



# The ongoing crypto wars

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SecAppdev, 2 June 2026

**KU LEUVEN** COSIC

ArenBerg Crypto BV

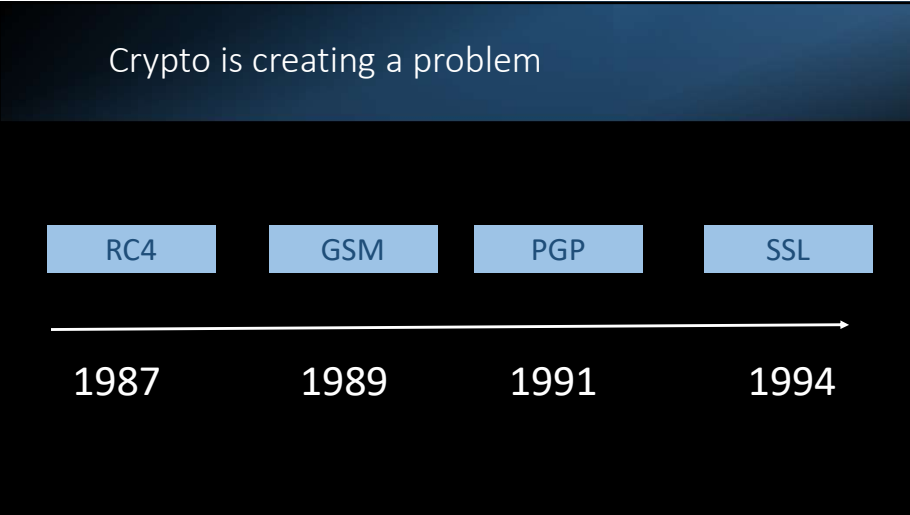
1

# Crypto is creating a problem

I mean cryptography, not cryptocurrencies

2

# Crypto is creating a problem



RC4    GSM    PGP    SSL

1987    1989    1991    1994

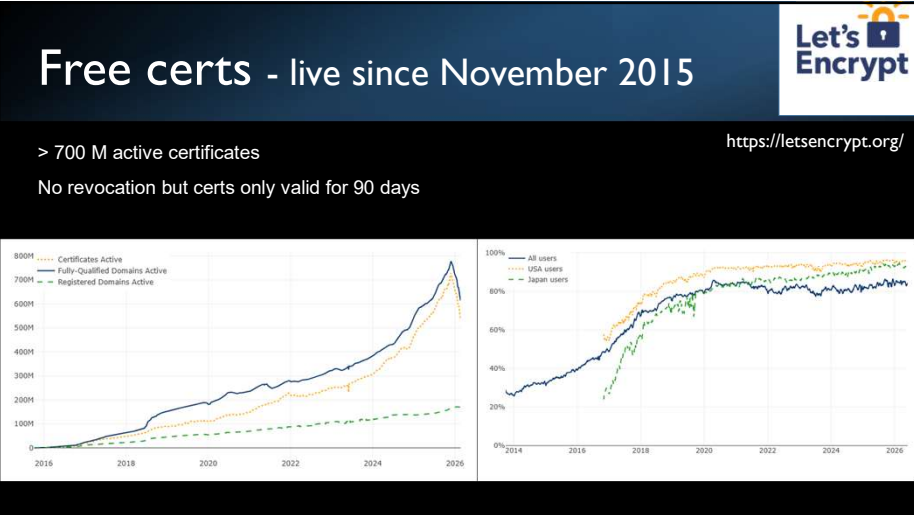
3

# Free certs - live since November 2015

> 700 M active certificates

No revocation but certs only valid for 90 days

<https://letsencrypt.org/>



Let's Encrypt

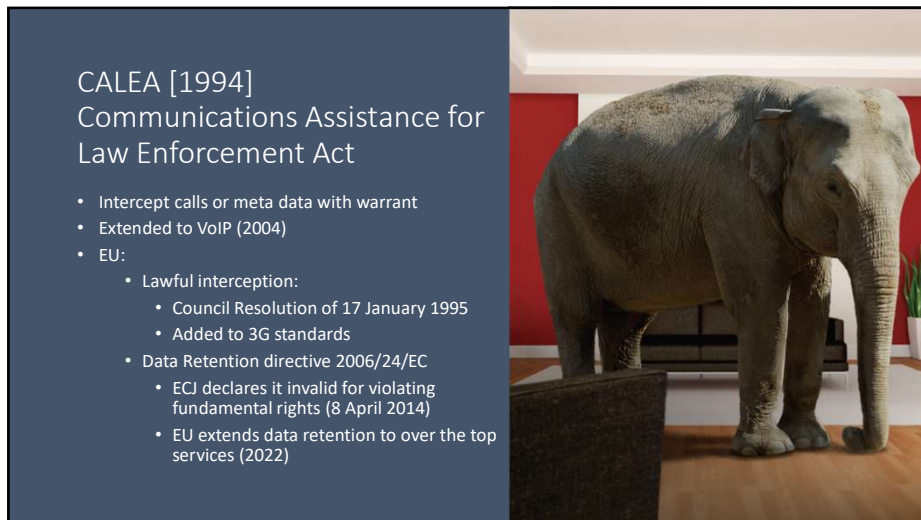
4



5



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Former FBI Director  
James Comey

[2014] We are going dark.  
We aren't seeking a back-door approach. We want to use the front door, with clarity and transparency, and with clear guidance provided by law. *We are completely comfortable with court orders and legal process.*

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"[I]n our country, do we want to allow a means of communication between people which we cannot read?" [Jan 2015]  
UK: Investigatory Power Act 2016  
[Snooper's Charter]

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### Former NSA/DHS Directors against key escrow [2015]

The US is "better served by stronger encryption, rather than baking in weaker encryption,"  
"In retrospect, we mastered the problem we created by the lack of the Clipper Chip," he said. "We were able to do a whole bunch of other things. Some of the other things were metadata, and bulk collection and so on."  
<https://www.networkworld.com/article/2990294/former-nsa-chief-undercuts-fbi-s-desire-for-encryption-backdoors.html>



Mike McConnell



Michael Chertoff



Michael Hayden

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San Bernardino, CA, December 2, 2015



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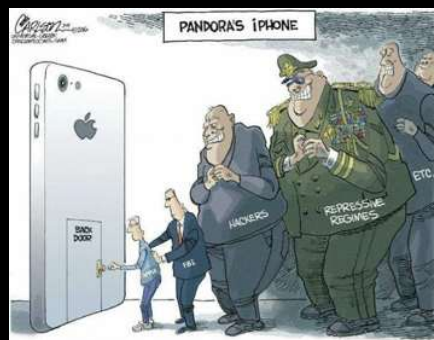
At the request of the FBI, based on an all writs order (1789), a U.S. federal magistrate judge has ordered Apple to break the security of the iPhone



