# Internet Governance from a Foreign Policy Perspective

Martin Fleischer Federal Foreign Office, International Cyber Policy Coordinator Guest Professor at Qingdao University

November 2013

## Overview

Introduction

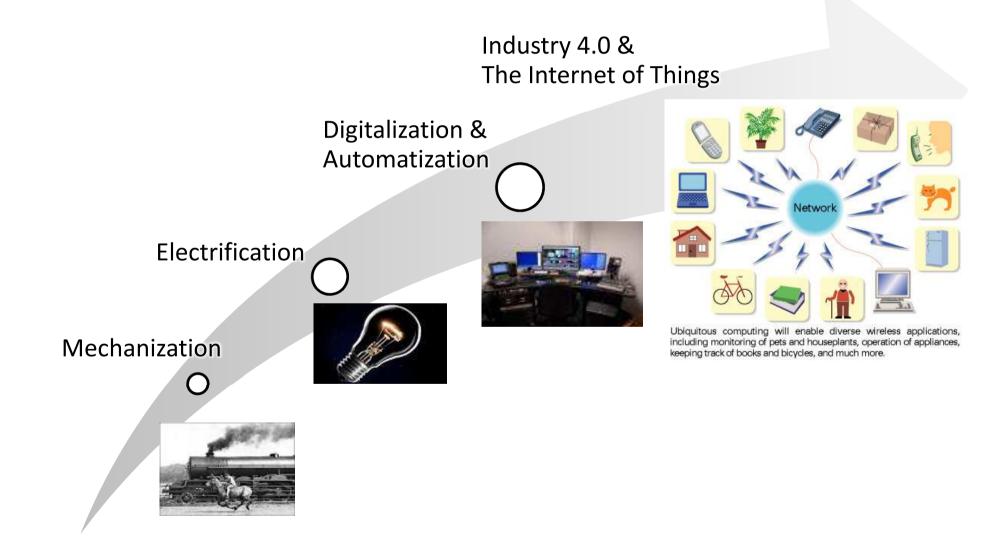
- I. Three Dimensions of International Cyber Policy
- II. International Cyber Policy and Internet Governance
- III. The UN as a Forum for Internet Governance?

Conclusion

This presentation has been compiled solely for teaching purposes and does not constitute an official positioning by the German Federal Foreign Office.

#### **Introduction: Four waves of Industrial Revolution**

## Four waves of Industrial Revolution



### I. International Cyber Policy

### **Diplomacy + Cyberspace = International Cyber Policy**



#### <u>Diplomacy</u>:

The conduct of bilateral & international relations through professional diplomats and experts with regard to issues of peace, trade, development, culture, natural resources, environment and human rights.

#### Cyberspace:

A global public good with, therein, the internet as a global public space and an essential economic resource.

International Cyber Policy:

How to build and maintain openness, freedom and security for such a cross-border, cross-sector, virtual and real space?

## **International Cyber Policy : Three Dimensions or Areas of concern**



#### Security

- Cybercrime
- "Hacktivism" and State-sponsored attacks
- Militarization of the Cyberspace



