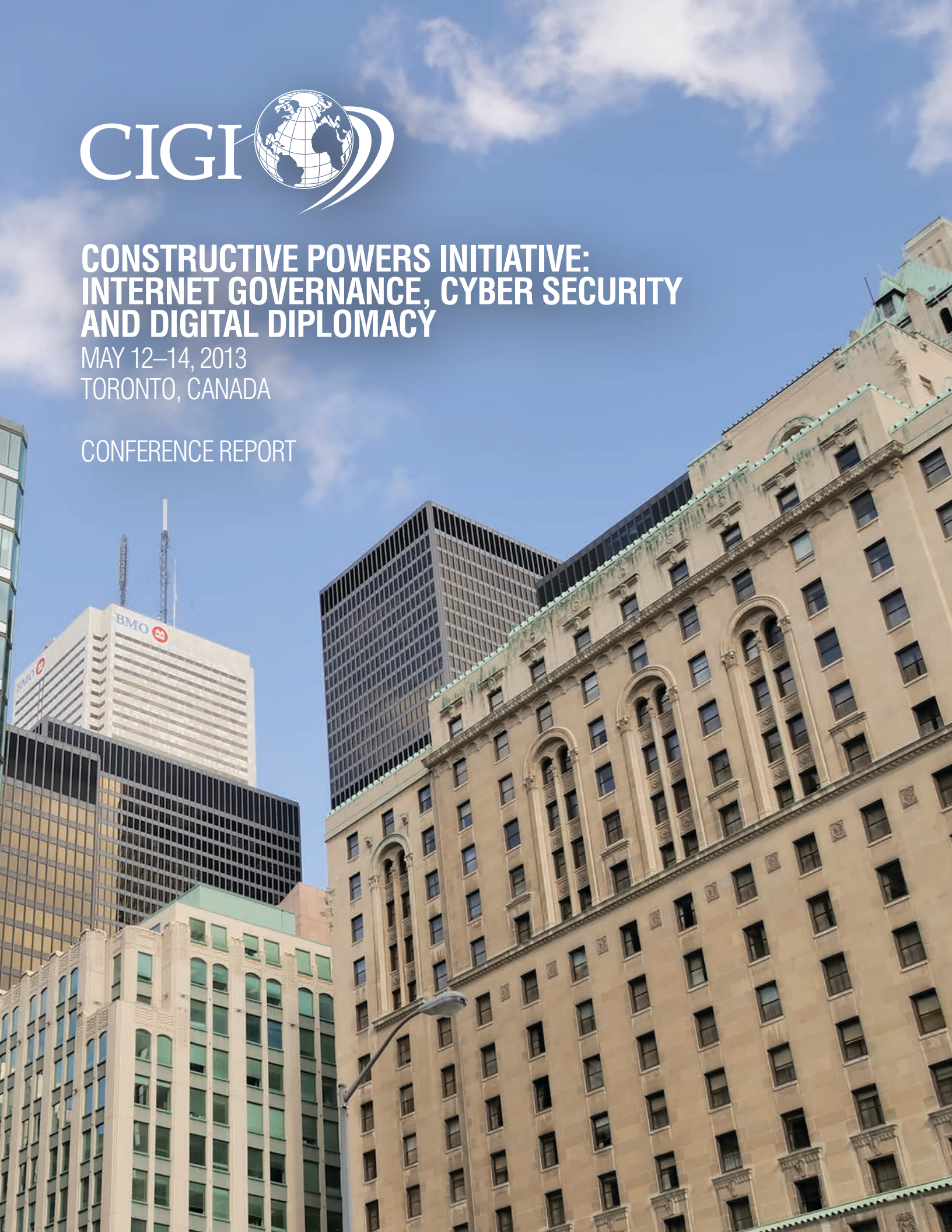

CONSTRUCTIVE POWERS INITIATIVE: INTERNET GOVERNANCE, CYBER SECURITY AND DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

MAY 12–14, 2013
TORONTO, CANADA

CONFERENCE REPORT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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In a lengthy diplomatic career, Paul Heinbecker has served as Canadian Ambassador to Germany, permanent representative to the United Nations, political director of the Foreign Affairs Department in Ottawa and chief foreign policy adviser to then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Early postings included Ankara, Stockholm, Paris (at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) and Washington, DC. Since joining CIGI in 2004 as a Distinguished Fellow, Paul has authored, edited and contributed to a number of books and articles on international relations, especially on the United Nations, the G20, the Middle East, global governance and foreign policy. He writes op-eds and blogs for Canadian and foreign periodicals. He has lectured and made presentations to Canadian parliamentary committees, the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Canadian Forces Staff College, and numerous universities and institutions across Canada and in the United States, Europe, Asia and Latin America. Paul appears frequently on Canadian television and radio. He has honorary doctorates from Wilfrid Laurier and St. Thomas universities.

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ABOUT THE INITIATIVE

The Constructive Powers Initiative (CPI) seeks to bring new thinking, resources, and political will to bear on emerging regional security challenges that have global significance.

Beginning in 2011, the initiative was launched on the premise that existing global governance institutions, while necessary, are not sufficient to address new and emerging security challenges effectively. The world has a clear need for cooperation and new partnerships among capable, concerned and constructive countries, countries that are not "great powers" by traditional definition, but nonetheless have strategic interests in a stable and prosperous world. These countries have a history of creative diplomacy, and the capacity to make a positive difference, particularly through cooperation and partnerships with other constructive powers. Participants in the CPI include Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Japan, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey.

The CPI has held conflict management and policy planning workshops in Istanbul, Mexico City and Toronto. These meetings bring together academics and policy practitioners from CPI countries to identify emerging policy issues and develop the responses needed to address global security challenges.

Project leaders: Fen Osler Hampson and Paul Heinbecker

Project member: Simon Palamar

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The CPI workshop, held in Toronto, Ontario, May 12–14, 2013, brought a number of points into stark relief:

- Geography still matters. The CPI countries' active engagement in rapidly deepening globalization notwithstanding, they need to maintain priority interest in regional and bilateral developments. This is true for all CPI countries, but especially for those with China and Russia as neighbours.

- North America's and Europe's share of global wealth will inexorably continue to decline, absent a catastrophic slowdown in Asian growth, with uncertain consequences for world order and global governance.

- Effective global governance is going to require preserving what is essential from the past — notably the UN Charter and treaties, World Trade Organization (WTO) trade rules and the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, among others — while innovating new variants of cooperation, such as minilateralism (the Group of Twenty [G20]), purpose-built ad hoc coalitions, multi-stakeholder forums and cross-regional coalitions of the policy willing, such as the CPI.

- There is no consensus on the need — let alone on how — to regulate the Internet globally and under whose control (if anyone's) it should be. The risk that governments will purposely or accidentally fragment the Internet is real. Uncertainty and disagreement abound about what the appropriate trade-offs are among Internet openness, security, accessibility, management, interoperability, human rights and economic advantage.

- Cyber security is a mushrooming, multifarious problem — involving states, corporations, civil society, activists, spies, and both petty and sophisticated criminals — that requires a multitude of defensive responses and offensive capabilities and deterrents, including, ultimately, norms and treaties.

- Digital diplomacy, public diplomacy and open foreign policy development efforts that combine the insights, ideas and judgment networks of experts both inside and outside government holds enormous promise for governments that are capable of managing risk, moderating message disciplines and trusting their diplomats.