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The many problems of a backdoor

- Human right activists
- Journalists
- Trade secrets
- Critical infrastructure
- Autonomous vehicles
- ...




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Court case ends

March 28, 2016 FBI gets access with help of a company at the cost of US\$ 900K ...yielded almost no useful information

Sept. 2016: Sergei Skorobogatov (Cambridge University) shows that access is feasible with \$100 of equipment

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$e^{i\pi} = -1$

Australian PM  
Malcolm Turnbull  
16 July 2017

Laws of mathematics 'do not apply' in Australia  
Encryption law: 8 December 2018

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ars TECHNICA

SENDING A LIGHT ON GOING DARK...

DOJ: Strong encryption that we don't have access to is "unreasonable"

Rod Rosenstein: We should weigh "law enforcement equities" against security.

CYBERWAR: NOV 9, 2017 9:25 PM ET/CT

Deputy attorney general  
Rod Rosenstein  
9 Nov. 2017


"Warrant-proof encryption defeats the constitutional balance by elevating privacy above public safety,"

What's needed is "responsible encryption ... secure encryption that allows access only with judicial authorization."

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### The Law Enforcement argument

- The role of law enforcement is to protect society
- We have always had warrants to get access to information
- Technology should not change this



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### The Law Enforcement argument

- Supporting data limited
- Washington Post, May 22, 2018 << 7800 locked phones in 2017



NATIONAL SECURITY

FBI repeatedly overstated encryption threat figures to Congress, public

Washington Post, May 22, 2018 << 7800 locked phones in 2017

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Encrochat ('20) – Sky ECC ('21) – Exclu ('23)



<https://www.darkreading.com/endpoint/exclu-shutdown-underscores-outsized-apps-messaging-apps-role-in-cybercrime>

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Can cryptography solve the problem created by cryptography?

