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IAAF The American Austrian Foundation

Annenberg
SCHOOL FOR COMMUNICATION
UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

Milton Wolf Seminar 2014
The Third Man Theme Revisited:
Foreign Policies of the Internet in a Time of Surveillance and Disclosure
Vienna, Austria
March 30 – April 1, 2014

SEMINAR OVERVIEW

Launched in 2001, the Milton Wolf Seminar Series aims to deal with developing issues in diplomacy and journalism – both broadly defined. The 2014 seminar is jointly organized by the Center for Global Communication Studies (CGCS) at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication, The American Austrian Foundation (AAF), and the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna (DA). Guests include those who work for state and multi-lateral organizations, journalists, media development practitioners, academics, and a select group of highly engaged graduate students interested in the seminar themes.

The organizers envision the Milton Wolf Seminar as a meeting place for media practitioners, diplomats, academics, and students to share their perspectives, formulate new ideas, and identify areas where further research is needed. While the seminar will incorporate various speakers and panels, it is designed as a two-day continuing conversation in which all participants are encouraged to openly engage in dialogue and explore potential synergies and future collaborations. In order to encourage an open exchange of ideas, seminar attendance is limited only to invited participants and students. More information about previous Milton Wolf Seminars is available on our website and our Facebook page.

THEMATIC OVERVIEW

Filmed on location in 1948 in the post-World War II rubble of Vienna, *The Third Man* highlighted the classic Cold War themes of espionage, surveillance and visibility. Vienna will also provide the setting for the 2014 Milton Wolf Seminar, which will examine the resurgence of these themes in contemporary international relations and journalism.

The ongoing series of leaks by Edward Snowden provides a stark reminder that new communication technologies also pose new opportunities for surveillance and state power articulation. Conversely, these same technologies also afford old and new media organizations with unprecedented capacities for counter-surveillance and disclosure on a global scale. As states from around the world formulated responses to the American spying program, journalists conveyed these actions to their readers. International condemnation of the US spying program was sharp and swift ranging from calls for UN resolutions on privacy to reform of internet governance institutions. Much to the chagrin of many state actors, press revelations regarding similar surveillance programs by states around the world were equally sharp and swift.

EUROPE
INTEGRATION
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FEDERAL MINISTRY
REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA

U.S. Embassy Vienna

The NSA surveillance regime, while perhaps the most visible, is but one of many examples of state surveillance programs revealed during 2013.[1] More recent leaks have outlined similar domestic and cross boarder surveillance activities by countries such as France, Germany, Sweden, the UK, and Spain. *Folha de São Paulo* in *The Guardian*, *Australia* published investigations outlining systematic diplomatic espionage activities conducted by Brazil and Australia, two of the most strident critics of the NSA activities.

Embedded in each of these examples is a series of ongoing tensions: between privacy and surveillance; between disclosure and secrecy; and between information sovereignty and global information flows. Rather than looking backward at these events, the 2014 Milton Wolf Seminar will look forward, exploring a range of potential diplomatic and regulatory solutions to evolving issues of surveillance and disclosure, or what we call foreign policies of the Internet. Discussions will focus on how non-Western and Western countries are developing their own Internet foreign policy strategies, the role of media and diplomatic actors in translating those strategies, and the implications of these activities for the evolving global Internet. Panels will explore the role of diplomats, international organizations, the private sector, civil society and the press in influencing internet governance.

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[1] On November 2, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff called for a draft resolution on privacy in the digital age on the floor of the United Nations. Just days later, *Folha de São Paulo* published an expose documenting the depth and breadth of the Brazilian diplomatic espionage program.

AGENDA

DAY ONE: MARCH 30, 2014

6:00 – 8:00 PM Welcome Reception (Hotel Johann Strauss)

DAY TWO: MARCH 31, 2014

9:00 – 9:15AM Registration (Foyer of the Diplomatic Academy)

9:15 – 10:00 AM Introduction (Festsaal, Diplomatic Academy)

In this opening session, the host institutions will introduce the Milton Wolf Seminar themes and the participants. Coffee and tea will be provided.

