Contribution to the October 2016 Open Consultation of the ITU CWG-Internet

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Abstract

It is not disputed that it is important to build an enabling environment for access to the Internet and that states have obligations to facilitate, or at least not to impede, access to the Internet. A number of ITU instruments, resolutions and recommendations relate to building an enabling environment for access to the Internet. This contribution outlines those instruments, resolutions, and recommendations, proposes amendments to certain instruments, proposes changes to current Internet governance arrangements, and highlights relevant provisions of the 2012 International Telecommunication Regulations (ITRs).

A significant number of states did not sign the ITRs in Dubai in 2012. Almost all of those states indicated that they required additional time in order to consider the implications of certain provisions, in particular those that were approved at the last minute.

Accession to the ITRs will help to build an enabling environment for access to the Internet, and accession by non-signatories would appear feasible because legal analysis of the provisions that required further consideration indicates that they do not actually have the effects that had raised concerns during the conference in Dubai. For greater clarity, we propose a declaration that can be made by states that accede to the ITRs.

1. Background and Introduction

On 18 February 2016 the Council Working Group decided that Open Consultations would be convened on the following topic:

Building an enabling environment for access to the Internet

- 1. What are the elements of an enabling environment to promote Internet connectivity?
- 2. What are the elements of an enabling environment to promote an affordable Internet?
- 3. What are the elements of an enabling environment to promote the quality of access to the Internet?
- 4. What are the elements of an enabling environment to build confidence and security in the use of the Internet?
- 5. What is the role of Governments in building an enabling environment?

This contribution focuses on the role of governments in building an enabling environment for access to the Internet. It outlines relevant provisions of ITU instruments, resolutions and recommendations; proposes amendments to certain instruments; and argues that accession to the 2012 International Telecommunication Regulations (ITRs) will help to build the desired enabling environment.

The contribution is based on the observation² that the Internet is reorganising public institutions, including those related to governance, welfare, health, and education, as well as key sectors such as media, communications, transport and finance. It has transformed the way we do many things; however

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² This paragraph is taken from the Delhi Declaration, see http://justnetcoalition.org/delhi-declaration

the benefits promised for all have not been adequately realized. On the contrary - we have seen mass surveillance, abusive use of personal data and their use as a means of social and political control; the monopolization, commodification and monetisation of information and knowledge; inequitable flows of finances between poor and rich countries; and erosion of cultural diversity. Many technical, and thus purportedly 'neutral', decisions have in reality led to social injustice as technology architectures, often developed to promote vested interests, increasingly determine social, economic, cultural and political relationships and processes.

1. What are the elements of an enabling environment to promote Internet connectivity?

- 1.1 According to paragraphs 28 ff. of the outcome³ of the WSIS+10 review, the elements of an enabling environment include:
 - a) free flow of information and knowledge
 - b) open access to data
 - c) the fostering of competition
 - d) the creation of transparent, predictable, independent and non-discriminatory regulatory and legal systems
 - e) proportionate taxation and licensing fees
 - f) access to finance, facilitation of public-private partnerships
 - g) multi-stakeholder cooperation
 - h) national and regional broadband strategies
 - i) efficient allocation of the radio frequency spectrum
 - i) Infrastructure sharing models
 - k) community-based approaches
 - I) public access facilities
- 1.2 Furthermore, "all efforts should be deployed to reduce the price of information and communications technologies and broadband access, bearing in mind that deliberate interventions, including through research and development and technology transfer on mutually agreed terms, may be necessary to spur lower-cost connectivity options".
- 1.3 It is worth comparing the above to the top three priority issues⁴ identified in 2005 by the Working Group on Internet Governance (WGIG):
 - 1. Unilateral control by the one government of administration of the root zone file and systems.
 - 2. Uneven distribution of Internet interconnection costs.
 - 3. Internet stability, security and cybercrime, including lack of multilateral mechanisms to ensure the network stability and security of Internet infrastructure services and applications; and including lack of a unified, coordinated approach to combating spam.

