

NOME

OVEREXPOSED
PAOLO CIRIO

NOME

O V E R E X P O S E D
PAOLO CIRIO
MAY 22 - JULY 20, 2015

DOLZIGER STR. 31
10247 BERLIN

N O M E P R O J E C T . C O M

OVEREXPOSED INTELLIGENCE WITH HD STENCILS GRAFFITI

With his public intervention *Overexposed*, artist Paolo Cirio disseminates unauthorized pictures of high-ranking U.S. intelligence officials throughout major cities. Cirio obtained snapshots of NSA, CIA, and FBI officers through social media hacks. Then, using his HD Stencils graffiti technique, he spray-paints high-resolution reproductions of the misappropriated photos onto public walls. New modes of circulation, appropriation, contextualization, and technical reproduction of images are integrated into this artwork.

The project considers the aftermath of Edward Snowden's revelations and targets some of the officials responsible for programs of mass surveillance or for misleading the public about them. The dissemination of their candid portraits as graffiti on public walls is a modern commentary on public accountability at a time of greater demand for transparency with regard to the over-classified apparatuses of surveillance that are threatening civil rights worldwide.

The officials targeted in the *Overexposed* series are Keith Alexander (NSA), John Brennan (CIA), Michael Hayden (NSA), Michael Rogers (NSA), James Comey (FBI), James Clapper (NSA), David Petraeus (CIA), Caitlin Hayden (NSC), and Avril Haines (NSA).

In this exhibition, NOME presents the nine subjects of the *Overexposed* series painted on canvas and photographic paper.

As a form of creative espionage, and utilizing common search engines, social engineering, as well as hacks on social media, Cirio tracked down photographs and selfies of government

officials taken in informal situations. All of the photos were taken by individuals external to the intelligence agencies, by civilians or lower ranking officers.

Indeed, the omnipresence of cameras and the constant upload of data onto social media greatly facilitate the covert gathering of intelligence that can potentially be used in a work of art. Cirio's open-source intelligence (OSINT) utilizes intelligence collected from publicly available sources to satirize both an era of ubiquitous mass surveillance and overly mediated political personas.

Cirio's political satire reverses the contemporary means of propaganda, exposing the extent to which a public image can be captured on camera and exploited by the very same systems that intelligence officials seek to control. *Overexposed* derides the watchers with embarrassing pictures over which they have lost control, effectively turning the tables on them and their advocacy of mass surveillance and lax privacy practices.

As they are assimilated into street art culture and the world of art, the government officials who have been 'victimized' in *Overexposed* are transformed into pop icons. Political roles aside, their faces appear familiar to us because they remind us that, ultimately, we are all victims of social media corporations, and surveillance in general. In essence, the portraits of *Overexposed* represent the historical moment of a loss of privacy as well as a cultural shift in the norms of social appearance.

HD STENCILS

High Definition Stencils is a graffiti technique invented by Paolo Cirio. The technique digitally creates special stencils for high definition full-color graffiti using spray paint for the reproduction of pictures and graphics.

HD Stencils employs custom-made software and laser cutters. The final stencils provide a high level of detail through tiny cut-out holes of any geometrical shape. Just as in subtractive color printing, *HD Stencils* has the ability to reproduce full color pictures with four stencils for each color channel (CMYB). These stencils may be used on a range of surfaces, from small pieces of paper and canvas to large walls of buildings.

The stencils are digitally generated by a simple script coded in Processing, which converts bitmap images into distinct vector files that can be printed with laser cutter machines. This technique requires custom configuration to prepare the script for the images (to cut the paper) and the resulting stencils are then used to make graffiti. The artist has released the code and the instructions of his technique with an open source license to give everyone the opportunity to create their own *HD Stencils*.

Paolo Cirio uses the *HD Stencils* for conceptual street art works that transform reproductions of unauthorized snapshots of influential individuals into graffiti. By using *HD Stencils* to paint on both walls and paper, the high definition graffiti street art series takes the form of murals and wheat-pasted posters to the streets of several major cities.



VULNERABLE ALL

We are all vulnerable. Even the powerful. That appears to be the sentiment that underlies the smiling faces of artist Paolo Cirio's artwork *Overexposed*. This artwork certainly feels, at first hand, like dangerous work. Is Cirio tempting fate? Probably. But that said, what Cirio is doing is neither difficult nor unreasonable. He is merely demonstrating what already exists. In the vein of Internet-based activists attempting as best they can for transparency on the Internet — such as Wikileaks, Chelsea Manning and Edward Snowden —, Cirio's work literally exposes those in charge of America's most active Internet security apparatus. A world of governmental acronyms (NSA, NSC, CIA), these agencies are those most involved in security and those most involved in the program revealed by Edward Snowden, PRISM (the program is actually called SIGAD US-984XNI), among others. And while these agencies might appear as complex phenomena of governmental administration, the specificity of these images, and the intimate privacy in which they are taken, make for a personal approach to a complex global issue of surveillance and privacy.