#### Human Rights

- Freedom of Opinion
- Freedom of Information
- Privacy



#### Economy & Development

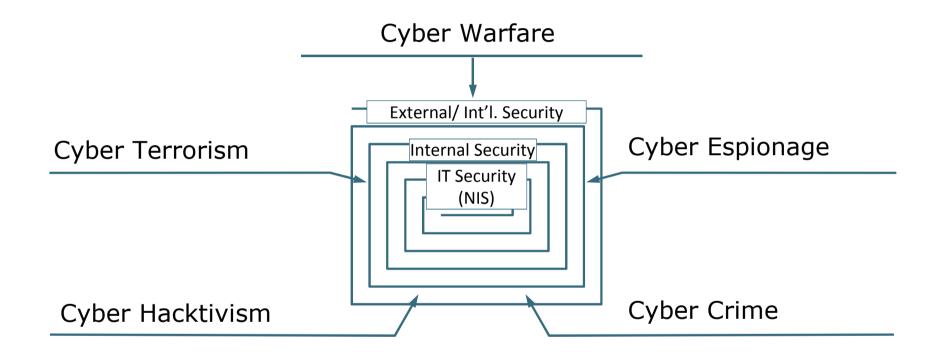
- Trade & Investment
- Development

**Underlying issue:** 

#### **Internet Governance**



### **External threats affect the overall security spiral**



N.B.: The classic borderline internal/external security is blurred in cyberspace; difficulty of attribution (technical, political, legal).

### **Cyber in the EU**



#### **Cybersecurity-Strategy of the European Union**



#### Strategic priorities and actions:

- > Cyber resilience
- Reducing cybercrime
- > Cybersecurity in the Common Security and Defence Policy
- Industrial and technological resources for cybersecurity
- International cyberspace cooperation and promotion of EU core values



#### **Proposal for a EU-Directive on NIS**

#### **UN: The Group of Governmental Experts (GGE)**

n

Germany Mr. Detley Wolter

h ater halter

Head, Directorate of Conventional Arms Control and Confidence and Security Building Measures, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin

#### India

Mr. Harsh K. Jain Joint Secretary and Head. E-Governance & Information Technology Division Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi

#### Indonesia

Mr. Febrian A. Ruddyard (first session) Director for International Security and Disarmament, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta

Mr. Andy Rachmianto (third session) Minister Counsellor of Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations, New York

#### Japan

Ambassador Tamotsu Shinotsuka (first session) Ambassador, International Cooperation for Countering Terrorism and International Organized Crime, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo

Ambassador Osamu Imai (second and third sessions) International Cooperation for Countering Terrorism, International Organized Crime and Cyber Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo

Russian Federation Andrey V. Krutskikh Ambassador at Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow

#### UK

was tann Mr. Nicholas Haycock Assistant Director, International Security, Office of Cyber Security and Information Assurance, Cabinet Office, London

USA

My chak Ms. Michele G. Markoff Deputy Coordinator for Cyber Issues, Office of the Secretary of State, United States Department of State, Washington (D/C.

#### Argentina Ambassador Alfredo Morelli



Coordinator, Energy and Technology Unit, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship. Buenos Aires

Australia Ms. Deborah Stokes First Assistant Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra

Belarus Mr. Vladimir N. Gerasimovich Head, Department of International Security and Arms Control, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Minsk

#### Canada

Mr. Michael Walma Director, Policy Planning Division, Department Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa

#### China

Mr. Lei Wang (first and second sessions) Director, Department of Arms Control and Disarmament, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

Beijing

Ms. Zhihua Dong (third session)



Counsellor, Department of Arms Control and Disarmanhent, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing

Egypt Dr. Sherif Hashem

Senior Cybersecurity Advisor to the Minister of Communications and Information Technology, Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, Cairo

Estonia Mr. Linnar Viik Acting Director, Estonian IT College, Tallinn

France

Mr. Jean-François Blarel Deputy Secretary-General, Coordinator for Cyber Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris

## UN: The Group of Governmental Experts (GGE): Recommendations



#### Norms, Rules and principles of responsible behaviour

- Norms derived from *existing international law*
- Respect for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
- International cooperation
- Encouraging the *private sector and civil society*

#### Confidence Building Measures and the Exchange of Information

- Promotion of *trust and assurance* among States
- Increasing *predictability* and *reducing misperception*
- Development of *practical confidence building measures* 
  - exchange of views and information
  - creation of consultative frameworks

#### **Capacity Building measures**

- Provide technical and other assistance to build capacities in ICT security
- Strengthening incident response capabilities (CERT)

