The Intercept_

HOW COVERT AGENTS INFILTRATE THE INTERNET TO MANIPULATE, DECEIVE, AND DESTROY REPUTATIONS

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Glenn Greenwald

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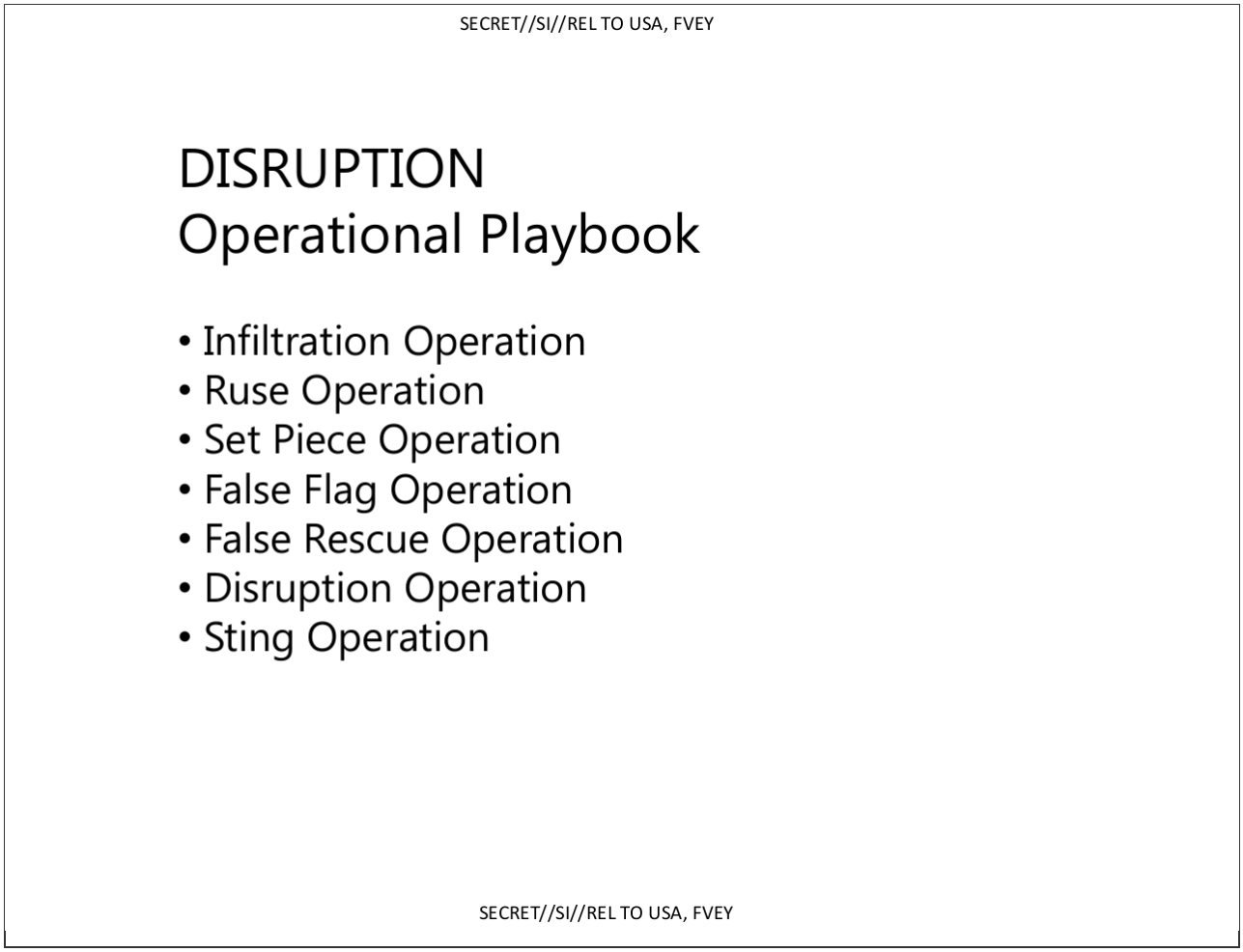
One of the many pressing stories that remains to be told from the Snowden archive is how western intelligence agencies are attempting to manipulate and control online discourse with extreme tactics of deception and reputation-destruction. It's time to tell a chunk of that story, complete with the relevant documents.

Over the last several weeks, I worked with *NBC News* to publish a series of articles about "dirty trick" tactics used by GCHQ's previously secret unit, JTRIG (Joint Threat Research Intelligence Group). These were based on four classified GCHQ documents presented to the NSA and the other three partners in the English-speaking "Five Eyes" alliance. Today, we at *the Intercept* are publishing another new JTRIG document, in full, entitled "The Art of Deception: Training for Online Covert Operations."

By publishing these stories one by one, our NBC reporting highlighted some of the key, discrete revelations: the monitoring of YouTube and Blogger, the targeting of Anonymous with the very same DDoS attacks they accuse "hacktivists" of using, the use of "honey traps" (luring people into compromising situations using sex) and destructive viruses. But, here, I want to focus and elaborate on the overarching point revealed by all of these documents: namely, that these agencies are attempting to control, infiltrate, manipulate, and warp online discourse, and in doing so, are compromising the integrity of the internet itself.

Among the core self-identified purposes of JTRIG are two tactics: **(1)** to inject all sorts of false material onto the internet in order to destroy the reputation of its targets; and **(2)** to use social sciences and other techniques to manipulate online discourse and activism to generate outcomes it considers desirable. To see how extremist these programs are, just consider the tactics they boast of using to achieve those