- CPI participants have a plethora of emerging issues that they would welcome research on, notably:

  - The implications of networked societies and a globally connected middle class for democracy and foreign policy.

  - The possibilities and consequences of providing software and hardware to evade Internet surveillance to populations in authoritarian countries.

  - What are the likely implications of the rise of big data for international relations?

  - The consequences of widespread state capitalism and how to handle the question of foreign investment by state-owned enterprises.

  - How to improve government capacity to plan for low probability but high-impact events, such as collapsing asset bubbles or interstate wars.

  - What the future holds for Russia, a nuclear-armed petro-state.

  - Are states returning to their previous levels of dominance in global affairs, or is space for the state shrinking faster than ever?

  - How to cope with the intersection of natural resource extraction and foreign policy.

  - The foreign policy intersection of natural resource extraction, intrastate conflict and human rights.

  - The growing importance of cities and urban governments to international relations.

  - Are international institutions in retreat, and is the world headed away from a rules-based system of international relations?

  - The United States' dysfunctional domestic politics and whether it is a permanent or temporary state of affairs.

  - Whether and to what extent technology drives policy development.

  - What can be done to broaden the circle of constructive actors? Is China likely to preserve the international order or surmount it?

- Will Western countries become chauvinistic if slow economic growth persists, and what will this mean for Western foreign policy?

- In the face of a security void, and with the absence of progress on the global level, are regional organizations up to the task of providing global public goods?

CONFERENCE REPORT

Paul Heinbecker and Simon Palamar

INTRODUCTION

Policy researchers and current and former foreign policy practitioners from Australia, Brazil, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Mexico, South Africa, Switzerland and Turkey attended the workshop, along with counterparts from Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Sweden participating in this series of workshops for the first time.[1]

The workshop was divided into two principal parts. First, policy staffs from the CPI countries shared their perspectives on international trends and the foreign policy issues and challenges that these countries are likely to face in the next several years. Second, participants explored Internet governance, cyber security and digital diplomacy (that is, the role and potential of social media and new communications technology in formulating foreign policy and conducting diplomacy). Participants were encouraged to deliberate on these issues in a frank and open manner, in order to identify the research needed to understand emerging trends and to canvass for opportunities for further cooperation.

FORECASTING THE FUTURE: NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON EMERGING FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES

Among CPI policy staffs there is considerable commonality of top-level policy interests and priorities. Broadly put, these are security, human rights and fostering economic prosperity, in varying order. The forecasts of what will be the most pressing foreign policy issues in the medium term fit into these broad categories along the following lines: geopolitics (concerns about the future of politics in specific countries and regions); shifts in the world's patterns of economic development and wealth distribution; changes in technology; the need for innovation in "global governance"; and the general unpredictability of the global security environment.

Global and Regional Politics

Globalization and the communications revolution notwithstanding, regional and bilateral foreign policy concerns and interests remain important for all the constructive powers. The latter include the festering debt and unemployment problems in the European Union; transnational organized crime (notably the criminal drug trade) in North and South America; tensions in Northeast and Southeast Asia, occasioned particularly by China's military and economic rise and North Korea's eccentric and unpredictable behaviour; lagging and inadequate governance in Africa; and identity politics, revolution, sectarianism and civil war in the Middle East. Events and developments in home regions continue to have major significance for national economies, security and politics. Geography still matters.

Despite the interest in regional events, Asia's return to global prominence is the overarching global reality. All of the constructive powers (and Beijing's neighbours in particular) are paying close attention to China, with a particular eye to the effects of global economic conditions and the spread of social media on China's domestic politics, and how these politics in turn might drive Chinese foreign policy. Workshop participants were well aware that China's meteoric economic growth has pulled hundreds of millions out of poverty at home and that its trade with Africa and Asia has boosted incomes abroad. Its relations with the United States and Europe, while subject to reciprocal frictions, and an orderly relationship between the United States and China, are integral to the economic well-being of all concerned. At the same time, many countries are uneasy about China's seemingly growing assertiveness — notably its maritime boundary claims in the South China Sea. Some of the participants and analysts at the table were concerned that conflicting interests and profound disagreements over intersecting maritime borders make the Indo-Pacific region vulnerable to conflict, and possibly even armed conflict. It is still an open question whether China is going to be a constructive power. Several workshop participants considered interpreting and understanding Russia to be an analytic challenge. Russia is seen as an important but sometimes difficult international partner, as its domestic politics are prone to autocracy and susceptible to corruption. Furthermore, Russia's hydrocarbon-dependent economy and standard of living are vulnerable to downward pressures on global oil and gas prices from newly exploitable shale gas

1 The conference was conducted under the Chatham House Rule. Under this protocol, those present, including media, "are free to use information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant may be revealed." For a full explanation of Chatham House Rule, see: www.chathamhouse.org/about-us/chathamhouserule.

and oil reserves, and from suppliers in the Middle East and Caucasus. These pressures have potentially severe implications for Russia's military-political influence and even perhaps its political stability.

Interestingly, the United States appears to have been the proverbial elephant in the room. Most of the constructive powers presume that it will remain the globe's pre-eminent military, economic and political power, albeit less so as China and others grow. Its political, military and economic significance are still enormous and taken as a given. US foreign policy in general, its reticence in the Middle East and its "pivot to Asia," as well as its governance travails, are an overarching reality that merits careful observation in the coming years.

Technology and Science 3.0

The workshop recognized technology as a wild card, capable of bringing about unanticipated game-changing developments, and for which sometimes little preparation is possible. Most evident was the digital revolution.

We live in an age of hyperconnectivity, where new technology and knowledge is diffused wider than ever before and in near-real time, meaning that what was only conjecture a few years ago can suddenly become a tangible reality today. For example, rapid improvements in shale gas and oil technology had not been anticipated in public policy circles only a few years ago, but energy firms are now opening up large reserves of hydrocarbons around the globe, causing shifts in energy import and export patterns. Discoveries and innovations in biotechnology, nanotechnology, software engineering, and communications and transportation technologies are increasingly common and promising, but their effects are remarkably hard to anticipate. Likewise, technologies like additive manufacturing (such as 3-D printing) have the potential to transform industrialization by "re-shoring" some manufacturing jobs to the developed world and by disrupting existing manufacturing supply chains. The exact timing, magnitude and political consequences of the spread of such technology are unknowable, but what is clear is that they have enormous potential to affect global development and governance.

A Multi-speed Global Economy

Policy staffs were interested in both the potential negative consequences of persistent, slow economic growth in the developed world and the implications of good news stories, such as Sub-Saharan Africa's strong economic performance in recent years and the growth of the middle class in a number of traditionally developing economies.

The general perception is that slow growth in developed countries could become a major policy challenge elsewhere. If unemployment in North America and Europe remains stubbornly high, it will exacerbate income inequality and contribute to confrontational domestic politics. In turn, chauvinistic domestic politics can easily spill over into foreign policy. Slow growth can lead to Western governments becoming even more inward looking and unengaged abroad than they already are.

