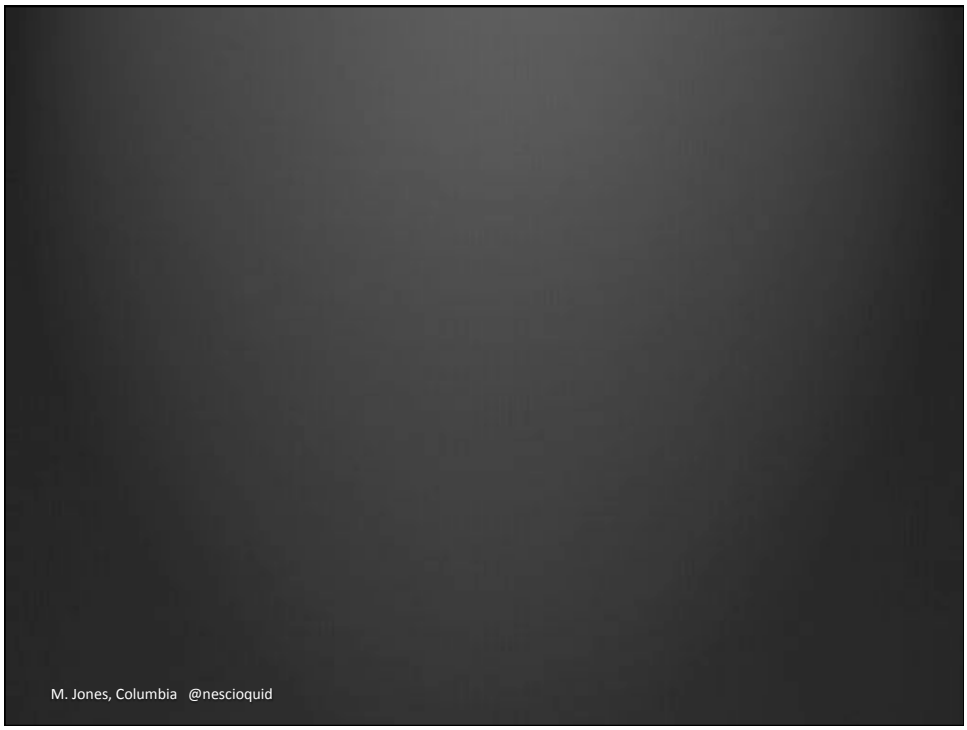
Great Exploitations
Technological Determinism and the National Security Agency

Matthew Jones
History, Columbia
mjones@columbia.edu
@nescioquid


M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid


M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Three changes

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

1. severity of volume

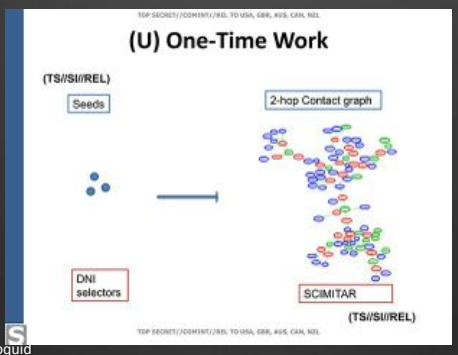
- Mid 1990s
  - Volume of communications foremost problem for the NSA
- Mid 2000s
  - Email title: "Volume is our Friend."
- Late 2000s
  - "Golden Age of SigInt" (Signals Intelligence)

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

2. legality of querying

Late 1990s

Dept. of Justice rejects legality of a novel scheme to contact chain telephony and Internet as violation of 4th Amendment



M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

2. legality of querying

Late 1990s

DOJ rejects legality of a novel scheme to contact chain telephony and Internet metadata while encrypting the identity of US persons as violation of 4th Amendment

2008 secret Justice department memo

contact chaining and other metadata analysis do not qualify as the 'interception' or 'selection' of communications . . . .

Thus: no search and seizure under 4th amendment

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

3. banality of hacking

1992

First Information Warfare doctrine more or less excludes NSA

1997

The US Secretary of Defense assigned primary responsibility for Computer Network Attacks (CNA) to the NSA, securing NSA a central role in information warfare—post cold war future

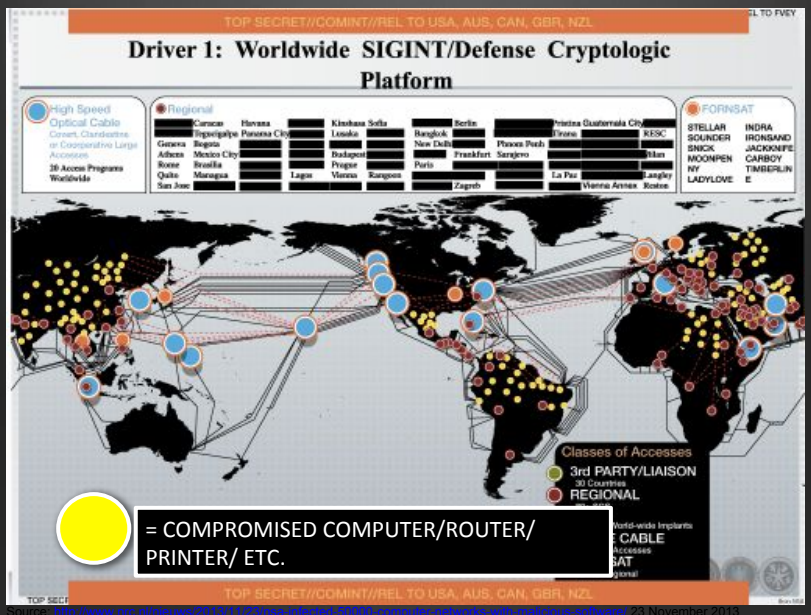
Mid 2000s

Distributed XKeyscore database offered the option to "Show me all the exploitable machines in country X."

2013

"The United States Government has mature capabilities and effective processes for cyber collection."