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*FBI Director Christopher Wray*

[2018] We can find solutions to the Going Dark problem.  
...  
If we can develop driverless cars ... surely we should be able to design devices that both provide data security and permit lawful access with a court order.

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The civil society/academic argument [Keys under doormats 2015]

- The state of security and privacy is not good while society is becoming critically dependent on information technology
- Adding intercept capabilities will further undermine security by increasing complexity
- Risk of abuse by bad actors (e.g. non-democratic nations) and for mass surveillance
  - Examples: Greek Vodafone incident, Juniper, Calea (Salt Typhoon)
- Incompatible with technologies such as perfect forward secrecy and 1-key authenticated encryption
- Will not help for smart criminals and spies
- No solutions are known that offer reasonable tradeoffs

<https://blog.xot.nl/2015/12/08/the-second-crypto-war-is-not-about-crypto/>

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Child Sexual Abuse Material (CSAM)  
#chatcontrol  
2022-202?

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Attorney General William Bar  
Department of Justice  
Office of Public Affairs

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Sunday, October 11, 2020

**International Statement: End-To-End Encryption and Public Safety**

- We, the undersigned, support strong encryption, which plays a crucial role in protecting personal data, privacy [...]
- Particular implementations of encryption technology, however, pose significant challenges to public safety, including to highly vulnerable members of our societies like sexually exploited children. [...]
  - Embed the safety of the public in system designs, thereby enabling companies to act against illegal content and activity effectively with no reduction to safety, and facilitating the investigation and prosecution of offences and safeguarding the vulnerable;
  - Enable law enforcement access to content in a readable and usable format where an authorisation is lawfully issued, is necessary and proportionate [...]

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The CSAM story  
(Child Sexual Abuse Material)

Year	Number of Images and Videos
2004	450,000
2007	20.5 Million
2008	40.8 Million
2009	60.2 Million
2010	65.9 Million
2011	85 Million
2012	87 Million
2023	104+ Million

In 2023 alone, 104,370,572 images and videos of suspected child sexual abuse were reported in the U.S. – up from 450,000 files in 2004.

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Known CSAM detection in server

Current database: 131+M (<https://safer.io/solutions/>)

Cannot distribute images in the clear to all service providers  
What about approximate matches?

Solution: perceptual hash function

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## Perceptual hash function

Hash function for which perceptually identical content gives the same result (or a similar result)

- Color consistency (e.g. brightness)
- Structural similarity (e.g. rotation)
- Content preservation (e.g. compression)
- Noise robustness

The diagram illustrates a perceptual hash function 'h'. Two visually similar images of a landscape are shown side-by-side, separated by a tilde symbol (~). Each image is fed into a blue trapezoidal shape labeled 'h'. Below each 'h' is a box containing 'h(image)'. These two boxes are also separated by a tilde symbol (~), indicating that perceptually similar inputs produce similar outputs.

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## CSAM with end to end encryption?

Solution: client side scanning

The diagram shows a mobile device on the left sending data to a central server. The server receives encrypted content (represented by a noisy image) and attempts to apply a perceptual hash function 'h'. A red box indicates a failure: "Failure: no detection on encrypted content!". On the right, another mobile device is shown with a clear image of a child, which is processed by a perceptual hash function 'h' to produce a result.

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## EU CSAM Regulation Proposal

<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2022%3A209%3AFIN&qid=1652451192472>

EU Commission impact assessment (May'22)  
<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52022SC0209&from=EN>

Dealing with end-to-end encryption

On device	In server
1. full detection on device (client side scanning)	5. <b>secure enclaves (e.g. SGX)</b>
2. <b>full hashing with matching at server</b>	6. 3rd party matching
3. <b>partial hashing with matching at server</b>	7. MPC variant of 3 <sup>rd</sup> party matching
4. use of classifiers	8. on-device homomorphic encryption with server-side hashing and matching

EU Parliament complementary impact assessment (April '23)  
[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS\\_STU\(2023\)740248](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_STU(2023)740248)

