Rogers joined the military's Joint Staff, which works for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, specializing in computer network attacks with responsibility for all of the Navy's cyberwarfare efforts. As such, Rogers was the first restricted line officer to serve as a numbered fleet commander and the first Information Dominance Warfare (IDC) officer to achieve the rank of vice admiral. He was appointed Director of the NSA after the Snowden revelations in 2013 and worked to expand its operations. Rogers succeeded General Keith B. Alexander, who served as the NSA director for nine years. Although the NSA directorship does not require Senate approval, Rogers needed to be (and was unanimously) confirmed by the Senate to head United States Cyber Command.

Rogers is working to build a force of 6,200 cybersecurity experts to combat a growing variety of cyber threats. The Cyber Command, created in 2010, plans to have 133 teams in operation by the end of 2016. In March 2015, in a plea to lawmakers for consistent funding, Michael Rogers complained that cyber warriors are being "gobbled up" by the private sector and other government agencies.⁵⁶ Rogers also views cybercrime as an economic threat, citing between \$100 billion and \$400 billion worth of intellectual property lost to theft each year and regards copyright law as a Department of Defense concern. During a tense exchange that took place at a cybersecurity conference held by the New America Foundation between Michael Rogers and Alex Stamos (Yahoo! Inc.'s Chief Information Security Officer), Rogers essentially sidestepped the question as to whether companies like Yahoo! should grant foreign governments access to customers' encrypted data through unsecure backdoors the NSA would set up in the manner the US government wants.⁵⁷ In a post-conference discussion with CNN's journalist Jim Sciutto, Michael Rogers was asked if the NSA had ever collected communications of metadata information about himself. Rogers stated, "We need a court order," which is not the case according to Snowden's revelations. Rogers then admitted that the NSA would not have to inform the target of their surveillance about their eavesdropping activities.⁵⁸

Michael Rogers's quote:

"Snowden clearly believes in what he's doing. I question that; I don't agree with it. I fundamentally disagree with what he did. I believe it was wrong; I believe it was illegal."⁶⁹

James Comey



James is fairly well-known for his pleasant disposition before cameras; in most of his photos, he's plastered with a perennial smile. However, in this photo, Comey is reclined in his seat and exhibiting a borderline depressed energy. Adrian Garcia, Harris County Sheriff from Texas, tweeted this photo with the caption: "Met the new FBI Dir. James Comey who visited Houston today. Area law enforcement leaders met w/him as well!" *The photo was obtained from Adrian [redacted] Twitter account. Dated October 25th, 2013.*⁶⁰

James Brien Comey, Jr. is the seventh and current director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). He previously served in President George W. Bush's administration as United States Deputy Attorney General, the second-highest ranking official in the United States Department of Justice (DOJ). With George Bush's support, Comey was responsible for Machiavellian changes in the national surveillance programs and in the prosecution of intelligence leaks. As Deputy Attorney General in 2003, Comey appointed his close friend and former colleague as Special Counsel to head the CIA leak grand jury investigation. Later in 2006, he refused to "certify" the legality of central aspects of the NSA program. In 2005, Comey left the DOJ and he became General Counsel and Senior Vice President of Lockheed Martin, the largest arms-producing and military services company and he was also on the London-based board of directors of HSBC Holdings bank.⁶¹

His position on citizen privacy is grounds for concern, given the amount of privacy-invasive policies that he supports. For example, in a public speech at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC in October 2014, he rebuked Apple and Google for the further development of smartphone encryption⁶². However, Mr. Comey appeared to have few answers for critics who have argued that any portal created for the FBI and the police could also be exploited by national or foreign intelligence agencies, as well as by cyber criminals. In March 2015, during the House Appropriations subcommittee hearing on the FBI budget for the upcoming fiscal year, Comey was again critical of new encryption features by Apple and Google. His rationale against the case of encryption constantly cites crimes against children⁶³. In March 2015, he described a hypothetical father asking, "My daughter is missing. You have her phone. What do you mean you can't tell me who she was texting with before she disappeared." In another public speech against encryption, he cited four criminal cases involving minors. However, in the three cases *The Intercept* was able to examine, cell phone evidence had nothing to do with the identification or capture of the culprits and encryption would not even remotely have been a factor.