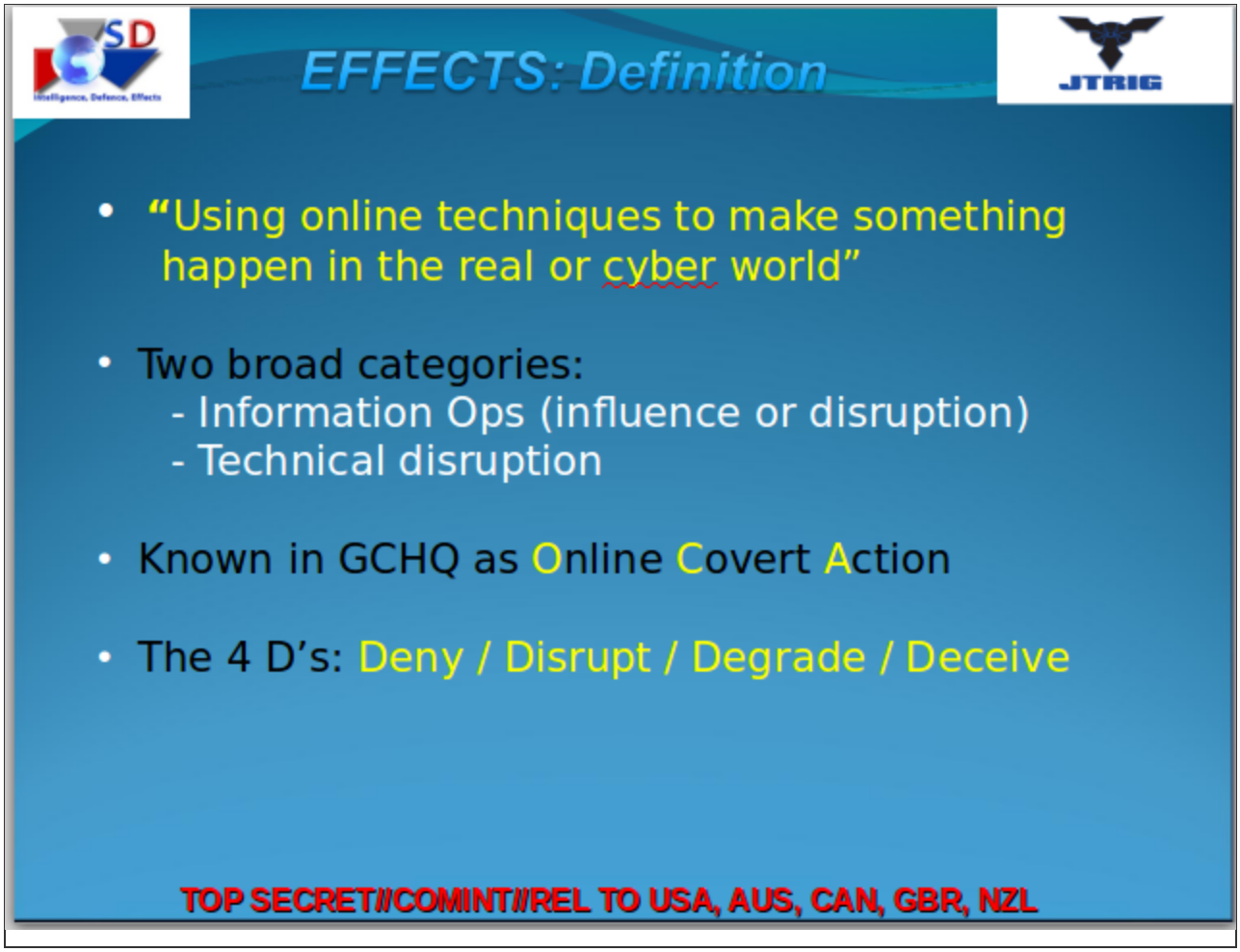
ends: “false flag operations” (posting material to the internet and falsely attributing it to someone else), fake victim blog posts (pretending to be a victim of the individual whose reputation they want to destroy), and posting “negative information” on various forums. Here is one illustrative list of tactics from the latest GCHQ document we’re publishing today:



Other tactics aimed at individuals are listed here, under the revealing title “discredit a target”:

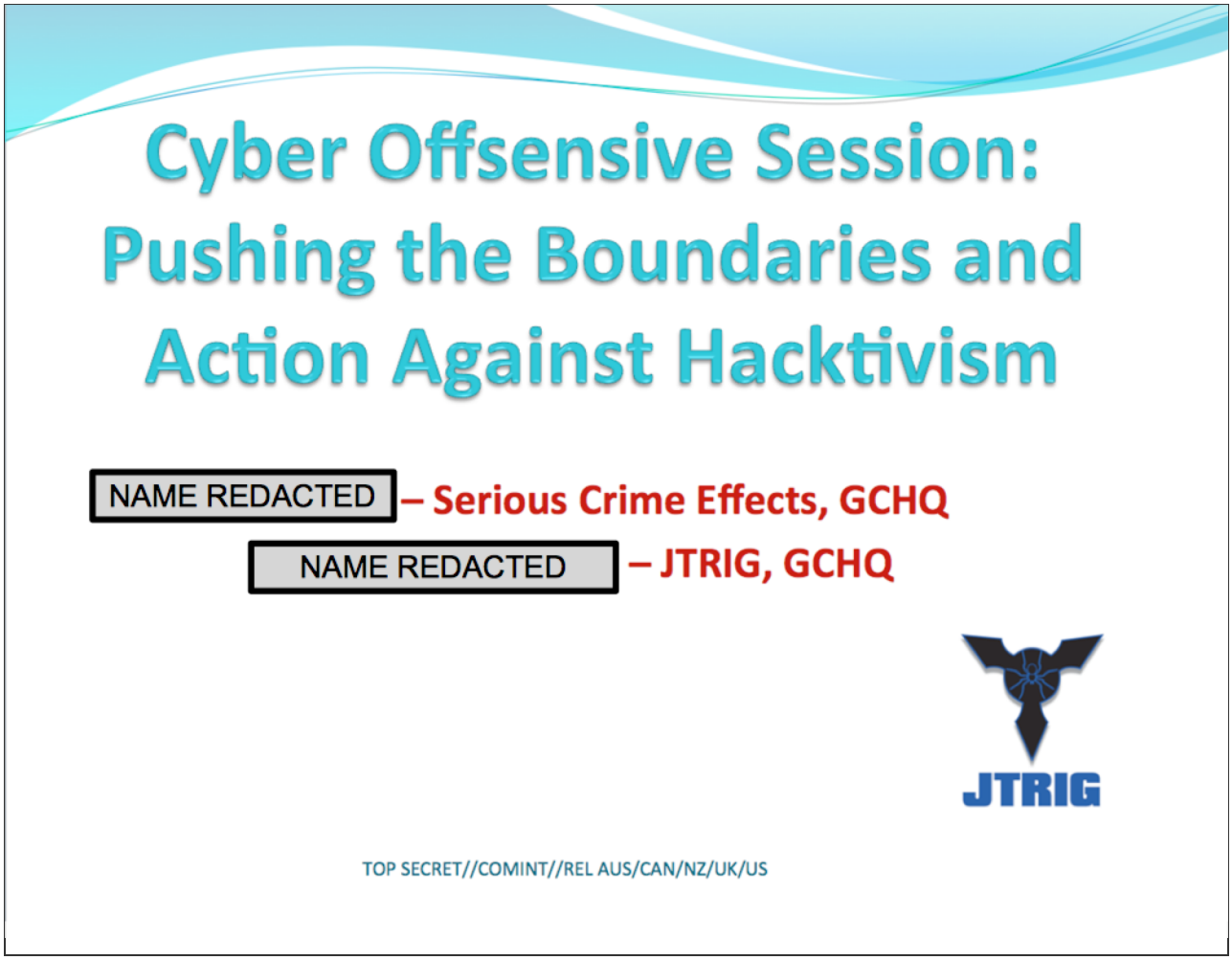
Then there are the tactics used to destroy companies the agency targets:

GCHQ describes the purpose of JTRIG in starkly clear terms: "using online techniques to make something happen in the real or cyber world," including "information ops (influence or disruption)."