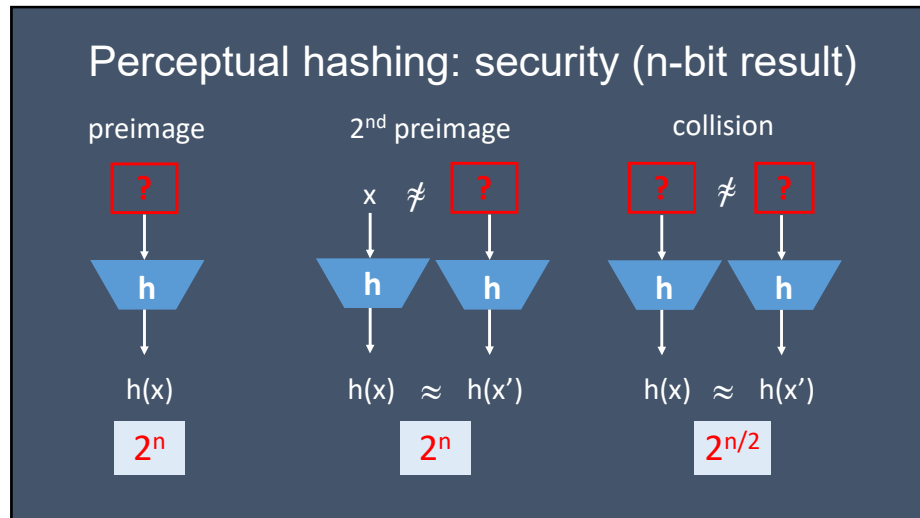
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## History of Perceptual Hash Functions

- 2007 Content ID (YouTube)
- 2009 PhotoDNA [Farid + Microsoft]
- 2010 pHash [Zauner] – open
- 2014 PhotoDNA deployed by NCMEC
- 2018 eGlyph [Farid] (YouTube)
- 2019 PDQ and TMK + PDQF (Facebook) – open
- 2021 NeuralHash (Apple) – partially open

Security by obscurity – compatible with use at service providers (does not work for client side scanning)

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### Weaknesses in perceptual hash functions

- False negatives: detection avoidance
- False positive (collisions): innocent user is flagged and surveilled
- 2<sup>nd</sup> preimage
  - surveillance: if one can induce a user to send a 2<sup>nd</sup> preimage to a hash value in a database, this user will be investigated
  - framing/censorship: adversary can add image to database that has a hash value close to that of an image a user is likely to send
- Preimage (for hash value of a user or in the database)
  - find out attribute of an image or a noisy version of the image from a hash value

Based on J. Prokos et al.: Squint Hard Enough: Attacking Perceptual Hashing with Adversarial Machine Learning. USENIX Security Symposium 2023: 211-228

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### NeuralHash Q&A

*"Will CSAM detection in iCloud Photos falsely report innocent people to law enforcement?"*

*No. The system is designed to be very accurate, and the likelihood that the system would incorrectly identify any given account is less than one in one trillion per year."*

Disproved for malicious attacks  
Serious problems for regular users who upload selfies and photos of their kids?

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### False positives for NeuralHash (carefully crafted)

Two images are shown side-by-side: a beagle dog on the left and a woman in a black dress on the right. These images are examples of false positives for NeuralHash.

Birthday paradox also works: need  $2^{48}$  images

Apple NeuralHash: <https://blog.roboflow.com/neuralhash-collision/>  
Microsoft PhotoDNA: <https://hackerfactor.com/blog/index.php?archives/931-PhotoDNA-and-Limitations.html>  
Meta: TMK + <https://www.hackerfactor.com/blog/index.php?archives/971-FB-TMK-PDQ-WTF.html>

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### False Positives for NeuralHash (accidental)

	Non-human	Non-BF	Light BF
# illegitimate collisions	0	24	25
#hash operations until collision	—	$2^{16.1}$	$2^{15.2}$



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### False Positives for NeuralHash (accidental)

[NCMEC]  
Current CSAM databases contain 17.5 to 19 million images  
Likely to grow based on GenAI

In 2019 an EU citizen has taken on average 597 selfies per year  
Assume that a citizen is reported only after x alerts