On the bright side, meanwhile, in Africa, there is some evidence that economic growth has diminished the incidence of large-scale violence. Some participants thought that demand generated by the growing middle class in developing countries could partially offset slumping developed world demand for manufactured goods and agricultural products. If growth in emerging markets continues, it could trigger middle class demands for more responsive and transparent government. However, if growing wealth is not distributed equitably, robust growth might simply exacerbate income inequality, which has its own political consequences. Finally, some participants are concerned that growth in certain parts of the world — such as the Middle East, Sahel and parts of Asia — could lead to intensified competition for arable land and potable water.

Resource Markets

Despite the end of the most recent commodity supercycle, many of the constructive powers are interested in the future of global natural resource markets and the political consequences of local, regional or global shortages of certain commodities. Even slowed Asian growth would fuel demand for offshore resources. Corporate and state interactions in resource extraction are a growing area of friction. One very concerning potential source of disputes is disagreements about terms of market access for countries with relatively low standards of environmental protection, particularly as concerns over climate change grow. Shortages of specific resources (such as rare earths) could also spark a wave of neomercantilism, where in an effort to manage supplies, national governments might impose restrictions on exports of certain commodities.

Some policy staff were convinced that energy politics are bound to become increasingly important in the future. Specific issues that governments might clash over include competition and access to markets, where to build vital energy infrastructure (such as pipelines and ports) and how to regulate the global use of specific carbon-intensive energy sources. Another critical issue is how new shale oil and gas supplies will affect economies, such as Russia and the Gulf states, that are excessively weighted toward conventional oil. A major

oil supply shock could have disastrous consequences for social stability in these countries.

Relationships Between Trends

These emerging issues are often related to and influence one another. For example, economic growth in emerging economies has expanded the global middle class, which in turn drives up global demand for consumer goods, as well as increases pressure on certain commodity markets, which feeds into the climate change conundrum. All of this happens while increasing incomes are simultaneously raising expectations for participatory governance and greater accountability from governments. A less rosy forecast could see the large-scale adoption of additive manufacturing techniques destroying the wage advantage of developing economies and retarding their economic growth. In turn, rather than demanding more of their governments, middle classes in these countries might concentrate on preserving the wealth and political influence they already have, to the detriment of the poorer segments of society. Rather than demand for more responsive and accountable government, the world could see young democracies stagnate or even backslide into authoritarianism.

These complex relationships make it very difficult to anticipate what any one trend's long-term consequences will be. Publics expect their governments to act to attenuate the risks and capitalize on the opportunities posed by these various emerging trends, but making accurate predictions about the ultimate effects is remarkably difficult. All of this points to future research avenues for non-governmental institutions interested in contributing to the policy-making process.

COLLABORATION: POLICY-RELEVANT RESEARCH

While there are undoubtedly benefits to be had from greater collaboration between practitioners and academics, some significant obstacles to fuller cooperation need to be managed or overcome. First, the most basic problem is that academe's and government's professional cultures are only partly compatible, with hierarchy the rule in government and individuality the norm in academe. Second, policy practitioners tend to focus on specific issues, questions and short-term problem solving, while academics are generally more oriented to understanding concepts and developing theories that explain a broad range of behaviour (scholarly concepts such as "soft power" and the "clash of civilizations" are cases in point). Thirdly, policy makers need policy-relevant research, but academe tends to privilege peer-reviewed research and publication. This means that the policy process requires comparatively short turnaround times, while academic research is typically comprehensive and, therefore, slower. Finally, national security strictures are sometimes an insurmountable hurdle for policy makers and academics, and this will inevitably limit the sort of policy issues academics and practitioners can work on together.

Challenges notwithstanding, there are a few things each community can do to enhance cooperation between non-government researchers and policy planning staffs. First, each community should make a greater effort to foster communications and relationships with the other. Policy staffs, with their relatively long-term view compared to their ministerial colleagues, need to make particular efforts to forge relationships with outside researchers. Non-governmental researchers that want to engage the foreign policy community need to deliberately conduct policy-oriented research.

Another way to enhance synergies between the two communities is for policy planners and academic/private sector researchers to focus on their comparative strengths. This means policy staffs identify important short- and medium-term trends and craft policy options to harness future opportunities or mitigate future risks, while non-governmental researchers tend to their broad, long-term research agendas. Further, academic research agendas with long-run perspectives can be an early warning service and a source of fresh ideas for policy planners. Better communication between the two communities could generate opportunities for active collaboration. Specifically, policy staffs should be clearer about their research needs and expectations. Further, academics can help policy staff in their "challenge role": policy staffs are often required to critique existing policy, and point to faulty assumptions or new policy directions. Academics, as a fount of new ideas, can help stimulate new thinking. Finally, academics, relatively stable in their employment, can provide history and context to policy discussions that policy staffs — often rotating through several jobs in the span of a few years — sometimes lack.

Cooperation between policy staffs and academics is quite robust on some subjects, notably arms control, climate change and fisheries regulation. Cyber security and Internet governance appear to be emerging areas of collaboration. What is currently in the research pipeline?

- The implications of networked societies and a globally connected middle class for democracy and foreign policy.

- The possibilities and consequences of providing software and hardware to evade Internet surveillance to populations in authoritarian countries.

- What are the likely implications of the rise of big data for international relations?
- The consequences of widespread state capitalism and how to handle the question of foreign investment by state-owned enterprises.
- How to improve government capacity to plan for low probability but high-impact events (so-called "Black Swans"),[2] such as collapsing asset bubbles or interstate wars.
- What the future holds for Russia as a nuclear-armed petro-state.
- Are states returning to their previous levels of dominance in global affairs, or is space for the state shrinking faster than ever?
- How to cope with the intersection of natural resource extraction and foreign policy.
- The foreign policy intersection of natural resource extraction, intrastate conflict and human rights.
- The growing importance of cities and urban governments to international relations.
- Are international institutions in retreat, and is the world headed away from a rules-based system of international relations?
- The United States' dysfunctional domestic politics and whether it is a permanent or temporary state of affairs.
- Whether and to what extent technology drives policy development.
- What can be done to broaden the circle of constructive actors? Is China likely to preserve the international order or surmount it?
- Will Western countries become chauvinistic if slow economic growth persists, and what will this mean for Western foreign policy?
- In the face of a security void, and with the absence of progress on the global level, are regional organizations up to the task of providing global public goods?

This list obviously covers a great breadth of topics, ranging from human rights to resource markets, as it reflects the forecasts of a geographically and culturally diverse group of countries. As the CPI continues to link policy-planning organizations with each other and with academic and private research institutes, a key task will be to prioritize the research agenda and invest research capacity in the most important and pressing areas.

THE FUTURE OF MULTILATERALISM: LOOKING FOR LEADERSHIP AND COOPERATION IN TURBULENT TIMES

A common interest among the policy-planning staffs is divining the future of global governance in an era where the world's power and wealth is being redistributed in both relative and absolute terms. The last 30 years has already seen a very significant shift in the world's economic, military, and political strength and authority from the developed West to a number of emerging Eastern and Southern economies. A key "power shift" question, therefore, is whether the world's current political arrangements (such as the United Nations, Bretton Woods institutions or the G20) can successfully adapt to a richer and more integrated world, where wealth and power — along with hope, benefits and responsibilities — are being dispersed and redistributed.

