

# UN | COMMONS

## Snowden Files For All?

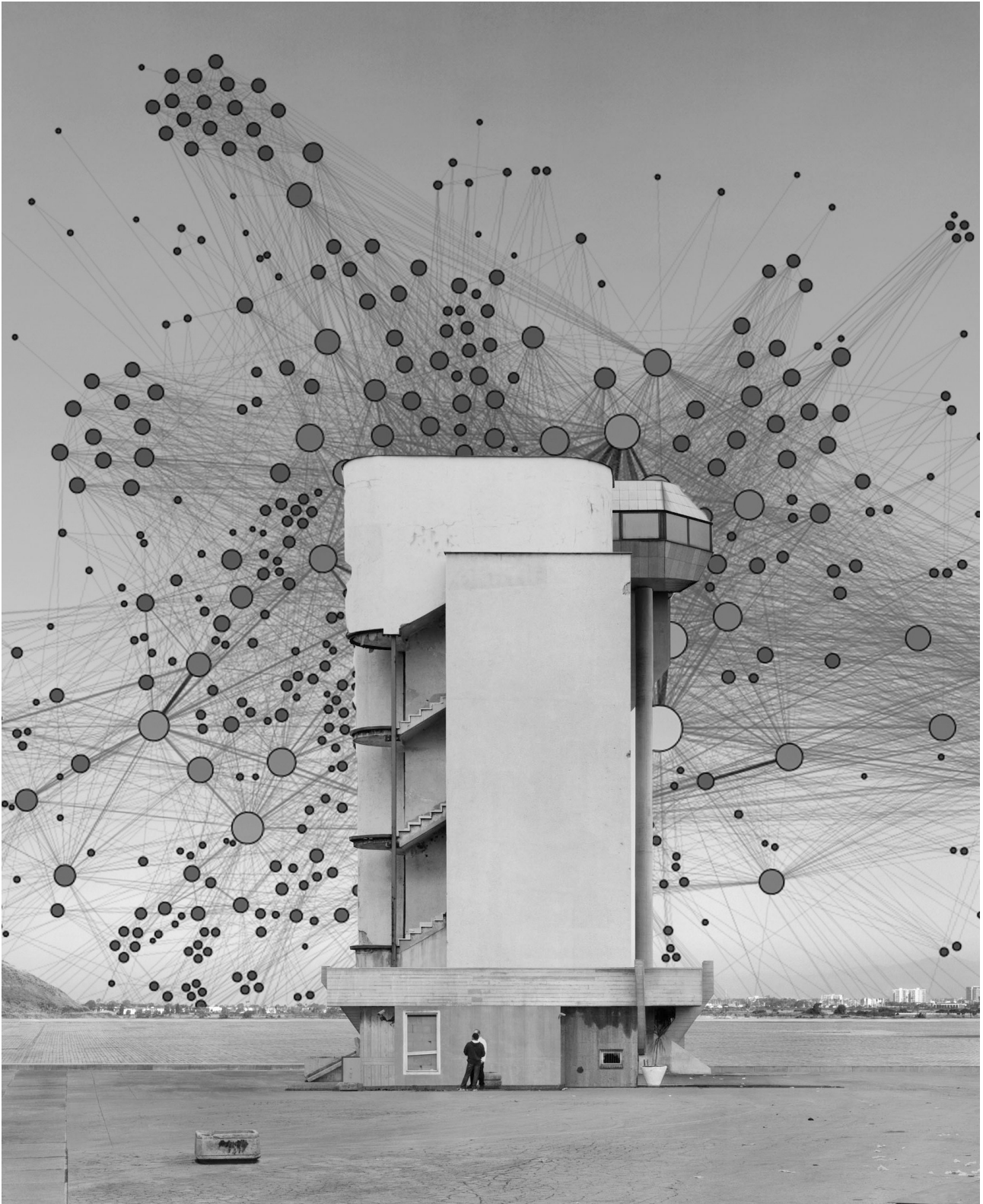


Image: Remix of a Beate Gütschow-Photo by Martin Taube

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### Concern

Did we (as a society) actually learn something from the Snowden disclosures? And have we eventually created a basis for change? Or is the political potential of this case yet to be realized?