As part of his interview with Edward Snowden for HBO, television host John Oliver conducted an informal interview with the American public. Asking random men and women on the street if they knew who Edward Snowden was, most people didn't know and for those who did, they thought he had given away information he shouldn't have, or erroneously thought he was in charge of Wikileaks. It suffices to say, they were muddled. But when they were asked if they minded whether or not the government could monitor pictures of a person's dick, they all responded that such efforts would have to be curtailed. In sum, the American public showed a vague disdain for Snowden but clear desires to protect images of their private parts. Funny, yes, but also, strangely, accurate. People approach the complex world in very intimate ways. They might be abstract about political issues, but go toward the story of one's personal world and the tone of the discussion changes.

We are intimate beings. Perhaps this is what strikes us as so threatening about government surveillance. While pictures of penises might be John Oliver's comedic point of entry, the point itself is well taken. We feel sensitive about having our private worlds available for all to see. Perhaps, this is why Cirio has acquired these images by way of social media hacks. Cirio has taken what could be the poster children of these programs and pasted their images across the globe. Their smiles scanned, copied and pasted in the urban centers of the planet. Whether these images were taken at a wedding, a party, a private dinner or public event, each and every one of them came by way of some private social network. The reverse maneuver in *Overexposed* suddenly makes the powerful all the more vulnerable.

While many of these faces may seem new or at least unfamiliar to the world public, their role in overseeing surveillance of phone calls and the Internet itself is widely known. They are not secret agents but, instead, visible public officials. These are people whose public faces represent the secret networks: from the Central Intelligence Agency to the National Security Agency to the National Security Council. And like any public official, they too like to separate work from life. While they might monitor other people's phone calls by day, they, like anyone, would like to go back to the privacy of their own homes by night. They too are private beings with friends, relationships, love entanglements and various other personal matters one would rather not have spread all over the Internet. Perhaps, they too, would like to keep pictures of their private parts to themselves like any good global citizen. Perhaps *Overexposed* is a warning. Perhaps it is too late.

Nato Thompson

THE STREET FINDS ITS OWN USES

Paolo Cirio has invented a new and more technically advanced form of street art. This is typical of him. Paolo Cirio gives much focused time and attention to forms of cultural expression that most people overlook. Sometimes, by contrast, Paolo publicizes things people much want overlooked.

Threats of lawsuits are common in his works of media art. Most of these lawyer screeds against Paolo involve four, or five, or maybe ten local, regional or global crimes that Paolo has allegedly committed. Lawsuits are Paolo's best form of art publicity.

Paolo Cirio's latest work, *OVEREXPOSED* shows him moving out of cyberspace, his usual habitat, and into the streets. It's characteristic of Paolo that he would look, gravely, soberly and with sustained attention, at street art and then figure out how to technically upgrade the practice.

Stencilling is the act of taking the typical street art industrial spray-can and applying it to a piece of cardboard that has been sliced up with an X-acto knife. Stencilled street art is a very hands-on, artisanal activity. Being a novelist, I personally don't spray city walls with stencilled cardboard myself, but I've certainly seen it done.

I also spend rather a lot of time with laser cutters, for a novelist anyway, yet it never once occurred to me that digital laser cutters could radically improve the handmade craft of stencil street art. It required the considerable genius of Paolo Cirio to make this leap to "high definition stencils." This artistic advance is obvious, but only in retrospect.

Paolo cuts the stencils with lasers, producing a fine-grained cardboard screen similar to the Ben-Day dots much used in the period Pop Art of Roy Lichtenstein. He can then mist these with colors and get graphic effects normal stencils just don't produce.

Any normal, everyday street artist might have thought up this method. However, he would only have applied "HD Stencils" to the usual planetary street art fodder of tags, brags, visual puns, comix knock-offs, and pop idol worship. Only Paolo Cirio would refine his own technical breakthrough by making high definition street art from the covert intelligence mandarins who currently infest our Internet.

Everybody knows the spies are there in the Internet, of course. State supported hackers are the best illegal hackers in the world. However, nobody has ever valorized our invisible friends in the intelligence agencies by transforming them into street art folk heroes. Paolo Cirio has done that.

"Overexposed" is just one part of his consistent, well-composed, much-considered creative oeuvre. In a world of hasty gestures and short-lived viral media panics, he's the picture of patience and consistency. I dare to hope that time is on his side.

