It's leaking everywhere!

Buckets & diapers for the incontinent system?

Why Transparency and The Truth™ won't make you free

Typewriter font to signify important revelations!
Captain Hindsight?

All Over Coffee

“I don’t get superheroes,” she says,
“If you could see through everything,
you’d see nothing at all.”
It's leaking everywhere!

Felix Stalder: Contain This! Leaks, Whistle-Blowers and the Networked News Ecology
http://www.metamute.org/en/print/13726

1) "Communication becomes more extensive, more recorded, and the records become more mobile."

2) "moralistic rhetoric and the ugliness of daily practice are diverging ever more"

3) "'super-empowered' individuals"

4) "media consolidation at one pole, and the explosion of non-institutional publishers at the other"

not all that new developments!

for motivation, that is, 2):

loss of faith -> loss of identification -> leak
It's leaking everywhere!

Felix Stalder: Contain This! Leaks, Whistle-Blowers and the Networked News Ecology
http://www.metamute.org/en/print/13726

"...people are told to engage more fully with their work, to become more creative, more self-reliant, more entrepreneurial. Simply following orders without investing one's creativity and personality is no longer enough."

What a way to describe anticipatory obedience (vorauseilender Gehorsam)!

The system is already leaking...

...Wikileaks just put one bucket under it
It's leaking everywhere!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>„Renegades“</th>
<th>„Apostates“</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>disappointed believers looking for something to believe in or trying to restore their faith</td>
<td>non-believers trying to stop believing altogether and stop expecting much from former faith</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**different consequences**

- establishing the true, real version of what they deserted, or: reestablishing, optimizing it without deserting
- often expelled from organizations that misinterpret them as enemies rather than to understand them as debuggers

- questioning the process of belief and the very structure of the system they came into conflict with
- sometimes starting out as expelled renegades but actively turn against not only organization and "corrupt" leadership but the underlying concepts
It's leaking everywhere!

"renegades"

- tend to mistake their ideals about society for reality
- expect adherence to their principles from everyone
- most influential example: Protestant factions of Christianity who demanded sanctified life from every Christian - became earliest & most active agents of anti-pleasure politics, prohibition, drug war, strict work ethics

optimize the system - or overcome it?

- better democracy, more just government, fairer market, "reasonable use of force", more smoothly functioning hierarchies without "unnecessary" hardships
- or abolish domination, put an end to remote administration of your and everyone's life, sublate the capital relationship to create equal access to society's wealth for everyone?
It's leaking everywhere!

what the audience says

"WikiLeaks stands to improve our democracy, not weaken it."

Evan Hansen: Why WikiLeaks Is Good for America
http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2010/12/wikileaks-editorial

Julian Nida-Rümelin: Demokratie will Öffentlichkeit
http://www.zeit.de/2010/51/Wikileaks
"Absichtlich wurde die Öffentlichkeit in die Irre geführt. Wäre sie adäquat informiert worden, hätte sie den zweiten Irakkrieg vermutlich nicht gebilligt."
"die Grundvoraussetzungen demokratischen Regierungshandelns (...) : Transparenz, Kohärenz und Kontrolle."

Johannes Thumfart: Immanuel Kant 2.0
http://taz.de/1/debatte/kommentar/artikel/1/immanuel-kant-20/
"Möglicherweise hätte der kostspielige Bankencrash von 2008 durch rechtzeitigen Verrat verhindert werden können. Eliten müssen ja nicht überwacht werden, weil sie per se böswillig sind, sondern weil sie in einer täglich komplexer werdenden Welt schlichtweg zu viele Fehler machen, wenn man sie alleine lässt."
Leaks are „well d'uh“

Rainer Rupp: Hacker, vereinigt euch
http://www.jungewelt.de/2010/12-07/055.php
"Tätigkeit der US-Diplomatie als eine Mischung aus Kriminalität, Inkompetenz und maßloser Arroganz"

Steve Coll:Leaks
http://www.newyorker.com/talk/comment/2010/11/08/101108taco_talk_coll
"In fact, the archives that WikiLeaks has published are much less significant than the Pentagon Papers were in their day."