### Diagnosis

To a historically unprecedented extent the disclosures of the NSA-Whistleblower Edward Snowden allow insights into an excessive surveillance apparatus operated by the biggest superpower of our time. In that sense they mark a new era: We are now living in a Post-Snowden-world – yet we (as publics or societies) are not allowed to be actively involved in this rupture. This is mainly due to two facts. 1) In mass media there is no debate about the value of democracy and public structures. Instead the Snowden disclosures nurture criticism that foregrounds privacy (a private matter after all, rendering also a private choice, whether one is dealing with the disclosures or not). 2) There is no public archive for the Snowden files. Instead they remain privatised – stored by few journalists/media houses. On the one hand this impedes sustainable open access. On the other hand, it remains unclear how we could collectively transform the leaks into actual knowledge – that is: into a commons, that might serve us as a basis for changing the state of affairs.

### Initiative

Against this backdrop the *Berliner Gazette*-Initiative *Snowden Files For All?* (SFA) proposes: Let us design a model for the Snowden Files to be hosted in the public library and at the same time establish a new ground for a debate about these disclosures that focuses on the potentials and perils for the commons and for democracy. In its first phase the SFA-Initiative focuses on interventions that aim at stimulating public debates on the connexion of publishing, archiving and knowledge production. Since this is an international issue and includes actors from all over the world, we pursue the project in a bi-lingual fashion: German and English.

### Frame

The commons, the public and openness in general are undergoing a profound upheaval. The catalyst is the Internet. We communicate openly, share knowledge and collaborate online in unprecedented ways. Although this vast new domain of the 'common' can no longer be contained by the form of private property, we lack the democratic structures to accommodate it. Ours is perhaps a unique moment in history. The digital avant-gardes and traditional public institutions alike are challenged by the same situation: How can we nurture and maintain cultures and forms of knowledge as commons? Dealing with this question since its foundations in 1999, the *Berliner Gazette* now focuses on the issue in its annual project 2015 from a new angle. We propose to rediscover the meaning of the commons by examining those forms of knowledge, technology and life that operate today under privatised conditions, but which we might transform into commons in the future. Hence we wish to explore our not-yet-commons, or, depending on the point of view, our estranged commons. In short: Our UN|COMMONS.



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## Snowden Files For All?

### Intervention #1

**Title:** Open the Snowden-Files!

**Format:** Essay (EN/DE)

**Author:** Krystian Woznicki (berlinergazette.de)

**Date:** 9/7/14

**Site:** Berliner Gazette

English version:

URL (Text): [http://berlinergazette.de/wp-content/uploads/Open-the-Snowden-Files\\_KW\\_E.pdf](http://berlinergazette.de/wp-content/uploads/Open-the-Snowden-Files_KW_E.pdf)

German version:

URL (Text): <http://berlinergazette.de/open-the-snowden-files>

### Extract:

"Should the Snowden Files remain privatised – stored by few journalists/media houses? Or should they be in the hands of the public? I think that we need to raise the question. Not so much, because actors who work in public service, currently do not live up to our expectations in terms of the output they generate. No, among many of us the question lies dormant, because processes in the public service should be designed as inclusive as possible in order to live up to the challenges of this specific obligation."

Krystian Woznicki, founder of Berliner Gazette, Berlin

In: Berliner Gazette, 9/7/14

URL: [http://berlinergazette.de/wp-content/uploads/Open-the-Snowden-Files\\_KW\\_E.pdf](http://berlinergazette.de/wp-content/uploads/Open-the-Snowden-Files_KW_E.pdf)

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## Snowden Files For All?