## 2nd Berlin Cyberspace Conference on ,The Internet and Human rights'

ARCHUS UNIVERSITY UNIVERSITY UND GESELSCHAFT

#### The Internet and Human Rights: Building a free, open and secure Internet

#### Messages from Berlin



Chairpersons' Summary of the 2nd Berlin Cyber Conference September 13 and 14, 2012

The high level international conference "The Internet and Human Rights: Building a free, open and secure Internet" gathered approximately 120 experts from international/regional organizations, governments, the private sector, civil society and the technical and academic community on September 13 and 14, 2012 in Berlin. They discussed opportunities and challenges to keep the Internet free, open and secure. The conference was jointly organized and chaired by Aarhus University, Human Rights Watch, the Alexander von Humboldt Institute for Internet and Society and the German Federal Foreign Office.

The outcome of the conference is summarized below in the "Messages from Berlin". They reflect key ideas, expressed by speakers and participants in the two plenaries and six workshops of the conference. The conference chairs and the rapporteurs collected the participants input at the conference. All participants have been invited to contribute to the "Messages from Berlin" online. They can be perceived as policy recommendations on how to enhance international cooperation among all stakeholders and how to strengthen Human Rights in cyberspace. However, not all messages necessarily reflect the view of all participants or all four organizing bodies.





#### General messages:

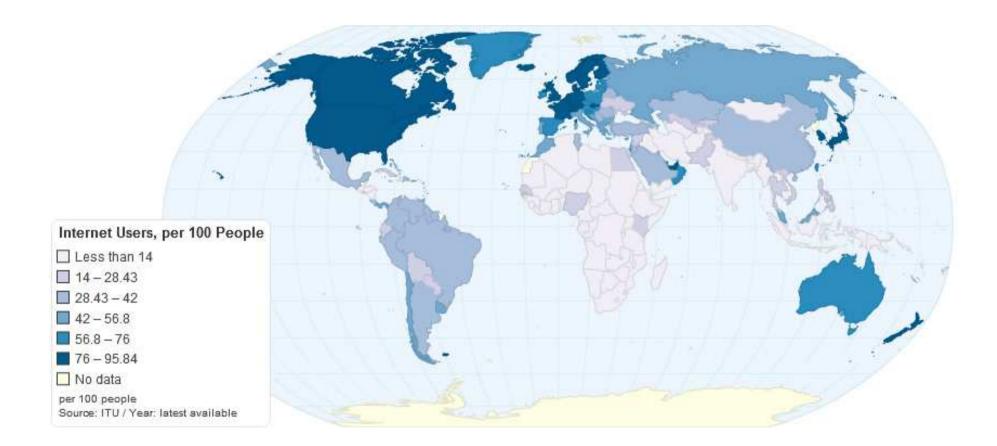
- 1. All Human Rights which apply offline must also be guaranteed online.
- If literacy in the 21st century means the ability to use a computer and to have access to digital information, providing access to the internet is crucial and the denial of access to the internet constitutes an infringement on Human Rights.
- Freedom and security in cyberspace are not incompatible but complementary concepts. There can be no freedom without security and no security without freedom.
- All stakeholders need to contribute on a conceptualization and approach to internet governance that also protects human rights, and promotes free and responsible use of the internet.
- When protecting intellectual property rights, assurances have to be in place not to violate human and civil rights such as privacy and freedom of expression.
- Freedom of expression and privacy in the internet are threatened both by governments which introduce state controlled surveillance and censorship and by companies which do not fulfill their responsibilities.
- The export of sensitive Information and Communication Technologies requires governmental control as well as a voluntary code of conduct for enterprises and an attentive civil society.
- The exercise of Human Rights in cyberspace requires an enhanced empowerment of individual users and the development of political-legal frameworks.