# alerts x before reporting	1	2	3	5	8	10
# falsely reported citizens reported in year 1	406M	304M	185M	39M	1.2M	69K

Diane Leblanc-Albareil, Bart Preneel: Black-box Collision Attacks on the NeuralHash Perceptual Hash Function. IACR Cryptol. ePrint Arch. 2024: 1869 (2024)

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### Microsoft PhotoDNA

- PhotoDNA does not achieve its design goals:
  - 1 in 50 billion false positives
  - 1% false negatives
  - irreversibility
- Details: <https://pseudodna.eu/>

M. Deryck, D. Leblanc-Albareil, B. Preneel, White-Box Attacks on PhotoDNA Perceptual Hash Function, IACR eprint 2026/486

**In the press**

**English**

- Microsoft PhotoDNA is vulnerable to black-box attacks and data leakage. By BF Steun — [Featured in Cyber Security](#)
- De Nederlandse rechter: Chat-GPT kan mogelijk worden gebruikt voor het verspreiden van illegale content. By BF Steun — [Featured in Computer World](#)
- European Parliament Approves 'Chat GPT Act' Surveillance by Singh Saini by Chat Hash — [Featured in Network The Hub](#)

**Dutch**

- Onderzoekers KI kunnen ontdekken welke beveiligingsmaatregelen in PhotoDNA van Microsoft. By Belgien — [Featured in Nieuw](#)
- Leuvense onderzoeker ontdekt hoe het kan Microsoft van de achtergrond af te spreken: 'Waarop wij onze beschuldigingen' by Bart Steun — [Featured in Van Nieuw en Nieuw \(by Steun\)](#)
- De wet die de EU jaar geleden aanvaard om de veiligheid van de wereld te verbeteren, wordt nu gebruikt om de veiligheid van de wereld te verbeteren. By Arthur De Haeghe — [Featured in Microsoft, Expert van de Wereld](#)
- Microsoft's nieuwe beveiligingsmaatregelen in de wereld zijn mogelijk niet genoeg. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)
- Volgens onderzoekers kan een systeem dat illegale content detecteert, ook illegale content verspreiden. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)

**French**

- Une étude démontre que les données de sécurité de Microsoft sont vulnérables à des attaques de type boîte noire. By BF Steun — [Featured in 0101](#)
- Une étude démontre que les données de sécurité de Microsoft sont vulnérables à des attaques de type boîte noire. By BF Steun — [Featured in 0101](#)
- Une étude démontre que les données de sécurité de Microsoft sont vulnérables à des attaques de type boîte noire. By BF Steun — [Featured in 0101](#)
- La justice mondiale de Microsoft s'effondre devant les tribunaux. By Philippe Lathuilière — [Featured in Le Monde](#)
- Le logiciel PhotoDNA de Microsoft est vulnérable à des attaques de type boîte noire. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)
- Microsoft's new security measures in the world are not enough. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)
- Il faut être très prudent lorsque l'on utilise des données de sécurité de Microsoft. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)
- La Commission européenne enquête sur les données de sécurité de Microsoft. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)

**Dutch**

- Onderzoekers ontdekken hoe de beveiligingsmaatregelen van Microsoft kunnen worden omzeild. By BF Steun — [Featured in Nieuw](#)
- Chat-GPT kan mogelijk worden gebruikt voor het verspreiden van illegale content. By BF Steun — [Featured in Computer World](#)
- Microsoft's nieuwe beveiligingsmaatregelen in de wereld zijn mogelijk niet genoeg. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)
- Volgens onderzoekers kan een systeem dat illegale content detecteert, ook illegale content verspreiden. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)
- De wet die de EU jaar geleden aanvaard om de veiligheid van de wereld te verbeteren, wordt nu gebruikt om de veiligheid van de wereld te verbeteren. By Arthur De Haeghe — [Featured in Microsoft, Expert van de Wereld](#)
- Microsoft's nieuwe beveiligingsmaatregelen in de wereld zijn mogelijk niet genoeg. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)
- Volgens onderzoekers kan een systeem dat illegale content detecteert, ook illegale content verspreiden. By BF Steun — [Featured in Tech](#)

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### False Positives: PDQ and PhotoDNA (carefully crafted)

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### False positives for NeuralHash and PhotoDNA (accidental)