Bruce Sterling

K E I T H A L E X A N D E R



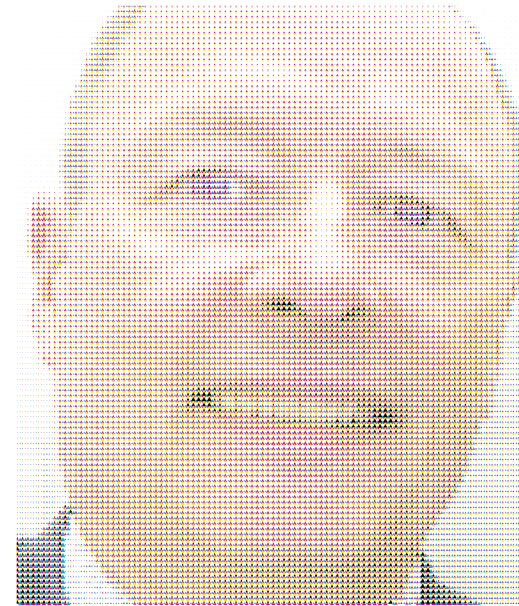
Keith Alexander in a selfie taken by Corrie [redacted], location and circumstances unclear. Accompanying post: "Look who takes a great #Selfie - General Keith Alexander, the Cowboy of the NSA."

Photo from the Facebook account of Corrie [redacted] dated May 27, 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



PDF vector file generated by the script coded by the artist in Processing

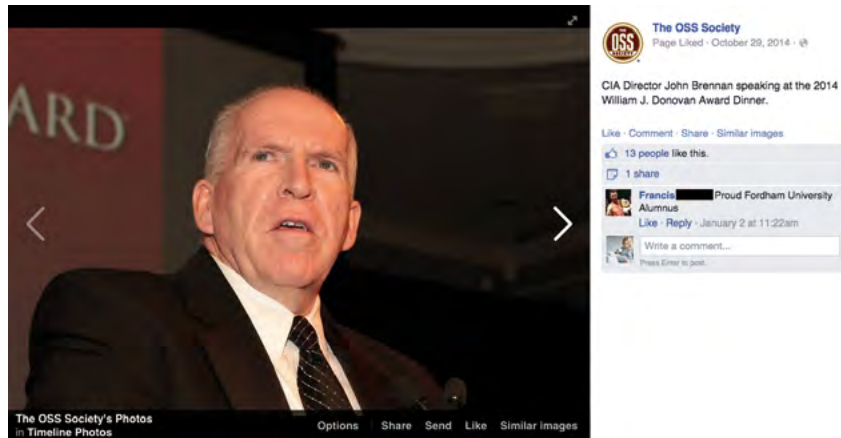
Johnson concerning allegations made by former NSA officials as to whether or not the personal digital information collected on American citizens was mendacious; Alexander insisted that the NSA does not collect such data.⁶

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

"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."¹⁰

J O H N B R E N N A N



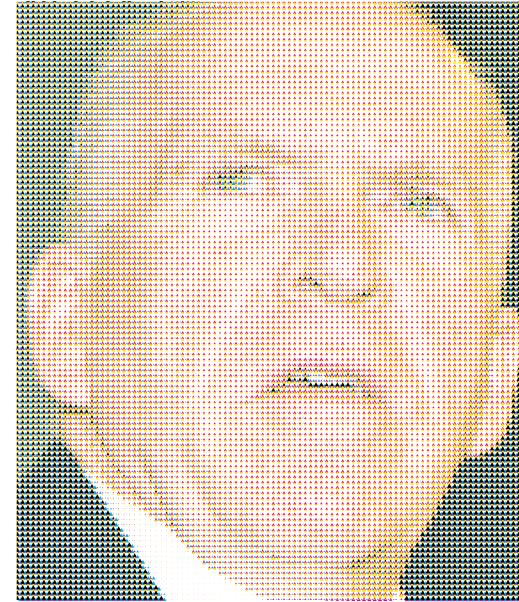
John Brennan at the 2014 William J. Donovan Award Dinner of The Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Society.

Photo from the Facebook account of The OSS Society dated October 29, 2014.¹¹

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.¹²



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John O. Brennan also repeatedly lied about the civilian casualties caused by the highly secretive drone program¹³ 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 strikes.¹⁴ In February 2013, Senator Lindsey Graham estimated that the drone program had killed 4,700 people;¹⁵ 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."¹⁶

In March 2015, Brennan announced the creation of a new division, the Directorate of Digital Innovation, to handle the CIA's cyber-operations. This new division will take 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.¹⁷

"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."¹⁸

J A M E S C L A P P E R



 **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

This photo of James Clapper was leaked on cryptome.org and circulated in the hacker community. Accompanying tweet: "A rare photo of US Masterspy James Clapper smiling."