The UN Charter is the rule book by which UN member states have governed international relations since 1945, and it has spawned an extensive body of international law, treaties, norms, practices, institutions and initiatives for this purpose. Most of the rules this system has developed, though necessary, have been crafted retrospectively. Coping prospectively with rapid change requires a solid foundation of widely shared core values and norms that can provide policy makers basic guidance for what sorts of solutions other countries will accept (and reject) for emerging problems. Whether the United Nations' inclusive mandate and its members' collective wisdom and vision permit institutions enough innovation scope to cope with dramatic global changes remains to be seen. On pressing files, such as climate change and the emerging cyber security competition between major powers, member countries are not delivering satisfactory results through the United Nations and G20.

The G20's future is also problematic. It excludes large parts of the world, notably economically advanced Scandinavia (the Nordic and Baltic states arguably had more coherent economic policies than India did when

2 A Black Swan is a metaphor used by Nassim Nicholas Taleb to describe unforeseen events (or events that are believed to be impossible) that have profound consequences, and that people attempt to rationalize after the fact, as if this event could have been predicted. Black Swan events are difficult (if not practically impossible) to predict using scientific methods due to the remarkably low probabilities involved. Some examples from the twentieth century are World War I, the collapse of the USSR and the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States.

the G20 was formed in 1999) and Africa's emerging powerhouse, Nigeria. The G20's record on managing 2009's initial financial crisis was admirable, but its follow-through has been less so as the crisis receded.

The track records of the United Nations and the G20 on major contemporary problems, which by their nature require multilateral solutions, are checkered. If these formal institutions prove to be slow or unable to adapt, the world will likely see recourse to more informal, ad hoc, multilateral and minilateral approaches to solving problems, a kind of disaggregation and return to exclusivity.

Another concern is the continued viability of universally accepted rules to regulate international relations. Absent agreed rules, power is unconstrained, but norms and values take on still greater importance as governments seek social licenses to act and to legitimize their policy choices. For example, while the European Union (EU) was originally devised as a way to avoid war in Europe, its *raison d'être* has become managing the continent's economic difficulties. If the EU can successfully cure its economic woes, the mission of the organization will shift to shaping globalization and the international legal system, a task that is too big for individual EU members — or indeed for any state — to achieve unilaterally.

Some participants wondered whether the global emphasis on growth in private markets as a cure-all for social and political woes risks delegitimizing governments as economic actors. This growth poses a risk to parts of the world with relatively weak governments, such as Africa, where democracy and accountable governments have started to bring a modicum of stability to the continent. Undercutting the legitimacy and capacity of these governments now could undo decades of domestic political reforms.

This analysis assumes that while the United States will remain the world's pre-eminent power for the foreseeable future, it will no longer dominate global politics and economic activity, and might even want to share responsibility and burdens, if not necessarily authority, so it could tend to long neglected domestic needs. It will remain *primus inter pares*, although less *primus* than heretofore. Various responses to reduced US leadership are feasible, including devoting more political energy to minilateral arrangements (such as the G8 and the G20), developing more multi-stakeholder governance schemes (such as the current Internet governance arrangement) and forming ad hoc coalitions of states with similar interests and goals regarding regional and global problems (such as the CPI).

Some CPI participants were also concerned that the world is quickly heading toward a "G2" scenario, where solutions to most global public policy challenges will be negotiated between the United States and China, while declining powers such as France, the United Kingdom and Russia fight rearguard actions to try to maintain their influence in specific niches. Others are less concerned, and assert that a G2 is too narrow a base on which to solve major contemporary problems, such as global financial regulation, cyber security and climate change, which require the cooperation of other powerful countries for success. A group such as the CPI may be able to carve out policy niches and influence global governance, but this will require the members to find common ground on objectives.

At the same time, some workshop participants argued that the world has also seen encouraging recent developments, and that unadulterated gloom and doom about our collective prospects are unwarranted. Much had been accomplished together. Worldwide, people have never been more secure, healthier, longer lived, better educated and better connected with one another.

INTERNET GOVERNANCE

Participants discussed the merits of a multi-stakeholder, decentralized approach to Internet governance as well as more statist, centralized schemes. They also explored the possibility of cooperating to develop win-win Internet governance arrangements that meet the CPI countries' core needs.

The Internet can be thought of as having three distinct parts. The first is the physical infrastructure: the cables, routers, microwave links or any other hardware that transmits data (adapted from Benkler, 2000). The second is the "logic layer" of the Internet: the software and code that allows different devices and users to interact with one another and controls the physical hardware (ibid.). The final part is content: the data that users upload, download and transmit through the physical infrastructure (ibid.). Today, Internet governance typically refers to the activities of a group of firms, non-profit private organizations, government actors (such as industry regulators), individual technologists and others that assure the interoperability of the various publicly and privately owned packet-switched networks. These actors tend to concentrate on technical tasks. Examples include developing software standards, ensuring the orderly distribution of Internet protocol addresses and the administration of the domain name system (DNS), which translates user-friendly web addresses (such as www.cigionline.org) into a specific Internet protocol address. In other words, Internet governance is mostly concerned with the Internet's physical and logical layers.

But while these activities are seen as technocratic, they are in fact deeply political. In reality, Internet governance is a complex range of activities (that include governments, regulators, international organizations, private firms and non-profit organizations in various capacities and roles) that is colloquially referred to as multi-stakeholder governance. This typically conveys that it "involves the full involvement of all stakeholders, consensus-based decision-making and operating in an open, transparent and accountable manner. The multistakeholder model has promoted freedom of expression, both online and off. It has ensured the Internet is a robust, open platform for innovation, investment, economic growth and the creation of wealth throughout the world, including in developing countries" (Strickling, 2013).

Hence, Internet governance is popularly thought of in some liberal democracies as an inclusive practice that largely ensures that the current status quo — an open, accessible, dynamic and private Internet — persists and thrives. In this view, Internet governance is about governance, not government.

So, while on the face of it, "Internet governance" appears to be a benign apolitical activity, the technical work of Internet governance has large political consequences. A simple but illustrative example is DNS blocking, which refers to a software technique that makes it difficult for users to locate specific websites and domains on the Internet. This technology has some practical uses, such as blocking spam email; however, the technology that allows one Internet provider to block spam also allows others to block websites that host pirated music or movies, or sites that contain controversial political content. This is the sort of dual-use problem that pervades Internet governance: a decision to adapt one technical standard or practice for one reason can often be used by governments, companies or citizens for another. Increasingly, these actors are using the Internet to achieve political goals.

Internet governance has, therefore, become an increasingly divisive foreign policy issue, for both political and principled reasons. The disagreement over recent amendments to the International Telecommunication Regulations (ITRs) highlights this growing tension. At the World on International Telecommunications conference in December 2012, states disagreed over the content of a new set of ITRs. These included provisions that some countries argued could create political cover for asserting sovereignty in order to regulate Internet content within their borders. In some cases, this would violate international human rights standards. Some governments that signed the new ITRs appear to have an agenda to increasingly bring Internet governance under UN auspices, where states (rather than private stakeholders) dominate. Eighty-nine countries signed the controversial ITR amendments and 55 did not. The constructive powers' governments were equally divided.