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid



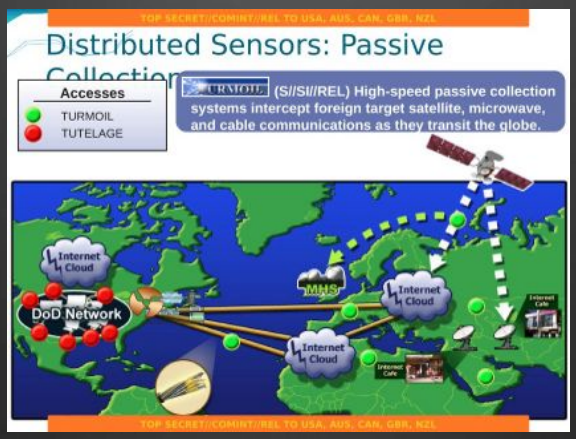
Source: http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2013/11/23/nsa-infected-50000-computer-networks-with-malicious-software/ 23 November 2013

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

"own the Net"

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Passive Listening



M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Managing Hacking

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Janus Faced Agency

SigInt

Information Assurance

Exploit communications

Protect Communications

(COMSEC)

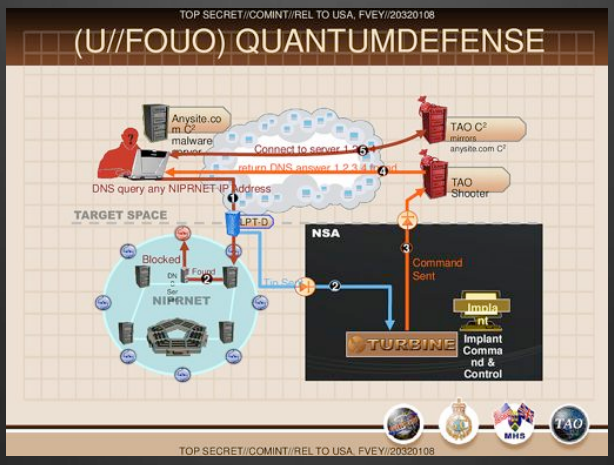
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Exploitation >> comsec

- **Secret** risk analyses
  that national security best served by:
- Weakening encryption standards >> strongest encryption
- Retaining malware exploits >> systematic patching

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Active defense



"in ur interwebz, sploiting ur dataz"

NSA talk title, August 2008

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Well, duh!

The job of the NSA is to collect and analyze communications, what did you expect them to do?

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Radical two fold difference

Breadth

Depth

NSA >9/11: depth abroad

- not just foreign leaders, militaries, and intelligence
- not just the communications passing between phones or computers, but access to the full contents of computers, phones and routers themselves of millions of people and organizations
- Banality of hacking: at least 80K "implants"
  - Millions of devices systematically scanned as exploitable
  - "lightweight implants" used to map internal networks just in case
  - "enable" other activities

NSA >9/11: domestic breadth

- Breadth
  - Systematic collection of *domestic* telephony and (until lately) internet metadata
  - Able to collect large numbers of communications into, out of, and traversing the US
  - Including a large number of "incidental" communications of US persons
  - Including keeping *all* encrypted communications indefinitely

Goals

- Don't want (just)
  - personality driven account (Cheney, Alexander)
  - executive power (John Yoo &c.)
  - monotonic government power
  - revolving door corruption (NSA←→contractors)
  - Neoinstitutional account
- *Structural* account of earlier possibilities actualized after 9/11
- Bind together US-focused story with foreign story

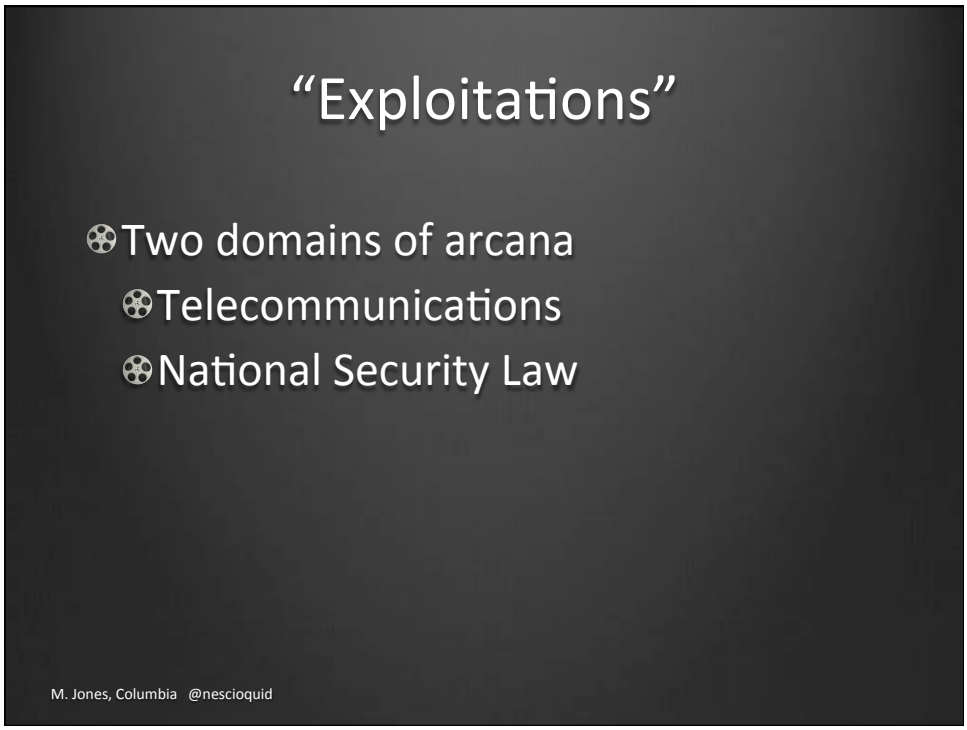
Why history of science?

- Counter-history
  - Challenge technologically determinist policy choices
    - Framings of law and authority
  - Illuminate macro narratives of technological change
- Classic breaking of apparent closure
- Reopen epistemic wounds…

Sources

- Declassified documents (FOIA + Mandatory declassification)
- "Open Source" Intel (esp. webarchive; dtic.mil; linkedin)
- National security journalists with "access"
- Whistleblowers
  - William Binney
  - Thomas Drake
  - Edward Snowden documents (esp. complete documents)
- Publically available code and algorithms (STUXNET, FLAME)
- University Archive Material
- Everything publically available; much still classified.


M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid


"Exploitations"
Two domains of arcana
Telecommunications
National Security Law
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Verbing weirds language

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Verbing weirds language

- NSA actor's categories
  - Central to infamous non-denial denials
- "Collect": "Information shall be considered as 'collected' only when it has been received for use by an employee of a DoD intelligence component in the course of his official duties."
- Not exclusively rhetorical, central to Intelligence Community (IC) worldview

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Exploiting signals

- "Exploit" means, on first approximation, "make available" or "enable"
  - To exploit Angela Merkel's cellphone is to make the acquisition of her telephony metadata and content possible
  - To exploit a key node in the internet backbone is to make the acquisition of all metadata and content possible
  - To exploit a printer is to enable it to do reconnaissance on the entire network its part of

Exploiting the law

- "Exploiting the law" means allowing the law to enable acquisition and analysis
- Almost an actor's category
  - 2009 Draft IG report: "DOJ and NSA needed to find a legal theory that would allow NSA to add and drop thousands of foreign targets for content collection."

