



Explorations in Cyber International Relations

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Harvard University

ECIR WORKSHOP ON

People, Power, and CyberPolitics

Co-Sponsored by

Council on Foreign Relations

December 7 and 8, 2011

MIT Faculty Club &

MIT Media Laboratory

Executive Summary

Poster Session

Participants

This work is funded by the Office of Naval Research under award number N00014-09-1-0597. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Office of Naval Research.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

For the first time in human history, a large number of people from all parts of the world participate in a new arena of information and communication of global scale and scope. Almost everyone everywhere has the opportunity to participate in cyberspace. Few states, if any, are able to control the flow of information via cyber venues that cross their boundaries. All states are recognizing, to one degree or another, that people matter – and sometimes they matter a lot.

The diffusion of social networking practices and growing use of mobile technologies – notably social media for personal or political uses – has further reinforced the potential power of entities other than the state. All of this affects the nature of the international system – structure, process, and participation – while shaping an emerging and rapidly growing global civil society that transcends traditional territoriality and sovereignty.

This Workshop focused on six questions:

- What has changed, if anything, for people power and global politics?
- How do we listen to messages?
- What are the new threats and opportunities for governance?
- What are the impacts of cyberpolitics on democracies?
- What can we learn from experience on social media and social action?
- Are there new visions for the future?

This *ECIR* workshop is the second in a series of sustained deliberations and explorations involving leading individuals in academia, government and business. The result of this workshop provides a baseline for an evolving understanding of people, power and cyberpolitics. The *ECIR* Project seeks to develop a new multidisciplinary field of scientific inquiry to provide the theories, tools, and modes of inquiry relevant to unprecedented, new, complex, and rapidly changing conditions created by the construction of cyberspace.

1. People Power & Global Politics: What has Changed?

The balance of power is shifting from the West to the East. The primacy of the Western powers is being challenged by a ‘diffusion of power’ over a variety of states (east/west, developing/developed) and to a variety of non-state actors (traditional and cyber) – all enabled by technologies which flatten hierarchies and create more network-like structures. Information Communication Technologies (ICT) and the lower barriers to access to these ICT tools for use in political action have caused a fundamental shift in the future of ‘power’ – and the study and analysis of it. The under-rated but very important impact of social media’s ability to carry video messages is an example. The connections between those people who are on social media inside repressive

regimes and the diaspora community outside of the country are an important element in the role of social media in civic activities. There is a growing, central tension between transparency and accountability – as different ICT technologies and platforms are subjected to a variable degree of control.

Research priorities include a focus on the negative aspects of social media platforms and their impact on democracy, the potential misuses of technologies by states for surveillance, and the threat to the Internet by authoritarian governments. Communications through social media can move at an extraordinary speed to get the story out and coordinate action.

2. How do we Listen?

What happens when people get bad, irrelevant, or unimportant messages? There are large differences in rejection rates of partisan rumors by partisans, but not on non-partisan rumors. Direct contradiction works well in the short term, but people don't retain that, because of more familiarity with the myth than the counter-evidence.

People have been communicating all the time but the notion of privacy has changed. For example, social media posts have cut into email traffic and made it public. The young have a broadcasting capability, and the consequences are unknown.

Opinions of activists now number in the millions of political opinions spread globally by ICT on a daily basis. Various Social Language Processing techniques can be used in the strategic analysis of individual speeches or large collections of social media data. Three issues are relevant to "how we listen:" (a) The explosion of data – finding answers in the explosion of data is difficult, (b) Research methods – basic vs. rather abstract models with practical applicability are important, and (c) Quality of translation –different sets of methods can be applied to the original language or translated language; human language is incredibly subtle.

There are enormous, emerging social science opportunities ahead – representing a historical shift from studying to understanding and solving big societal issues and problems. Social scientists do not care about the needle in the haystack (individual document classification); they care about the haystack (category proportions).

3. What are Threats and Opportunities for Governance?

The fundamental difference of the Internet from other communication mediums is in *changing attitudes* and *getting people to act*. It is affecting the propensity of people to act during a coup or conflict. The source of credibility of the information and the fact that the sheer amount of information and images can sometimes quickly contradict one another can impede action.