Despite the differences in national positions, the constructive powers do agree on several important points. First, the consequences of increased state control over the Internet's technical and logical architecture are still unclear. Some governments, such as China's, already heavily filter and monitor Internet traffic inside their borders. Whether this has any direct effect on the ability of people outside of China to use the Internet is unclear. It is also unclear whether support for Internet freedom is an expression of economic interests, part of a desire to propagate Western values or part of a vision of a utopian world order. Governments obviously retain the right to set laws and regulations within their own borders. The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights document is relevant here, but it can be interpreted differently by different states and ultimately is not really internationally enforceable, except in the most egregious circumstances. Whether it is acceptable for a specific government to take steps to restrict browsing or erect technical barriers preventing its citizens from accessing data hosted in another country ultimately depends on the legitimacy of that government in the eyes of its people.

A second point that requires further investigation is the sorts of efforts to control the Internet that governments need to be concerned about. As noted, many states already filter and regulate the Internet within their borders. However, if states that are dissatisfied with the status quo of an Internet largely governed by a handful of US non-profits adopt different technical standards in an effort to enhance national control, the Internet could be "fragmented" into non-interoperable national or regional networks, with deleterious consequences for private use and commerce. Governments need to differentiate between Internet governance schemes that only affect the citizens of one country, and efforts that create negative externalities.

The motives of governments for a greater role for the state in Internet governance also appear to be mixed. Sometimes it is a clear-cut case of authoritarian states, such as Iran, wanting to put limits on public discourse and to protect the ruling regime against internal political threats. In other cases, liberal democracies want to combat intellectual property piracy, child pornography, hate speech, terrorism and other online criminal activity. Elsewhere, governments are concerned about citizens using the Internet to pursue personal vendettas. An example from China is "online rumours," where individuals spread falsehoods on the Internet due to

some grievance — for example, a disagreement between a hospital and a patient who overpaid for treatment might lead to rumours about poor conditions at that hospital causing the death of a loved one — with the hope that government authorities will intervene. This sort of behaviour can create social disorder and lead governments to regulate content as well as access to the Internet. Finally, since many of the private organizations that are involved in Internet governance are based in the United States, simply resisting US dominance might be another factor for some.

Although there appears to be disagreement among the constructive powers on some aspects of this issue, there is clearly some common ground as well, notably on international cooperation among law enforcement agencies and national Computer Emergency Response Teams (CERTs). Finding greater common ground (or at least compromises) on the future role of national governments in Internet governance will require more research in this area.

CYBER SECURITY

Cyber security, while related to Internet governance (since some governance arrangements might make certain types of malicious online activity easier or more difficult), is a distinct issue. It adds further expression online to existing interstate rivalries, notably between the United States and China, Israel and Iran, and South and North Korea. The workshop conversation focussed on differentiating between the malevolent exploitation of computer networks by criminals, activists, terrorist groups and states (and their surrogates), and on looking for areas where interstate cooperation could reduce tensions and put limits on the use of cyber attacks by states.

Fostering cooperation on cyber security threats requires discriminating among various types of threats. Mass efforts by criminal groups for profit appear to be best countered by improving defences. Attacks by professional hackers going after databases holding personal banking or credit card company information are probably best dealt with by a combination of financial firms improving their digital defences, legislation requiring companies to better secure their databases and traditional law enforcement. State-based and state-sponsored attacks designed to compromise government computer networks, damage infrastructure and steal government secrets or commercial intellectual property present a much thornier problem. These are — to paraphrase Carl von Clausewitz — politics by other means. A significant example is the recent US allegations that China's People's Liberation Army routinely steals commercial data from US corporations.[3] Some security experts and governments are also concerned that state-sponsored hackers might target critical civilian infrastructure (such as a national electrical grid).

How governments should react to what looks like a potentially serious security challenge is still evolving. At least two barriers stand in the way of attenuating the cyber security challenge.

The first is that the very nature of cyber attacks makes traditional arms control-type approaches difficult. Modern arms control treaties often rely on monitoring and verification efforts that help governments determine if their foreign counterparts are living up to their treaty commitments. For example, international agencies and countries monitor each other's nuclear programs for signs of cheating. But monitoring and verification have not worked on biological weapons, for example, because monitoring have to be unacceptably intrusive to effectively differentiate medical research from military-usable activities. Software and hacking attacks pose a similar problem: they leave comparatively little physical evidence compared to kinetic weapon systems, making detection much harder. An effective monitoring system for cyber weapons might have to be more invasive than many states would accept. Tracing the source of cyber attacks to an actor or government is also far more difficult than attributing the use of kinetic weapons. Cyber attacks can also be plausibly denied, at least initially. All of this poses challenges to arms control and deterrence strategies.

A second barrier is that the spread of cyber weapons may simply be impossible to stop at this point. Like small arms and light weapons, malicious computer code is relatively cheap compared to large weapon systems and easy to clandestinely transfer across borders; once a country has acquired sufficiently skilled programmers, countries can continuously experiment with new code to attack computer systems in novel ways. This does not mean that writing effective code is easy, since software and network vulnerabilities are continuously patched and upgraded. It does mean though that these technologies spread easily and that the economic and technological barriers to trying to build cyber weapons are relatively low.

Despite these challenges, there are areas where governments can work productively together. A first step

3 See Mandiant (2013), *APT1: Exposing One of China's Cyber Espionage Units*, Mandiant Intelligence Center Report. Please note that the extent of US/National Security Agency surveillance of Internet communications had not become public at the time of the Toronto workshop.

would be to differentiate between the sorts of issues that foreign and defence ministries should be addressing, and what issues are ultimately internal domestic matters. Adding to this would be the continued efforts to determine if cyber attacks during a military conflict should be treated differently than cyber attacks during peacetime, and if and how the law of armed conflict applies to cyber operations.[4]

A second productive step would be for governments to be as transparent about cyber attack capabilities, postures and doctrines as national security requirements allow. Further, if cyber attack technology makes treaties hard to enforce, then a second-best solution is "soft law" — less formal diplomatic understandings and norms about how governments will behave in the future; for example, strictures against cyber attacks against public infrastructure that could cause mass harm. Over time, transparent actions and intentions can turn into expected, standard behaviour.

Finally, national governments already accept the fact that using telecommunications technology entails some risk. Storing data on servers, relying on networks for government operations and wiring your economy means that governments, firms and citizens will always be vulnerable to some sort of malicious cyber activity. Risk management is necessary when considering cyber security measures that trade off freedom for security.

DIGITAL DIPLOMACY AND OPEN POLICY MAKING

The workshop concluded by considering the effect of the Internet, the proliferation of mobile phones, the pervasiveness of social media and the 24-hour news cycle on the ways governments, foreign ministries and diplomats work. It was evident from the discussion that the world's mass adoption of telecommunications technology affects all governments, although not necessarily in the same ways or to the same extent.

Digital media and communications technology are a mixed blessing for foreign policy professionals, including diplomats and academics. On the downside, news and rumours move much more quickly today than they did even 10 years ago, putting much higher demands on embassies and foreign ministries to get ahead of events and to respond or act in real time. The public now expects governments to satisfy demands, redress grievances or intervene in events immediately. In other words, rapid and cheap communications force foreign policy professionals to increase their pace to match. This pressure to react to events on the fly is further complicated by the fact that foreign ministries are often risk-averse, because minor errors in a wired world can have major consequences. Further, some diplomats operate in political contexts where control over messaging takes precedence over exploiting opportunities, even though press releases and official statements from governments may have less influence on public opinion than in the past, and "citizen journalists" have more than they once did.

