The Hidden Cultural and Political Implications of Secrecy
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International Conference
Einstein Forum
Potsdam

Chair:
Martin Schaad
Rüdiger Zill

June 12 - 14
2008
Secrecy is one of the greatest accomplishments of humanity
Georg Simmel 1906

We have no clear ethical codes for secret-keeping. Why is discretion a virtue but taciturnity a flaw? Where are the boundaries between chatter and communication, between harmless gossip and disloyalty — or between treachery and whistleblowing? What is the difference between the historian rummaging in the archive, the investigative journalist tapping her sources, and the security service informer spying on his fellow citizens? Worse still: in an age where information itself is the competitive advantage, whether as commodity or as weapon, do the rules of engagement governing intelligence and secrecy change? Have they begun to converge across commercial, political, and military realms?

Blessed were the days when Samuel Johnson felt confident in proposing his three rules on secrecy:

Never to solicit the knowledge of a secret.
Not willingly, nor without many limitations to accept such confidence when it is offered.
When a secret is once admitted, to consider the trust as of a very high nature, important as society, and sacred as truth.

Samuel Johnson 1750

Such innocence may seem charming today, given the ways in which The Hidden is part of our lives. We fear that covert activities, unrestricted surveillance, and official secrecy spell the end of our democratic polity, though espionage thrillers and “Who-done-it?”s remain the most successful genres in literature and film. In private, we cherish the game of gossip in our own social contexts, though we try to raise our children not to be tattle-tales.
Cultural and Political Implications of Secrecy

We dread invasions of privacy, but are happy to leave a giant digital footprint in return for targeted Amazon recommendations and a free gift on our next stop at the gas station. We mistrust our secretive bearded neighbor while smiling condescendingly at those who reveal themselves on Web 2.0.

The Hidden is thus an ambivalent phenomenon - with concealment, revelation, and probing each posing a dilemma of its own. Are there secrets that are better left undisturbed? To whose need does the “need-to-know basis” refer? How are needs and rights to know related? And if there are secrets that are better kept from us, what could guarantee the benevolence of the secret-keepers?

The political and cultural importance of The Hidden can only be understood from several angles. One focus must be on the political uses and abuses of the arcane, with particular emphasis on government secrecy, the balance between security and freedom, as well as the right to privacy. Yet we also must consider the developmental psychology behind secret-keeping, social roles of secrets in group formation, and their appeal in popular culture. In short, the aim is to explore the secret both as a highly complex moral issue in private life and politics, and - to quote Georg Simmel - as a “general sociological form which remains neutral above the value functions of its contents”.

The international conference The Hidden will open with a screening of Secrecy, a documentary film by Peter Galison and Robb Moss, which explores the fundamental threat to democracy posed by the exponential growth of systems of classified information.
Program

Thursday June 12

Venue: Filmmuseum Potsdam
Breitestr.1 A
14467 Potsdam

7 pm

Secrecy
A film by Peter Galison and Robb Moss

Followed by a discussion with
Peter Galison Cambridge/Mass.
19:00

Secrecy

A film by Peter Galison and Robb Moss

Followed by a discussion with

Peter Galison Cambridge/Mass.
10:00  **Susan Neiman** Potsdam  
*Seduced — A Political Psychology of Secrecy*

11:00  **Peter Weitzel** Washington D.C.  
*Sunshine — Antidote to Government Secrecy*

12:30  **August Hanning** Berlin  
*Bedeutungsgewinn des „Geheimen“ für offene Gesellschaften im Zeitalter des Terrorismus*  
(in German, with simultaneous translation into English)

15:00  **Hasan M. Elahi** New Brunswick/N.J.  
*Tracking Transience — The Orwell Project*

16:30  **Sissela Bok** Cambridge/Mass.  
*The Vices of Concealment*

17:30  **Derek Pasquill** London  
*End's Secrecy?*

Venue:  
Haus der Brandenburgisch-Preußischen Geschichte  
Am Neuen Markt  
14467 Potsdam

Also featuring short interventions by:
10:30  **Martin Schaad** Potsdam  
*Tug-o-War – A Preliminary Economy of Betrayal*

12:00  **Max van Manen** Edmonton  
*On the Pedagogy of Secrecy and Momus Technologies*