Critically, the "targets" for this deceit and reputation-destruction extend far beyond the customary roster of normal spycraft: hostile nations and their leaders, military agencies, and intelligence services. In fact, the discussion of many of these techniques occurs in the context of using them in lieu of "traditional law enforcement" against people suspected (but not charged or convicted) of ordinary crimes or, more broadly still, "hacktivism", meaning those who use online protest activity for political ends.

The title page of one of these documents reflects the agency's own awareness that it is "pushing the boundaries" by using "cyber offensive" techniques against people who have *nothing to do with terrorism or national security threats*, and indeed, centrally involves law enforcement agents who investigate ordinary crimes:



No matter your views on Anonymous, "hacktivists" or garden-variety criminals, it is not difficult to see how dangerous it is to have secret government agencies being able to target any individuals they want – **who have never been charged with, let alone convicted of, any crimes** – with these sorts of online, deception-based tactics of reputation destruction and disruption. There is a strong argument to make, as Jay Leiderman demonstrated in *the Guardian* in the context of the Paypal 14 hacktivist persecution, that the "denial of service" tactics used by hacktivists result in (at most) trivial damage (far less than the cyber-warfare tactics favored by the US and UK) and are far more akin to the type of political protest protected by the First Amendment.

The broader point is that, far beyond hacktivists, these surveillance agencies have vested themselves with the power to deliberately ruin people's reputations and disrupt their online political activity even

though they've been charged with no crimes, and even though their actions have no conceivable connection to terrorism or even national security threats. As Anonymous expert Gabriella Coleman of McGill University told me, "targeting Anonymous and hacktivists amounts to targeting citizens for expressing their political beliefs, resulting in the stifling of legitimate dissent." Pointing to this study she published, Professor Coleman vehemently contested the assertion that "there is *anything* terrorist/violent in their actions."

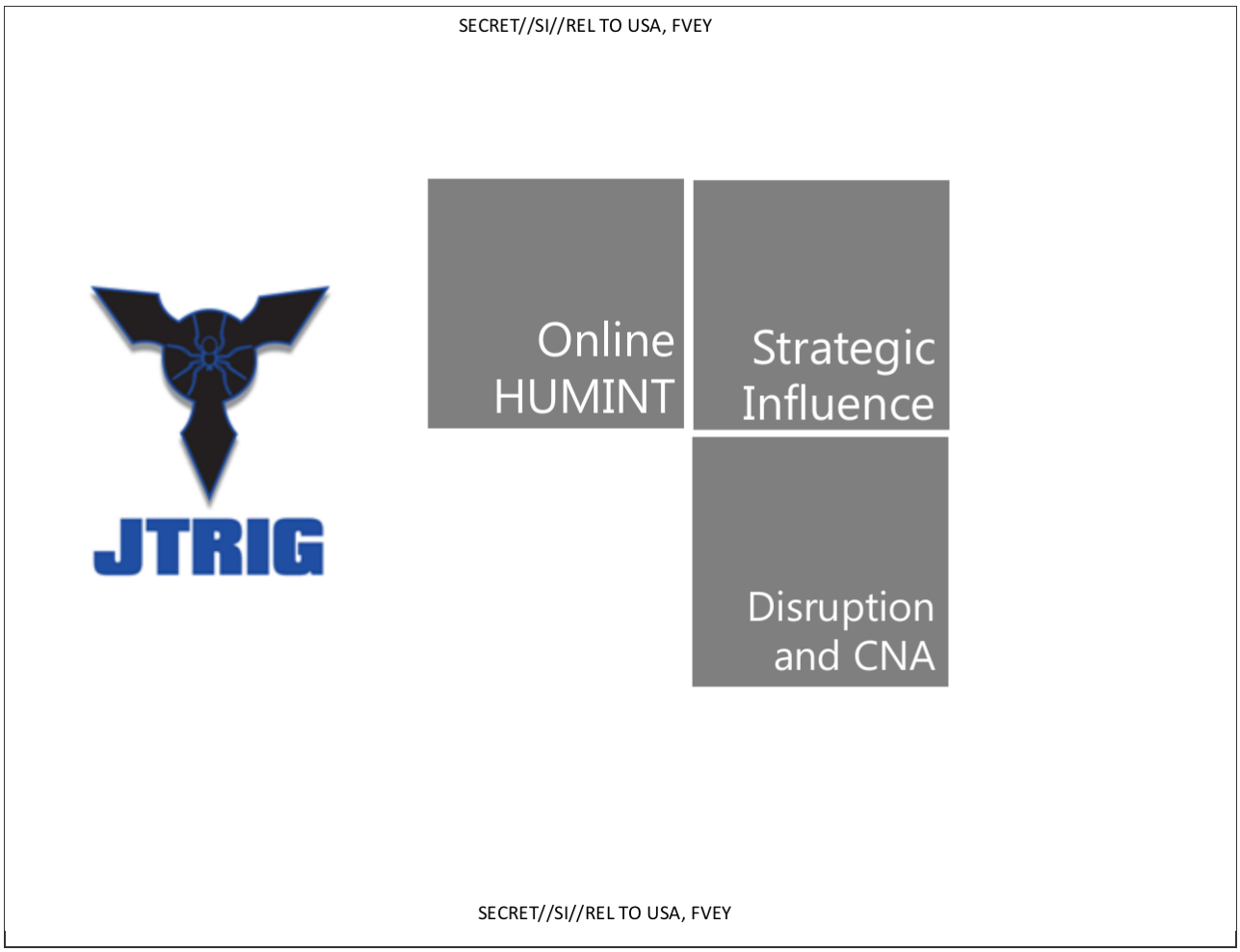
Government plans to monitor and influence internet communications, and covertly infiltrate online communities in order to sow dissension and disseminate false information, have long been the source of speculation. Harvard Law Professor Cass Sunstein, a close Obama adviser and the White House's former head of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, wrote a controversial paper in 2008 proposing that the US government employ teams of covert agents and pseudo-"independent" advocates to "cognitively infiltrate" online groups and websites, as well as other activist groups.

Sunstein also proposed sending covert agents into "chat rooms, online social networks, or even real-space groups" which spread what he views as false and damaging "conspiracy theories" about the government. Ironically, the very same Sunstein was recently named by Obama to serve as a member of the NSA review panel created by the White House, one that – while disputing key NSA claims – proceeded to propose many cosmetic reforms to the agency's powers (most of which were ignored by the President who appointed them).