(a) Non BF      (b) Light BF

(a) Threshold 150      (b) Threshold 175

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### False Negative: PhotoDNA

Outward 5% (reversible)

Inward

Slide credit: Maxime Deryck

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### False negatives: PDQ and PhotoDNA

Original

Modified

Distance = 129

(a) Original image

$\tau_{L_1} = 1800$        $\tau_{L_1} = 1800$

$\tau_{L_2} = 150$        $\tau_{L_2} = 150$

(b) Origin direction      (c) Orthogonal direction

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### Inverting PDQ and PhotoDNA

Original      PhotoDNA (P-D)

https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/photodna (26 April 2026):  
"A PhotoDNA hash is not reversible, and therefore cannot be used to recreate an image."

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## Coordinated vulnerability disclosure to Microsoft [October 2025]

“After a thorough evaluation, our engineering teams have determined that the behavior described does not constitute a security vulnerability and therefore does not meet Microsoft’s criteria for immediate intervention. The issues described in this research correspond to the known limitations of this type of technology (perceptual image hashing), including PhotoDNA. These systems are not intended to provide cryptographic security guarantees, and malicious manipulation of perceptual hashes is a widely recognized limitation in this field.”

<https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/photodna> (26 April 2026):

- “A PhotoDNA hash is not reversible, and therefore cannot be used to recreate an image.”

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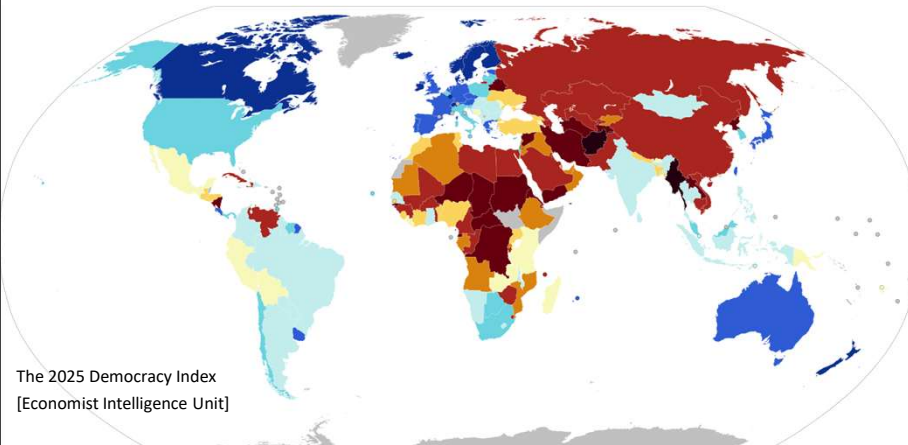
Problem: Detecting new content and correctly detecting grooming in written and spoken language is likely well beyond the state of the art

Thorn non-profit claims 10% false positive rate for detection of new CSAM



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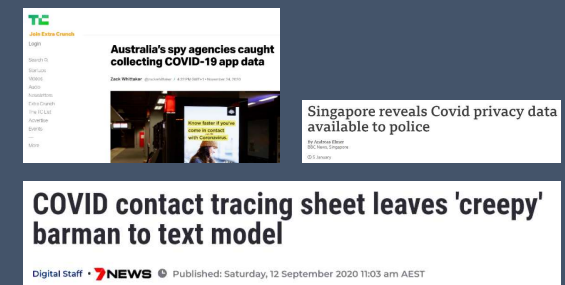
## Problem: Unauthorized Surveillance



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Problem:  
Mission Creep

terrorist recruitment  
other criminal activity



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## EU CSAM Regulation Proposal

<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2022%3A209%3AFIN&qid=1652451192472proposal>

### EU Parliament complementary impact assessment (April '23)

[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS\\_STU\(2023\)740248](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_STU(2023)740248)

1. It does not work – false positives, false negatives, bypass
2. Function creep: terrorism and organized crime
3. It will be abused by (wannabe) dictators
4. It will undermine security
5. Chilling effect on teenagers exchanging images
6. Not proportional: should be limited to private messages of persons already under suspicion of soliciting child abuse or distributing CSAM

EU Parliament votes no (Feb. '24)