- **Katharine Eltz-Aulitzky**, Executive Director, *The American Austrian Foundation*

- **Monroe Price**, Director, Center for Global Communications Studies, *Annenberg School for Communication University of Pennsylvania*

- **Werner Neudeck**, Professor of International Economics & Dean, Master of Advanced International Studies (MAIS) Program, *Diplomatic Academy Vienna*

10:00 AM – 12:00 PM Session 1: Surveillance and Disclosure: Cold War Legacies and Future Directions (Festsaal)

The series of revelations regarding surveillance activities taking place around the world has crystalized attention on the importance of information sovereignty for international relations. New technologies have transformed global communication flows and offered the promise of a global village, while simultaneously reviving and intensifying many of the major themes of the Cold War: surveillance, and disclosure and information sovereignty and global information flows. This panel will set the stage for the two days of discussion at the Milton Wolf Seminar. Panelists will discuss the past, present and future, identifying historical precedents and lessons from previous information regimes, outlining the stakes involved regarding the current debates about privacy and surveillance, and pointing toward future directions. Given the realities of current information structures, international relations, and global information flows, what are the possible pathways ahead?

Panelists:

- **Raphael F. Perl (Moderator and Panelist),** Executive Director, *Partnership for Peace Consortium, George C. Marshall Center*
- **Marianne Franklin,** Professor of Global Media & Politics, *Goldsmiths, UK*
- **Philip N. Howard,** Professor of Communication, Information and International Studies, *University of Washington*; and Professor, *School of Public Policy, Central European University*
- **David Vincent**, Professor of Social History, *The Open University, UK*

12:00 – 1:00 PM Welcome Lunch

1:00 – 3:00 PM Session 2: Locating Internet Governance in the Diplomatic Machinery (Festsaal)

Broader awareness of state surveillance and cross-border espionage using new technology has heightened diplomatic, public, and media attention to the current and future role of internet governance. This panel will explore how various corporate, multilateral and state actors are attempting to assert control over internet governance issues and discuss the current challenges and future directions for internet governance in light of recent events.

Panelists:

- **Shawn Powers (Moderator and Panelist),** Assistant Professor, *Georgia State University*
- **Richard Hill**, Partner, *Hill & Associates*
- **Ko Fujii,** Consulting Fellow, *PHP Institute*
- **Reinhard Posch,** Chief Information Officer, *The Federal Republic of Austria*

3:00 – 3:15 PM *Tea Break*

3:15 – 5:15 PM Session 3: Information Regimes and the Future of the Media (Festsaal)

Internet governance, surveillance regimes, and state responses have multiple implications for the media, both old and new. First, state investments in surveillance, espionage, circumvention technologies, and the like impact press freedom and autonomy. Second, journalists have played a critical role in covering revelations about surveillance activities, transmitting state and multilateral responses to the public. Finally, the governance and construction of new technological systems are often opaque and hard to translate to the public. Press coverage is thus critical to any process of reform or change. Panelists will discuss the role of old and new media actors and advocacy organizations in each of these areas, outlining current challenges and future directions.

Panelists:

- **Steven M. Ellis (Moderator and Panelist),** Senior Press Freedom Adviser, Europe and North America, *International Press Institute (IPI)*
- **Andrei Richter**, Director, *Office of the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media*
- **Emily Parker**, Digital Diplomacy Advisor, Senior Fellow*, the New America Foundation*
- **Sejal Parmar,** Assistant Professor, Department of Legal Studies, *Center for Media and Communication Studies, Central European University*

6:15 PM BUS DEPARTS FROM THE DA TO THE HEURIGEN

7:00 -10:00PM Heurigen *Fuhrgassl Huber*

The word *Heurigen* means both new wines (*heuer* meaning "this year"), and the establishment in which it is served. *Heurigen* have become a synonym for what is best in Vienna – hospitality, gemütlichkeit and joie de vivre mingled with a little melancholy, good solid food and refreshing dry wine.