Photo from Twitter via Cryptomeorg; original source unknown. Dated December 3, 2013.¹⁹

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

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*,²⁰ 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 emails.²¹ In December 2013, just a few months after Snowden's revelations, Clapper was sued in the case, *American Civil Liberties Union v. James Clapper*.²²

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.



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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 wittingly."²³ 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 activity.²⁴

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 back."²⁵ A few months after Snowden's revelations, Clapper banned intelligence employees from any kind of unauthorized contact with reporters.²⁶ On March 10th 2015 Wikimedia filed a lawsuit against Clapper over the large-scale search and seizure of Internet communications.²⁷

"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."²⁸

DAVID PETRAEUS



Yannis [REDACTED] 26 Mar 2013
With Gen. David #Petraeus (ret) at his visit at @USCVterbi today.

David Petraeus standing next to Yannis [REDACTED], Dean of the Viterbi School of Engineering at the University of Southern California.

Photo from Yannis [REDACTED] Twitter account. Dated March 26, 2013.²⁹

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."³⁰



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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 information.³¹ 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 wrist.³²

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 time.³³

After the scandal, in January 2012, Paula Broadwell published her book, All In: The Education of General David Petraeus.³⁴

Interestingly enough, the general was also spied upon by the NSA and much of the information concerning his extramarital affair was derived from what the agency had covertly discovered.

"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."³⁵

C A I T L I N H A Y D E N

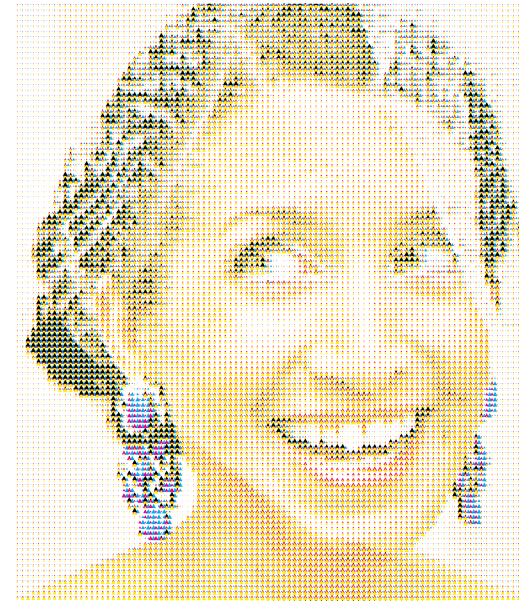


Caitlin Hayden in a profile picture from her Facebook and Twitter profile.
Photo from Hayden's personal Facebook account. Dated January 2, 2015.³⁶

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 Kingdom.³⁷ She currently works as a Senior Strategic Communications and Global Media Relations Professional in Washington D.C.³⁸

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."³⁹

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."⁴⁰



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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."⁴¹ 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."⁴²

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."⁴³

"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."⁴⁴



oSTEM and NOGLSTP joint meeting

JANUARY 21, 2015 BY AFFINITY STAFF — [LEAVE A COMMENT](#)

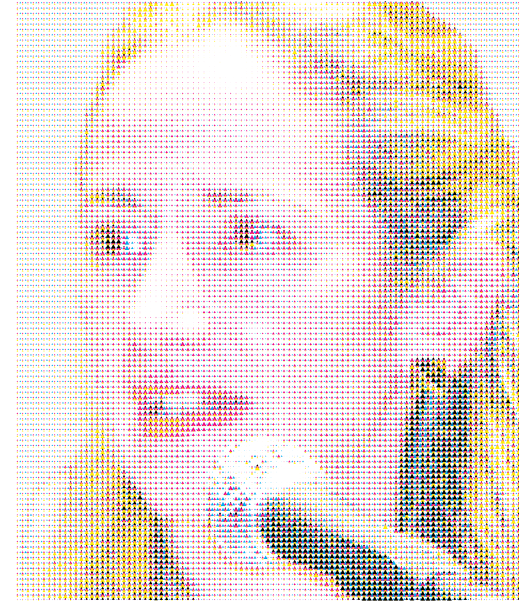
Out in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics Inc. hosted its 4th Annual Conference in conjunction with National Organization of Gay and Lesbian Scientists and Technical Professionals' Out to Innovate™ 2014 in Atlanta. At the Georgia Tech Hotel, the event offered workshops, panel discussions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

Avril Haines speaking at a joint meeting of the Out in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (oSTEM) and National Organization of Gay and Lesbian Scientists and Technical Professionals (NOGLSTP).

Photo from an Affinity Magazine blog post about the conference held at the Georgia Tech Hotel in Atlanta. Dated November 2014.⁴⁵

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.⁴⁶

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.