#### Messages to governments:

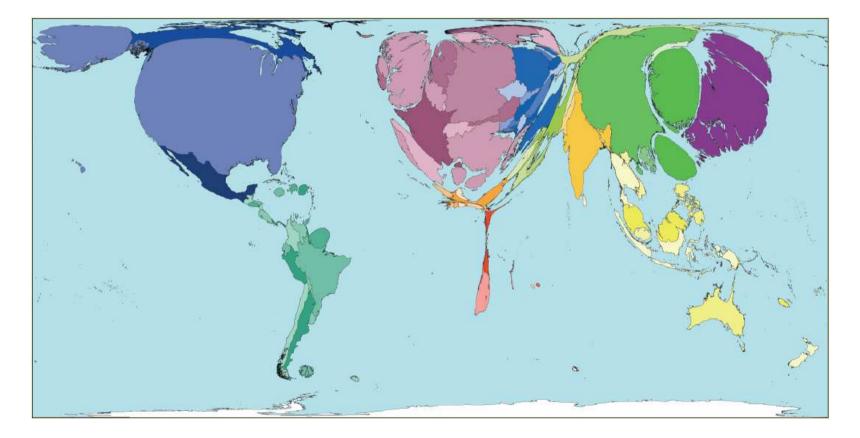
- Governments should act in a transparent, open and inclusive way, taking account of public feedback and fully respecting existing international Human Rights standards.
- Governments should apply international Human Rights standards in both their domestic and foreign policy

"All Human Rights which apply offline must also be guaranteed online."

### The "Digital Divide": Internet Penetration by Country



### The "Digital Divide": Internet users per country



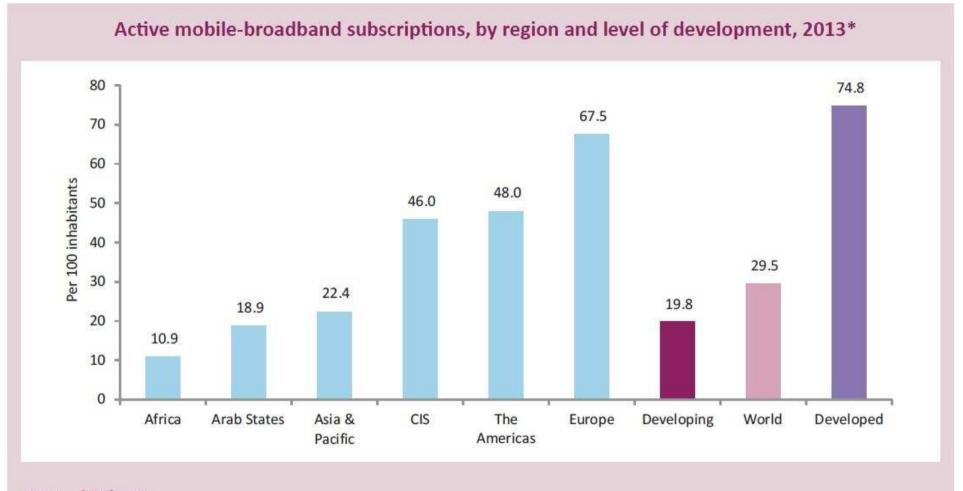
Territory size shows the proportion of worldwide Internet users who lived there in 2002.

### The "Digital Divide": Internet users by region

Individuals using the Internet, by region and level of development, 2013\* 76.8 80 74.7 70 60.8 60 51.9 Per 100 inhabitants 50 38.8 37.6 40 31.9 30.7 30 16.3 20 10 0 Asia & CIS The Developed Africa Arab States Europe Developing World Pacific Americas

Note: \* Estimate. Source: ITU World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators database.

### The "Digital Divide": mobile-broadband subscriptions



Note: \* Estimate. Source: ITU World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators database.