At the same time, these technologies hold enormous upsides for foreign policy professionals. In many cases, they are empowering for diplomats. Communicating with colleagues spread around the world is quicker and easier than in the past, and policy advice can at once be more expert and better informed. Further, diplomats with Twitter accounts can interact directly with local populations, bypassing host governments altogether and in real time. Diplomats can, in and of themselves, become valuable transmitters and recipients of information. Furthermore, foreign ministries can also bypass traditional news media and get their unfiltered message directly to their audience.

For academics involved with foreign policy, the Internet and social media have increased their capacity to contribute to foreign policy development and debates by an order of magnitude. With multiple sources of information now at their disposal in near real time and a modicum of triangulation, academics are much better and much earlier informed than ever before, and much better placed to influence foreign policy debates as they happen. At the same time, the premium on fast reaction by diplomats similarly increases the pressure on academics to be timely in their advice.

This fast-paced, highly connected environment is also prompting some foreign ministries to change their policy development processes. A popular approach is "open policy formation": this approach consciously tries to bring citizens into the foreign policy-making process, recognizes that there are good ideas and smart people outside of government as well as inside, seeks to tap into outside sources of expertise and tries to develop an innovative culture within government. This is accompanied by a similar process within departments, which involves breaking down hierarchies and silos, and encouraging colleagues with relevant expertise and experience from across the department (and even from across the entire government) to collaborate on projects. At the same time, the CPI participants recognized that a good amount of work still has to happen behind closed doors.

4 For an example, see Michael Schmitt (ed.) (2013), *Tallinn Manual on the International Law Applicable to Cyber Warfare*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ultimately, for foreign ministries to take advantage of new (and old) communications technology and social media, they need to manage risk better. The risks entailed by communications and media missteps are considerable: to national security, to government accountability and to the government's and the country's reputation. Some countries, notably the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, are setting the pace in availing themselves of the advantages of social media. Other governments try to control their own narrative and abhor non-authorized communications by ambassadors or more junior diplomats. In others still, there is such an intricate and slow authorization process that ambassadors are unable to communicate their government's view to the public in a timely manner. A high-paced open and frenetic environment means that foreign ministries can do much more, but only if their political masters accept the environmental risks. This means that foreign policy managers need to continuously increase their ability to manage risk and must defend their employees when they occasionally fail.

Effective diplomacy in this environment also means understanding that interconnectivity and social media are not panaceas. People opt in to social media networks, such as Twitter, and social media users often fall along specific demographic lines. Younger people and urban dwellers are more likely to use social networking software than their older or rural counterparts, meaning even the savviest diplomat might not be able to reach and influence everyone they want via social media. Diplomats and policy makers therefore need to work on determining what the best tool is to reach a given person or population. Good analysis and skillful messaging are not only still useful, but absolutely necessary to conduct diplomacy and foreign policy successfully in the cluttered social media and digital communications landscape. Technology is changing diplomatic techniques as globalization proceeds and governments share the field with non-state actors. Still, the essence of diplomacy endures: defending national interests, representing national values, comprehending foreign realities, aiding home and host country nationals, communicating home truths, recommending policy options and implementing home government decisions.

Next Session

President of the Institute of Foreign Affairs, Korean National Diplomatic Academy Ji-in Hong announced that his institution will host the next CPI session, November 26–28, 2013, in Seoul, Republic of Korea.

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WORKSHOP AGENDA

SUNDAY, MAY 12, 2013

The Fairmont Royal York Hotel

7:00 p.m. Cocktails and Dinner

- Welcome to Participants: Rohinton Medhora, *President, CIGI*

MONDAY, MAY 13, 2013

Foreign Policy Planning and Global Governance

The British Columbia Room

8:00–9:00 a.m. Breakfast

9:00–9:30 a.m. Session I: Introduction and Welcome

- Chairs: Rafet Akgünay, Carlos Heredia and Paul Heinbecker
- Chairs will launch the workshop and describe its scope and goals.

9:30–11:00 a.m. Session II: Policy Staff Perspectives on Global Trends

- Chairs: Paul Heinbecker and Fen Hampson
- This session is an opportunity for foreign ministry policy research and planning organizations in the CPI countries to engage with each other and with experts. It will include national presentations to facilitate an exchange of information about each foreign ministry's perspective on emerging, medium-term global trends and the opportunities and challenges they raise.

11:00–11:30 a.m. Coffee and Health Break

11:30 a.m.–1:00 p.m. Session III: Policy Staff Perspectives on Global Trends, continued

1:00–2:30 p.m. Working Lunch: Discussion of Policy Relevant Research Priorities

- Chairs: Dong Hwi-Lee and John Ravenhill
- The rapporteur will present a short list of emerging trends, opportunities and challenges identified by foreign ministries from CPI states (drawn from Sessions II and III) to facilitate a discussion on research agendas and the potential for cooperation among think tanks, universities and governments that adds value, knowledge and new ideas to national policy planning efforts.

2:30–4:00 p.m. Session IV: Global Governance and the Future of Multilateralism

- Chairs: Paul Heinbecker and Fen Hampson
- If the United Nations, particularly the P5 (United States, Russia, China, United Kingdom and France) and post-war governance arrangements, are not sufficiently responsive to the world's security needs, what is a better arrangement? What future does universal/

inclusivist multilateralism have? Can and will the UN effectively tackle issues such as transnational crime, nuclear disarmament, cyber security and Internet governance, and climate change? If not, will the G20? What about coalitions of the willing and capable? Or should we be looking to other new bottom-up collective arrangements?

4:00–4:30 p.m. Coffee and Health Break

4:30–5:00 p.m. Session V: Conclusions and Adjourn

- This session will conclude the day with final thoughts on global governance and the future of multilateralism.

The Quebec Room

7:00 p.m. Dinner/Social Evening

TUESDAY, MAY 14, 2013

Internet Governance, Cyber Security and Digital Diplomacy

The British Columbia Room

8:00–9:00 a.m. Breakfast

9:00–10:30 a.m. Session VI: Internet Governance

- Chairs: Gordon Smith, Mark Raymond and Laura DeNardis

- This session will explore the relative merits of multi-stakeholder, bottom-up approaches to Internet governance, as well as more state-centric, top-down arrangements. Each mode of governance has its own tradeoffs among economic and personal freedoms, security and accessibility. To what extent do the CPI countries have common interests on this issue? Where do they differ? Is there potential for the CPI to work on achieving a win-win governance arrangement that meets the core needs of all CPI members?

10:30–11:00 a.m. Coffee and Health Break

11:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m. Session VII: Cyber Security

- Chair: Gordon Smith

- Whether state-based or criminal in origin, cyber attacks have become a central feature of international politics. What are some policies that might be used to mitigate the use or effects of cyber attacks, by states and non-state actors? Do state-based and non-state-based attacks require different policy responses? To what extent is there potential for CPI states, think tanks and universities to collaborate on crafting cyber security policies?

12:30–2:30 p.m. Working Lunch — Session VIII: Networked Societies, Foreign Policy and Digital Diplomacy

- Chair: Rafet Akgünay

- Opinions differ about how much Twitter, instant messaging, Internet connectivity and social media affected the Arab Spring, and how effective "digital diplomacy" is at distributing messages. How are diplomats and foreign ministries adapting to these

technologies? How is "open" policy making feeding the policy development process in the CPI countries, and what is the scope for cooperation with think tanks and universities?