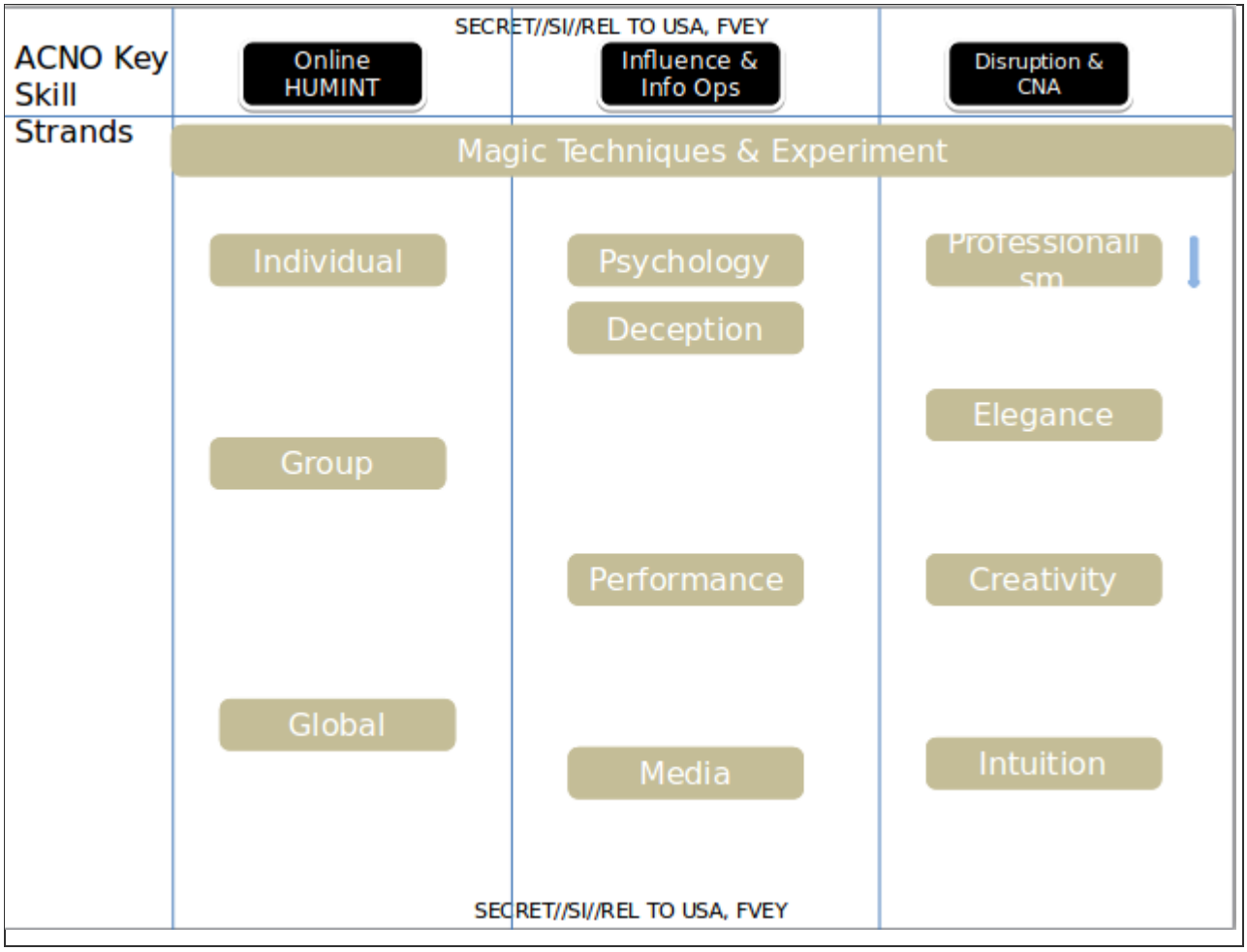
But these GCHQ documents are the first to prove that a major western government is using some of the most controversial techniques to disseminate deception online and harm the reputations of targets. Under the tactics they use, the state is deliberately spreading lies on

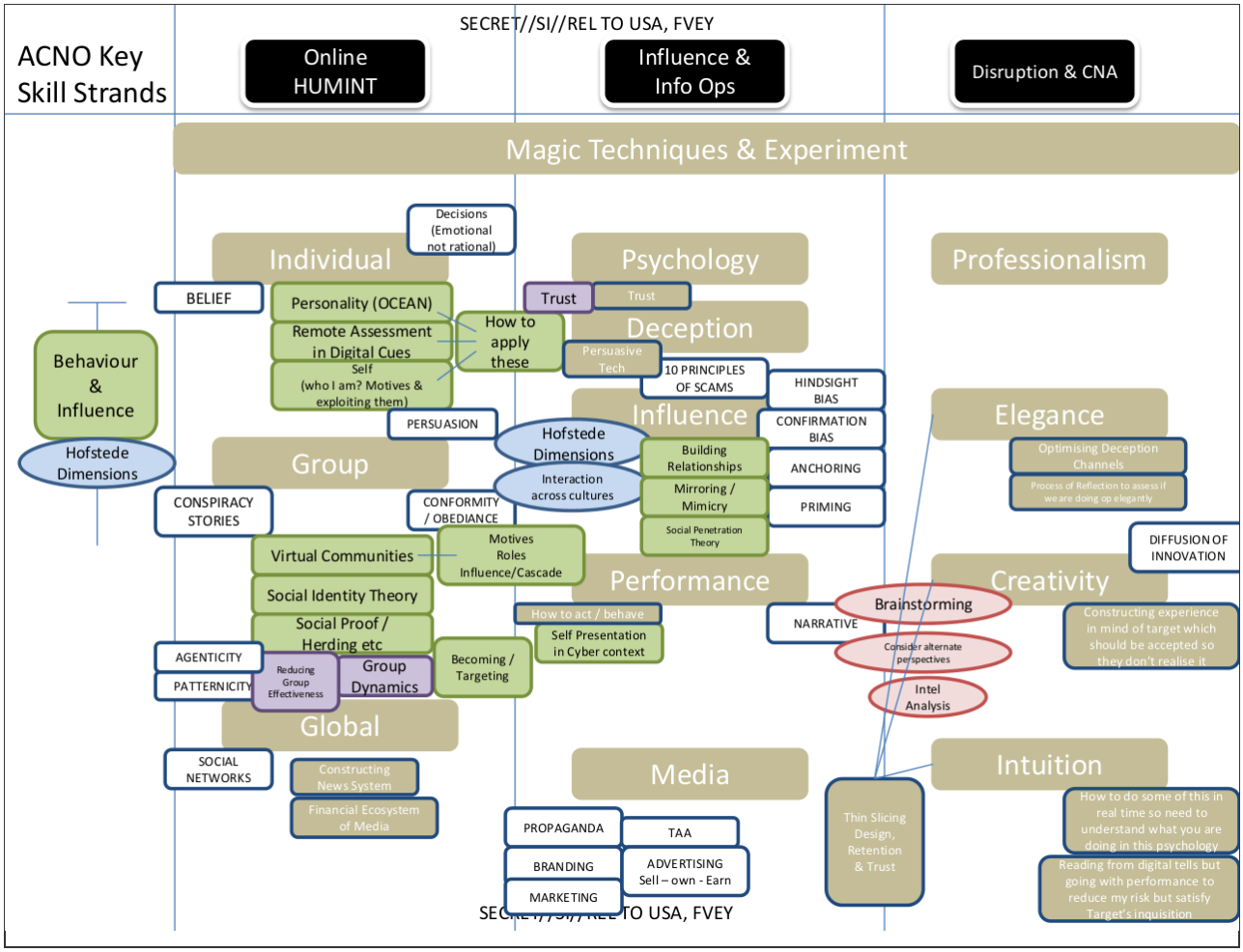
the internet about whichever individuals it targets, including the use of what GCHQ itself calls “false flag operations” and emails to people’s families and friends. Who would possibly trust a government to exercise these powers at all, let alone do so in secret, with virtually no oversight, and outside of any cognizable legal framework?