#### **II. International Cyber Policy and Internet Governance**

## **Does Territorial Sovereignty Apply to Cyberspace?**



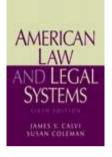


### Who controls the internet?









#### Regulation through *governments?*



Regulation through *governance!* 

 $\rightarrow$  Multi-stakeholder strategy





## **Definition of Internet Governance**

"Internet Governance is

the development and application

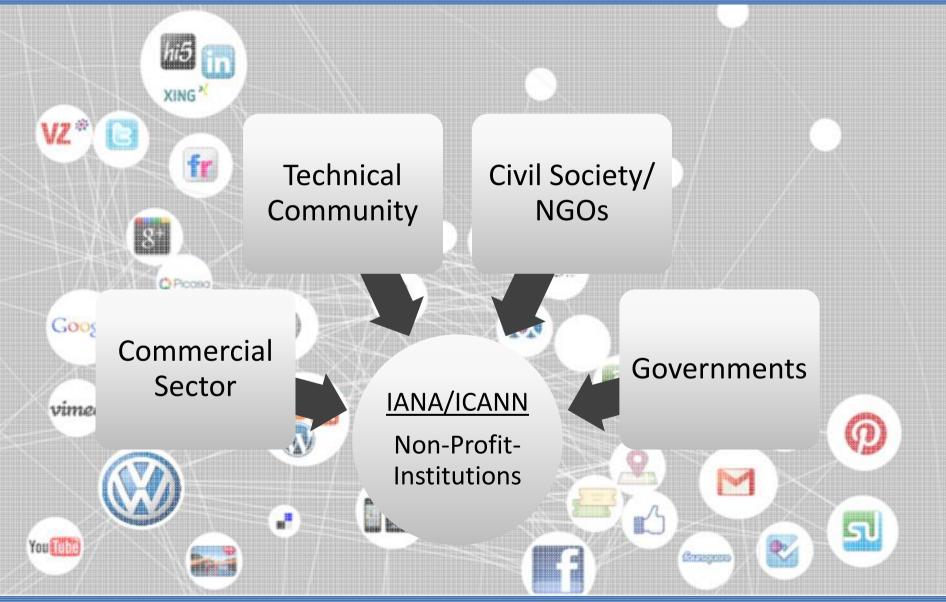
*by governments, the private sector and civil society, in their respective roles,* 

of shared principles, norms, rules, decision-makingprocedures, and programs,

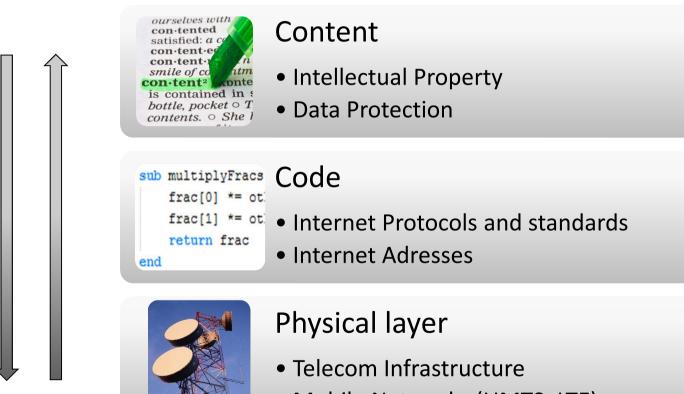
that shape the evolution and use of the internet."

(World Summit on Information Society, Geneva 2003)

## **Decision making through Multi-Stakeholder**



### **Three layers of internet governance**



• Mobile Networks (UMTS, LTE)