2:30–3:00 p.m. Next Steps for the CPI and Adjourn

- Chairs: Fen Hampson, Ji-In Hong and Dong Hwi-Lee

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Ms. Aeuckens is an executive officer in the Political and Strategic Issues Section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's (DFAT's) Policy Planning Branch. Previously, she worked in the Southeast Asia Division and was posted to the Australian Embassy in Seoul, South Korea (2006–2010). In September, she will take up an exchange officer position in Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT).

Rafet Akgünay, Ambassador (retired), Instructor, Middle East Technical University, North Cyprus Campus

Dr. Akgünay is a retired ambassador from the Turkish Foreign Ministry, having served in Nicosia, Tel Aviv and Athens. After retiring in August 2012, he joined the Middle East Technical University North Cyprus Campus as an instructor. In 2000, he was appointed to Beijing as the Turkish Ambassador where he stayed for four years, and his last posting as ambassador was in Ottawa (2004–2008). During his career, he served in the Ministry in Ankara in different capacities at Cyprus-Greece and International Security Affairs Departments. Among other responsibilities, he served as chief of cabinet to the president (1998–2000), senior foreign policy adviser to the prime minister (2004-2005) and deputy undersecretary in charge of multilateral affairs (2006–2008). He holds a B.Sc. and Ph.D. from the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, and an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, MA, United States.

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Ambassador Babalı joined the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1995. A career diplomat, he was assigned to Turkish missions in Bulgaria, the United States (Houston, 1999–2003; Washington, DC, 2007–2010) and the United Kingdom. He served at the Department of Bilateral and Multilateral Economic Relations, and as deputy chief of cabinet to the Turkish President from 2003–2006 (Ankara). He was the director of the Department of Human Resources before his arrival in Canada, responsible for personnel issues and opening up new diplomatic missions. Fluent in English, Bulgarian and Russian, Ambassador Babalı, holds an M.A. from the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, and a Ph.D. from the University of Houston in Political Science. He was a fellow at Harvard University's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs in 2009-2010. He is the author of numerous academic articles, mainly on energy geopolitics in Eurasia, and a book, *Caspian Energy Diplomacy: Since the End of the Cold War.*

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Olaf Boehnke is the head of Berlin office of the European Council on Foreign Relations, the first pan-European think tank focussing on the development of a coherent and effective European values-based foreign policy. Previously, he was a senior foreign and European policy adviser in the German Bundestag, and also worked as senior program officer at the Aspen Institute Germany. As director of Aspen's Middle East Department, he chaired three conference programs on civil society issues in Iran, Syria and Lebanon, with a special focus on digital media and Internet activists in Iran and the Middle East. Mr. Boehnke is also a visiting lecturer at the Otto-Suhr-Institut for Political Sciences at Free University, Berlin, where he received his M.A., studying international relations, political science and economics.

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Alan Bowman joined Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) in 1996 and has had postings to Canada's Embassy to Thailand (1997–2000) and Canada's Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York (2006–2010). He has also worked in DFAIT's International Economic Policy Bureau as well as in its Asia-Pacific branch, in addition to a secondment to Canada's Privy Council Office. In 2004 and 2005, he served as chairman of APEC's Trade and Investment Committee. He is a graduate of McGill University, l'Université de Montréal and l'Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris.

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Ms. Buchanan is a career diplomat based in Wellington, New Zealand. She currently leads the policy team responsible for New Zealand's contributions to Afghanistan, peacekeeping and peace-support deployments, migrant smuggling, cyber and disarmament, arms control and counter-proliferation. She is also designated coordinator for counterterrorism. Her areas of policy expertise are national security and environmental policy. She is also deeply interested in matters relating to global governance and our key

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Mr. Canseco is the former chief of staff at the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2008–2013). He has been posted at Mexico's embassies to the United Kingdom and France. He has also worked in the Mexican Ministry of Finance and the president's office. He holds a degree in philosophy, politics and economics from Oxford University, where he did graduate work toward a Ph.D. in politics.

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Dr. Cilliers is the executive director of the Institute for Security Studies. At present, most of his interests relate to Africa's long-term future. He serves on the editorial boards of the *African Security Review* and the *South African Journal of International Affairs.* He is an extraordinary professor in the Centre of Human Rights and the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria. He also serves on the international advisory board of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) in Switzerland and as a member of the board of advisers of the Center on International Conflict Resolution, Columbia University, New York.

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Dan Costello taught for several years at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst and l'Université François-Rabelais in Tours, France, before returning to Canada to serve as policy adviser and executive assistant to the director of policy and research, office of the prime minister (1996–1999); executive assistant to the minister of citizenship and immigration (1999–2002); and chief of staff to the minister of foreign affairs (2002–2004). He then returned to teach at the University of Ottawa, prior to joining Foreign Affairs Canada in 2005. As a member of the Department, he has served as director general for intergovernmental relations and domestic outreach (2005–2006), director general for the European Union and Western Europe (2006–2008), and ambassador to the Republic of Poland with concurrent responsibility for Belarus (2009–2012). He returned from Poland to assume the position of director general for strategic policy in September 2012. He has a B.A. (honours) in political science, McGill University, and an M.A. and a Ph.D. in philosophy, University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

Laura DeNardis, Associate Professor, American University; Senior Fellow, The Centre for International Governance Innovation

Ms. DeNardis is an author and scholar of Internet architecture and governance and associate professor in the School of Communication at American University in Washington, DC. She is an affiliated fellow of the Yale Information Society Project at Yale Law School and served as its executive director from 2008 to 2011. She is a co-founder and co-series editor of the MIT Press Information Society book series and currently serves as the vice-chair of the Global Internet Governance Academic Network. She has previously taught at New York University, in the Volgenau School of Engineering at George Mason University, and at Yale Law School.

David Dewitt, Vice President of Programs, The Centre for International Governance Innovation

David Dewitt joined The Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) as vice president of programs in July 2011, and oversees the strategy and implementation of all the organization's work programs and research-related activities. Previously, he was associate vice president of research, social sciences and humanities, professor of political science and university professor at York University in Toronto. David earned a B.A. at the University of British Columbia and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Stanford University, and served as director of York University's Centre for International and Security Studies from 1988 to 2006. He is author or contributing editor of numerous books, refereed articles and chapters, in addition to commissioned papers on Canadian foreign, security and defence policy, international and regional security and conflict management in Asia-Pacific and the Middle East, arms control and proliferation, and human security. In the early 1990s, he co-directed the North Pacific Cooperative Security Dialogue, a Foreign Affairs-sponsored track two diplomacy initiative, and has been involved in various track two initiatives on security in the Asia-Pacific and in the Middle East. He has led a number of policy-focussed research NGOs that have dealt with security and governance issues in these two regions.

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Stuart Dymond is manager of the new Strategic Policy Division at the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. During his career, he has specialized in global environmental governance as well as a geographic focus on Southeast Asia. Prior to his current role, he was the deputy project leader of the New Zealand Inc. Secretariat, designing and leading a cross-government

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Olof Ehrenkrona is an ambassador and senior advisor to the Swedish minister for foreign affairs, dealing primarily with issues regarding globalization. He got his first public assignment in 1978, when he became adviser to the minister for economic affairs. In the early 1990s, he was head of policy planning in the prime minister's office and a CEO in a private consulting company (1995–2006). He has been an editorial writer in *Svenska Dagbladet* (1984–1990) and has published a number of books about Swedish political and economic history in the twentieth century.