#### 2024-2025 proposals

- narrower scope
- initially voluntary
- age verification and assessment

Details: Bugs in our Pockets: the Risks of Client-Side Scanning,  
<https://arxiv.org/abs/2110.07450>  
<https://edri.org/our-work/csa-regulation-document-pool/>

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## Age verification


- Effectiveness not proven by scientific studies
- Undermines the architecture of the open internet
- Easy to circumvent using an adult's smartphone or a VPN
- Age requirements and rules vary by country
- Access to useful information is blocked (public education, LGBTQ+)
- Risk of exposure to even less regulated information
- Chilling effect and exclusionary effect regarding public participation
- Overfiltering and self-censorship
- Shift of liability from platforms to individuals
- Not proportional

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## Are there other options for law enforcement to deal with encryption?

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## Which access is needed?

-  Communications: voice
  - telephony: phone or cell tower
  - VOIP
-  Communications: data
  - messages
  - meta data
-  Stored data
  - cloud
  - media (USB)
-  Devices
  - confiscated
  - remote

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Options for Law Enforcement

- **exploit operational security weaknesses:** operating a system securely is difficult
  - e.g. password cracking
- obtain **technical assistance from industry** to bypass decryption or to access keys
  - remote update
  - backup in cloud
  - iPhone unlock from Cellebrite or Grayshift
- **use metadata**
- **use AI**

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## Apple vs. the UK

Apple starts rolling out end-to-end cloud encryption

Apple "can no longer offer Advanced Data Protection" in

2022

7 Feb. 2025


21 Feb. 2025

8 Apr. 2025

The UK government demands ability to access encrypted data stored by Apple users worldwide in its cloud service based on the 2016 Investigatory Powers Act

Apple is suing UK government over encryption backdoor request


**Apple drops encryption feature for UK users after government reportedly demanded backdoor access**



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metadata

Law enforcement: metadata is insufficient



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## AI?

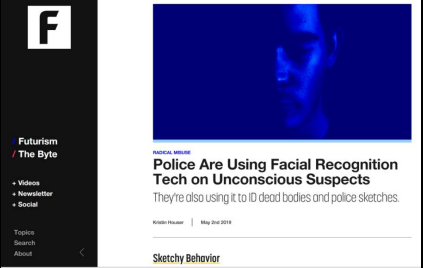
**Clearview AI Fined \$9.4 Million In U.K. For Illegal Facial Recognition Database**

Robert Hart Forbes Staff  
*I cover breaking news.*  
May 23, 2022, 06:55am EDT

**Police Are Using Facial Recognition Tech on Unconscious Suspects**  
They're also using it to ID dead bodies and police sketches.

Kevin Hester | May 3rd 2018

Sketchy Behavior



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### Options for Law Enforcement: hacking



Rely on us.



*We believe that fighting crime should be easy: we provide effective, easy-to-use offensive technology to the worldwide law enforcement and intelligence communities*

Remote Control System

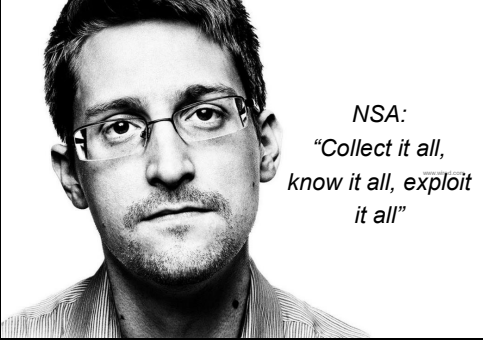
Hacked in 2015

exploit known and unknown vulnerabilities (0-days) to get access

DE: Bundestrojaner: key logger, screenshots, Skype calls

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### Options for Law Enforcement



NSA:  
"Collect it all, know it all, exploit it all"

Collaborate with intelligence services

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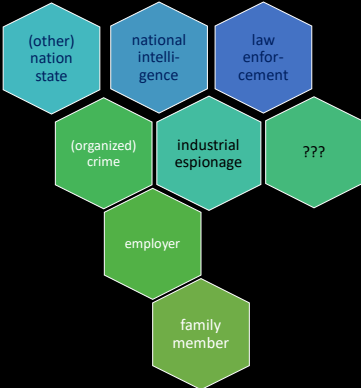


### Response of the NSA after 1994

- Going after keys: hacks, replacing public keys, security letters (300K 2001-2016)
- Weak implementations
- Undermine standards (DUAL\_EC\_DRBG)
- Cryptanalysis
- Increase complexity of standards
- Export controls
- Hardware backdoors

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### The bigger picture



```
graph TD; A["(other) nation state"] --- B["national intelligence"]; B --- C["law enforcement"]; D["(organized) crime"] --- E["industrial espionage"]; E --- F["employer"]; F --- G["family member"]; H["???"] --- D; H --- E; H --- F; H --- G;
```

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But who shall  
watch over the  
(cyber) guards?