Executive: secret interpretations of law

Judicial: negotiation with regulatory court (FISC)

Legislative: reworking of statutory law (FISA)

Foreign: reworking of German privacy laws

Exploiting the law

- "Exploiting the law" means allowing the law to enable acquisition and analysis
- Almost an actor's category
  - For SIGINT to be optimally effective, **legal, policy, and process authorities must be as adaptive and dynamic as the technological and operational advances we seek to exploit**. Nevertheless, the culture of compliance, which has allowed the American people to entrust NSA with extraordinary authorities, will not be compromised in the face of so many demands, even as we **aggressively pursue legal authorities and a policy framework mapped more fully to the information age. (Sigint Strategy 2012)**

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

"modernizing" the law

Telephones/Internet usage

Individual Phone dialing info w/o Warrant

to

Collect all telephony metadata worldwide

Espionage

Capturing a particular set of communications

to

Cracking computers at great scale

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

"modernizing" the law

- Ignore effects of *scale* when defending
- Ignore power of operations on scale
- Ignore danger of operations on scale

- BIG DATA Crowd: Operations on volume changes things

Paradigm shift

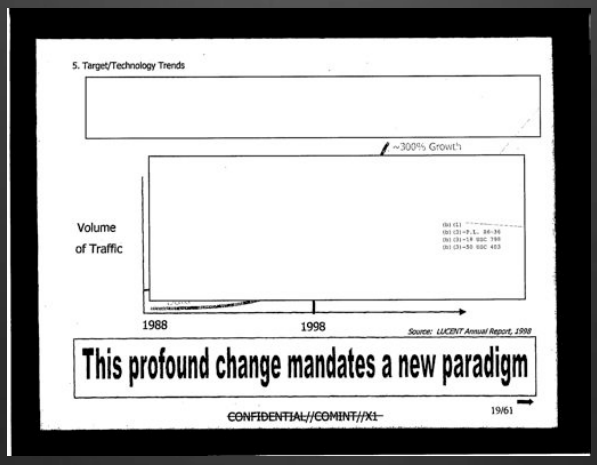
The volume has been pumped up

Volume

"Let me add to all of that the third biggest challenge facing us, and that is volume. And I could just end the sentence there and everything is said. [Paragraph Redacted] That gives you some idea of the daunting challenge volume presents, forcing us to look for new technologies."

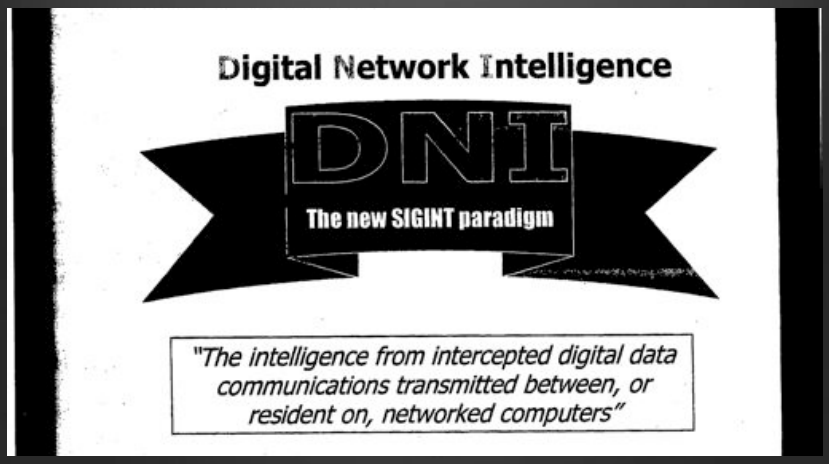
redacted, "Confronting the Intelligence Future (U) An Interview with William P. Crowell, NSA's Deputy Director (U)." 1996

Paradigm shift



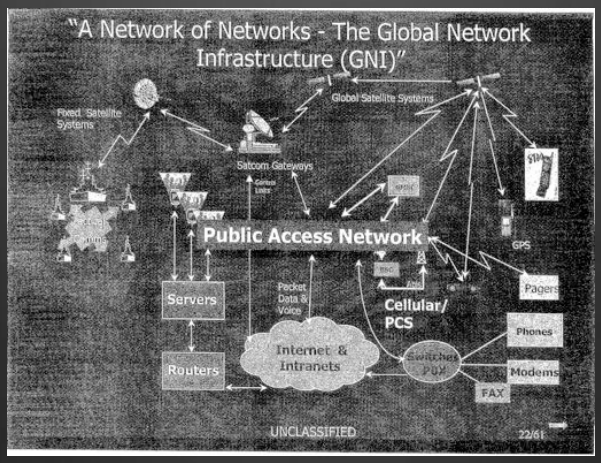
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Paradigm shift



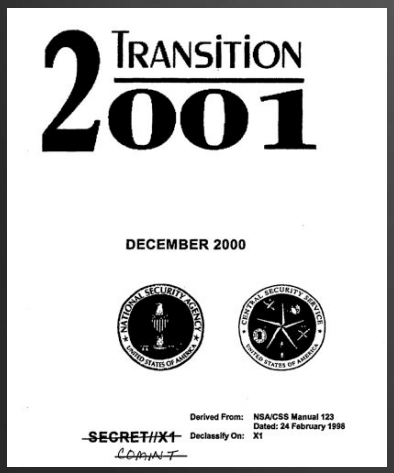
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

What to exploit? c. 1999



M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

NSA 2000


TRANSITION 2001

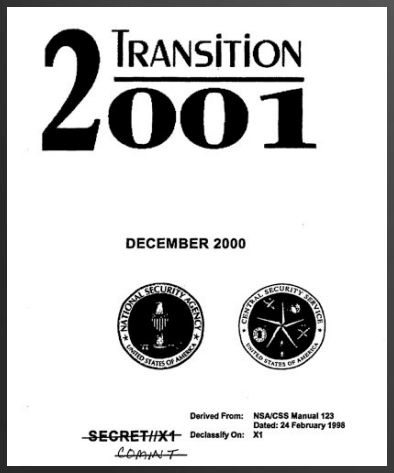
DECEMBER 2000

Derived From: NSA/CSS Manual 123
Dated: 24 February 1998
~~SECRET//X1~~ Declassify On: X1
~~COMINT~~

eSIGINT in the Information Age means seeking out information on the Global Net, using all available access techniques, breaking often strong encryption, […], defending our nation's use of the Global net, and assisting our warfighters in preparing the battlefield for the cyberwars of the future.