Then there is the use of psychology and other social sciences to not only understand, but shape and control, how online activism and discourse unfolds. Today’s newly published document touts the work of GCHQ’s “Human Science Operations Cell,” devoted to “online human intelligence” and “strategic influence and disruption”:



Under the title “Online Covert Action”, the document details a variety of means to engage in “influence and info ops” as well as “disruption and computer net attack,” while dissecting how human beings can be manipulated using “leaders,” “trust,” “obedience” and “compliance”:


SECRET//SI//REL TO USA, FVEY
ACNO Key Skill Strands
Online HUMINT
Influence & Info Ops
Disruption & CNA
Magic Techniques & Experiment
Individual
Group
Global
Psychology
Deception
Performance
Media
Professionalism
Elegance
Creativity
Intuition
SECRET//SI//REL TO USA, FVEY


SECRET//SI//REL TO USA, FVEY
ACNO Key Skill Strands
Online HUMINT
Influence & Info Ops
Disruption & CNA
Magic Techniques & Experiment
Decisions (Emotional not rational)
Individual
Psychology
Professionalism
BELIEF
Personality (OCEAN)
Remote Assessment in Digital Cues
Self (who I am? Motives & exploiting them)
How to apply these
Trust
Trust
Deception
Persuasive Tech
10 PRINCIPLES OF SCAMS
HINDSIGHT BIAS
Behaviour & Influence
Hofstede Dimensions
PERSUASION
Influence
CONFIRMATION BIAS
Elegance
Hofstede Dimensions
Building Relationships
ANCHORING
Optimising Deception Channels
Process of Reflection to assess if we are doing op elegantly
Group
Interaction across cultures
Mirroring / Mimicry
PRIMING
CONSPIRACY STORIES
CONFORMITY / OBEDIANCE
Social Penetration Theory
DIFFUSION OF INNOVATION
Motives
Roles
Influence/Cascade
Virtual Communities
Performance
Creativity
Social Identity Theory
How to act / behave
Brainstorming
Social Proof / Herding etc
Self Presentation in Cyber context