James Comey's quote:

*"What concerns me about this is companies marketing something expressly to allow people to place themselves beyond the law. [...] I get that the post-Snowden world has started an understandable pendulum swing [...] This is an indication to us as a country and as a people that, boy, maybe that pendulum swung too far."*⁶⁴

Michael Hayden



In this photo, Mike appears with a false smile in an almost desperate attempt to create a public-friendly image on social media. The picture was taken by Max [redacted] in 2008 when Hayden was still Director of the CIA and while [redacted] was supposedly a student at George Washington University. In a comment on this picture, Max stated the following: "Didn't think it was possible, but this picture proves the Central Intelligence Agency can literally get surveillance right up my nose."

The photo was obtained from Max [redacted] Facebook account. Dated September 2008.⁶⁵

Michael Vincent Hayden was Director of the NSA from 1999 to 2005, former Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence, and Director of the CIA from 2006 until 2009. Currently, he is a retired United States Air Force four-star general. It was during his tenure as NSA Director that he oversaw the extremely controversial surveillance of technological communications between ordinary citizens in the United States and so-called terrorist groups; this resulted in increased and warrantless surveillance policies. Hayden introduced outside contractors and restructured management at the NSA, persuading many old managers to retire.

In May 2006, *USA Today* reported that Hayden took extreme measures to enhance NSA activity, including wiretapping domestic communications. Hayden repeatedly defended the NSA's secret warrantless domestic eavesdropping program (which he helped design) to the Senate. During his nomination hearings, he defended his actions to Sen. Russ Feingold and stated that it was legal under Article 2 of the United States Constitution to conduct breaches of privacy in the interest of national security, overriding the legislative branch statutes forbidding warrantless surveillance of domestic calls, which included the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA)⁶⁶. Hayden is also responsible for Trailblazer,⁶⁷ a project with a large information technology component that even NSA staffers criticized for not including privacy protections for citizens and for being a waste of money. Hayden is also responsible for lobbying President George W. Bush to allow the CIA⁶⁸ to conduct drone strikes purely on the basis of behavior that matched a so-called "pattern of life" that can be determined through automatized analysis of metadata by algorithms, without any concrete evidence or accurate investigations.

Hayden is especially known in the media for a photo that was taken by a progressive activist who happened to overhear one of his phone calls. While Hayden was on the Acela train that runs between Boston and D.C., loudly giving an anonymous phone interview after the revelation that the NSA tapped 35 world leaders' phones, Tom Matzzie eavesdropped and live-tweeted the conversation.⁶⁹ Allegedly, as soon as Matzzie's tweets went online, the NSA contacted Hayden and instructed him to cease his phone conversation as others were 'spying' on him. Hayden then found Matzzie and took a selfie with him on the train ride. Matzzie exposed the whole episode to mainstream media as well as in his tweets.⁷⁰ Another interesting photo that has circulated widely online is a portrait of Edward Snowden next to Michael Hayden. Both men are smiling, during a gala in 2011. In late 2013, Hayden called Snowden a "defector," adding that he believes Snowden is "a troubled young man — morally arrogant to a tremendous degree — but a troubled young man."⁷¹

Michael Hayden's quote:

"Folks at NSA decide if it is reasonable or not to include the U.S. identity. They are usually very conservative, forcing intelligence consumers to formally request unmasking, a process that can be time-consuming. It was an approach that, if continued in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, would certainly protect NSA from future bloggers, but would be less effective in protecting America."⁷²

Michael Hayden's quote on CIA torture:

"Punches and kicks are not authorized and have never been employed."⁷³

Michael Hayden's quote on targeted killings:

"We kill people based on metadata"⁷⁴

-
- ¹ Corrie ██████: "Look who takes a great #Selfie - General Keith Alexander, the Cowboy of the NSA." Facebook, May 27th, 2014.
- ² Abu Ghraib torture and prisoner abuse. Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Ghraib_torture_and_prisoner_abuse
- ³ NSA Spying Was Only the Beginning. Meet the Spy Chief Leading Us Into Cyberwar. Wired. June 6th, 2013. <http://www.wired.com/2013/06/general-keith-alexander-cyberwar/>
- ⁴ The Cowboy of the NSA. Foreign Policy. September 9th, 2013. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/09/09/the-cowboy-of-the-nsa>
- ⁵ Inside the mind of NSA chief Gen Keith Alexander. Glenn Greenwald. The Guardian. 15th Sept. 2013. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/sep/15/nsa-mind-keith-alexander-star-trek>
- ⁶ Watch Top U.S. Intelligence Officials Repeatedly Deny NSA Spying On Americans Over The Last Year (Videos). Forbes. June 6th 2013. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/andygreenberg/2013/06/06/watch-top-u-s-intelligence-officials-repeatedly-deny-nsa-spying-on-americans-over-the-last-year-videos/>
- ⁷ Utah Data Center. Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Utah_Data_Center
- ⁸ Jeff Moss. Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeff_Moss_%28hacker%29
- ⁹ Statements to the public regarding NSA operations. Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keith_B._Alexander#Statements_to_the_public_regarding_NSA_operations
- ¹⁰ The NSA's Cyber-King Goes Corporate, Foreign Policy. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/29/the-nsas-cyber-king-goes-corporate/>
- ¹¹ Is NSA Surveillance Mastermind Keith Alexander Selling US Secrets to Wall Street? VICE. June 30th 2014 <http://www.vice.com/read/nsa-surveillance-mastermind-keith-alexander-selling-us-secrets-to-wall-street-630>
- ¹² Keith B. Alexander Lies To The Congress. Youtube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tw42HnhIGNo>
- ¹³ The OSS Society: CIA Director John Brennan speaking at the 2014 William J. Donovan Award Dinner. Facebook, October 29th 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/TheOSSociety/photos/pb.222137657803439.-2207520000.1425482926.967918816558649/?type=3&theater>
- ¹⁴ Inquiry by C.I.A. Affirms It Spied on Senate Panel. The New York Times. July 31st 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/01/world/senate-intelligence-committee-cia-interrogation-report.html>
- ¹⁵ Brennan defends drone strike policies. Washington Post, February 7th, 2013. http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/brennan-defends-drone-strike-policies/2013/02/07/f7384950-7145-11e2-ac36-3d8d9dcaa2e2_story.html
- ¹⁶ Victory in Court: CIA Can No Longer Refuse to "Confirm or Deny" on Drones. ACLU blog. March 15th. 2015 <https://www.aclu.org/blog/victory-court-cia-can-no-longer-refuse-confirm-or-deny-drones>
- ¹⁷ Lindsey Graham: Drone Strikes Have Killed 4,700 People. Huffington Post. February 2015 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/02/21/lindsey-graham-drone-strikes_n_2734133.html
- ¹⁸ Drone program. Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_O._Brennan#Drone_program
- ¹⁹ We're All Spies Now: CIA Director Announces Major Restructuring. The Intercept. March 6th 2015. <https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2015/03/06/spies-now-cia-director-announces-major-restructuring/>
- ²⁰ CIA Director Brennan Denies Hacking Allegations. YouTube, March 11th, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6apC6jN0TZo&feature=youtu.be&t=18m36s>