## Four Centralized Core Functions of Internet Governance









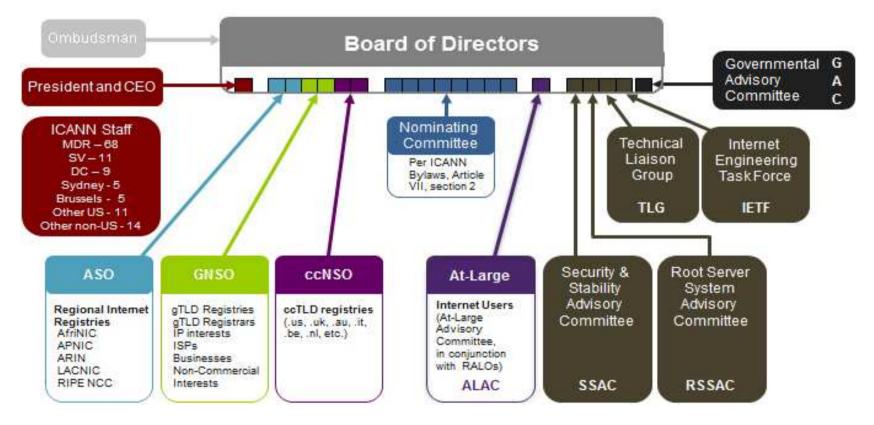
Protocols and Standards

• Administered by the Internat'l. Telecommunications Union (ITU)

N.B.: IANA is now operating under ICANN

### The complexity of the internet governance today

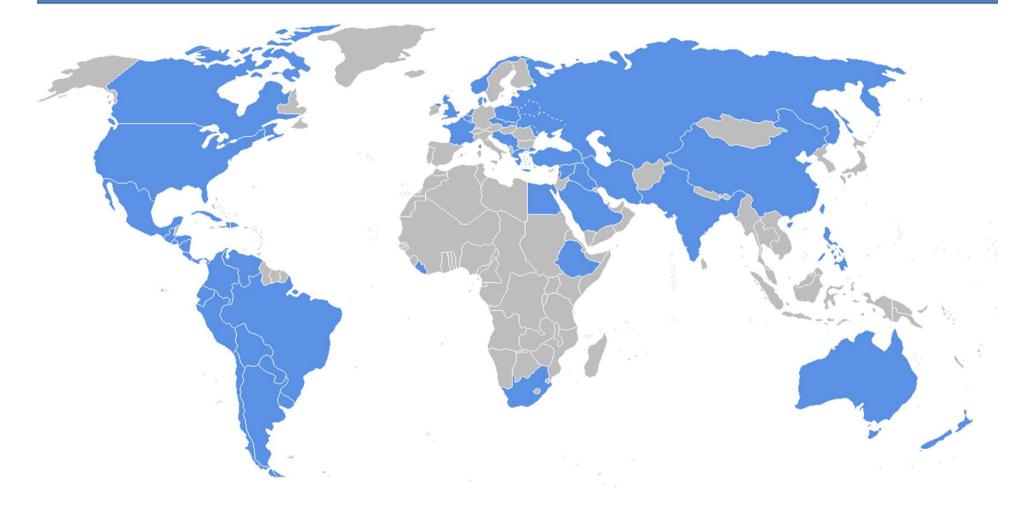
# **ICANN Multi-Stakeholder Model**



#### **III.** The UN as a Forum for Internet Governance

The United Nations are a "club" of nations – which nations 1945 and today?

#### **Member-States of the United Nations**



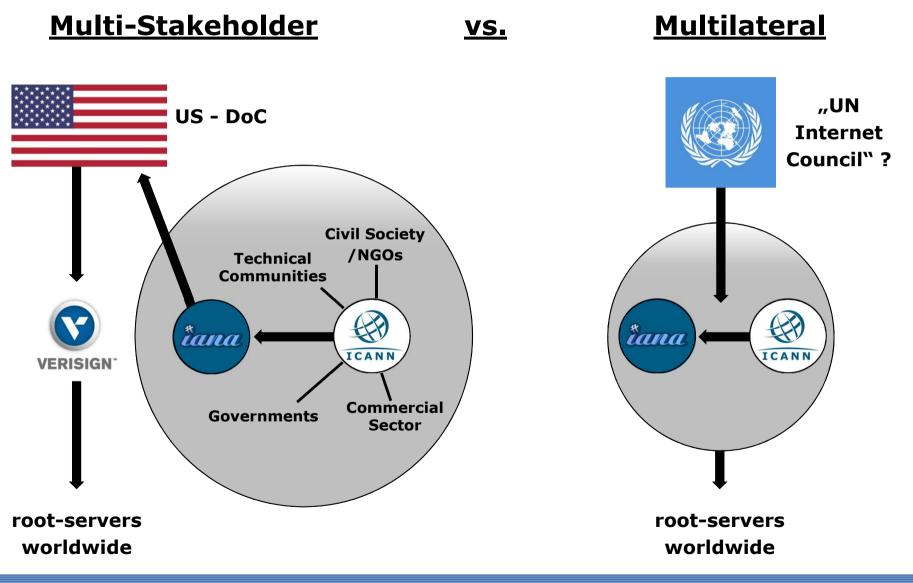
## World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS)



