The Snowden Files

• June of 2013, The Guardian begins posting leaks from the National Security Agency (NSA)
•Leaks contain documents outlining a mass surveillance system being operated by NSA
• Telephony Metadata - not content, # dialed, time, frequency
• PRISM - entire content of electronic communications
  • Direct Access to servers at Microsoft, Yahoo, Google, Facebook, Paltalk, AOL, Skype, Youtube. 282 million communications/year
• Boundless Informant - raw intelligence organizer
  • Total 97 billion global communications in 30 days
• FISA 1978, Patriot Act 215, EO 12333
Snowden

- Source identified as Edward Snowden
- Accumulated files while working at NSA
- Not actual employee “intelligence contractor” for Booz Allen Hamilton
- First job in IC in 2005 at CIA
- 2009 transferred to NSA working for Dell
- 2012 new job at BAH, still at NSA
- Downloaded files throughout 2012
Iron Triangles

• Cooperative political relationships
• Congressional Committee, Administrative Agency, and a Special Interest
• Few members, stable, predictable
• Revolving doors
• Little access
• Can create policy independently
Issue Networks

• Have many members, broad focus, easy access
• When citizens began to participate more in 60s-70s, large issue networks begin to form
• Success with Civil Rights, Environmentalism
• Once the barrier to entry are gone, the Iron Triangle is destabilized and degrades into an Issue Network
• Creates feedback loop, more people get involved, improves access, more people get involved
Cyber-Industrial Complex

• Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
  • 15 members, 8 majority, 7 minority
  • Reps from Foreign Relations, Armed Services, Judiciary, Appropriations

• National Security Agency, Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, Office of the Director of Intelligence, National Reconnaissance Office

• AT&T, BAE, Booz Allen Hamilton, Boeing, General Dynamics, Lockheed, Northrop, Raytheon, Verizon

• Senators need campaign funding/pork, agencies need intelligence, contractors need contracts
Revolving Doors

• Mike McConnell, the Executive VP of BAH’s National Security branch, was the Dir. Of NSA under President H.W. Bush, and the Director of National Intelligence under President G.W. Bush.
• James Clapper, Director of NSA, previous BAH executive.
• Richard Kerr, FMR Dep. Dir. CIA, BAE executive
• Gen. Kenneth Monihan FMR Dir. Of NSA, BAE executive
• Michael Hayden, FMR Dir. Of NSA, Executive at Chertoff group, intelligence consultancy firm.
Privatization

- Began after Cold War ended in attempt to downsize
- Accelerated after 9/11 to accommodate demand
- Presently, as much of 70% of the intelligence budget goes to private sector
- 480,000 private contractors with “top secret” clearance or better
- Over 2,000 companies contract with federal government
  - Everything from janitorial services, spying, blackwater
- Operation Groundbreaker, BAH privatization initiative
- Contractors involved in collection, analysis, production of reports
The Budget Visualized

U.S. INTELLIGENCE FUNDING
National Intelligence Program leaked by E. Snowden

US NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE
$52.6 billion

AGENCIES

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
$14.7 billion
NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY
$10.9 billion
NATIONAL RECONNAISSANCE OFFICE
$10.3 billion
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHICAL INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
$4.9 billion
GENERAL DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
$4.4 billion
JUSTICE DEPARTMENT
$3.0 billion
OTHER
$1.5 billion

MAIN SPENDING CATEGORIES

DATA COLLECTION
$25.3 billion
DATA PROCESSING AND EXPLOITATION
$6.1 billion
DATA ANALYSIS
$6.2 billion
MANAGEMENT, FACILITIES AND SUPPORT
$14.0 billion

Source: PNGS. Projections of Budget, with thanks to

MARTINGRANDJEAN.CH – data

• RQ: Does the amount of money a Senator receives from contractors change the way they vote?
• Hypothesis: The more money a senator receives from intelligence contractors, the more likely they are to be in favor of surveillance
• Variables: Senate roll call votes, cloture motions, amendments, campaign donations, defense spending per state, defense employees per state
Surveillance Index

- H.R. 2048 USA FREEDOM ACT to reform bulk collection
  - Cloture motion
  - McConnell Amendments meant to keep it the same
- S. 1357
  - Extend the authority relating to roving surveillance
  - McConnell again
- S. 754 Cyber Information Sharing Act
  - Immunity for companies that give data to the government
- Democrat Mean: .93
- Republican Mean: 5.49
- Total: 3.27
Contributions Index

- Total each candidate received from AT&T, BAE, Booz Allen Hamilton, Boeing, General Dynamics, Lockheed, Northrop, Raytheon, Verizon
- Only four Senators received 0 dollars
- Most was Richard Shelby AL at $380,000
- Democrat mean: $103,337
- Republican mean: $115,483
- Independent mean: $46,100
- Total: $108,630
## Correlations

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<th>Contributions Index</th>
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<th>Defense Spend</th>
<th>Personnel</th>
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<td>R=.010 Sig=.920</td>
<td>R=.783** Sig=.000</td>
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• Surveillance Index = Y = (Party) + (Contributions Index) + (Defense Spend) + (Personnel)

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</table>
Clusters at the top and bottom show party polarization

$R^2 = .405$
  - Variables explain almost half the variation in Surveillance index scores
  - Party is much more decisive but contributions do play a small part
Conclusions

• Contributions play a role, party is much more indicative of privacy vs surveillance stance
• IC has characteristics of both Iron Triangles and Issue Networks
• While in secret it is an Iron Triangle
  • Very little access, independent policy making
• After the leaks, the involvement of public and press destabilize the Triangle and forms an Issue Network