- ²¹ A Rare Photo of US Masterspy James Clapper Smiling. Twitter, December 16th, 2013. <https://twitter.com/cypherpunks/status/412473165978161152>
- ²² Clapper v. Amnesty International, 568 U.S. 2013. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clapper_v._Amnesty_International_USA
- ²³ American Civil Liberties Union .Amnesty et al. v. Clapper. <https://www.aclu.org/cases/amnesty-et-al-v-clapper>
- ²⁴ American Civil Liberties Union v. James Clapper, No. 13-3994. S.D. New York. December 28th 2013. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ACLU_v._Clapper
- ²⁵ NSA mass collection of phone data is legal, federal judge rules. The Guardian. December 27th 2013. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/27/judge-rules-nsa-phone-data-collection-legal>
- ²⁶ Clapper's 'Least Untruthful' Statement To The Senate. The Washington Post, June 12th 2013. http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/fact-checker/post/james-clappers-least-untruthful-statement-to-the-senate/2013/06/11/e50677a8-d2d8-11e2-a73e-826d299ff459_blog.html
- ²⁷ James Clapper lied to Congress about NSA and should be fired. Washington Post. January 27th 2014. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-switch/wp/2014/01/27/darrell-issa-james-clapper-lied-to-congress-about-nsa-and-should-be-fired/>
- ²⁸ What James Clapper Doesn't Understand About Edward Snowden. The Atlantic. February 24th, 2014. <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/02/what-james-clapper-doesnt-understand-about-edward-snowden/284032/>
- ²⁹ Clapper bans US intelligence employees from 'unauthorised' media contact. The Guardian. April 21st 2014. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/21/james-clapper-bans-us-intelligence-community-unauthorized-media-contact>
- ³⁰ Wikimedia Foundation Sues NSA Over Internet Surveillance. TechWeek Europe, March 10th 2015. <http://www.techweekeurope.co.uk/security/wikimedia-nsa-surveillance-164200#ZKkEd2cs7lufEjuY.99>
- ³¹ James Clapper's testimony one year later. PolitiFact, March 11th, 2014. <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2014/mar/11/james-clappers-testimony-one-year-later/>
- ³² Petraeus scandal, From Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Petraeus_scandal
- ³³ Dean ██████. Twitter, March 26th, 2013.
- ³⁴ Petraeus Factual Basis - US Department of Justice <http://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/opa/press-releases/attachments/2015/03/03/petraeus-factual-basis.pdf>
- ³⁵ Petraeus reaches deal to plead guilty to misdemeanor; likely won't face prison. The Washington Post, March 3rd, 2013. http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/petraeus-pleads-guilty-to-misdemeanor-but-will-likely-not-face-prison-time/2015/03/03/13824f2a-c1bc-11e4-9271-610273846239_story.html
- ³⁶ NSA Whistleblower: Petraeus Plea Deal Is 'Slap On the Wrist'. Voices of Liberty, March 4th 2015. <http://www.voicesofliberty.com/article/nsa-whistleblower-petraeus-plea-deal-is-slap-on-the-wrist/>
- ³⁷ David Petraeus sentenced to probation for sharing classified information. The Guardian, April 23rd 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/apr/23/david-petraeus-sentenced-sharing-classified-information>
- ³⁸ All In: The Education of General David Petraeus. Published: January 24, 2012. Authors: Paula Broadwell, Vernon Loeb. <http://www.amazon.com/All-In-Education-General-David-Petraeus/dp/B00F6IM5CW>
- ³⁹ CIA Chief: We'll Spy On You Through Your Dishwasher. Wired. March 15th 2012. <http://www.wired.com/2012/03/petraeus-tv-remote/>