³ UN Resolution A/RES/70/125, at http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/125

⁴ See paragraphs 15-18 of http://www.wgig.org/docs/WGIGREPORT.pdf

- 1.4 As outlined in more detail below, none of those issues have been resolved. That is, the current governance mechanisms have failed to create an enabling environment that was able to resolve the three priority issues identified by WGIG.
- 1.5 Furthermore, the enabling environment must counter the threats to the development of the information society that are posed by government censorship and mass surveillance, but also the failure of governments to control rampant industry concentration and commercial exploitation of personal data, which increasingly takes the form of providing "free" services in exchange for personal information that is resold at a profit, or used to provide targeted advertising, also at a profit.
- 1.6 These challenges are exacerbated by the present ICT governance arrangements that suffer from a lack of democracy; an absence of legitimacy, accountability and transparency; excessive corporate influence and regulatory capture; and too few opportunities for effective participation by people, especially those from developing countries and disadvantaged populations in developed countries.
- 1.7 Thus, changes to Internet governance are required in order to achieve an enabling environment that will resolve the WGIG priority issues and also address the elements listed above.
- 1.8 It is urgent to reform cyberspace governance so that it is fully and pervasively underpinned by values of democracy, human rights and social justice; so that it will stand for participatory policy-making and promote people's control of social technologies; and so that it will result in truly decentralised architectures based on people's full rights to and control over data, information, knowledge and other 'commons' that ICTs must enable the world community to generate and share.
- 1.9 We will propose specific changes to the current Internet governance structures in the subsequent sections of this paper. But we refer here to the general framework proposed by a broad coalition of civil society organizations, the Just Net Coalition, in their Delhi Declaration:

http://justnetcoalition.org/delhi-declaration

1.10 And we note here that at least one government has recently made proposals that are consistent with the above. Those proposals are discussed in more detail in section 5 below.

Free flow of information

1.11 It is not disputed that the free flow of information is an essential element of an enabling environment to promote Internet connectivity. Thus we reiterate the proposal contained in our previous submission⁵ to this group, to modify paragraph 2 of Article 34 of the ITU Constitution as follows:

2 Member States also reserve the right to cut off, in accordance with their national law, any other private telecommunication which <u>ismay appear</u> dangerous to the security of the State or contrary to its laws, to public order or to decency. However, any such cut off shall take place only if it is held to be necessary and proportionate by an independent and impartial judge.

Free flow of knowledge and intellectual property rights

1.12 It is also not disputed that the free flow of knowledge is an an essential element of an enabling environment to promote Internet connectivity. Access to much of the information society is limited by excessively stringent intellectual property laws, in particular copyright. Indeed, the current copyright

⁵ See 7.1 of http://www.itu.int/en/Lists/CWGContributionmar2014/Attachments/25//CWG-March.pdf

regime might run counter to human rights⁶. Thus we reiterate our proposal contained in our previous submission⁷ to this group for significant copyright reform as proposed by the Pirate Party, see:

http://www.copyrightreform.eu/sites/copyrightreform.eu/files/The Case for Copyright Reform.pdf

1.13 The price of mobile telephones and other end-user equipment is significantly affected by patents. While we support the concept of patents, we are of the view that the current patent system is dysfunctional, in particular because of the activities of "patent trolls". It is our view that significant reform of the current patent system would contribute to affordable access to the Internet, and thus be a component of an enabling environment to promote Internet connectivity.

