Internet Governance:
The Past and the Future between Policy and Technology

Cold War in Cyberspace?

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Six Waves of Internet Development

- Wave 1: Military (1957 – 1970)
  - DARPA-Net
- Wave 2: Academia (1970 – 1990)
  - TCP/IP
- Wave 3: Business (1990 – 2000)
  - WWW
- Wave 4: Policy (2000 – 2010)
  - ICANN, WSIS & IGF
- Wave 5: Society (2010 - 2020)
  - Smartphones & Social Networks
- Wave 6: Geo-Strategy (2020++)
  - Militarisation & Arms Race in Cyberspace

From Digital Democracy to Cyberwar?

- 1996: Internet as an enabler for Global Democracy
  - Network vs. Hierarchies
  - Decentralisation vs. Centralisation
  - Bottom Up vs. Top Down
  - Inclusion, Equality, Transparency & Freedom of Expression

- 2022: Internet as a Risk Factor for World Peace
  - Cybercrime
  - Fake News & Hate Speech
  - Militarisation

- What has Changed?
  - Internet Governance istn´t anymore a "technichal problem with political implications", it is a "political problem with a technical component"
  - The Internet – as any other instrument - can be used and misused
  - The US isn´t anymore the only "Big Player" in Cyberspace

1950s vs. 2020s: Similarities

- Two Antagonistic Systeme
  - 1950s: "Communism" vs. "Capitalism" (US vs. Soviet Union)
  - 2020s: "Democracy" vs. "Autocracy" (US&EU vs. China&Russia)
    - "United States-Style Democracy" vs. "Chinese-Style Democracy", CCP Politbureau Member Wang in Alaska, 18. März 2021
- Controversial Strategies
  - 1950s: "Communist World Revolution" vs. "Roll Back"
  - 2020s: "Digital Silkroad" vs. "Colour Revolutions"
- Armsrace
  - 1950s: Nuclear
  - 2020s: Cyber
- Mistrust
  - 1950s: Spies (Julian Rosenberg & Gary Powers)
  - 2020s: Cookies (Solarwinds & Stuxnet)

1950s vs. 2020s: Differences

- Openess
  - 1950s: Iron Curtain
  - 2020s: Open Borders
- Global Economy
  - 1950s: Separate Economies & Embargos (COCOM)
  - 2020s: World Economy & Global Supply Chains
- Challenges
  - 1950s: National Independence (Anti-Colonial Liberation Wars)
  - 2020s: Global Interdependence (Climate Change & Pandemie)

Worstcase Scenario: Confrontation

- Militarisation of Cyberspace and Digital Arms Race
  - AI-Armsrace with Drones, Killerbees & Killerrobots
  - Cyberattacks below the "red line" of Artikel 2.4 (UN Charter) but with the potential of cascading effects and escalation risks
  - Real & Proxie Wars (Rusia vs. Ukraine, Iran vs. Israel, Armenia vs. Azerbjdshan)
- De-Coupling of the global Economy
  - Sanctions, Building of "digital fortresses" and attacks against supply chains
- Massive Human Rights Violations
  - AI-enabled Censorship
  - Mass Surveillance via AI enabled Face Recognition
- New Political Blocs (Cliques)
  - Transatlantic Partnership (T12)
  - Transasian Partnership (SCO)
  - Digital Non-Alignd Movement
- Standardisation Wars
  - New IP & 6G, Bifurcation of the Internet

Bestcase Szenario: Cooperation

- UN Roadmap on Digital Cooperation
  - IGF+/Leadership Panel/Tech Envoy/Parliamentarian Track/Global Digital Compact/WSIS+20

- Cybersecurity Treaties
  - Prohibition of Killerrobots and Attacks agains critical infrastructure (List of 16/ Hospitals, Energy, Water, Transportation, Elections, Finances, Internetcore etc.)
  - Confidence and Capacity Building Measures (OEWG, OSZE, ASEAN etc.)
  - Cybercrime Convention (UN Cybercrime Ad Hoc Committee)

- Rulebook for the Digital Economy
  - Digital Trade & eCommerce Treaty (Free flow of Data with Trust) / WTO
  - Digital Tax / OECD&G20,
  - Sustainable Develoment Goals/Digital Divide (UN Decade of Action&SDG)

- Guidelines for Artificial Intelligence
  - Guiding Principles/OECD, Ethics/UNESCO, Binding Norms/EU & Council of Europe

- Management of Critical Internet-Ressourcen
  - Keep "Technical Internet Governance" (TIG) out of the political conflicts (ICANN/ITU/IETF/G7)

Contradictions

- "One World – One Internet" vs. "One World – 193 National Jurisdictions"

  - "Multistakeholderism" vs. "Multilateralism"

  - "Cybersecurity" vs. "Digital Human Rights"

- The Washington Declaration on the Future of the Internet: Principles, Procedures, Problems

Moving Forward: Global Digital Compact (2023) and WSIS+20 (2025)

- The probability of a global "hot cyberwar" is low, but the cyberpeace will be very cold
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- The most probable scenario is a mix of confrontation and cooperation

- "Stumbling Forward" (Bill Clinton 2011, ICANN Meeting in San Francisco)

- Thanks

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