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

NSA 2000

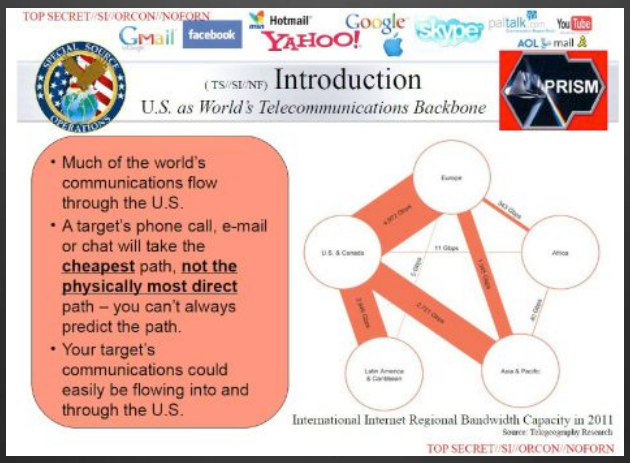


The Fourth Amendment is as applicable to eSIGINT as it is to the SIGINT of yesterday and today. **The Information Age will however cause us to rethink and reapply the procedures, policies and authorities born in an earlier electronic surveillance environment.**

4th revised

- Make no mistake, NSA can and will perform its missions consistent with the Fourth Amendment . . . senior leadership must understand that today's and tomorrow's mission will demand a powerful, permanent presence on a global telecommunications network that **will host the 'protected' communications of Americans as well as the targeted communications of adversaries**.
- National Security Agency/Central Security Service, "National Security Agency/Central Security Service Transition 2001", p. 32.

Transiting US



M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

"modernizing" the law

Non-US signals in the homeland

1) Foreign communications [illegible] the homeland

2) Domestic launching poin[illegible]mation warfare from foreign sources

Impossibility of treating as *domestic* law enforcement subject to 4th Amendment

Necessity to treat as *defense* issue in the first instance

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Δ(presumption)

Gary Sharp (soon after counsel for IO/DNO/Cyber at DOD….)

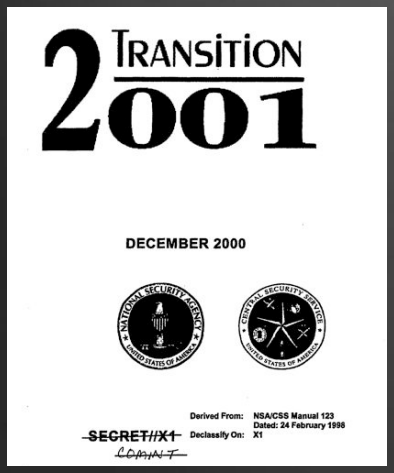
4th revised

- Make no mistake, NSA can and will perform its missions consistent with the Fourth Amendment . . . senior leadership must understand that today's and tomorrow's mission will demand a powerful, permanent presence on a global telecommunications network that **will host the 'protected' communications of Americans as well as the targeted communications of adversaries**.
- National Security Agency/Central Security Service, "National Security Agency/Central Security Service Transition 2001", p. 32.

"The Information Age," huh?

The issue of domestic intelligence gathering and surveillance needs to be revisited. […] intelligence gathering and surveillance are the first line of deterrence and defense against all forms of cyberattack. [CSIS Homeland Defense: Information Warfare, p. 191]

NSA 2000


TRANSITION 2001

DECEMBER 2000

Derived From: NSA/CSS Manual 123
Dated: 24 February 1998
~~SECRET//X1~~ Declassify On: X1
~~COMINT~~

The Fourth Amendment is as applicable to eSIGINT as it is to the SIGINT of yesterday and today. **The Information Age will however cause us to rethink and reapply the procedures, policies and authorities born in an earlier electronic surveillance environment.**

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Block Periodization

A Taxonomy for Information Warfare: Three Waves, Three Schools of Thought

WAVE	FIRST (AGRARIAN)	SECOND (INDUSTRIAL)	THIRD (INFORMATION)
PHYSICAL SECURITY PROVIDED BY	A Warrior Class, Mercenaries, Militia	Professional Citizens	Information Knowledgeable Leaders
DOMINANT SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC FORCE	Tribe, City, State	Nation-State	Global Conglomerates
ECONOMY DOMINATED BY	Trade	Money	Symbols
WAR CHARACTERIZED BY	Representational Conflict	Mass Armies	Information Attacks
ULTIMATE DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITY	Gunpowder	Weapons of Mass Destruction	Critical Information Deletion
INFORMATION IN WARFARE	YES	YES	YES
INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY IN WARFARE	NO	YES	YES
INFORMATION WARFARE	NO	NO	YES

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Two regimes of conflict

- Ye olde Westphalian order:
  - Among sovereign, territorial nations
    - some (US) with robust formal rights for citzens (US persons)
    - Externally focused forces (DOD, NSA, CIA, MI-6, &c)
    - Domestically focused forces (FBI, MI-5, &c.)
    - "Hobbesian" or "Grotian" relations among nations

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Two regimes of conflict

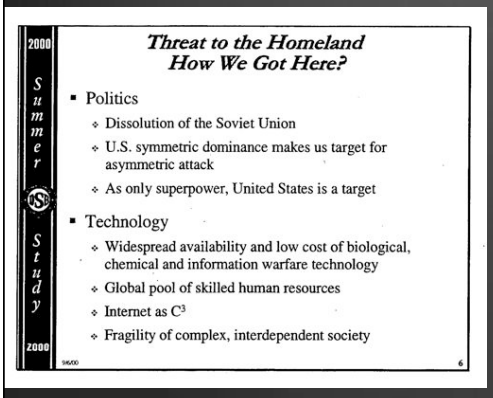
- De-territorialized, non-Westphalian, Information age
  - Porous nations and non-state actors
    - "homeland" no "sanctuary"
    - Grotian paradigm gone baby gone
  - Asymmetrical warfare anywhere
    - Dissolving of Defense/law enforcement boundary
    - Dissolving of foreign/not foreign
  - "Critical infrastructure" at risk
    - Dissolving of economic/non-economic
  - Foucault being read in DoD and RAND

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Loss of sanctuary

In the new era, a sharp distinction between 'foreign' and 'domestic' no longer apply. We do not equate national security with 'defense.'" (Hart-Rudman, *Roadmap to National Security*)

Loss of sanctuary



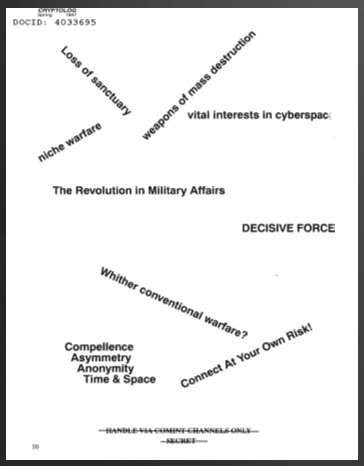
Information war has no front line. Potential battlefields are anywhere networked systems allow access. Current trends suggest that the U.S. economy will increasingly rely on complex, interconnected network control systems for such necessities as oil and gas pipelines, electric grids, etc. […]

the U.S. homeland may no longer provide a sanctuary from outside attack.