Scott Stewart: WikiLeaks and the Culture of Classification
http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/20101027_wikileaks_and_culture_classification
"very few true secrets"

"For example, the press has widely reported that the Iraqi government was torturing its own people; many civilians were killed during the six years the documents covered; sectarian death squads were operating inside Iraq; and the Iranian government was funding Shiite militias. None of this is news."
Leaks are „well d'uh“

Scott Stewart: WikiLeaks and the Culture of Classification
http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/20101027_wikileaks_and_culture_classification

"SIPRNet is authorized only for the transmission of information classified at the secret level and below. It cannot be used for information classified top secret or more closely guarded intelligence that is classified at the secret level."

„In the Culture of Classification, "higher is better" and "longer is also seen as better".“
Leaks are „well d'uh“

Scott Stewart: WikiLeaks and the Culture of Classification
http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/20101027_wikileaks_and_culture_classification

"This culture also tends to reinforce the belief among government employees that knowledge is power and that one can become powerful by having access to information and denying that access to others. And this belief can often contribute to the bureaucratic jealousy that results in the failure to share intelligence — a practice that was criticized so heavily in the 9/11 Commission Report."

"The WikiLeaks cases have provided such people a justification to continue to stovepipe information."

"The ultimate irony is that the WikiLeaks cases will help strengthen and perpetuate the broken system that helped lead to the disclosures in the first place."
Thomas Steinfeld: Inszenierung der politischen Fratze
http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/wikileaks-enthuellungen-inszenierung-der-politischen-fratze-1.1033368

"...das Bekannte und Vertraute scheint sich, indem es durch Wikileaks veröffentlicht wird, in etwas absichtlich Verborgenes, etwas Öffentliches in etwas Nicht-Öffentliches zu verwandeln."

("...the known and familiar seems, by being published through Wikileaks, to turn into something intentionally hidden, something public into something non-public.")
what about the non-news?

Thomas Steinfeld: Inszenierung der politischen Fratze
http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/wikileaks-enthuellungen-inszenierung-der-politischen-fratze-1.1033368

Crypto-Anarchists display absolute faith in the state ("unbedingter Glaube an den Staat") and the hope, in politics things could be clean, hygienic and honest ("Hoffnung, es könne in der Politik sauber, hygienisch, redlich zugehen")

On the other hand:

Secret issues that cannot be translated into a conspiracy don't seem to matter ("Nichts davon ist transparent, alles ist Geheimnis - aber es interessiert Wikileaks nicht, weil es sich nicht in eine Verschwörung übertragen lässt.")
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<th>„Renegades“:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>„Hacking is not a crime“</td>
<td>„Violating property rights is a crime“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trying to legalize themselves, hoping to become part of the system that's fighting them</td>
<td>trying to fight prosecution and work outside the system of access restrictions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**different consequences**

| trying to match the ideal of society with the reality of not being accepted | trying to underline the antagonism between what is produced & who's getting it, challenging the definition of crime |
| applying as debuggers and optimizers in order to become accepted as a useful part of society | attempting counter-attacks in order to deter, developing ways of (re-)appropriation |
**Transparency is upon us!**

**STEP 1**

"Every release that we do of material has a second message. And that is: we set examples. If you engage in immoral, in unjust behavior, it will be found out, it will be revealed, and you will suffer the consequences."  (Assange)

**STEP 2**

"If you preach transparency, you have to be transparent yourself."  (Domscheit-Berg)

**STEP 3**

Our wonderful eco-antidiscrimination-historically-redeemed government can also claim to be transparent - and give it back to you:

"Are you transparent?!"

And for that purpose, no secret service has to stop working, no domination or exploitation has to end
Transparency is upon us!

Crypto-Anarchism's claim that every information can be leaked

+ Wikileaks' political demand for all public institutions and companies to be transparent

+ Openleaks' criticism that the leakers need to be transparent, as well

+ the social reality of „everybody is becoming an entrepreneur”

Transparency Protestantism
Julian Assange: The non linear effects of leaks on unjust systems of governance (31 Dec 2006)

"...in a world where leaking is easy, secretive or unjust systems are nonlinearly hit relative to open, just systems."

- where is it easy? where are the leakers? where do they survive? it takes people losing their faith & willing to take the risk

"Since unjust systems, by their nature induce opponents..."
"Only revealed injustice can be answered"

- what about all that isn't veiled in the first place?

"for man to do anything intelligent he has to know what's actually going on."

- and that's not starvation, domination, wage slavery, but...
"To destroy this invisible Government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of the statesmanship of the day."

Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive Party 1912:

Strict limits and disclosure requirements on political campaign contributions; Registration of lobbyists; Recording and publication of Congressional committee proceedings.