15:00  **Jan Assmann** Heidelberg  
*Secrecy, Enlightenment, and Ancient Egypt*

16:30  **Hans-Joachim Neubauer** Berlin  
"Zip Your Lip" – *Controlling Rumors in Wartimes*

17:30  **Rüdiger Zill** Potsdam  
*Secrecy as a Way of Life*
Speakers and Abstracts

In the age of the Enlightenment, the fascination with Ancient Egypt reached a particular climax. The reason is threefold: firstly, Egypt appeared as the most ancient, most original civilization, and the concept of history prevailing in the 15th through 18th centuries still shrouded the beginning in particular glory; secondly, ancient Egyptian religion was connected not only with what in that time was understood by “natural religion” as opposed to “revealed” or “positive religion” but even identified with spinozism ante Spinozam or a kind of Deism; thirdly, Ancient Egypt appeared as the model of a split culture, divided into an exoteric, popular polytheism, and a secret, esoteric monotheism or spinozism, and this double philosophy, “philosophia duplex” as it was called, was hailed as a model of enlightenment could be promoted in times of persecution and censorship. In his lecture, Jan Assmann will focus on the concept of secrecy, its social and political function, as it was connected with Ancient Egypt, its hieroglyphs and its mysteries. Both aspects, the “grammatological” and the “mysterological” one are closely interlinked, they appear as two sides of the same coin. With the decipherment of the hieroglyphs by Jean Francois Champollion in 1822, the spell of Egypt was broken. In the sources, as they became now readable, there was no monotheism, no arcane theology, no antagonism between a popular religion and a religion of the sages and initiates. The hieroglyphs were shown not to be a cryptography but the normal writing used for stone inscriptions and basically the same system as the cursive writings, and the subterranean structures held to be the realm of the mysteries were identified as tombs. In the age of democracy and bourgeois culture, there was no room for secrecy and the idea of a "double philosophy" appeared now as obscurantism and the very opposite of progress and enlightenment.

Jan Assmann
Secrecy, Enlightenment, and Ancient Egypt

Jan Assmann is Professor Emeritus of Egyptology, Ruprecht Karls Universität Heidelberg. He has been a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study in Berlin, a scholar at the J.P. Getty Center in Santa Monica, and a fellow at the Munich C. F. v. Siemens Foundation. He has taught in Paris, Jerusalem, and in the US and is a recipient of the Max Planck Research Prize (1996) and of the German Historian’s Prize (1998). He holds honorary doctorates from the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster (1998), Yale University (2004), and the Hebrew University Jerusalem (2005). Some of his recent publications are: Die Mosaische Unterscheidung oder der Preis des Monotheismus (2003); Die Zauberflöte. Oper und Mysterium (2005); and Thomas Mann und Ägypten (2006). Together with his wife, Aleida Assmann, he has edited Schleier und Schwelle, a three-volume collection of essays on the cultural and literary significance of the secret.
In his book *Political Ethics and Public Office*, Dennis Thompson refers to deception, secrecy, and manipulation as ‘vices of concealment’ that prevent citizens from reaching a collective judgment about the other wrongs of government, including ‘the vices of violence.’ In her presentation, Sissela Bok will consider the role that concealment plays in deceptive government practices and the ways in which these practices interact with ignorance and self-deception so as greatly to magnify the damage from natural disasters, epidemics, and wars.

**Sissela Bok** was born in Sweden and educated in Switzerland and France before coming to the United States. She received her B.A. and M.A. in psychology at the George Washington University in 1957 and 1958, and her Ph.D. in philosophy at Harvard University in 1970. Formerly a Professor of Philosophy at Brandeis University, Sissela Bok is currently a Senior Visiting Fellow at the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies. Sissela Bok has published widely on the ethics of lying, secrecy, and euthanasia as well as on happiness and violence. Her many publications include: *Lying: Moral Choice in Private and Public Life* (1978); *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation* (1982, 1989); *Common Values* (1996); and *Mayhem: Violence as Public Entertainment* (1998). She is currently working on a book on deceit.
Tracking Transience — The Orwell Project is a self-surveillance project. As a result of an erroneous tip called into law enforcement authorities, Hasan Elahi was subjected to an intensive FBI investigation post 9-11. After undergoing months of regular interrogations and finally nine consecutive lie-detector tests, he was cleared of any suspicions. However, this experience led Elahi to conceive a self-tracking device that constantly transmits and maps his exact location alongside his financial data, communication records and transportation logs. Other aspects of Tracking Transience include a database of thousands of images of airports Elahi travels through and sometimes sleeps in, food he consumes in transit, and public toilets he uses while travelling. Tracking Transience — The Orwell Project builds on a series of installations, performances, and websites that use Elahi’s self-surveillance to critique contemporary investigative techniques. A second innovation in this work is its embrace of surveillance for its subject’s own protection; Elahi has protected himself from unwanted scrutiny by making his entire life and whereabouts publicly accessible.