### Public Responses #1

#### Comments:

In: Berliner Gazette (98):

URL (Text): <http://berlingazette.de/open-the-snowden-files/#comments>

In: netzpolitik (10):

URL (Text): <https://netzpolitik.org/2014/diskussion-ueber-den-umgang-mit-den-snowden-dokumenten-alles-veroeffentlichen-oder-portionierte-neuenthuellungen/#comments>

#### Press Comments:

Gesa Ufer: "Snowden-Dokumente: 'Ein wenig befremdlich.' Journalist kritisiert exklusiven Medien-Zugang zu den Snowden-Dokumenten. Gespräch mit Krystian Woznicki" In: Deutschlandradio Kultur, Program: Kompressor, 15/7/14

URL (Audio): <https://soundcloud.com/snowdencommons/kompressor-journalist-kritisiert-exklusiven-medien-zugang-zu-den-snowden-dokumenten-15072014>

URL (Audio-Transcription): [http://berlingazette.de/wp-content/uploads/SC\\_Transkribierung\\_Kompressor.pdf](http://berlingazette.de/wp-content/uploads/SC_Transkribierung_Kompressor.pdf)

Anna Biselli: "Diskussion über den Umgang mit den Snowden- Dokumenten: Alles veröffentlichen oder portionierte Neuenthüllungen?" In: netzpolitik.org, 15/7/14

URL (Text): <https://netzpolitik.org/2014/diskussion-ueber-den-umgang-mit-den-snowden-dokumenten-alles-veroeffentlichen-oder-portionierte-neuenthuellungen>

Detlef Borchers: "Was war. Was wird." In: heise online, 13/7/14

URL (Text): <http://heise.de/-2258088>

#### Republishing:

In: Cryptome.org, 5/7/14 (early draft)

URL (Text): <http://cryptome.org/2014/07/open-snowden-files.htm>

In: Carta.info, 11/7/14

URL (Text): <http://www.cartainfo.org/73546/open-the-snowden-files>

In: Exberliner, Issue 130, September 2014, p. 13

URL (Text-Scan): [http://berlingazette.de/wp-content/uploads/Open-The-Snowden-Files\\_Exberliner.pdf](http://berlingazette.de/wp-content/uploads/Open-The-Snowden-Files_Exberliner.pdf)

In: Netzpolitik Jahrbuch 2014, epubli Berlin, December 2014, p. 172-180

URL (E-Book): <http://www.epubli.de/shop/buch/42451>



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## Snowden Files For All?

### Intervention #2

**Title:** Publics In Peril: Snowden Files For All?

**Format:** Panel Discussion (EN)

**Guests:** Ben Kaden (libreas.eu) & Geert Lovink (Institute of Network Cultures)

**Moderation:** Janet Merkel (Centre for Cultural Policy at the Hertie School of Governance)

**Date:** 15/11/14

**Site:** *Berliner Gazette*-Conference SLOW POLITICS @ Supermarkt

URL (Video):

<http://vimeo.com/album/3135535/video/112157789>

URL (Transcription):

<http://linkkommtnochdatranskriptnochnichtda.pp>

### Extract:

"As so many of the historical info leaks of recent years, the published Snowden files remain unsheltered, roving around the net, while those, which have not been published yet, are stored under precarious circumstances on some private USB-sticks. This is not a sustainable condition! We need a public archive! Therefore I support strongly the efforts being made in Berlin with regard to that issue. The archiving or librarization can start in Berlin – in exile so to speak. Finally the public archive for the Snowden files should be erected in Washington D.C.!"

Geert Lovink, Director of Institute of Network Cultures, Amsterdam

*Berliner Gazette*-Conference SLOW POLITICS, 15/11/14





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### Public Responses #2

#### Press Comments:

"Speakers at the *Berliner Gazette* conference stated that the paradigm shift following the disillusionment with mass surveillance has had comparatively little resonance among the broader public. With regard to this they criticized the gradual disclosure of individual facets of the NSA scandal as this procedure disregards the limits of the attention economy. In contrast to this they advocated for a neutral public platform that allows collective administration and collaborative processing of the files leaked by NSA-Whistleblower Edward Snowden."