PDF vector file generated by the script coded by the artist in Processing

A 2013 Newsweek profile suggested Haines' potential nemesis at the CIA to be an official known only as "Roger," the chief of the CIA's counterterrorism center (CTC) who also presides over the drone program.⁴⁷ 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 interrogate suspected terrorists.⁴⁸

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 school.⁴⁹ Not even the watchers are exempt from social media gossip and speculation.

*"Everything is a nail and we're a hammer."*⁵⁰

M I C H A E L R O G E R S



John [REDACTED] · Mar 1
Admiral Michael Rogers, director of the NSA. He had an awesome message here at @TheFlyinIrish tournament. @NSA_PAO

Michael Rogers in a selfie taken by a soldier at the 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."

Photo from Twitter via @j[REDACTED]94. Dated March 1, 2015.⁵¹

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 3, 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.⁵²



PDF vector file generated by the script coded by the artist in Processing

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 sidestepped the question as to whether companies like Yahoo! should grant foreign governments access to customers' encrypted data in the manner the US government wants.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴

"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."⁵⁵

J A M E S C O M E Y



Adrian [redacted] 25 Oct 2013
Met the new FBI Dir. James Comey who visited Houston today. Area law enforcement leaders met w/him as well!

James Comey in a photo tweeted by Adrian [redacted], Harris County Sheriff from Texas, with the caption: "Met the new FBI Dir. James Comey who visited Houston today. Area law enforcement leaders met w/him as well!"

Photo from Adrian [redacted]'s Twitter account. Dated October 25, 2013.⁵⁶

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 sweeping changes in the national surveillance programs and in the prosecution of intelligence leaks.

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 encryption.⁵⁷

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 security, foreign intelligence agencies, or 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 children.⁵⁸



PDF vector file generated by the script coded by the artist in Processing

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."⁵⁹ 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.

"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."⁶⁰

M I C H A E L H A Y D E N



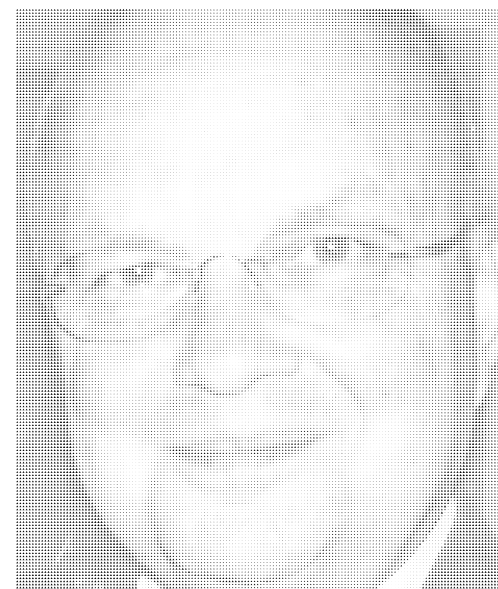
Michael Hayden and Max ██████ in a photo from 2008 when Hayden was still Director of the CIA and ██████ apparently a student at George Washington University. In a later comment on this photo, ██████ writes: "Didn't think it was possible, but this picture proves the Central Intelligence Agency can literally get surveillance right up my nose."

Photo from Max ██████'s Facebook account. Dated September 2008.⁶¹

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).⁶²

Hayden is also responsible for Trailblazer,⁶³ 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.



PDF vector file generated by the script coded by the artist in Processing

Hayden is also responsible for lobbying President George W. Bush to allow the CIA⁶⁴ 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 a phone interview after the revelation that the NSA tapped 35 world leaders' phones, Tom Matzzie eavesdropped and live-tweeted the conversation.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶

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."⁶⁷

*"We kill people based on metadata."*⁶⁸

KEITH ALEXANDER



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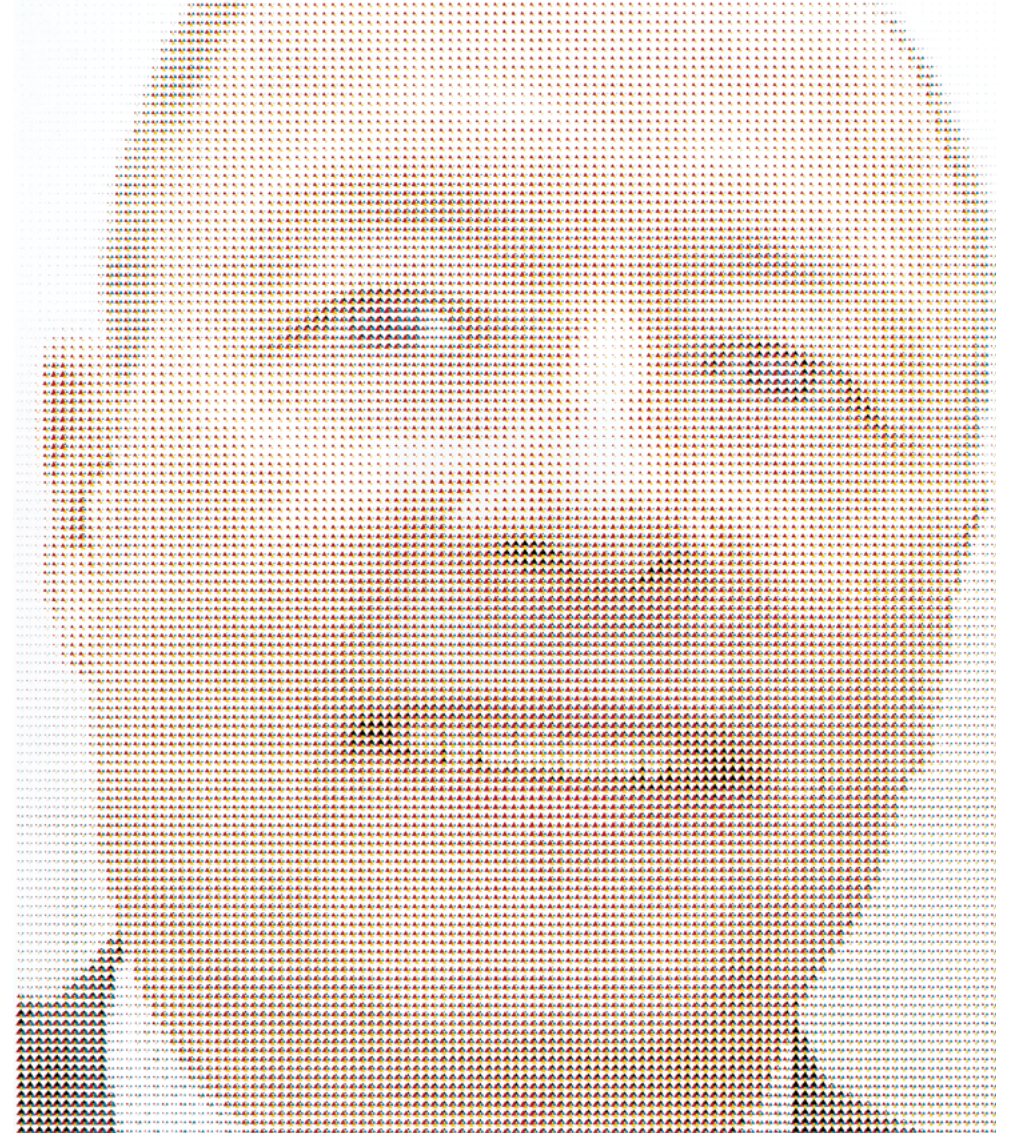
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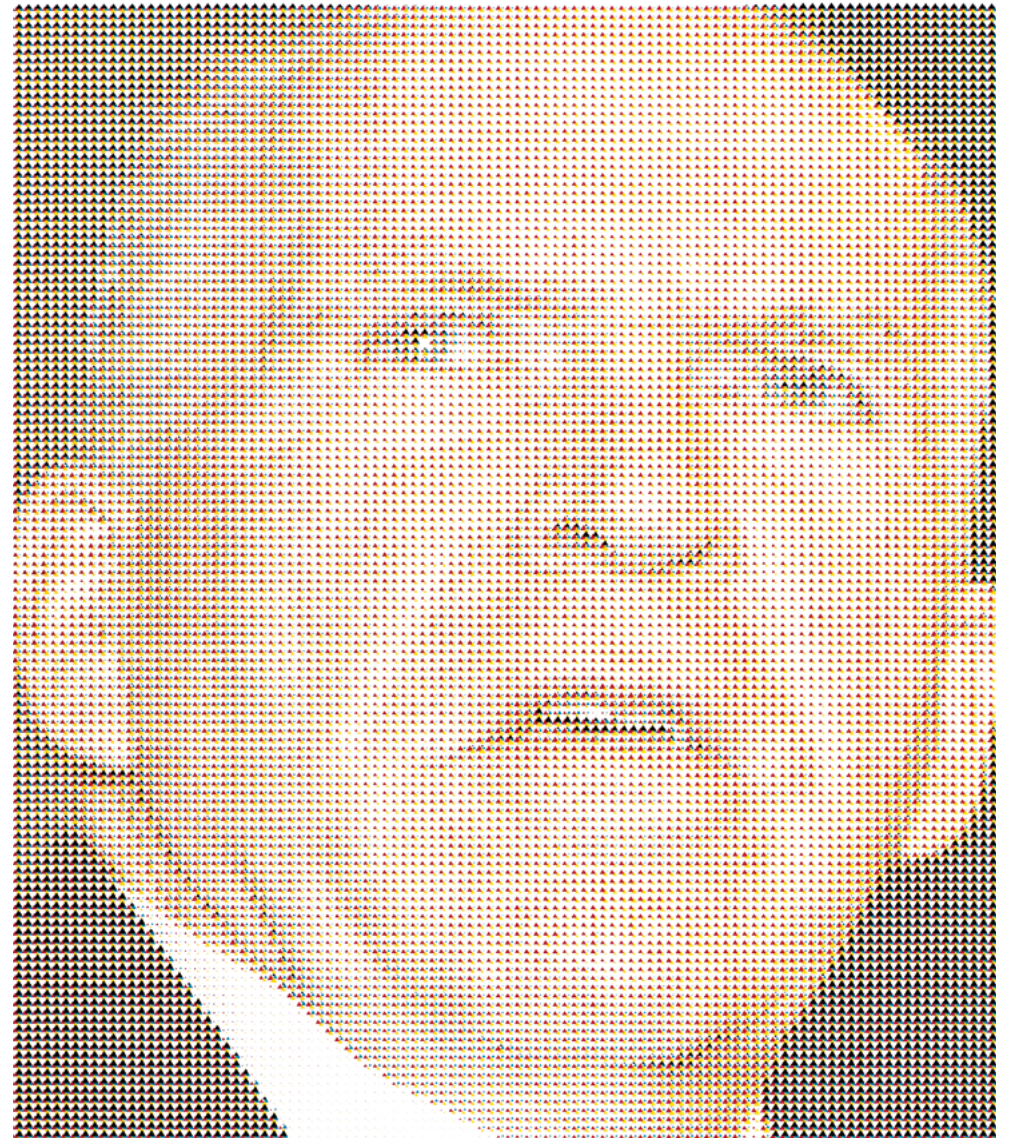
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KEITH ALEXANDER, 2015.
Paolo Cirio. Acrylic paint on photographic paper, 124 x 144 cm.