2. What are the elements of an enabling environment to promote an affordable Internet?

2.1 According to the 2015 report⁹ of The Alliance for an Affordable Internet¹⁰:

"Bold steps are needed to accelerate connectivity among women, the poor, and other marginalised populations. Overcoming the challenges to access posed by income and gender inequalities will require policies designed with these populations in mind. Market forces cannot connect everyone — free or subsidised public access in tandem with digital education will be critical to enabling connectivity for populations left behind." (Emphasis added)

- 2.2 Many steps, albeit not bold steps, are described in Supplement 2 of Recommendation ITU-T D.50¹¹. A somewhat bolder step is proposed in Recommendation ITU-T D.156¹². WTSA-12 Opinion 1¹³ invites Member States "to take all measures necessary for the effective implementation of Recommendation ITU-T D.156."
- 2.3 In our view, the elements of an enabling environment to promote affordable Internet access include implementation of D.156 and of the measures described in Supplement 2 of D.50.
- 2.4 Functional separation is also an important element, see section 8 of our previous submission to this group, available at:

http://www.itu.int/en/Lists/CWGContributionmar2014/Attachments/25//CWG-March.pdf

2.5 Furthermore, we are of the view that the fostering of competition is an important element of an enabling environment to promote and affordable Internet, and that visibility and transparency of prices, in particular wholesales prices promotes competition. We would thus support proposals, such as those

http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session28/Documents/A HRC 28 57 ENG.doc

⁶ See Human Rights Council, Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, A/HRC/28/57 of December 2014, at

⁷ See 7.3 of http://www.itu.int/en/Lists/CWGContributionmar2014/Attachments/25//CWG-March.pdf

⁸ See for example https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patent_troll

⁹ http://a4ai.org/affordability-report/

¹⁰ See the press release at http://le8q3q16vyc81g8l3h3md6q5f5e.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wpcontent/uploads/2016/02/2015-16AffordabilityReport PressRelease.pdf

¹¹ https://www.itu.int/rec/T-REC-D.50/e

¹² https://www.itu.int/rec/T-REC-D.156/e

¹³ http://www.itu.int/pub/T-RES-T.1000-2012

made in the preparatory process of the 2012 World Conference on International Telecommunications (WCIT) to encourage greater transparency in the pricing of international Internet interconnections.

3. What are the elements of an enabling environment to promote the quality of access to the Internet?

Network neutrality

- 3.1 It is generally recognized, at least within civil society, that violations of network neutrality degrade access to the Internet. While certain forms of traffic management are legitimate means to improve quality of access, other forms are not. This is well explained in the recent rulings on network neutrality in the USA¹⁴ and in India¹⁵.
- 3.2 Consequently, enactment of appropriate network neutrality regulations is a key element of an enabling environment to promote the quality of access to the Internet.

Combating spam

- 3.3 Spam continues to constitute a significant proportion of E-Mail traffic and, in countries where there is limited bandwidth, it can result in a degradation of quality of access.
- 3.4 Consequently, effective measures to prevent spam are also element of an enabling environment to promote the quality of access to the Internet. In this context, it must be recalled that the 2012 International Telecommunication Regulations (ITRs) contain a provision regarding spam, so all states that wish to implement an enabling environment to promote the quality of access to the Internet should accede to the 2012 ITRs, see section 6 below. For memory, article 7 of the 2012 ITRs reads:

Member States should endeavour to take necessary measures to prevent the propagation of unsolicited bulk electronic communications and minimize its impact on international telecommunication services.

Member States are encouraged to cooperate in that sense.

3.5 WTSA Resolution 52¹⁶ is also relevant, since it invites Member States "to take appropriate steps to ensure that appropriate and effective measures are taken within their national and legal frameworks to combat spam and its propagation". Further, Member States should encourage implementation of best practices to combat spam such as those outlined in Recommendations ITU-T X.1231, X.1240, X.1241, X.1242, X.1243, X.1244, X.1245.

Blocking of advertising

3.6 A more difficult question is how to deal with Internet advertising, which some have referred to as the Internet's original sin¹⁷. Some Internet Service Providers (ISPs) have started to propose services that block ads, so as to reduce the consumption of bandwidth. To the extent that such blocking is imposed on users by ISPs, and/or can be circumvented if advertisers pay fees to the ISP, it would appear to violate network neutrality. But what about blocking that is controlled entirely by the end-user and that does not result in additional revenue for the ISP?