NARRATIVE
Constructing experience in mind of target which should be accepted so they don't realise it
AGENTICITY
PATTERNICITY
Reducing Group Effectiveness
Group Dynamics
Becoming / Targeting
Consider alternate perspectives
Intel Analysis
Global
Intuition
SOCIAL NETWORKS
Constructing News System
Financial Ecosystem of Media
Media
Thin Slicing Design, Retention & Trust
How to do some of this in real time so need to understand what you are doing in this psychology
PROPAGANDA
TAA
BRANDING
ADVERTISING Sell – own - Earn
MARKETING
Reading from digital tells but going with performance to reduce my risk but satisfy Target's inquisition
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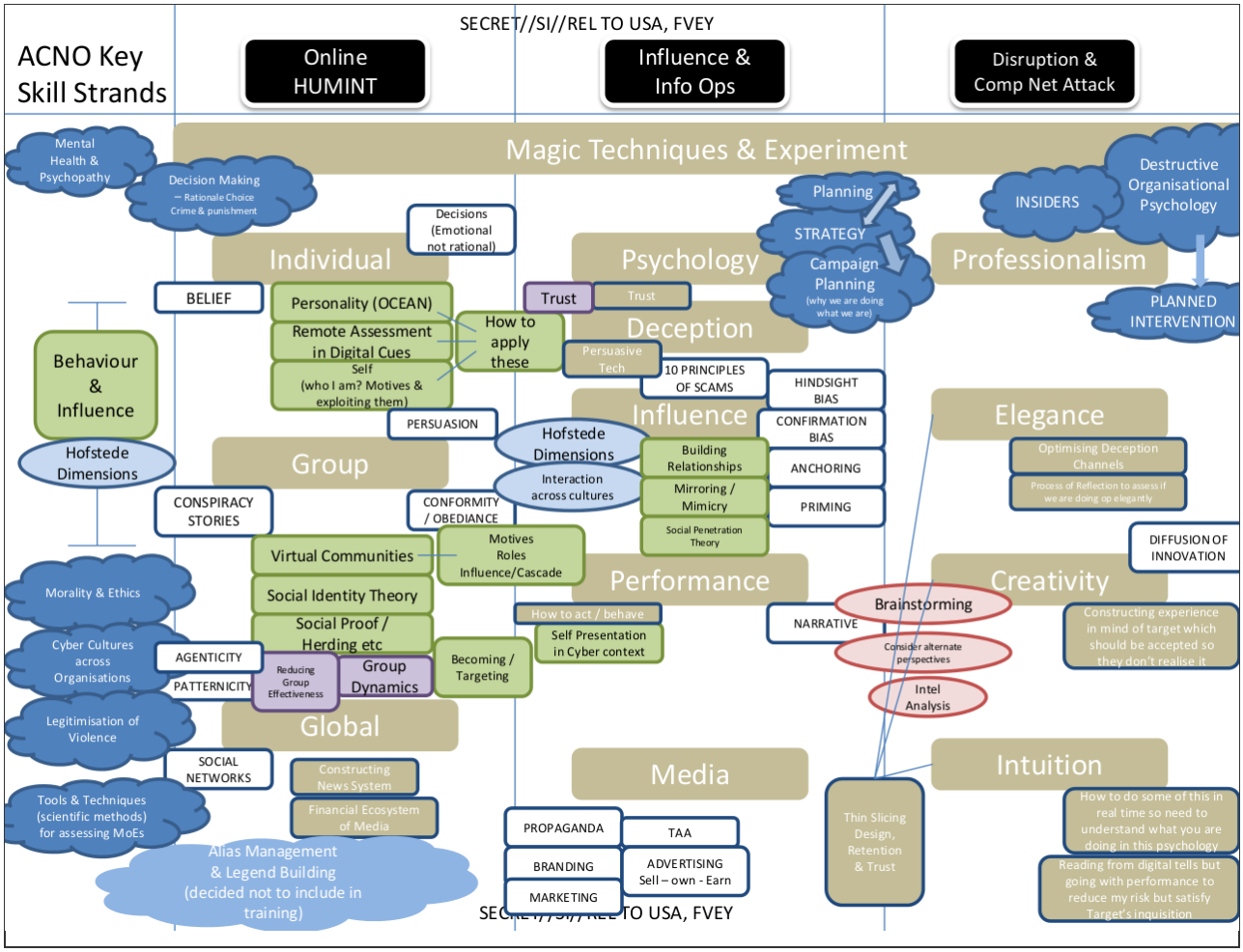
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ACNO Key Skill Strands
Online HUMINT
Influence & Info Ops
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Magic Techniques & Experiment
Mental Health & Psychopathy
Decision Making
– Rationale Choice
Crime & punishment
Decisions (Emotional not rational)
Individual
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Planning
STRATEGY
Campaign Planning
(why we are doing what we are)
INSIDERS
Destructive Organisational Psychology
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Tools & Techniques (scientific methods) for assessing MoEs
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TAA
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Sell – own - Earn
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How to do some of this in real time so need to understand what you are doing in this psychology
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Alias Management & Legend Building (decided not to include in training)
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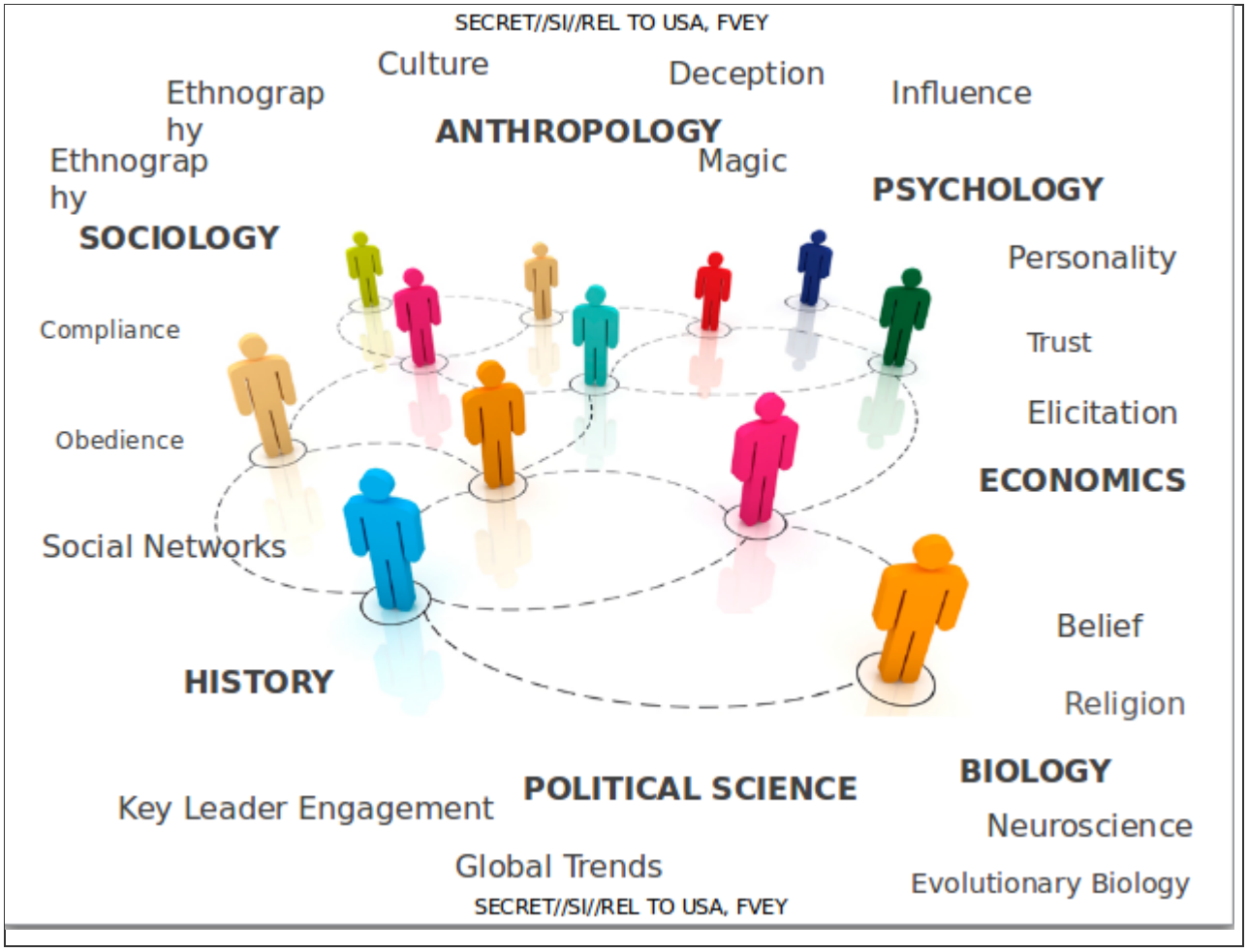
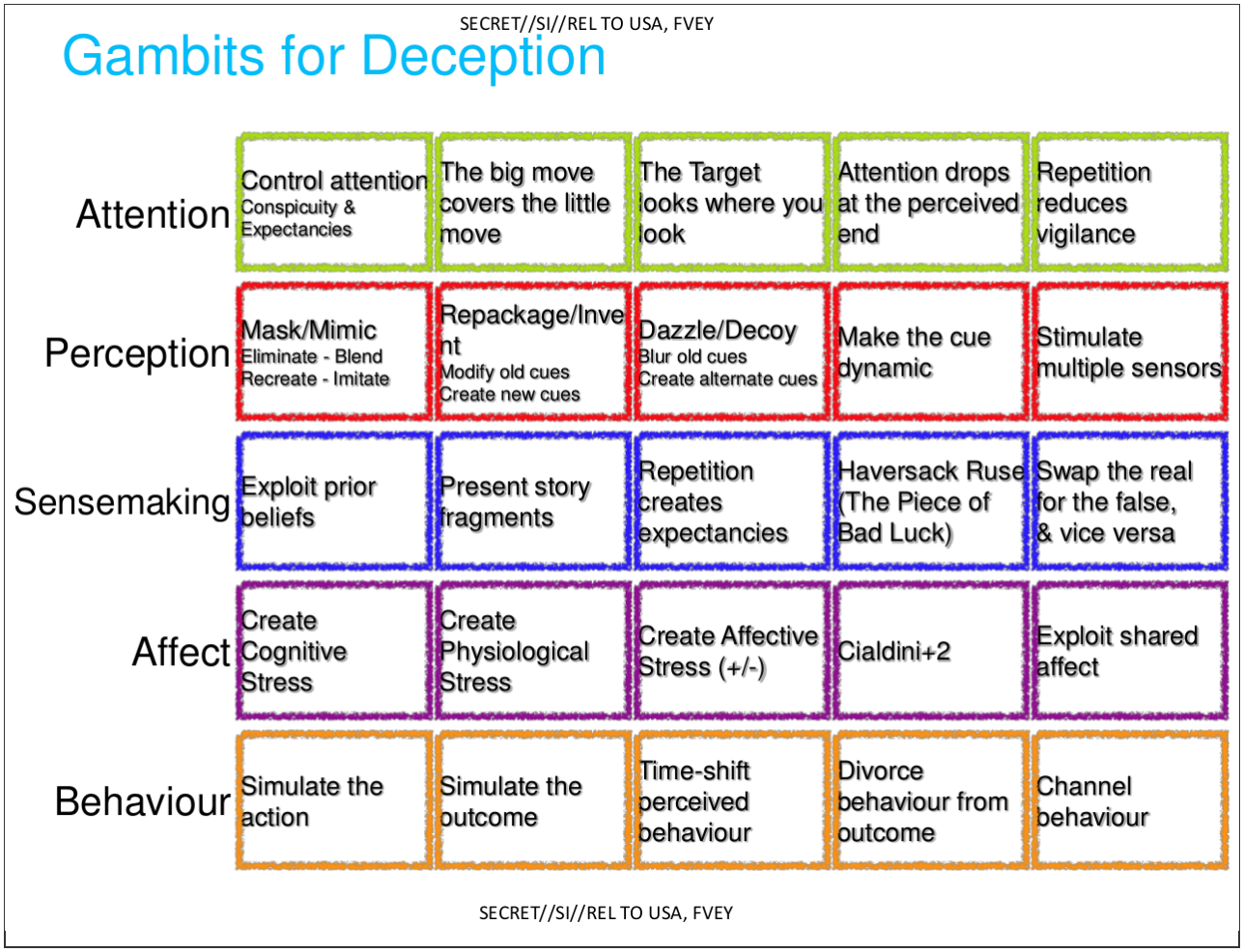