There are two generic ways of conceptualizing the effect of communication on the individual: (a) through a change in attitude, and (b) through a propensity to act on your attitudes. The propensity to act on one's attitudes can be influenced by the low barriers to entry. Given the increasing transparency in our lives, both positive and negative, government is both a dis-intermediary and an

intermediary. The matter of publicity turns the conversation to the notion of information that is not necessarily hidden by a government, but information that a state actor is not anxious to make public.

4. What are the Impacts of Cyberpolitics on Democracies?

Four hypotheses help shape the discourse:

- *Analogical thinking hypothesis*: some of the thinking in the field of politics and technologies tries to draw the analogy between the experience of technology and the technological domain. There is a plausible reason why this hypothesis is wrong: a fundamental difference in demand.
- *Disintermediation hypothesis*: large organizations are less relevant because they reduce the organizational friction and coordination costs.
- *Public sphere hypothesis*: allows more people to communicate, reducing the domination of the public sphere by capital and capital equipment.
- *Transparency hypothesis*: make information more available, more credible and legitimate.
- *Organizational amplification hypothesis*: amplifies the functions of existing organizations gradually. Social media may allow for the sharing of this knowledge – which misses the fact that there are resources necessary for collective action *in addition to information*.

Methods are being developed for individuals to voice their dreams and articulate their ideas about how society should operate. The role of social media and its use by activists in relation to government control is important. However, it is one of the tools in political activity or used with the knowledge of being monitored. This means that communications are adaptive.

Two additional issues address broader processes: (1) *Social media mobilization theory*—the basic premise is that it just takes a click of a mouse to use a mobile phone is suspect because the ability of a government to shut down a system in the moment of political turmoil is unprecedented. (2) *Attention thesis*—Facebook is thoroughly monitored by state actors; and media is posted, translated and made available to media organizations by ‘bridge bloggers’ who then broadcast it; (i.e., Al-Jazeera).

5. What can we Learn from Experience?

We now know that the future is not just about technology – but about socio-technology. Authoritarian regimes have realized the power and danger of social media. As a result, censorship is being stepped up. The challenge ahead is that while we can generally agree with current causes taken up by those activists, we are arming with these subversive cyber tools: what happens when we don’t agree with what they do?

The issues of risk (i.e., personal risk), relationships and the role of the Internet become salient. The Internet lowers the cost of communication and the ability to penetrate networks and increases the number of weak ties available to activists. Social media accelerates the spread of information and

its penetration of strong tie networks. In questioning why there is an assumption that the Internet creates only weak links, findings indicate that an activist will show up with his or her brother rather than someone he or she is friends with on Facebook.

The mainstream media enhanced the credibility of social media content because television broadcasts acted as quality control. For example, social media did not cause the Egyptian uprising, but it did impact the complex networks through which it occurred. New technologies are being developed to connect with the world of policy makers.

6. What will the “Next Generation” of Challenges Bring?

There is something very powerful about the Internet, even though the mainstream experience is trivial. At least three visions of the future can be identified:

Vision 1: The Future is one with more offense and defense

There are important fallacies in the study of cyberspace – namely, that the environment is reactive and that, in principle, a bordered Internet is in fact possible. The dominance of ‘offensive postures’ in cyberspace is largely true. Offense beats defense in cyberspace. If we cannot do good offense, we cannot do good deterrence – which leaves a circular state of affairs. There is a strong offensive orientation in governmental thinking. Despite the systemic difference between autocratic and democratic governments, both types of government are moving in the direction of being more suppressive.

Vision 2: The Future is created by us today

The more important question is this: *who* is driving the future of the Internet? The domain name system (DNS) is going to be a contentious area regarding control because of the ability to control the user’s experience. In short, we must *buy the future we want*. Those who are funding the future are also heavily involved in the design process. We should be asking, “Who should be shaping the future Internet design?” In a mutual aid framework, it is a question of what granularity, how big the group is and whether the countries would be willing to pay.

Vision 3: The future depends on emerging technologies

The baseline design of the Internet was one of decentralization both from a technical point of view and from a political point of view. That baseline is rapidly changing, with the rise of centralized applications such as Twitter or Amazon. We must figure out how to take a politically charged matter and make it an engineering matter (or a technical problem). There is an abject need to focus on the ‘future of technology’ as well as the ‘changes in society brought on by technology.’ It is important to identify where the points of tectonic shifts are in the technology space.