¹⁴ https://www.fcc.gov/general/open-internet

¹⁵ http://www.trai.gov.in/WriteReadData/WhatsNew/Documents/Regulation Data Service.pdf . The shorter press release version is at http://trai.gov.in/WriteReadData/PressRealease/Document/Press Release No 13%20.pdf

¹⁶ http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-T/wtsa12/Documents/resolutions/Resolution%2052.pdf

¹⁷ http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2014/08/advertising-is-the-internets-original-sin/376041/

3.7 We are of the view that ad blocking is an emerging issue that needs discussion in the context of creating an enabling environment to promote the quality of access to the Internet.

4. What are the elements of an enabling environment to build confidence and security in the use of the Internet?

Necessity and proportionality requirements for surveillance

4.1 Civil society has consistently stated that implementation of the principles of necessity and proportionality in government surveillance programs is an essential element of an enabling environment to build confidence and security in the use of the Internet. Those principles are enunciated at:

https://necessaryandproportionate.org/

- 4.2 The principles of necessity and proportionality have been endorsed by the Inter-Parliamentary Union¹⁸ and by the Council of Europe¹⁹.
- 4.3 We call again, as we did in our previous submission²⁰ to this group, on all states to endorse those principles which are essential elements of an enabling environment to build confidence and security in the use of the Internet and to enshrine them in the ITU Constitution. Article 37 of the ITU Constitution covers the secrecy of telecommunications. The current provisions appear to be too weak and should be strengthened. Thus, governments should agree to amend paragraph 2 of Article 37 as follows:
 - 2 Nevertheless, they reserve the right to communicate such correspondence to the competent authorities in order to ensure the application of their national laws or the execution of international conventions to which they are parties. However, any such communication shall take place only if it is held to be necessary and proportionate by an independent and impartial judge.
- 4.4 Further, states must agree to respect the privacy expectations of citizens of other states, even if a citizen's data flows through a state with lower privacy protection. That is, the data for a citizen of state X must be protected in accordance with the laws of state X, even if it flows through state Y which has a lower level of privacy protection. This could be achieved by adding a new paragraph to Article 37 of the ITU Constitutions as follows:
 - <u>3 Member States shall respect the secrecy of telecommunications in accordance with both their</u> own laws and the laws of the state of the originator of such correspondence.

Strong encryption

4.5 More recently, civil society has called on governments to stop attempting to compromise encryption, see:

https://www.securetheinternet.org/

4.6 We call on all states to stop attempts to weaken or to compromise encryption, since strong encryption is an essential element of an enabling environment to build confidence and security in the use of the Internet.

¹⁸ http://www.ipu.org/conf-e/133/Res-1.htm

¹⁹ See art. 4.1 of https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.isp?Ref=CM/Rec(2016)1

²⁰ See 11 of http://www.itu.int/en/Lists/CWGContributionmar2014/Attachments/25//CWG-March.pdf

Cooperation to improve security

4.7 Further, we call on all states to cooperate to improve security, and we note in this context that Article 6 of the 2012 ITRs states:

Member States shall individually and collectively endeavour to ensure the security and robustness of international telecommunication networks in order to achieve effective use thereof and avoidance of technical harm thereto, as well as the harmonious development of international telecommunication services offered to the public.

5. What is the role of Governments in building an enabling environment?

5.1 As outlined above, governments have an important role to play in building an enabling environment. They must enact appropriate national laws, but also cooperate at the international level. International cooperation can take a number of forms, including agreeing treaties. In this context, it is worth referencing a recent call by a European government agency proposing a charter of fundamental digital rights, see:

http://www.bmjv.de/SharedDocs/Interviews/DE/2015/Namensartikel/12092015 DieZeit EN.html

