

# The History of Internet Governance

- African Winter School on Internet Governance

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# The Five Waves of Internet Governance

- Wave 1: Military (1957 – 1970s)
  - DARPA-Net
- Wave 2: Academic (1970s – 1990s)
  - TCP/IP
- Wave 3: Commercial (1990s – 2000)
  - WWW
- Wave 4: Masses (2000 – 2010)
  - WSIS
- Wave 5: Everybody & Everything (2010+)
  - The New Internet Complexity

# Internet Specifics

- **Structural Organisation**
  - Decentralized network (end-to-end-principle)
- **Nature of Ressources**
  - Unlimited and non-territorial
- **Regulation**
  - Self-regulation

# Protocols & Organisations

- Protocols:
  - 1969: RFC (Steve Crocker)
  - 1971: @ (Roy Tomlinson)
  - 1974: TCP/IP (Vint Cerf & Bob Kahn)
  - 1982: SMTP (Jon Postel)
  - 1985: DNS (Paul Mockapetris & Jon Postel)
  - 1991: HTML (Tim Barners-Lee)
- Organisations
  - 1975: IAB (Dave Clark & Barry Leiner)
  - 1986: IETF (Mike Corrigan)
  - 1989: IANA
  - 1992: ISOC (Cerf, Kahn & Chapin)
  - 1992: RIPE NCC
  - 1993: World Wide Web Consortium
  - 1998: ICANN

# The DNS

- Numbers
  - IPv4 & IPv6
- Names
  - gTLDs & cctLDs
- Root Server
  - Originally 13, today with Anycast more than 200
  - Special role of US government (authorizes the publication of zone files for TLDs in the Hidden Server)
- Management
  - Jon Postel via IANA (1989 ISI contract with USG)
  - Since 1998: ICANN

# Vint Cerf

- The question was would it be something that could be rolled out to the rest of the world? We didn't know for sure but when we worked on it we decided not to patent, not to copyright, not to control but to share everything we knew about the Internet design to the general public all around the world. What is amazing is that it was a US Department of Defence project and we were in the middle of the Cold War. In spite of all that we made all this completely available to everybody and the only reason it was possible is nobody paid any attention to us. (Computerworld, 2/2010)

# WSIS Geneva

- The Controversy
  - Oversight over critical Internet resources
  - Role of governments in IG for an Internet with more than one billion users
- The Conflict
  - Governmental Leadership vs. Private Sector Leadership
  - China vs. US
  - ITU vs. ICANN
  - Narrow Definition vs. Broad Definition
- The Compromise
  - Multistakeholder Approach
  - WGIG

# WGIG Final Report

- WGIG Recommendations

- Broad Definition

- *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-making procedures, and programmes that shape the evolution and use of the Internet.*

- Identification of Public Policy Issues

- Open List of 18 issues

- Internet Governance Forum

- Space for Multistakeholder Discussion

- No Consensus on Oversight

- Four Models (from Status Quo Minus to Status Quo++)
- Enhanced Cooperation



# WSIS Tunis: US vs. China vs. EU

- US Government: 4 Principles
  - Security & Stability has first priority
  - ICANN is appropriate for technical coordination
  - Sovereignty over national Domain Name Space
  - More Discussion needed
- Chinas Government: Governmental Control
  - National Sovereignty
  - Intergovernmental Mechanism
- The EU Proposal
  - New Cooperation Model
    - Governments for the Level of Principle
    - Private Sector for the day-to-day operations
- The Compromise:
  - US vs. China: Digital Yalta (?)
  - US vs. Europe: Enhanced Cooperation