-> anti-lobbyism and anti-Big-business
Assange's counter-conspiracy

me@iq.org: State and Terrorist Conspiracies  
(November 10, 2006)  

"To radically shift regime behavior we must think clearly and boldly for if we have learned anything, it is that regimes do not want to be changed. We must think beyond those who have gone before us..."

- even though they were often successful

"Authoritarian power is maintained by conspiracy"

- what about non-authoritarian power?

"Conspiracy, Conspire: make secret plans jointly to commit a harmful act; working together to bring about a particular result, typically to someone’s detriment."

- pretty charged definition
Assange's counter-conspiracy

me@iq.org: State and Terrorist Conspiracies
(November 10, 2006)

- talks about "authoritarian regimes" and their character, but gives no examples or evidence

"pushing against the individual and collective will to freedom, truth and self realization"
"Plans which assist authoritarian rule, once discovered, induce resistance. Hence these plans are concealed by successful authoritarian powers. This is enough to define their behavior as conspiratorial."

- what a circle! That's how they need to be, hence they need to proceed that way, because they are like that...
"Information flows from conspirator to conspirator. Not every conspirator trusts or knows every other conspirator even though all are connected. Some are on the fringe of the conspiracy, others are central and communicate with many conspirators and others still may know only two conspirators but be a bridge between important sections or groupings of the conspiracy."

"Sometimes there are no alternative paths for conspiratorial information to flow between conspirators, other times there are many. This is a useful and interesting characteristic of a conspiracy."

"Conspirators are discerning, some trust and depend each other, others say little."

"Conspiracies are cognitive devices. They are able to out think the same group of individuals acting alone"

- conspirators - people like you and me!
If all links between conspirators are cut then there is no conspiracy.

comrade Assange would have been a good tchekist!

„Wir sind alle 129a!“ -> „Ihr seid alle 129a!“

"Individuals in a conspiracy conspire. Isolated individuals do not."
"no information flow between the conspirators and hence no conspiracy."

-isn't the absence of information flow a very distinct and important information? and can't conspirators really not act upon their own, still?
"We must understand the key generative structure of bad governance"

-> footnote: "Most witnessed acts of injustice are associated with bad governance, since when governance is good, unanswered injustice is rare."

"...to replace the structures that lead to bad governance with something better"

"Authoritarian regimes create forces which oppose them by pushing against a people’s will to truth, love and self-realization."

- freedom has become love in only 3 weeks...

"To deal with powerful conspiratorial actions we must think ahead and attack the process that leads to them since the actions themselves can not be dealt with."

???
"garbage in, garbage out."
"We can deceive or blind a conspiracy by distorting or restricting the information available to it. We can reduce total conspiratorial power via unstructured attacks on links or through throttling and separating. A conspiracy sufficiently engaged in this manner is no longer able to comprehend its environment and plan robust action."

- it will thus start to strike blindly, desperately in retaliation at random targets with all it's got – yay!

- in general: **typical intelligence approach, attributes almost total power to information and its control**
Assange's counter-conspiracy

me@iq.org: Conspiracy as Governance

(Dec 3, 2006)

the example: the two big political parties in the US

"Consider what would happen if one of these parties gave up their mobile phones, fax and email correspondence — let alone the computer systems which manage their subscribes, donors, budgets, polling, call centres and direct mail campaigns? They would immediately fall into an organizational stupor and lose to the other."

- so would everybody else - and if they would stop eating, they'd end up in stupor, as well!

- consequence: the competitor wins, the one less vulnerable to information attacks - in Assange's logic, the more open and just one - in reality probably the less permeable one passing off as open & just
Home of counter-conspiracy

walking distance from ServInt to the CIA headquarters
Conclusion

Wikileaks might be heavy competition for journalism and trouble for leaky institutions but it aims at rule violations rather than at the game itself.

That governments rule over people, that the responsible citizens delegate their power, that almost all humans are forced to wage labor and without it (and often even with it) are condemned to poverty, disease, hunger and death, doesn't seem to be the issue.

Transparency advocates want to watch the rulers rule and the executive execute and the enterpreneurs do, well, their business – and if they all play by the rules, commit no “immoral or unjust acts”, things are fine.

Solely attacking access restrictions to certain information ignores the access restrictions to the wealth of societies that allow people without enough money to suffer and starve. For millions, “Access All Areas” is about the food section of the nearest supermarket.