The documents lay out theories of how humans interact with one another, particularly online, and then attempt to identify ways to influence the outcomes – or "game" it:


SECRET//SI//REL TO USA, FVEY
Gambits for Deception
Attention
Control attention
Conspicuity & Expectancies
The big move covers the little move
The Target looks where you look
Attention drops at the perceived end
Repetition reduces vigilance
Perception
Mask/Mimic
Eliminate - Blend
Recreate - Imitate
Repackage/Invent
Modify old cues
Create new cues
Dazzle/Decoy
Blur old cues
Create alternate cues
Make the cue dynamic
Stimulate multiple sensors
Sensemaking
Exploit prior beliefs
Present story fragments
Repetition creates expectancies
Haversack Ruse (The Piece of Bad Luck)
Swap the real for the false, & vice versa
Affect
Create Cognitive Stress
Create Physiological Stress
Create Affective Stress (+/-)
Cialdini+2
Exploit shared affect
Behaviour
Simulate the action
Simulate the outcome
Time-shift perceived behaviour
Divorce behaviour from outcome
Channel behaviour
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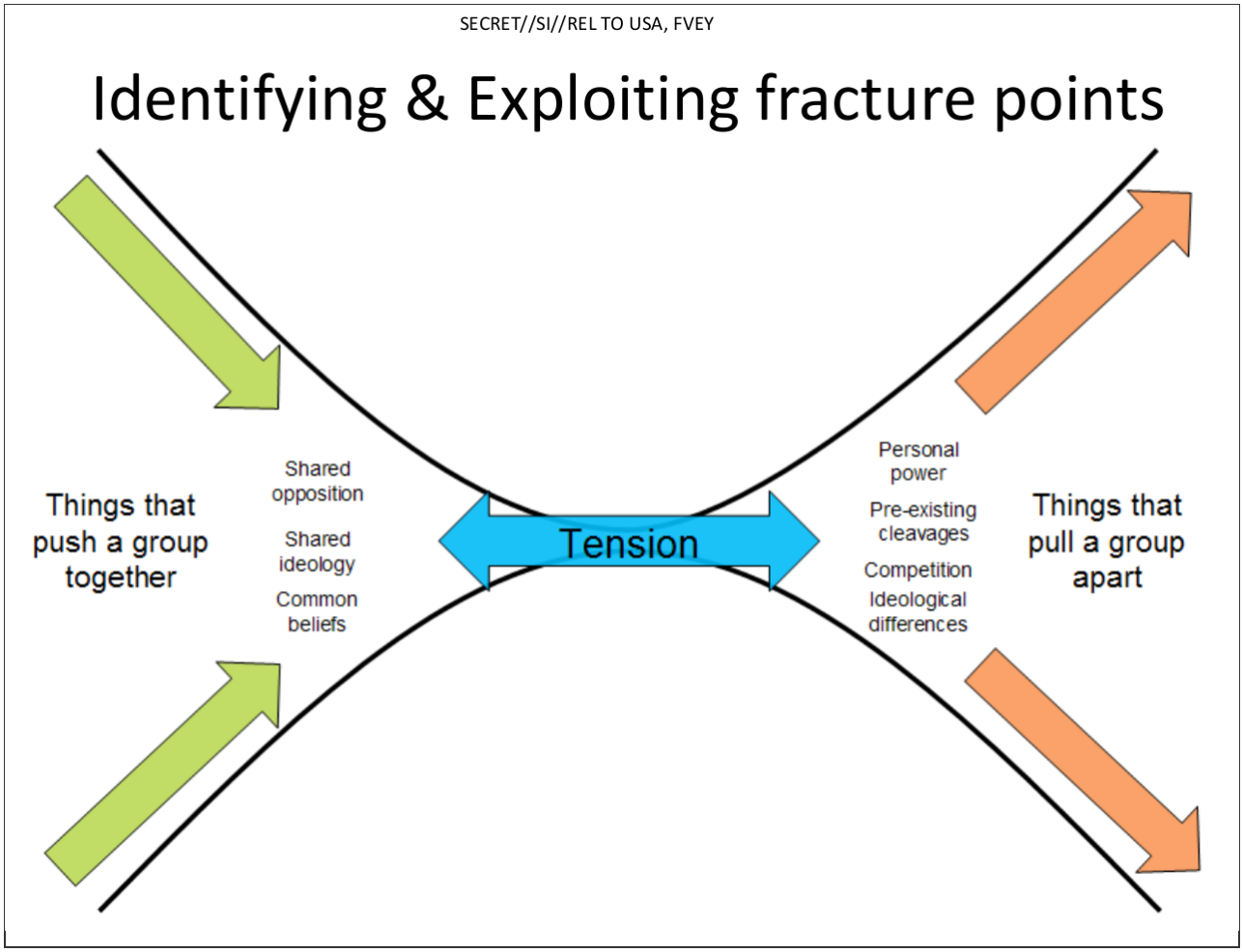
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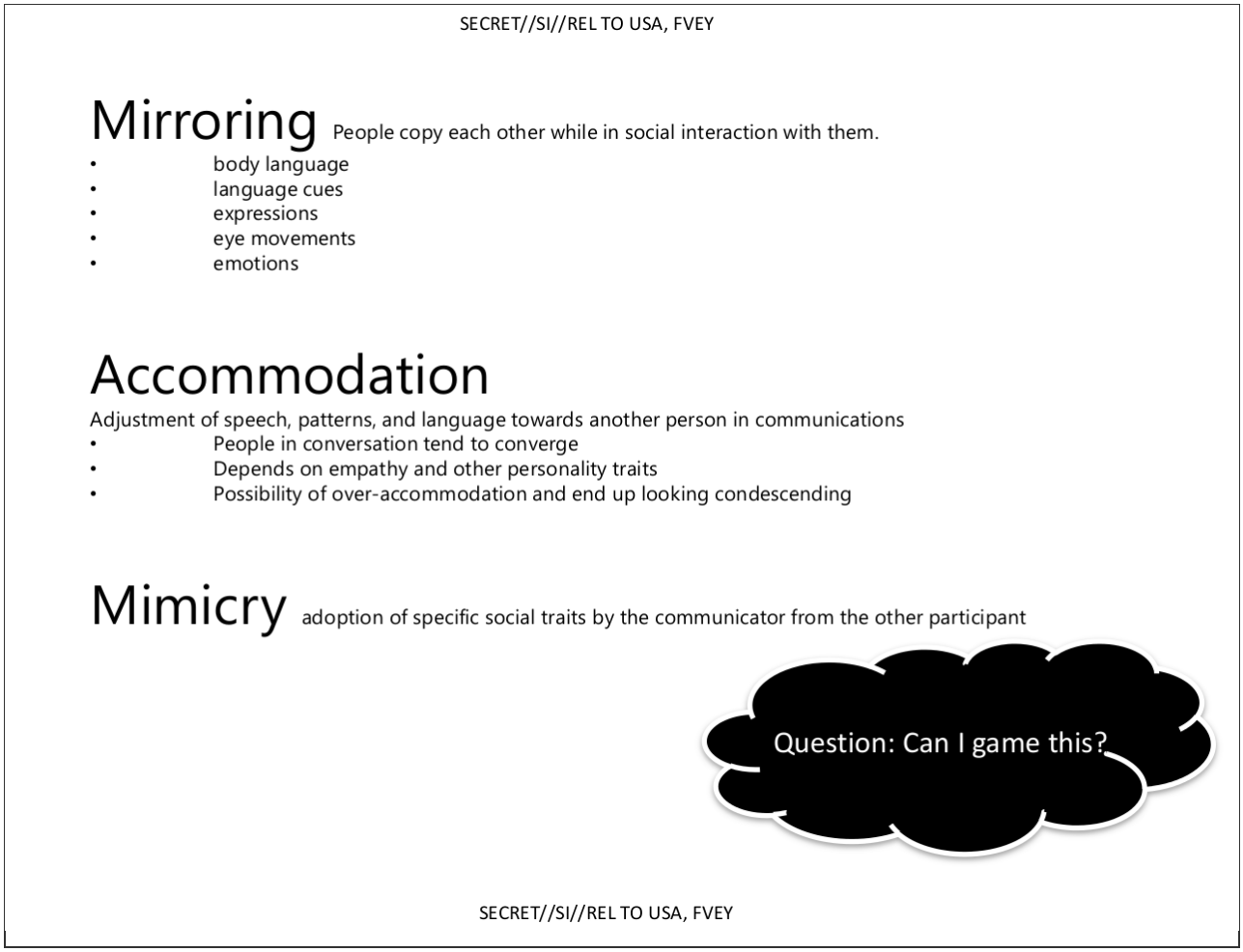
Identifying & Exploiting fracture points
Things that push a group together
Shared opposition
Shared ideology
Common beliefs
Tension
Personal power
Pre-existing cleavages
Competition
Ideological differences
Things that pull a group apart



We submitted numerous questions to GCHQ, including: (1) Does GCHQ in fact engage in "false flag operations" where material is posted to the Internet and falsely attributed to someone else?; (2) Does GCHQ engage in efforts to influence or manipulate political discourse online?; and (3) Does GCHQ's mandate include targeting common criminals (such as boiler room operators), or only foreign threats?

As usual, they ignored those questions and opted instead to send their vague and nonresponsive boilerplate: "It is a longstanding policy that we do not comment on intelligence matters. Furthermore, all of GCHQ's work is carried out in accordance with a strict legal and policy framework which ensures that our activities are authorised, necessary and proportionate, and that there is rigorous oversight, including from the Secretary of State, the Interception and Intelligence

Services Commissioners and the Parliamentary Intelligence and Security Committee. All our operational processes rigorously support this position."

These agencies' refusal to "comment on intelligence matters" – meaning: talk at all about anything and everything they do – is precisely why whistleblowing is so urgent, the journalism that supports it so clearly in the public interest, and the increasingly unhinged attacks by these agencies so easy to understand. Claims that government agencies are infiltrating online communities and engaging in "false flag operations" to discredit targets are often dismissed as conspiracy theories, but these documents leave no doubt they are doing precisely that.

Whatever else is true, no government should be able to engage in these tactics: what justification is there for having government agencies target people – who have been charged with no crime – for reputation-destruction, infiltrate online political communities, and develop techniques for manipulating online discourse? But to allow those actions with no public knowledge or accountability is particularly unjustifiable.

Documents referenced in this article:

- The Art of Deception: Training for a New Generation of Online Covert Operations

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