--RAND report on Cyberwar exercises
"What Makes Cyberwar Different?"

DSB Summer Study 2000

Loss of sanctuary



NSA Cryptolog Magazine,1997

DSB 2001 report (< 9/11/2001)
Because the targets of information operations will be civilian as well as military, defending against such attacks will require close cooperation between the public and private sectors. Such cooperation is mildly controversial today, but **a sophisticated attack on public and private networks will likely make cooperation not just politically acceptable but politically necessary. When that happens, the legal regime needed to respond to the attack will likely be put in place quickly by politicians anxious to be seen as part of the solution.** [85-86]

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

"modernizing" < 9/11

- Deterritorializing regime working within constitutional one
- Setting wheels in motion to
  - Allow interception of foreign packets transiting US
  - Weaken intelligence / domestic crime boundary
  - Allow NSA to play significant role in scanning US for vulnerabilities or attacks in action (Critical In Infrastructure)
  - Allow NSA, CIA, and DOD more involvement in fighting asymmetric warfare in US more generally

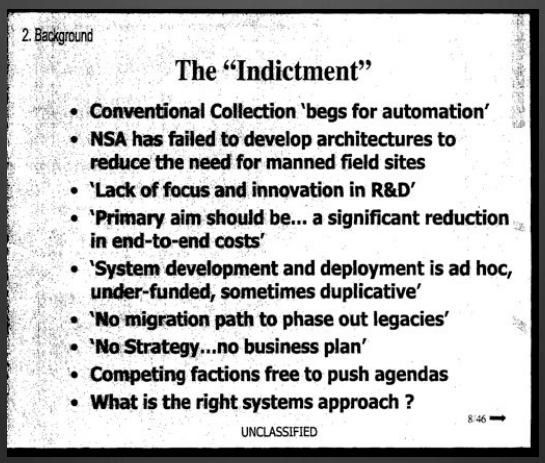
PATRIOT ACT emerges with weeks of 9/11

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Contested < 9/11

- NSA/FBI lost "Crypto wars" (a shock)
- NSA considered by many a cold war relic in 1990s
  - NSA lost responsibility for civilian digital infrastructure to NIST
  - Peace dividend killing budget
  - BLEEDING mathematical and CS talent
- Armed services fighting for control of Information Warfare
- NSA UNLIKELY to get its form of "MODERNIZATION" of law

Contested < 9/11


2. Background

The "Indictment"

- Conventional Collection 'begs for automation'
- NSA has failed to develop architectures to reduce the need for manned field sites
- 'Lack of focus and innovation in R&D'
- 'Primary aim should be... a significant reduction in end-to-end costs'
- 'System development and deployment is ad hoc, under-funded, sometimes duplicative'
- 'No migration path to phase out legacies'
- 'No Strategy...no business plan'
- Competing factions free to push agendas
- What is the right systems approach ?

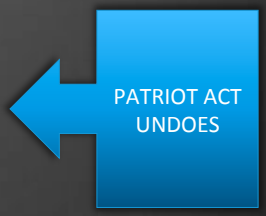
8:46

UNCLASSIFIED

Congressional Indictment of NSA FY 1999 Authorization; Clapper report

Contested < 9/11

- Clinton era Office of Legal Counsel in 1997-2000
  - Sharply uphold boundary between
    - Domestic law enforcement
      - Grand juries
      - Wiretaps
    - Intelligence Community
  - Reject plan to contact-chain US persons
  - Unknown what do with IW?



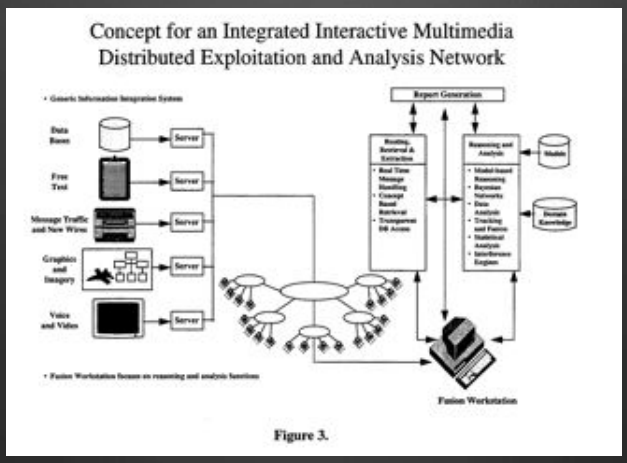
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Post-westphalian data mining

- **"the application of evolving techniques that already are employed widely in the industrial sector for searching, merging, sorting and correlating data in multiple independent data bases, can be applied to the transnational terrorist problem** to provide intelligence analysts with more effective tools than are now available to help them discover the identities, capabilities, intentions and plans, of foreign and domestic threat groups."
  - Hermann and Welch, *The Defense Science Board 1997 Summer Study Task Force on DoD Responses to Transnational Threats. Volume III (Supporting Reports)*, section 4A, p. 6.

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Post-westphalian warfare

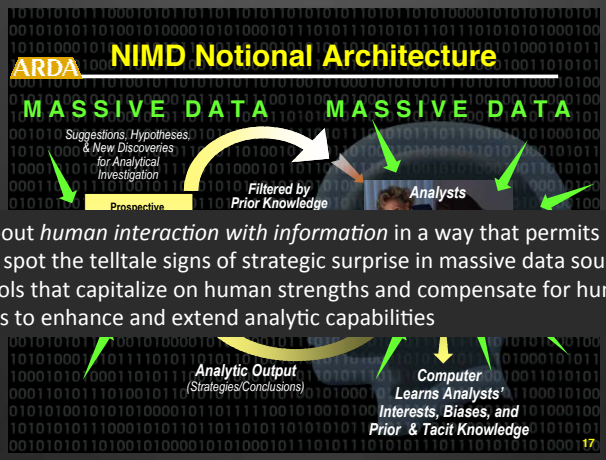


Andrews, "Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Information Warfare-Defense (IW-D)," appendix B.