Hasan M. Elahi is an interdisciplinary media artist with an emphasis on technology and media and their social implications. His research interests include issues of surveillance, simulated time, transport systems, and borders and frontiers. He is currently Assistant Professor at the Mason Gross School of the Arts at Rutgers University. Prior to joining the faculty at Rutgers, he was an Assistant Professor at the University of South Florida in Tampa, Florida. He has also taught at West Virginia University; at the Wanganui School of Design in New Zealand; and also in Houston, Texas. He has had numerous exhibitions nationally and internationally in venues such as PS122, Exit Art, and Pace Digital Gallery in New York, the Kulturbahnhof in Kassel, Germany, the BBC Big Screen in Manchester, UK and The Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Russia. His work has been supported with significant grants and numerous sponsorships from The Ford Foundation/Philip Morris, Creative Capital Foundation, DuPont Industries, the West Virginia Cultural Center and the Asociación Artetik Berrikuntzara in Donostia-San Sebastián in the Basque Country/Spain among others.
In a single recent year the U.S. classified about five times the number of pages added to the Library of Congress. We live in a world where the production of secret knowledge dwarfs the production of open knowledge. Depending on whom you ask, government secrecy is either the key to victory in our struggle against terrorism, or our Achilles heel. But is so much secrecy a bad thing?
Secrecy saves: counter-terrorist intelligence officers recall with fury how a newspaper article describing National Security Agency abilities directly led to the loss of information that could have avoided the terrorist killing of 241 soldiers in Beirut late in October 1983. Secrecy guards against wanton nuclear proliferation, against the spread of biological and chemical weapons. Secrecy is central to our ability to wage an effective war against terrorism.
Secrecy corrupts: From extraordinary rendition to warrant-less wiretaps and Abu Ghraib, we have learned that, under the veil of classification, even our leaders can give in to dangerous impulses. Secrecy increasingly hides national policy, impedes coordination among agencies, bloats budgets and obscures foreign accords; secrecy throws into the dark our system of justice and derails the balance of power between the executive branch and the rest of government.
This film is about the vast, invisible world of government secrecy. By focusing on classified secrets, the government’s ability to put information out of sight if it would harm national security, Secrecy explores the tensions between our safety as a nation, and our ability to function as a democracy.

Peter Galison is Pellegrino University Professor of the History of Science and of Physics at Harvard University. In 1997 Galison was awarded a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Fellowship; won a 1998 Pfizer Award (for Image and Logic) as the best book that year in the History of Science; and in 1999 received the Max Planck and Humboldt Stiftung Prize. His books include How Experiments End (1987); Einstein’s Clocks, Poincaré’s Maps (2003); and most recently Objectivity (with Lorraine Daston, 2007). His film Secrecy (with Rob Moss) has recently featured at the Sundance Film Festival. His previous film Ultimate Weapon: The H-bomb Dilemma (with Pamela Hogan) has been shown frequently on the History Channel and is widely used in courses and seminars in the United States and abroad. Galison also co-curated the exhibition "Iconoclash" at the German Media Museum (ZKM) in 2002.