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Professor Eriksson is head of research at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs and teaches at Södertörn University (Stockholm) and Uppsala University. He has been a visiting research fellow at Columbia University and Leiden University. His research interests are international relations; foreign and security policy, power and globalization; and the politics of expertise and technology (space, cyberspace, nanotechnology and chemicals). He has published seven books and numerous articles, two of the most recent being, "On the Policy Relevance of Grand Theory" (*International Studies Perspectives*, 2013) and "Governance Beyond the Global: Who Controls the Extraterrestrial?"(*Globalizations*, 2013).

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Ufuk Gezer has served as the head of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs' policy planning directorate since 2011. He holds an undergraduate degree from Bogazici University and a graduate degree from Vienna University and the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. He has worked at the Turkish embassies in Kenya and Austria, was vice-consul at the Consulate General in Germany, and was political adviser to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) senior civilian representative in Afghanistan from 2006 to 2007.

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Ambassador Safak Göktürk has been director general for policy planning for Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 2011. Prior to his current post, he served as Turkey's Ambassador to Singapore (2009–2011) and to Egypt (2005–2009). Ambassador Göktürk has also served in Turkey's embassies in Greece, Iran, Nigeria, in the Turkish Consulate General in Germany and as a member of Turkey's permanent mission to the United Nations. He holds a degree from the University of Ankara.

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Fen Osler Hampson is a distinguished fellow and director of the Global Security Program at CIGI. Most recently, he served as director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and will continue to serve as chancellor's professor at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. He holds a Ph.D. from Harvard University where he also received his A.M. degree (both with distinction). He also holds an M.Sc. degree in economics (with distinction) from the London School of Economics and a B.A. (honours) from the University of Toronto. Fen is the author or co-author of nine books and editor or co-editor of more than 25 other volumes. In addition, he has written more than 100 articles and book chapters on international affairs.

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In a lengthy diplomatic career, Paul Heinbecker served as Canadian Ambassador to Germany, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Political Director of the Foreign Affairs Department in Ottawa and chief foreign policy advisor to then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Early postings included Ankara, Stockholm, Paris (OECD) and Washington. Since joining CIGI in 2004 as a distinguished fellow, he has authored, edited and contributed to a number of books and articles on international relations, especially on the United Nations, the G20, the Middle East, global governance and foreign policy. He writes op-eds and blogs for Canadian and foreign periodicals. He has lectured and made presentations to Canadian parliamentary committees, the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Canadian Forces Staff College, and numerous universities and institutions across Canada, and in the US, Europe, Asia and Latin America. He appears frequently on Canadian television and radio. He has honorary doctorates from Wilfrid Laurier and St. Thomas universities.

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Ryo Nakamura is currently director of the policy planning division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. His previous postings include: executive assistant to the deputy chief cabinet secretary, office of the prime minister (2009–2011); counsellor (political), Embassy of Japan in Germany (2006–2009); and postings in other fields such as the G8, United Nations and global affairs. He holds a B.A. from the Faculty of Law, University of Tokyo, and a LL.M. from the German University of Erlangen-Nürnberg.

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John Ravenhill is head of the School of Politics and International Relations, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University (ANU). He co-directs the ANU's MacArthur Foundation Asia Security Initiative project. After obtaining his Ph.D. at the University of California, Berkeley, he taught at the University of Virginia and the University of Sydney before joining ANU in 1990. In 2000, he took up the chair of politics at the University of Edinburgh for four years. He has been a visiting professor at the University of Geneva, the International University of Japan, Nanyang Technological University in Singapore and the University of California, Berkeley. His work has appeared in many leading journals of international relations.

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Margaret Twomey is currently assistant secretary, policy planning in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Canberra. Prior to this, she was Australian Ambassador to Russia from 2008 to 2012. Ms. Twomey was previously Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of East Timor (2004–2008), counsellor and deputy high commissioner in Fiji (2000–2002) and held postings in London and Belgrade. In Canberra, she was assistant secretary for the Northern, Southern and Eastern Europe Branch (2002–2004), was on secondment to the office of national assessments (1992–1994) and worked in the East Europe Branch (1988-1989). Prior to this, she worked as a strategic analyst at the Department of Defence.

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Mr. Wolfram von Heynitz is currently the research commissioner of the German Foreign Office and a member of its policy planning staff. He specializes in issues of global governance, cyber foreign policy and, in the face of emerging challenges, the development of future directions and strategies for the Foreign Office. As research commissioner, he coordinates foresight and research activities within the ministry, between the ministry and the government, and with external research institutions. From 2005 to 2008, he served as the political counsellor in the German Embassy in Tel Aviv, dealing with the Middle East peace process and Israeli interior politics. Previous positions include terms in the ministry's EU enlargement division, the private office of the minister for European affairs and the office of the federal president, as well as a posting as deputy head of mission in Azerbaijan. Before joining the Foreign Service, he lectured in philosophy at Berlin University. Holding degrees in both law and philosophy, he studied at the universities of Marburg and Berlin, as well as in Harvard and at the Sorbonne.

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Jochem Wiers is head of the strategy advisory unit at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously he was head of division at the Climate, Energy, Environment and Water Department, counsellor for European and economic affairs at the Netherlands Embassy in Paris and senior policy adviser at the department of European integration. Mr. Wiers studied Dutch law, international law and Spanish at the University of Amsterdam and was an exchange student in Mexico City. He specialized in European law at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium (LL.M.). He was a Ph.D. researcher at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, and a research fellow and lecturer at the University of Amsterdam. In June 2002, he successfully (cum laude) defended his Ph.D. thesis entitled, "Trade and Environment in the EC and the WTO." He did internships at Norsk Hydro, Norway and the Legal Service of the WTO Secretariat in Geneva. Mr. Wiers has published in a number of international legal journals and contributed to several legal textbooks, and was associate editor of *Legal Issues of Economic Integration.* He has participated as a speaker in several international conferences and workshops on European law, World Trade Organization law and environmental law (especially climate), and has taught at both graduate and undergraduate levels in Amsterdam, Maastricht, Brussels and Nizhny Novgorod, Russia.

ABOUT CIGI

The Centre for International Governance Innovation is an independent, non-partisan think tank on international governance. Led by experienced practitioners and distinguished academics, CIGI supports research, forms networks, advances policy debate and generates ideas for multilateral governance improvements. Conducting an active agenda of research, events and publications, CIGI's interdisciplinary work includes collaboration with policy, business and academic communities around the world.

CIGI's current research programs focus on four themes: the global economy; global security; the environment and energy; and global development.

CIGI was founded in 2001 by Jim Balsillie, then co-CEO of Research In Motion (BlackBerry), and collaborates with and gratefully acknowledges support from a number of strategic partners, in particular the Government of Canada and the Government of Ontario.

Le CIGI a été fondé en 2001 par Jim Balsillie, qui était alors co-chef de la direction de Research In Motion (BlackBerry). Il collabore avec de nombreux partenaires stratégiques et exprime sa reconnaissance du soutien reçu de ceux-ci, notamment de l'appui reçu du gouvernement du Canada et de celui du gouvernement de l'Ontario.

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