Total Information Awareness

LACK OF IRONY A REASONED FACT NOT JUST A FACT

Advanced Research and Development Activity
c. 2002



NIMD is about *human interaction with information* in a way that permits intelligence analysts to spot the telltale signs of strategic surprise in massive data sources - building tools that capitalize on human strengths and compensate for human weaknesses to enhance and extend analytic capabilities

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid Novel Intelligence from Massive Data

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Exploiting the law

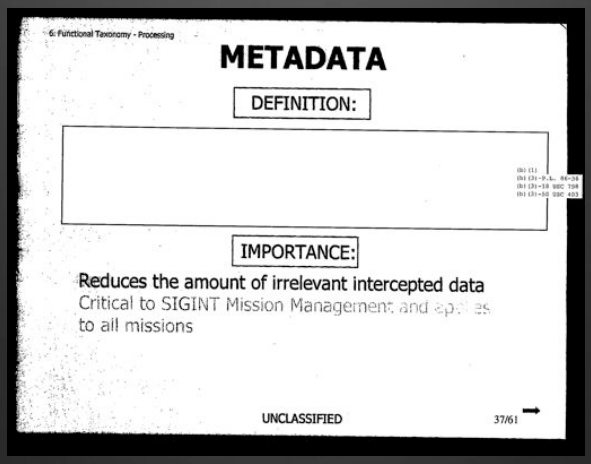
Making up Metadata
Computer Network Exploitation

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Exploiting the law

Making up Metadata

Definition too secret…



Everyone's metadata?

- Quotation from secret decision with redacted name and date, p. 63
- so "long as no individual has a reasonable expectation of privacy in meta data [sic], the large number of persons whose communications will be subjected to the . . . surveillance is irrelevant to the issue of whether a Fourth Amendment Search or seizure will occur."

Aggregation and privacy interests

- A later ruling:
- "Put another way, where one individual does not have a Fourth Amendment interest, grouping together a large number of similarly-situated individuals cannot result in the Fourth Amendment interest springing into being *ex nihilo*."
- Amended Memorandum Opinion, 8–9 (Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court 2013), 8.

SigInt

Cryptographic Analysis

- Decrypting plain text of contents of communication
- What NSA famous for

Traffic analysis

- Reconstructing Networks of Communication, Order of Battle, etc.
- WITHOUT access to CONTENT of communications

Traffic Analytic Revolution

- "In many respects, the break between the Black Chambers and modern cryptology is the invention of traffic analysis, the recognition that cryptologic attack can reveal information of value even when it is successful only in recovering the externals of intercepted communications."
  - redacted, P054, "Intelligence Analysis: Production and Reporting in a Changed Environment," *Cryptolog: The Journal of Technical Health*, no. 1 (1995): 20.

Traffic Analytic Revolution

- "The very idea that cryptologists, even when unable to produce plain text (the Holy Grail of the black chambers) could provide valuable, even life saving information to consumers, **revolutionized the field**."
  - William Nolte, "Louis W. Tordella and the Making of NSA," *Cryptolog: The Journal of Technical Health*, no. Spring 1996: iv.
- "The analytic effort to derive useful information from the **externals** of message traffic, [….], ranks as a defining event in cryptologic history. […] traffic analysis pointed to something fundamental about the cryptology of our time: the fundamental importance of understanding not just the content of communications and the means to hide those contents but of the systems and technologies that carried those communications."

  "Lessons Learned. Inteview with [redacted]," *Cryptolog: The Journal of Technical Health* Summer 1997: 1.

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

12333 annex

(U) Interception. The term "interception" means the acquisition by the United States Signals Intelligence System through electronic means of a nonpublic communication to which it is not an intended party, and the processing of the contents of that communication into an intelligence form but not including the display of signals on visual display devices intended to permit the examination of the technical characteristics of the signal without reference to the information content carried by the signal.

Classified annex to 12333, 1988

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Envelopes & T/A

Summary

A hypothetical analogy using postal mail may clarify the concept of T/A in more familiar terms. In the case of postal mail, the content of the envelope would be the purview of cryptanalysis, whereas the study of the address, the return address, and the date stamp would be akin to traffic analysis. Study of these external features could reveal identification of banks, stockbrokers, credit unions, employers, doctors, dentists, friends, relatives, etc., and how often and when mail contact is maintained with these recipients. For example, T/A in this context might reveal that an individual had been diagnosed as seriously ill based on communications with doctors and insurance companies, or that the person is under financial stress based on the volume of letters from collection agencies and banks.

Exploiting the law: metadata

Executive: secret interpretations of law
"metadata" not "interception"

Judicial: negotiation with regulatory court (FISC)

Legislative: reworking of statutory law (FISA)

From Calls to Metadata

- Warrantless wiretapping
- Pen register "use technology reasonably available to it that restricts the recording or decoding of electronic or other impulses to the dialing and signaling information utilized in call processing."
- PATRIOT §216
- "the recording or decoding of electronic or other impulses to the dialing, **routing, addressing,** and signaling information utilized in the **processing and transmitting of wire or electronic communications so as not to include the contents of any wire or electronic communications**."

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Bifurcation of "communications"

- Metadata (still unnamed in PATRIOT Act)
- Content (delimited and specific)
- FBI fact sheet "Section 216 updated the law to the technology. It ensures that law enforcement will be able to collect non-content information about terrorists' communications regardless of the media they use."

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Smith v. Maryland

- Supreme Court held that users of telephony have no "reasonable expectation of privacy" in the phone numbers they dial even as they have a reasonable expectation of privacy in the spoken content of their calls.
  - Give dialing information willingly to phone company
  - "Although petitioner's conduct may have been calculated to keep the *contents* of his conversation private, his conduct was not and could not have been calculated to preserve the privacy of the number he dialed." (*Smith v. Maryland*, at 743.)

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Smith v. Maryland, exploited

- Supreme Court held that users of telephony have no "reasonable expectation of privacy" in the ~~phone numbers they dial~~ their communications metadata even as they have a reasonable expectation of privacy in the content of ~~calls~~ their communications.

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Aggregation and privacy interests

- A later ruling:
- "Put another way, where one individual does not have a Fourth Amendment interest, grouping together a large number of similarly-situated individuals cannot result in the Fourth Amendment interest springing into being *ex nihilo*."
- Amended Memorandum Opinion, 8–9 (Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court 2013), 8.

Two forms of aggregation

Classical UG stats

- Aggregation yield generalization
  - Means
  - Medians
  - Std. deviations
- No privacy interest

Data mining Traffic Analysis

- Aggregation allow to know *individual* better
  - (at least to predict many qualities about that person)
- Massive privacy interest

USG recognize

- The significance of one item of information may frequently depend upon knowledge of many other items of information. What may seem trivial to the uninformed, may appear of great moment to one who has a broad view of the scene and may put the questioned item of information in its proper context.
  - United States v. Marchetti.
- Precisely why Metadata analysis so interesting in the first place

Mosaic vs. 4th Amendment

	Individual data	Analyzed/Aggregate data
Mosaic	Unclassified/declassified No threat to national security	Some certainly classified Threat to national security
Search and Seizure doctrine	Constitutional No threat to privacy interests	Constitutional No threat to privacy interests