- 5.2 The proposed charter includes the following elements (as noted above, these elements are consistent with those called for by civil society):
 - 1. Every individual has the right to access the internet.
 - 2. Each individual has the right to control his or her own personal data.
 - 3. Each individual has the right to control his or her own digital identity. Everyone has the right to be forgotten.
 - 4. No one should become the object of an algorithm.
 - 5. Every individual shall have the right freely to express and disseminate his or her opinions on the internet and to inform himself or herself without hindrance from generally available sources. There shall be no censorship.
 - 6. The right to express opinions on the internet does not release anyone from the obligation to respect generally applicable laws and the personal rights of one's fellow human beings.
 - 7. Every individual has the right to receive reasonable remuneration for his or her work when providing or brokering services via the internet.
 - 8. All creators of copyrightable work as well as performing artists have the right to a fair share in the proceeds earned from the digital exploitation of their work.
 - 9. It is the duty of the State to ensure internet neutrality.
 - 10. No one is entitled to abuse commercial market power. The State shall act to prevent monopolies and cartels, while also fostering diversity and competition.
 - 11. Every individual has a right to data security.
 - 12. The various nation states shall strive to reach agreement on an international law of the internet, in order to secure internet freedom all over the world.
 - 13. Every individual has the right to an analogue world. No one is to be unfairly disadvantaged simply for opting not to use digital services.

5.3 A related matter is the call to recognize that at least some elements of the Internet are, or should be, a global public good, see:

http://www.wrr.nl/fileadmin/en/publicaties/PDF-Rapporten/The public core of the internet Web.pdf

Preventing fragmentation

5.4 Recognition of the public nature of some aspects of the Internet would help to prevent possible fragmentation²¹. In particular²²:

"... if ever leading governments or intergovernmental organizations were to implement an alternate [domain name system] root – a possibility that was sometimes raised in the highly charged geopolitical context of the WSIS negotiations – the results could be a game changer. Indeed, the establishment of an alternate root that has significant government backing arguably would be the mother of all fragmentations."

5.5 In this light, it is generally accepted that the management and administration of Internet domain names and addresses cannot continue to be subject to the unilateral supervision of the US government. We recognize that a process is taking place to restructure the links between ICANN's IANA function and the US government, but the proposals to date specify that the entity performing the IANA function will remain in the USA, and thus be subject to US law and the jurisdiction of US courts. Such an arrangement cannot be considered to be satisfactory. Nor can it be considered satisfactory that the process calling for the proposals in question was unilaterally specified by the US government, that the US government unilaterally imposed preconditions, and that the decision on whether or not to implement a specific proposal will be made unilaterally by the US government.

5.6 More fundamentally, it cannot be considered to be satisfactory that the proposals to reform ICANN perpetuate the current situation in which governments have a purely advisory role, even for public policy matters, which is in contradiction with the Tunis Agenda, and with the reaffirmation in the outcome of the WSIS+10 review that²³ "Policy authority for Internet-related public policy issues is the sovereign right of States. They have rights and responsibilities for international Internet-related public policy issues."

5.7 See in this respect the minority statement in the final report of ICANN's CCWG-Accountability of a group of governments²⁴. And the specific comments and proposals regarding the IANA transition made by the Just Net Coalition at:

http://forum.icann.org/lists/icg-forum/pdfXXrCnTxCwW.pdf

5.8 We reiterate our comments on the role of governments contained in our previous submission to this group²⁵. And our previous comments on management of Internet domain names and addresses²⁶.

²¹ The threat of fragmentation is well explained in http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF FII Internet Fragmentation An Overview 2016.pdf

²² Page 28 of the cited paper.

²³ 35(a) of the Tunis Agenda

²⁴ See paragraphs 19 ff. at https://community.icann.org/pages/viewpage.action?pageId=58723827&preview=/58723827/58726385/Appendix%20A%20-%20FINAL-Revised.pdf

²⁵ See the Preamble of http://www.itu.int/en/Lists/CWGContributionmar2014/Attachments/25//CWG-March.pdf

5.9 In our view, the management and administration of Internet domain names and addresses must be truly international, not subject to the laws of any single country, and not dominated by any single country. In particular, the operation of the root zone file must not be subject to the jurisdiction of any single country.