J O H N B R E N N A N , 2 0 1 5 .
Paolo Cirio. Acrylic paint on photographic paper, 124 x 144 cm.



J A M E S C L A P P E R , 2 0 1 5 .

Paolo Cirio. Acrylic paint on canvas, 91 x 106 cm.



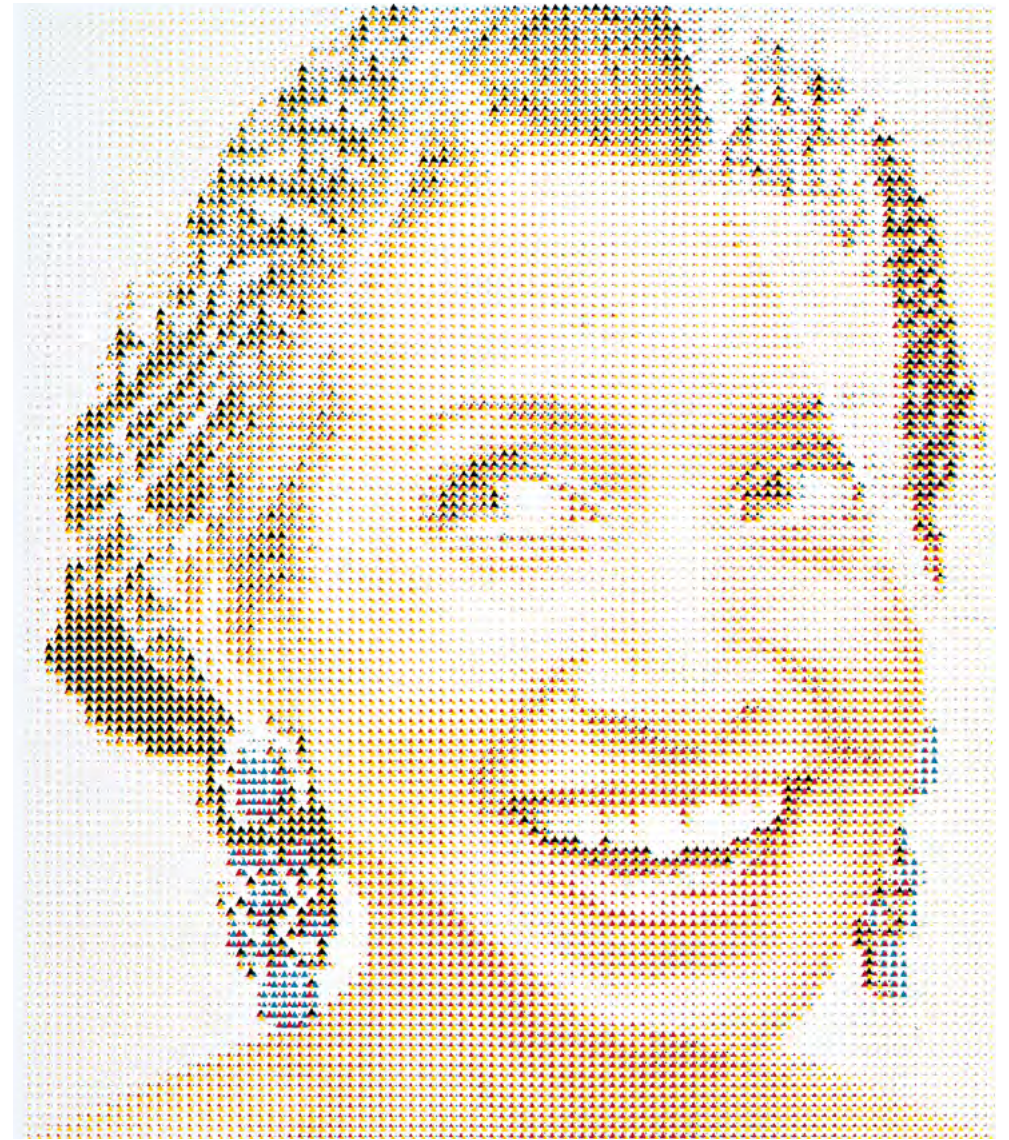
D A V I D P E T R A E U S , 2 0 1 5 .