DAY THREE: APRIL 1, 2014

9:00 – 10:45 AM Session 4: Foreign Policies of the Internet: Key Actors and Debates (Festsaal)

Featuring academics focusing on national case studies, this panel will provide a critical perspective on how key global powers are deploying foreign policies related to the internet. Panelists will focus specifically on how major powers like China, Russia, and the United States are seeking to influence and shape internet governance at home and abroad, and the implications of those activities for the global internet.

Panelists:

- **Daniel McCarthy (Moderator and Panelist),** Fellow in Global Politics, Department of Government, *London School of Economics*
- **Madeline Carr**, Lecturer in International Politics and the Cyber Dimension, *Aberystwyth University*; co-Editor, *Circuit*
- **Gregory Asmolov,** Doctoral Candidate, Media & Communications, *London School of Economics,* Contributor, *Global Voices*; Co-Founder, *Help Map*
- **Sarah Logan**, Doctoral Candidate, School of International, Political & Strategic Studies, *Australia National University*; co-Editor, *Circuit*

10:45 – 11:00 AM *Tea Break*

11:00 AM – 12:30 PM Session 5: Contested Internets: Censorship and Surveillance as Fault Lines (Festsaal)

Historically, discussions about internet governance have typically centered on the operations of institutions such as The Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), and the Internet Governance Forum (IGF). While multi-stakeholderism and technical governance questions remain critical, this panel focuses on key emerging points of contention surrounding global internet governance. In this session, panelists will provide their perspectives on issues such as speech, surveillance, and censorship, and the present realities and future potential of multi-stakeholder internet governance.

Panelists

- **Ben Wagner (Moderator and Panelist),** Internet Policy Observatory Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Center for Global Communication Studies, *Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania*

- **Andrea Calderaro,** Researcher, Centre for Media Freedom and Media Pluralism, *European University Institute*

- **Allison Gillwald**, Executive Director, *ICT Africa*

- **Elena Zinovieva,** Associate Professor, *MGIMO University*

12:30 – 1:30 PM *Lunch*

1:30 – 3:15 Session 6: Strategies for Governing Communications: Between the Global and the Local (Festsaal)

How are local and global concepts used to govern communications? This session will examine how key players in international debates surrounding information sovereignty and internet governance such as India, Germany, and Brazil are employing concepts of a local rather than a global Internet, allowing them to diverge from global norms and, in some cases, even reshaping global Internet governance. It will examine the implications of these efforts for multi-stakeholderism and the future of foreign policies of the internet.

Panelists:

- **Monroe Price (Moderator)**
- **Nishant Shah**, Co-Founder and Director of Research, *Centre for Internet and Society*
- **Wolfgang Schulz,** Professor, *Hans-Bredow Institut*
- **Sérgio Branco,** Director, *The Institute for Technology & Society*

3:15 – 3:30 PM *Tea Break*

3:30 – 4:00 Wrap Up Discussion (Festsaal)

We invite all interested panelists and participants to join us for a final round of discussion.

4:00 – 4:45 Emerging Scholar Discussion Session (Festsaal)

During this afternoon meeting we will continue the discussion focused on how this relates to the work of the Emerging Scholars. Emerging scholars will be invited to describe how the issues discussed relate to their own projects and activities.

Panelists:

- **Amelia Arsenault (Moderator)**
- **Colin Agur**, PhD Candidate, Columbia University
- **Anthony Cho**, MA Candidate, Fletcher School, Tufts University
- **Rosemary Clark**, PhD Candidate, Annenberg School for Communication, UPenn
- **Lee McGuigan**, PhD Candidate, Annenberg School for Communication, UPenn

- **Robert Ralston**, MA Candidate, Virginia Tech
- **Ryan Spagnolo**, MA Candidate, Fletcher School, Tufts University
- **Diego Vicentin**, PhD Candidate University of Campinas, Brazil, Graduate Fellow, Center for Information Technology Policy at Princeton University
- **Willow Williamson**, PhD Candidate, American University

6:15 BUS DEPARTS FROM THE DA TO THE RECEPTION

7:00 Cocktail Reception at the residence of the US Ambassador to Austria, Alexa Wesner