6. The 2012 ITRs

6.1 As noted above, the 2012 ITRs contain provisions that would contribute to building an enabling environment for the Internet. In addition to the cited provisions, we mention here article 3.7:

Member States should create an enabling environment for the implementation of regional telecommunication traffic exchange points, with a view to improving quality, increasing the connectivity and resilience of networks, fostering competition and reducing the costs of international telecommunication interconnections.

- 6.2 A significant number of countries did not sign the International Telecommunications Regulations (ITRs) in Dubai in 2012. Almost all of those countries indicated that they required additional time in order to consider the implications of certain provisions, in particular those that were approved at the last minute. Accession by non-signatories would appear feasible because legal analysis²⁷ of the provisions in question indicates that they do not actually have the effects that had raised concerns.
- 6.3 However, interpretation of treaties is the sovereign right of states, so it may be desirable for non-signatories to clarify the implications of the controversial provisions of the ITRs by issuing a statement upon accession to the ITRs.
- 6.4 Many non-signatories²⁸ stated, at the closing session of the World Conference on International Telecommunications (WCIT) that they reserved their right to make reservations upon accession. These states can issue a statement in the form of a formal reservation.
- 6.5 States that did not expressly reserve their right to make reservations cannot now make a formal reservation, however they can make a unilateral declaration which, in practice, would have an effect similar to that of a formal reservation.
- 6.6 Thus it is proposed that non-signatories of the ITRs consider acceding to the ITRs while possibly issuing a statement (reservation or declaration) along the following lines:

[NAME OF STATE] accedes to the International Telecommunication Regulations (Dubai, 2012), with the understanding that:

a) The third paragraph of the Preamble, which recognizes the right of access of Member States to international telecommunication services, does not limit or otherwise prejudge the right of Member States to suspend the international telecommunication service, pursuant to Article 35 of the ITU Constitution, either generally or only for certain relations and/or for certain kinds of

 $^{^{26}}$ See 3 of the cited previous contribution to this group.

²⁷ See Hill, Richard (2013) "WCIT: failure or success, impasse or way forward?", *International Journal of Law and Information Technology*, vol. 21 no. 3, p. 313, DOI:10.1093/ijlit/eat008; and Hill, Richard (2013) *The New International Telecommunications Regulations and the Internet: A Commentary and Legislative History*, Schulthess/Springer

²⁸ In particular, 18 members of the European Union: Austria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain.

correspondence, outgoing, incoming or in transit. Furthermore, the Preamble does not contain operative provisions and therefore it does not modify existing rights and obligations.

- b) As specified under number 4 (Article 1.1a), these Regulations do not address the content-related aspects of telecommunications. This understanding applies to all provisions of the ITRs, including in particular Article 6 on Security and robustness of networks, and Article 7 on Unsolicited bulk electronic communications.
- c) Number 5 (Article 1.1b), which specifies that these Regulations also contain provisions applicable to authorized operating agencies, aligns the Regulations with number 38 (Article 6) of the ITU Constitution and thus does not change the scope of the Regulations regarding the entities to which they apply. Furthermore, the area covered by the Regulations, as defined in article 1, has not been changed. Thus the scope of the Regulations has not been changed compared to the 1988 version of the Regulations.
- d) Resolutions contained in the Final Acts of the World Conference on International Telecommunications (Dubai, 2012) are not part of these Regulations. They do not require any ratification, acceptance or approval by individual Member States, and they are not inherently binding on Member States. We make this declaration especially in the context of Resolution 3 on Fostering an enabling environment for the greater growth of the Internet. In doing so, we reiterate our support for a multi-stakeholder approach to Internet governance. Furthermore, we state that the cited Resolution cannot and does not change the mandate of the ITU.