August Hanning

*Bedeutungsgewinn des „Geheimen“ für offene Gesellschaften im Zeitalter des Terrorismus*

August Hanning is State Secretary at the Federal Ministry for the Interior in Berlin. He studied law at the Universities of Freiburg and Münster, where he also received his doctorate in 1976. Following various positions in state and federal administration, he moved to the Chancellor’s Office in Bonn in 1981. Between 1986 and 1990, he worked in the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic in East-Berlin, negotiating the release of political prisoners. In 1990, August Hanning returned to the Chancellor’s Office where he worked closely with Bernd Schmidbauer, the Government’s Secret Services Co-ordinator. Between 1998 and 2005, August Hanning was President of the Bundesnachrichtendienst, Germany’s Foreign Intelligence Service.
Secrets in young people’s lives play a role in the development of self-identity and the experience of intimacy and distance in social relations. The experience of personal secrets (kleine Geheimnisse) is the inevitable collateral of the emergence of inwardness or inner space. With the emergence of secrets in young people’s lives there comes into existence, what Simmel described as “the possibility of a second world alongside the manifest world.” This possibility is the potentiality of the hidden that separates (secretes) itself even as is shared or betrayed as this or that particular secret content. To keep a secret is to hide. But every secret hides more than its content. What is hidden in personal secrecy is the evanescence of interiority that harbors the singularity or alterity of the person. In learning when and how to keep and share secrets, young people learn to confer their sense of identity, independence, uniqueness, singularity and autonomy. But the social practice of secrecy is increasingly threatened. New technologies of expression such as Facebook, MySpace and blogs, and mobile communication technologies have become like Momus-windows of Greek mythology revealing one’s innermost thoughts for all to see. Momus found fault with the perfection of the human made by Hephaestus since the human person lacked transparency. A Momus-window is “an imagined window in a person’s breast allowing one to see into his or her soul” (OED). What is the meaning of innerness that is associated with the experience of secrecy? Are Momus technologies profoundly altering the quality and nature of social relations and especially the possibility and need for self-identity, intimacy, and closeness amongst young people? What is the pedagogy of the Hidden?

Max van Manen is Professor in Research Methods, Pedagogy, and Curriculum Studies in the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada. His research interests include hermeneutic phenomenology, curriculum and pedagogical theory, qualitative research, language-based human science research, researching lived experience, pedagogical thoughtfulness and tact, and the formative significance of childhood’s secrets. His many publications include The Tone of Teaching (2002); Writing in the Dark: Phenomenological Studies in Interpretive Inquiry (2002); and Childhood’s Secrets: Intimacy, Privacy, and the Self Reconsidered (with Bas Levering, 1996).
Daniel Ellsberg’s book *Secrets* provides an extraordinary description of the seductiveness of secrecy. Those government members granted high security clearances experience emotions ranging from exhilaration to shame – and eventually contempt for everyone without access to secret information themselves. This presentation will use Ellsberg’s account to discuss how the mechanisms of access to vital information leads well-intentioned people to become accomplices to major crimes, and to explore how the psychology of privileged access undermines the attitudes and instincts that democracy requires.

**Susan Neiman**  
*Seduced – A Political Psychology of Secrecy*

Susan Neiman is Director of the Einstein Forum. She studied philosophy at Harvard and the Freie Universität Berlin, and taught philosophy at Yale and Tel Aviv University. Her most recent book is Moral Clarity: A Guide for Grown-up Idealists (Harcourt, 2008); other publications include Evil in Modern Thought, Fremde Sehen Anders, The Unity of Reason, and Slow Fire: Jewish Notes from Berlin.
War brings about secrets and rumours. In war, modern nations fight against Fama, the antique goddess of rumour. E.g. between 1914 and 1918: While modern technical means seem to provide an objective view on the battle, the soldiers in the trenches depend on oral news, news about ape armies, ghost-riders and atrocities, committed by Belgian women. In WW II American military psychologists take up a professional fight against wild talking. Leaflets „rumor clinics“ and movies are designed to dry out the swamps of hearsay. And war turns out to be the laboratory for the time after: Centralization and media-change shall ensure the managing of knowledge even in times of peace. Is Fama, then, the messenger of free speech?

During the summer of 2005, while Derek Pasquill was working as a civil servant at the British Government’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), he grew increasingly concerned over certain of its policies. Pasquill subsequently established a relationship of trust with a journalist, Martin Bright, passing him a large amount of material over a period of five months. The leaked information formed the basis for a number of critical articles appearing in the weekly news magazine 'The New Statesman,' as well as a widely read pamphlet published by a think-tank. As a result of these disclosures the Government took significant steps to distance itself from the FCO’s policies. In January 2006 Pasquill was arrested and subsequently charged with six counts of breaching the Official Secrets Act — in January 2008 the case against him was dropped after an internal FCO email was discovered claiming that Pasquill’s disclosures had not been damaging to the national interest. Derek Pasquill's presentation will conclude by suggesting that Edgar Allan Poe's short story *The Purloined Letter* is a useful prism with which to scrutinize state secrecy: that in fact secrecy veils the absence of secrets.