Paolo Cirio. Acrylic paint on canvas, 91 x 106 cm.



C A I T L I N H A Y D E N , 2 0 1 5 .

Paolo Cirio. Acrylic paint on canvas, 91 x 106 cm.



A V R I L H A I N E S , 2 0 1 5 .

Paolo Cirio. Acrylic paint on canvas, 91 x 106 cm.



M I C H A E L R O G E R S , 2 0 1 5 .

Paolo Cirio. Acrylic paint on photographic paper, 91 x 106 cm.



J A M E S C O M E Y , 2 0 1 5 .

Paolo Cirio. Acrylic paint on photographic paper, 91 x 106 cm.



M I C H A E L H A Y D E N , 2 0 1 5 .

Paolo Cirio. Acrylic paint on photographic paper, 91 x 106 cm.





PAOLO CIRIO

Known worldwide for his provocative work, Paolo Cirio (*1979) conceptually explores issues in economics, democracy, privacy, transparency, and copyright with an innovative aesthetic. His artworks are active agents: they engage power structures, global mass media and the general public — voluntarily and involuntarily — in current social and critical debates. He is particularly interested in how media and specific arrangements of information can influence the creation and perception of cultural, political, and economic reality as well as personal emotional states, interpersonal relationships and instinctive human behavior.

Cirio presents performative media interventions and conceptual paradigms as fine art. Within the space of an art gallery, these offline installations materially translate and document sophisticated concepts, ethereal time-based performances, and their affect on both their targets and their audiences. The artist works with systems of distribution, organization, and control of information that affect the flow of social, economic, and cognitive structures, reconfiguring these to create subversive and empowering works of art.

As a result of his artistic provocations and media performances, Cirio has not infrequently been the subject of investigations and the recipient of threats — both legal and personal — from government, corporate and military authorities, as well as from ordinary people. At the same time, his works have gained mass attention and have been featured by global media including CNN, Fox News, Washington Post, Global Village, O Globo, Der Spiegel, Daily Mail, Toronto Standard, El Pais, Libération, and Global Village.

The artist has received numerous awards, most recently a Golden Nica at Ars Electronica 2014 for *Loophole4All.com*, a project that focuses on the obscure side of current networked economy: offshore finance. For the three projects comprising the *Hacking Monopolism Trilogy*, *Face to Facebook* (2011), *Amazon Noir* (2006) and *Google Will Eat Itself* (2005), created in collaboration with Alessandro Ludovico, the artist used custom programmed software to exploit the security vulnerabilities of the Internet giants' platforms and to generate media attention about their abuse of power.

Paolo Cirio has exhibited at major international institutions including the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Utah MoCA; MoCA Sydney; ZKM, Karlsruhe; CCCB, Barcelona; CCC Strozzi, Florence; MoCA Denver; MAK, Vienna; Architectural Association, London; National Fine Arts Museum, Taichung; Wywyższeni National Museum, Warsaw; National Museum of Contemporary Art, Athens; PAN, Naples; MoCA Taipei; Sydney Biennial; and NTT ICC, Tokyo.

www.paolocirio.net



A project by **Paolo Cirio**

Produced by **NOME**

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Managing Director: **Manuela Benetton**

Artist: **Paolo Cirio**

Assistant to the artist: **Giovanni Bogatto**

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Design: **515 Creative Shop**

Web design: **Matteo Barbeni** and **Gorazd Gustin**

Video camera and edit: **Andrea Taddei**

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