#### First Summit 2003 in Geneva

- Agreed on Definition of Internet Governance
- However, did <u>not</u> agree on:
  - which political issues belong to IG,
    e.g. Intellectual Property Rights
  - how IG should be institutionalized in the future

### Multiple Stakeholder vs. Multilateral



## World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS)



#### Second Summit 2005 in Tunis

- Ended with a compromise:
  - core functions of the internet would, for the time being, remain with ICANN etc.
  - an Internet Governance Forum (IGF), meeting yearly in multi-stakeholderformat,

should seek agreement on the future of IG

### **Other recent activities within UN-bodies**



#### 2nd GA-Committee on "ICT for development"

India, Brazil and South Africa propose
 "UN Council for Internet Related Policies"

#### **General Assembly:**

- China/Russia propose "International Code of Conduct on Information Security"
  - includes internationally agreeable principles
  - "information sovereignty"
  - German/Brazilian Resolution "The Right to Privacy in the Digital Age" 2013

#### **UN Human Rights Council:**

- adopts 2012 Resolution on Human Rights online/offline

In addition to the annual IGF:

**20** conferences, meetings and workshops in more than 10 different organizations and fora:



International Telecommunications Union (ITU)



United Nations Commission on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTD)



United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)



United Nations 68<sup>th</sup> General Assembly (UNESCO)

In addition to the annual IGF:

**20** conferences, meetings and workshops in more than 10 different organizations and fora:



Group of Eight (G8) June 2013



Group of Twenty (G20) September 2013



Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

In addition to the annual IGF:

**20** conferences, meetings and workshops in more than 10 different organizations and fora:



Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)



European Commission: EU Cybersecurity-Strategy



COUNCIL CONSEIL OF EUROPE DE L'EUROPE

Council of Europe (CoE)

In addition to the annual IGF:

> 20 conferences, meetings and workshops in more than 10 different organizations and fora:



Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN)

Three meetings each year (varying locations, e.g. April 2013 in Bejing)



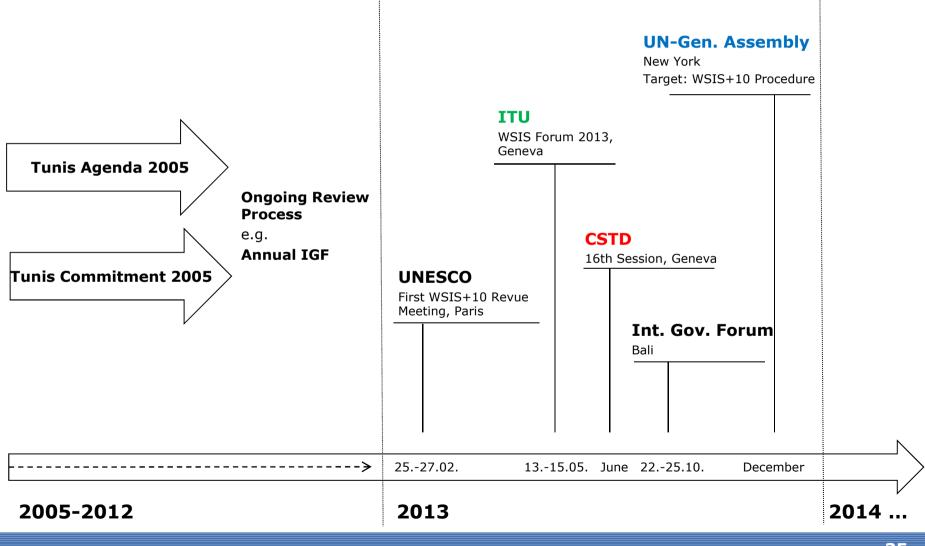
World Conference on International Telecommunications