**Derek Pasquill**

*End's Secrecy?*

Derek Pasquill is a British civil servant, who has worked for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office for over twenty years, with postings to Kampala, Maseru, and Abu Dhabi. Born in Osterode am Harz, Germany, Pasquill studied literature at the University of East Anglia before joining the civil service in 1984. For the past two years he has been reading in the British Library, recently 'discovering' Hans Blumenberg.
In this presentation, the individual’s decision to reveal a secret will be analysed as the outcome of an inner struggle involving a number of psychological and social forces. In each case of secret keeping, the very same “energies of perseverance” are pitched against the “yielding energies” (Georg Simmel). These energies are competing in (and perhaps also for) the head, heart or soul of the secret keeper, and they will be shown to emanate from the value he or she ascribes to information, cohesion, reputation, sanction, distinction, premium and confessional urge. The image of the Tug-o-War will then be used to examine a number of such contests, whereby it will emerge that the strength of any one of the energies more often than not depends on the relative strength of another, be it mutually reinforcing or cancelling each other out. The main contention of the presentation will be that while the ethical questions involved in secret revelation may be very difficult; the mechanics of betrayal are not.

**Martin Schaad** is Assistant Director of the Einstein Forum in Potsdam. He studied history, economics, and philosophy at Stirling University before completing a D.Phil in modern history at St Antony’s College, Oxford in 1996. He was also awarded an MBA at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh in 2005. His publications include *Bullying Bonn: Anglo-German Diplomacy on European Integration, 1955-61* (2000).
In his presentation, Peter Weitzel will focus on the quantum increase in U.S. government secrecy since Sept. 11, 2001, the concomitant loss of civil liberties, the deepening loss of public confidence in government, and the efforts, led by the media and NGOs, to push back, pushing for greater access to government information.

**Peter Weitzel**

*Sunshine - Antidote to Government Secrecy*

Peter Weitzel is the Freedom of Information Coordinator for the Coalition of Journalists for Open Government, based in Washington, D.C. He is a former managing editor of The Miami Herald, where he worked as a reporter and editor for nearly 40 years. He helped to found the Florida First Amendment Foundation, serving as its president from 1985 to 1995, and also helped to launch the National Freedom of Information Coalition and served as its second president. He remains on the board of the Florida foundation. After retiring from The Herald in 1995, he taught at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, at the University of North Carolina journalism school, and at Duke Law School. He also served as executive director of the North Carolina Center on Actual Innocence, an organization that investigates cases of possible wrongful conviction. In January 2004, he became coordinator for CJOG, an alliance of 30 journalism-related organizations working together on open government issues.
Speakers and Abstracts

The secret divides the world into two realms: One that includes those who participate therein, the other one comprising those who do not. In the extreme, the first realm is a minority of one; the most secret of secrets being the one that I share only with myself; the one nobody else knows. Yet, this is the exception.

In most other cases, the wall that hides the secret is porous. Very often, our secret is known to a number of people. In some cases, even the uninitiated - though still ignorant regarding the content and the reach of the secret - may be aware of its existence. In everyday life the secret is omnipresent - and at times, it has a life of its own. What are the techniques of masking ourselves in everyday life and how do these work?

Rüdiger Zill
Secrecy as a Way of Life


Peter Weitzel
is the Freedom of Information Coordinator for the Coalition of Journalists for Open Government, based in Washington, D.C. He is a former managing editor of The Miami Herald, where he worked as a reporter and editor for nearly 40 years. He helped to found the Florida First Amendment Foundation, serving as its president from 1985 to 1995, and also helped to launch the National Freedom of Information Coalition and served as its second president. He remains on the board of the Florida foundation. After retiring from The Herald in 1995, he taught at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, at the University of North Carolina journalism school, and at Duke Law School. He also served as executive director of the North Carolina Center on Actual Innocence, an organization that investigates cases of possible wrongful conviction. In January 2004, he became coordinator for CJOG, an alliance of 30 journalism-related organizations working together on open government issues.
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