# Post Tunis I: ICANN & UN

- ICANN / US Government
  - Joint Project Agreement (JPA/10/2006) substituted by Affirmation of Commitment (AoC/10/2009)
- IGF
  - 8 IGFs in Athens (2006), Rio (2007), Hyderabad (2008), Sharm el Sheikh (2009), Vilnius (2010), Nairobi (2011), Baku (2012), Bali 2013)
  - Evaluation by the UNCSTD IGF Improvement Working Group (2010)
- United Nations
  - Enhanced Cooperation: Report by the UN Secretary General (2007), UN Open Consultation (2012) and UNCSTD Working Group (2013)
  - Human Rights: Resolution UN Human Rights Council that Human Rights are the same offline and online
  - Cybersecurity: Group on Governmental Experts (GGE) on Cyberwar and Confidence Building Measures (2013)
- ITU
  - Plenipotentiary in Antalya (11/2006) and Guadalajara/11/2010)
  - World International Telecommunication Conference (WCIT) in Dubai (2012)
  - ICANN Issues: From ignorance to collaboration on the basis of reciprocity
- WTO/WIPO/UNESCO
  - Intellectual Property (ACTA/Three Strikes)
  - Privacy (EU/Right to be Forgotten)
  - Security (Trade of Surveillance Technology)
  - Ethics & Cultural Diversity (UNESCO)

# Post Tunis II: G 8, OECD, COE, Shanghai and IBSA

- G 8
  - Deauville Declaration (2011)
- OECD
  - Declaration on Internet Policy Making (2011)
- Council of Europe
  - Declaration on Principles for Internet Governance (2011)
- Shanghai Group (China, Russia and former Asian Soviet republics)
  - Draft UN Convention on Cybersecurity (2010)
- IBSA Countries (India, Brazil, South Africa)
  - Draft UN Council for Internet Related Policies (2010)

# The New Internet Governance Complexity

- The Challenge of Multistakeholderism (vs. One-Stakeholderism?)
- Power Shift leads to Innovations in International Law, Diplomacy and Decision Making
- What is the respective role of stakeholders?
  - Role of governments?
- What are the appropriate bodies for political discussions and decision making
  - ICANN, IGF, United Nations, G 8, G 20?
- What are the needed political legal instrument?
  - AoC, LoI, MoU, FoC?

# The Multistakholder Model

- Internet Governance Eco-System (no leadership and central place)
- Equal participation of all stakeholders in their respective roles
- Bottom up policy development
- Transparency and openness

# Post WCIT: How to Avoid a Cold Cyberwar?

- **Issues:**

- Cybersecurity
- Internet Economy
- Human Rights

- **Conflicts:**

- Intergovernmental Treaty vs. Multistakeholder Collaboration
- Global and Universal Internet vs. Nationalisation and Fragmentation
- Old New Economy vs. New New Economy
- Representative Democracy vs. Participatory Democracy

- **Platforms:**

- World Telecommunication Policy Forum ITU (May 2013)
- UNCSTD Working Group on Enhanced Cooperation (2013/2014)
- ITU Plenipotentiary Conference (October 2014)
- WSIS 10+ (2014/2015)
- IGF (2014 ff.)

# One World, one Internet? The Risk of Fragmentation

- Political Fragmentation
  - National Internet Segment
  - Firewalls
  - Language
- Economic Fragmentation:
  - Walled Gardens (Social Networks & Apps)
  - „Business Class“ for the Internet (Network Neutrality)

# A Constitution for the Internet?

- Declaration of Principles

- Intergovernmental Organisations: OECD, OSCE, Council of Europe, IBSA, Shanghai
- Private Sector: Global Network Initiative (GNI)
- Civil Society: APC, IGF Dynamic Coalition on Rights and Principles (IOR), Internet Governance Caucus (IGC)
- Technical Community: I\*Organisdaiton, Standardization Organisations
- National Stratgies: US, UK, Brazil, Russia

- Patchwork Regulation and Principle Shopping

- Universal
- Multistakeholder
- High Level
- Non-Binding

- Towards a Framework of Commitments?

- From the IGF Baku to the IGF in Bali
- Compendium as a first step
- Interim Ad Hoc Working Group on Principles
- MAG Meeting in Geneva, May 2013