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The fifth  
Crypto  
War is  
coming

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## ProtectEU Internal Security Strategy

(April 1, 2025)

<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52025PC0148>

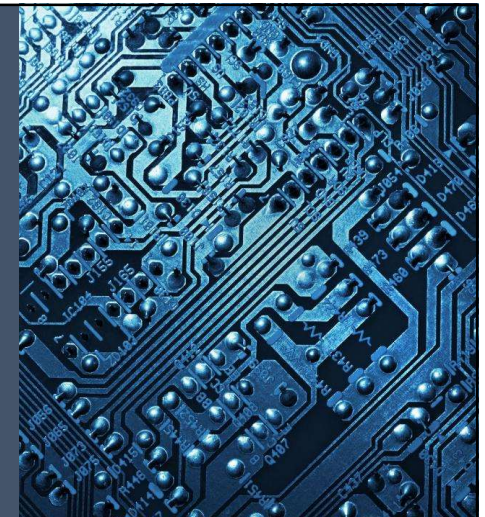
The Commission will:

- present a Roadmap setting out the way forward on lawful and effective access to data for law enforcement in 2025
- prepare an impact assessment in 2025 with a view to updating rules on data retention at EU level, as appropriate
- present a Technology Roadmap on encryption to identify and assess technological solutions to enable lawful access to data by law enforcement authorities in 2026

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## Conclusions

- Technology is fundamentally changing power relationships
- Increased power by big tech, law enforcement, intelligence services, military
- Cryptography can help to bring some balance
- Crypto wars will continue
- Upcoming: Age verification and the EU Digital Wallet



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**KU LEUVEN** **COSIC**

**ArenBerg Crypto BV**



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## Some Links: crypto wars

1996: Cryptography's Role in Securing the Information Society

1997: The risks of key recovery, key escrow, and trusted third-party encryption. *World Wide Web J. 2*: 241-257

2015: Keys under doormats: <https://dl.acm.org/doi/10.1145/2814825>

2017: Susan Landau, Listening in, *Cybersecurity in an Insecure Age*

2018: Decrypting the Encryption Debate. A Framework for Decision Makers

2019: Jim Baker, Susan Landau: <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/new-perspectives-future-encryption>

2023: Cryptography and the Intelligence Community: The Future of Encryption, [https://nap.nationalacademies.org/resource/26168/Highlights\\_for\\_Cryptography\\_and\\_the\\_Intelligence\\_Community.pdf](https://nap.nationalacademies.org/resource/26168/Highlights_for_Cryptography_and_the_Intelligence_Community.pdf)

<https://edri.org/tag/going-dark/>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek\\_wiretapping\\_case\\_2004%E2%80%939305](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_wiretapping_case_2004%E2%80%939305)

<https://blog.cryptographyengineering.com/2015/12/22/on-juniper-backdoor/>

<https://www.cs.utexas.edu/~hovav/dist/juniper.pdf>

<https://urgentcomm.com/cybersecurity/calea-vulnerability-exploited-in-salt-typhoon-attack-on-carriers-speaker-tells-congress>

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## Some Links: CSAM

EDRI's overview: <https://edri.org/policy-files/csa-regulation>

Susan Landau: <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/the-shapeshifting-crypto-wars>

CSAM Open letters by academics:

July '23: <https://docs.google.com/document/d/13Aeex72MfBjKhExRTooVMWN9TC-pbH-5LEaAbMF91Y>

May '24: <https://nce.mpi-sp.org/index.php/s/eqjiKaAw9yYQF87>

Sept '25 <https://csa-scientist-open-letter.org/Sep2025>

<https://mullvad.net/en/why-privacy-matters/going-dark>

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