Stefan Kreml: "Ruf nach Veröffentlichung der Snowden-Papiere wird lauter" In: heise online, 16/11/14. URL: <http://heise.de/-2457781>

#### Comments:

"What is really important is what is to be done, how to act on the knowledge we already have."

Patrice Riemens, Waag Society, Amsterdam

URL (Quote): <http://nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-l-1411/msg00031.html>

In: nettime.org (9):

URL (Thread-Archiv): <http://nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-l-1411/threads.html#00030>

#### Material:

Photos from the panel discussion:

URL (Photo-Album): <https://www.flickr.com/photos/berlinergazette/sets/72157650082796220>

Creative Commons-License: cc by

Credits: Andi Weiland | berlinergazette.de cc by

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## Snowden Files For All?

### Intervention #3

**Title:** From the Snowden Files to the Snowden Commons: The Library as a Civic Hub

**Format:** Position Paper (EN/DE)

**Author:** anonymous

**Date:** 3/12/14

**Site:** Berliner Gazette

Extended Version (EN):

URL (Text): <http://berlingazette.de/wp-content/uploads/Snowden-Commons.pdf>

Extended Version (DE):

URL (Text): <http://linkkommtnoch.pp>

Short Version (EN):

URL (Text): <http://linkkommtnoch.pp>

Short Version (DE):

URL (Text): <http://linkkommtnoch.pp>

### Extract:

"How can we best secure the Snowden Files as cultural heritage? Our answer may seem counter-intuitive in this digital age of immaterial data and online communications: we want to publish a book! We intend to publish, in multiple volumes, the already-released Snowden Files, and we are asking libraries to purchase a copy. We see this book not only as an opportunity to maintain the documents for posterity; we also want the physical books themselves to catalyze community dialogue, debate and activism."

This quote stems from the position paper that a group of anonymous citizens collaboratively produced at the *Berliner Gazette* conference SLOW POLITICS (November 13-15, 2014). Among them representatives of library studies, librarians, net activists, social and political scientists, curators and artists.

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### Public Responses #3

#### Press Comments:

Anja Reinhardt: "Die Konferenz 'Slow Politics' in Berlin . Gespräch mit Krystian Woznicki" In: WDR 3, Sendung: Mosaik, 14/11/15

URL (Audio): <https://soundcloud.com/slow-politics-press/slow-politics-wdr-3>

URL (Audio-Transcription): [http://berlinergazette.de/wp-content/uploads/Transkribierung\\_Mosaik\\_Auszug.pdf](http://berlinergazette.de/wp-content/uploads/Transkribierung_Mosaik_Auszug.pdf)

Anna Biselli: "Wird es eine gedruckte Ausgabe der Snowden- Dokumente geben? – Ergebnisse der "SLOW POLITICS"-Konferenz." In: netzpolitik.org, 3/12/14

URL (Text): <https://netzpolitik.org/2014/wird-es-eine-gedruckte-ausgabe-der-snowden-dokumente-geben-ergebnisse-der-slow-politics-konferenz>

"Everybody has the right to unrestrictedly access information from public sources. Traditionally the library is an institution that makes sources accessible in an unrestricted manner. Now we need to ask: The Snowden files, that have been published so far in the context of newspaper reporting – how can they become sources that are publicly accessible in an unrestricted manner?"

Vladimir Balzer/Axel Rahmlow: "Was soll mit den Snowden-Leaks geschehen? Gespräch mit Ben Kaden" In: Deutschlandradio Kultur, Program: Studio 9, 5/1/15

URL (Audio): <https://soundcloud.com/snowdencommons/studio-9-was-soll-mit-den-snowden-leaks-geschehen-05012015>

URL (Audio-Transkription): [http://berlinergazette.de/wp-content/uploads/SC\\_Transkribierung\\_Studio-9.pdf](http://berlinergazette.de/wp-content/uploads/SC_Transkribierung_Studio-9.pdf)

#### Republishing:

In: LIBREAS. Library Ideas, 26 (2014). URL: <http://libreas.eu/ausgabe26/08anonym>