ITU World Conference on International Telecommunications, Dubai 2012

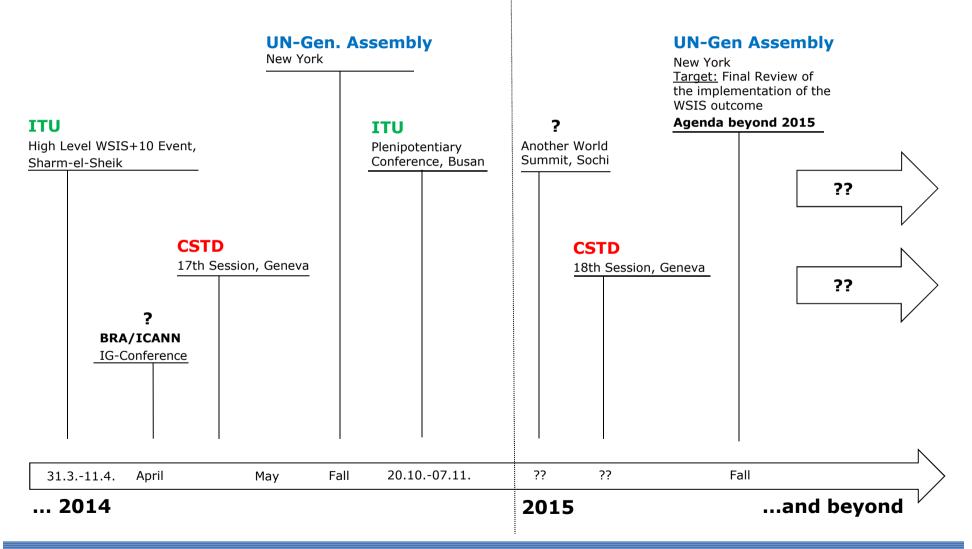


World Summit Generation Society on the Information Society Turning targets into action

ITU High Level WSIS+10 Event Sharm el Sheik, Egypt 2014



35



#### Conclusion

## A new governance of world affairs?



#### **Internet Governance:**

- Is not just a technical issue but about market shares, political influence...
- Will remain a subject of high-level political controversy in the UN-Framework!

#### **Beyond Internet Governance:**

 Will – in turn – the internet, mobile connectivity and social media change the governance of national and world affairs?

#### **Everthing crystal-clear?**



KS-CA-L@diplo.de martin.fleischer.web@web.de

This presentation has been compiled solely for teaching purposes and does not constitute an official positioning by the German Federal Foreign Office.

#### Sources

- 1. Deutscher Bundestag, Wissenschaftl. Dienst: Bestandsaufnahme für Enquete Kommission Internet & Digitale Gesellschaft, Nov. 2012
- ISOC: The Internet Ecosystem http://www.internetsociety.org/sites/default/files/Internet%20Ecosystem.pdf (last access: 05.11.13)
- ITU: Measuring the Information Society 2013 http://www.itu.int/en/ITUD/Statistics/Documents/publications/mis2013/MIS2013\_without\_A nnex\_4.pdf (last access: 05.11.13)
- 4. Kleinwächter, Wolfgang: "The New Internet Governance Complexity" (presentation at IGF Bulgaria, Sofia, November 16, 2012)
- 5. Kleinwächter, Wolfgang: Internet Governance Outlook 2013 (Heise Online, 05.01.2013)