Exploiting the law

Computer network ~~attack~~ exploitation

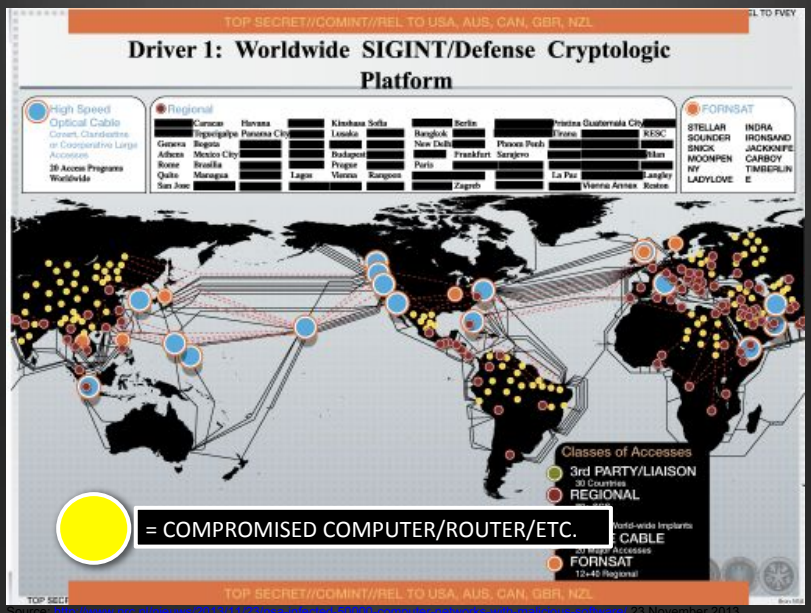
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Talking point

- Caitlin Hayden, Obama spokesperson: "The United States has made clear it gathers intelligence in exactly the same way as any other states."

From mining data to banal cracking

- One Farsi speaking analyst describes his work on Linkedin
  - Developed DNI selectors […]. Target[ed] online activities, accounts, and associated identifiers to identify research and development efforts. . . .
  - Utilized numerous DNI and telephony databases and tools to discover new leads, …
  - Identified new targets and further developed current targets to enable TAO exploitation.



Source: http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2013/11/23/nsa-infected-50000-computer-networks-with-malicious-software/ 23 November 2013

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Tailored Access

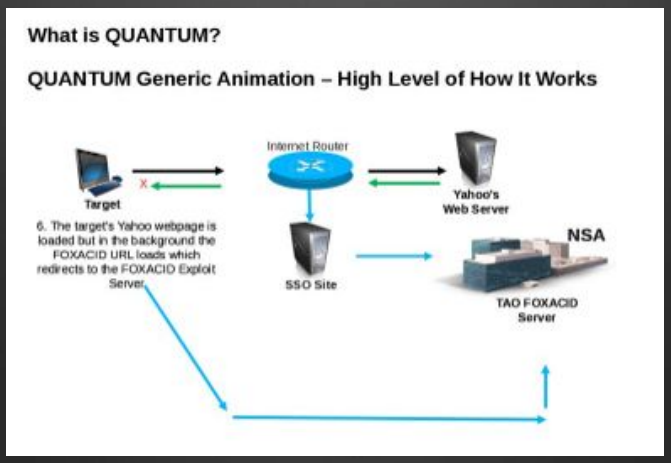
Tailored Access = build malware to "enable access"

generic (W8.1, basic Tor Linux install),

highly specialized (nuclear centrifuge controller)

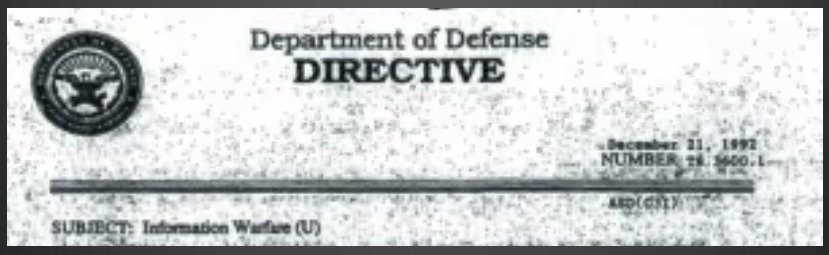
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Tailored Access



M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Information Warfare 1.0

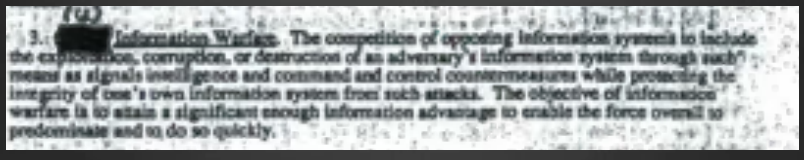


Department of Defense
DIRECTIVE

December 21, 1992
NUMBER [redacted].5000.1

ASD(C3I)

SUBJECT: Information Warfare (U)

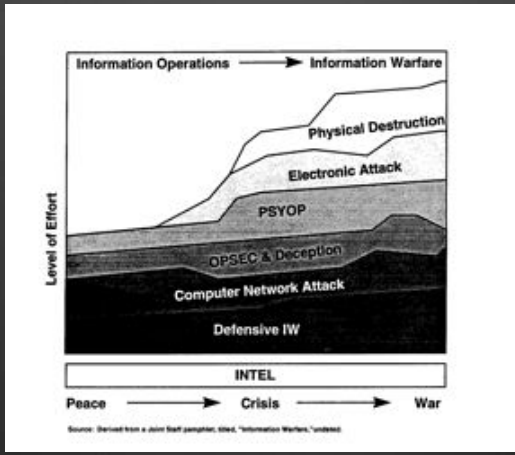


(U)

3. [redacted] Information Warfare. The competition of opposing information systems to include the exploitation, corruption, or destruction of an adversary's information system through such means as signals intelligence and command and control countermeasures while protecting the integrity of one's own information system from such attacks. The objective of information warfare is to attain a sufficient enough information advantage to enable the force overall to predominate and to do so quickly.