-
- ⁴⁰ Caitlin Hayden. Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/caitlin.hayden>
- ⁴¹ NSC spokeswoman Hayden to step down. The Hill, Oct. 8th 2014.
<http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/220183-nsc-spokeswoman-hayden-to-step-down>
- ⁴² Caitlin Hayden LinkedIn profile
<https://www.linkedin.com/profile/view?id=15488184>
- ⁴³ Angela Merkel's call to Obama: are you bugging my mobile phone? The Guardian, October 23rd 2013.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/23/us-monitored-angela-merkel-german>
- ⁴⁴ DER SPIEGEL: NSA PUT MERKEL ON LIST OF 122 TARGETED LEADERS. The Intercept, March 29th 2014.
<https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2014/03/29/der-spiegel-nsa-ghcg-hacked-german-companies-put-merkel-list-122-targeted-leaders/>
- ⁴⁵ Iraq War Critic: NSA Targeted Gerhard Schröder's Mobile Phone. Spiegel Online, February 4th 2014.
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/nsa-reportedly-spied-on-former-chancellor-gerhard-schroeder-a-951628.html>
- ⁴⁶ James Clapper lied to Congress about NSA and should be fired. Washington Post, January 27th 2014.
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-switch/wp/2014/01/27/darrell-issa-james-clapper-lied-to-congress-about-nsa-and-should-be-fired/>
- ⁴⁷ Caitlin Hayden, Twitter profile. May 2015.
<https://twitter.com/caitlinhayden>
- ⁴⁸ Targeting Huawei: NSA Spied on Chinese Government and Networking Firm. Spiegel Online, March 22nd 2014.
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/nsa-spied-on-chinese-government-and-networking-firm-huawei-a-960199.html>
- ⁴⁹ oSTEM and NOGLSTP Joint Meeting. Affinity Magazine, January 21st, 2015.
<http://affinityincmagazine.com/ostem-and-noglstp-joint-meeting/>
- ⁵⁰ Avril Haines, Wikipedia page.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avril_Haines
- ⁵¹ Avril Haines, The Least Likely Spy. Newsweek. June 26th 2013.
<http://www.newsweek.com/2013/06/26/avril-haines-least-likely-spy-237616.html>
- ⁵² Avril Haines, The Least Likely Spy. Newsweek. June 26th 2013.
<http://www.newsweek.com/2013/06/26/avril-haines-least-likely-spy-237616.html>
- ⁵³ Avril Haines, new CIA #2, ran indie bookstore remembered for '90s 'erotica nights'. Washington Post, 13th June 2013.
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/reliable-source/wp/2013/06/13/avril-haines-new-cia-2-ran-indie-bookstore-remembered-for-90s-erotica-nights/>
- ⁵⁴ Avril Haines, The Least Likely Spy. Newsweek. June 26th 2013.
<http://www.newsweek.com/2013/06/26/avril-haines-least-likely-spy-237616.html>
- ⁵⁵ @ [REDACTED]. Twitter. March 1st 2015.
- ⁵⁶ NSA chief: Cyber staff 'gobbled up' by private sector. The Hill, March 3rd, 2015.
<http://thehill.com/policy/cybersecurity/236305-nsa-chief-cyber-staff-gobbled-up-by-private-sector>
- ⁵⁷ Transcript: NSA Director Mike Rogers vs. Yahoo! on Encryption Back Doors. Just Security. February 23rd, 2015.
<http://justsecurity.org/20304/transcript-nsa-director-mike-rogers-vs-yahoo-encryption-doors/>
- ⁵⁸ NSA Director: We Need Frameworks for Cyber, Circumventing Crypto. Threat Post. February 23rd, 2015.
<https://threatpost.com/nsa-director-we-need-frameworks-for-cyber-circumventing-crypto/111198>
- ⁵⁹ NSA chief Michael Rogers: Edward Snowden 'probably not' a foreign spy. The Guardian, June 3rd, 2014.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/03/nsa-chief-michael-rogers-edward-snowden-probably-not-spy>
- ⁶⁰ Adrian [REDACTED]. Twitter, October 25th, 2013.
- ⁶¹ James Comey, Wikipedia.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Comey
- ⁶² James Comey, F.B.I. Director, Hints at Action as Cellphone Data Is Locked. NYTimes, October 16th, 2014.
http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/17/us/politics/fbi-director-in-policy-speech-calls-dark-devices-hindrance-to-crime-solving.html?_r=0
- ⁶³ FBI Pleads For Crypto Subversion in Congressional Budget Hearing. Threat Post. March 27th, 2015.
<https://threatpost.com/fbi-pleads-for-crypto-subversion-in-congressional-budget-hearing/111860>
- ⁶⁴ FBI Director James Comey 'Very Concerned' About New Apple, Google Privacy Features. The Huffington Post, September 25th 2014.
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/09/25/james-comey-apple-encryption_n_5882874.html
- ⁶⁵ Max [REDACTED] Facebook.
- ⁶⁶ Wiretaps of domestic communication. Wikipedia.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Hayden_%28general%29#Wiretaps_of_domestic_communication
- ⁶⁷ Trailblazer Project. Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trailblazer_Project
- ⁶⁸ CIA's Push for Drone War Driven by Internal Needs. Inter Press Service.
<http://www.ipsnews.net/2011/09/cias-push-for-drone-war-driven-by-internal-needs/>
- ⁶⁹ Tom Matzzie on Why He Live-Tweeted a Former CIA Director's Private Conversation, and Whether That Made Him Nervous.
<http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2013/10/tom-matzzie-interview-michael-hayden-twitter-nsa-cia-train.html>
- ⁷⁰ The photo was originally taken by Jeremy Johnson on an Acela ride on the upper East Coast. It was posted on Twitter with the caption: "This has been the most interesting @Acela ride of all time. Yes, Michael Hayden just sat down with @tommatzzie and I[.]"
- ⁷¹ That time Edward Snowden and Gen. Michael Hayden took a photo together — wearing smiles and tuxedos. Washington Post. August 13th, 2014.
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2014/08/13/that-time-edward-snowden-and-gen-michael-hayden-took-a-photo-together-wearing-smiles-and-tuxedos/>
- ⁷² Michael Hayden in The Washington Times, Wednesday, March 18th, 2015.
<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/mar/18/michael-hayden-a-reasonable-view-of-privacy-security/?page=all>
- ⁷³ Michael Hayden's statement. <https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2014/12/10/cia-truth-torture-existential-threat/>
- ⁷⁴ NSA Doesn't Need to Spy on Your Calls to Learn Your Secrets. Wired. - March 23rd 2015.
<http://www.wired.com/2015/03/data-and-goliath-nsa-metadata-spying-your-secrets/>