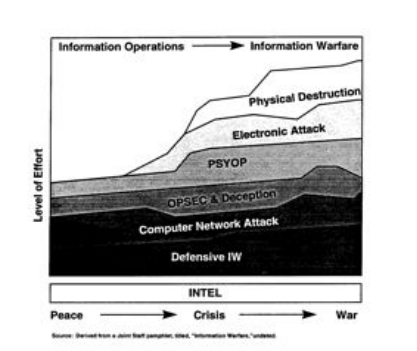
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Computer Network Attack: a bit of honesty



M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Computer Network Attack: euphemism



JP3-13, 1996, p. II-8

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Severing "exploitation" from "attack"

- Creation of new category c 1998
- computer network exploitation [CNE]— Enabling operations and intelligence collection capabilities conducted through the use of computer networks to gather data from target or adversary automated information systems or networks.
- Such cracking *not offensive warfare*—a tertium quid

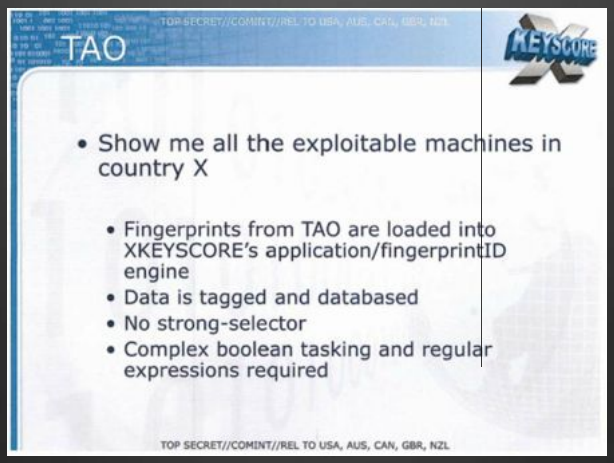
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

CNE as espionage

- The treatment of espionage under international law may help us make an educated guess as to how the international community will react to information operations activities. . . . If the activity results only in a breach of the perceived reliability of an information system, **it seems unlikely that the world community will be much exercised**. In short, information operations activities are likely to be regarded much as is espionage - not a major issue unless significant practical consequences can be demonstrated."
- Johnson, "An Assessment of International Legal Issues in Information Operations," 40.

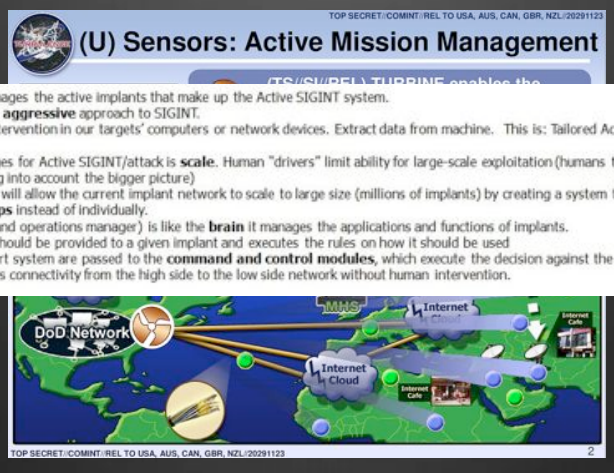
M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Not bespoke: CNE at scale



M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Turbine



M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

"Cyber collection"

- Operations and related programs or activities conducted by or on behalf of the United States Government, in or through cyberspace, for the **primary purpose** of collecting intelligence. . . .from computers, information or communications systems, or networks with the intent to remain undetected. Cyber collection entails accessing a computer, information system, or network without authorization from the owner or operator of that computer, information system, or network or from a party to a communication or by exceeding authorized access. **Cyber collection includes those activities essential and inherent to enabling cyber collection, such as inhibiting detection or attribution, even if they create cyber effects."**
- "Presidential Policy Directive (PPD)-20: U.S. Cyber Operations Policy," 2–3.

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

"Cyber effects"

- "The manipulation, disruption, denial, degradation, or destruction of computers, information or communications systems, networks, physical or virtual infrastructure controlled by computers or information systems, or information resident thereon."
- Espionage, then, often will be attack in all but name.

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Best defense= good offence

- Active defense "requires that we have the best possible intelligence on the capabilities and intentions of potential attackers, the ability to use that knowledge to deter attacks whenever possible, and the tools and techniques necessary to detect and respond to attacks that do occur" (Minihan, Director, NSA, 1998)
- The best cyber defense, it has been decided in secret, is a cyber offence. And that offence rests on weakening some of the most obvious forms of defense.
- The NSA does not systematically help everyone patch all the holes in our laptops, our phones, our printers.

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

Janus Faced Agency

SigInt

Information Assurance

Exploit communications

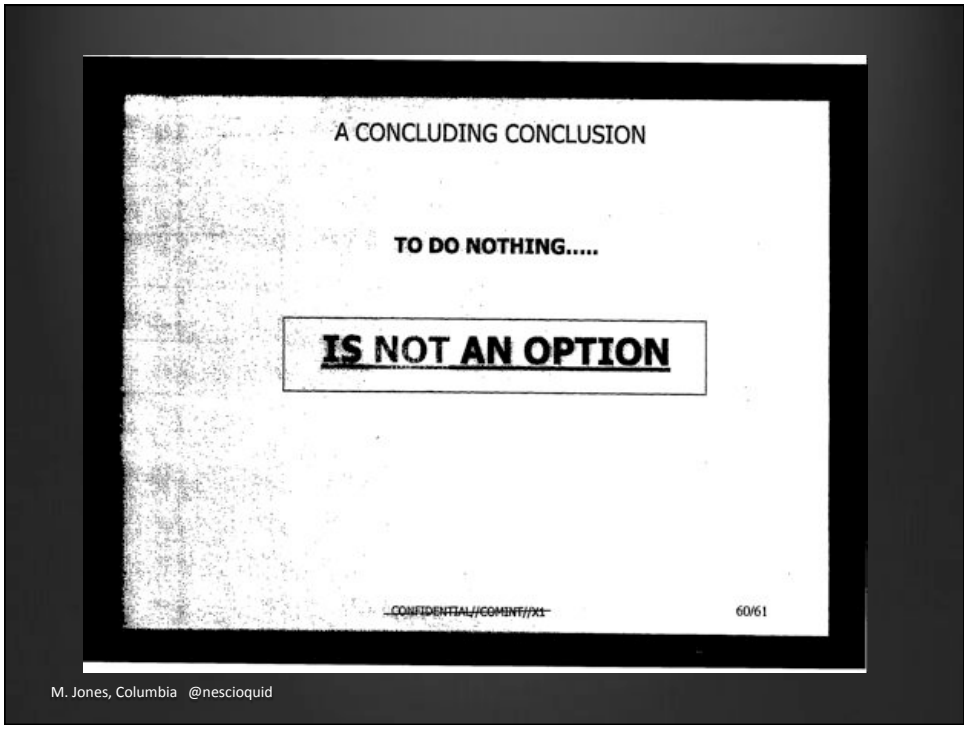
Protect Communications

(COMSEC)

M. Jones, Columbia @nescioquid

NSA then and now

- "NSA Valued in the 1980s, Accuracy, Deep Knowledge, Thorough expertise, Productivity and Reputation […]."
- "NSA valued in the 2000s […] Speed-getting it 80 percent right now could make all the difference in saving lives. (Of course, if it were targeting information that would mean killing innocents 20 percent of the time.)"
  - redacted, "NSA Culture, 1980s to the 21st Century--a SID Perspective," *Cryptological Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (n.d.): 84.



Great Exploitations
Technological Determinism and the National Security Agency

Matthew Jones
History, Columbia
mjones@columbia.edu
@nescioquid