End Note

This Executive Summary represents the general “state of the art” as seen by the Workshop participants. It also provides something of a baseline against which to track future developments. The discussion points new relevance of people in international relations, potential changes in

power distributions, and emergent complexities for cyberpolitics. As we move forward, we must address the following questions: Who controls cyberspace? What are emergent forms and uses of social media that influence—enable or impede— how people-power unfolds over time? What are the emergent contours of cyberpolitics? How will these affect power relations worldwide? There are many more questions, to be sure, however, these are among the most pressing.

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Accountability at the Application Layer

Josephine Wolff, Technology & Policy Program

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Thesis Advisor: Dr. D. Clark, Senior Research Scientist



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Problem

Malicious actors in cyberspace — be they computer-savvy teenagers or nation state-sponsored military forces — can be extremely difficult to identify definitively. This, in turn, can make it tricky to hold them accountable for their actions or take any kind of effective punitive or retaliatory measures. Many application-layer online identities do not have sufficiently strong accountability mechanisms embedded within them to deter misbehavior.

"We need to reengineer the Internet to make attribution, geolocation, intelligence analysis and impact assessment — who did it, from where, why and what was the result — more manageable."

— Mike McConnell, Former U.S. Director of National Intelligence

Participants in the ongoing debate over how accountable these online identities should be fall roughly into two opposing camps: those who believe we should be able to trace any online activity back to a specific user and those who believe we should protect Internet users' privacy and anonymity at all costs. Advocates on both sides of this debate often subscribe to the belief that there is a direct tradeoff between the accountability and anonymity of online identities, that to have more of one necessitates having less of the other.

Key Questions

- What are the implications of implementing accountability mechanisms at the application layer of the Internet, rather than the network layer?
- Are accountability and anonymity a zero-sum game for online identities, that is, must every effort to increase accountability necessarily decrease anonymity?
- If not, what is a more accurate way to characterize the space between perfect accountability and complete anonymity for Internet identity schemes?
- What types of identity schemes can be implemented to provide different combinations and kinds of anonymity and accountability suitable to various online contexts?

The Research

A New Framework for Accountability

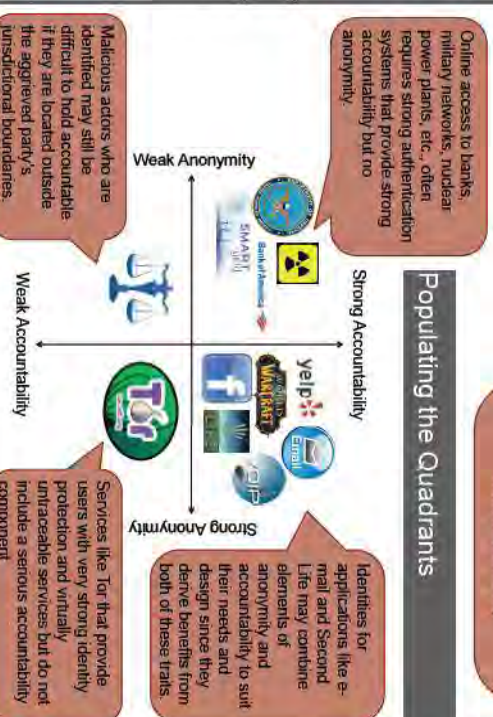
Traditional Framing



An Alternative Framework



Populating the Quadrants



Preliminary Results

- **Accountability points of control in online applications**
 - Application designers (Linden Lab, Facebook, Blizzard)
 - Individual end-users
 - Legal regulations (CAN-SPAM Act, cyberbullying laws)
 - Intermediary control points:
 - Participatory governance structures (e.g. Wikipedia moderators and bureaucrats)
 - Email server administrators
 - Internet Service Providers
- **Creating costly identities**
 - The problem of "discardeable identities" online stems from how cheap and easy it is to create new ones
 - In order to make these identities less discardeable, we must find ways of imposing some type of cost on these identities. Two broad possible types of costs include:
 - Financial costs (joining fees)
 - Time costs (reputation systems, initiation periods)
 - These costs can also serve as signals to other users about a person's investment in their identity
- **Trade-offs between investment in identity and privilege**
 - Firmer, better established identities can bypass costs of application action/privilege
 - Users with newer, or less well established identities are rate-limited in their actions, or must pay some fee for the same privileges
 - Allows users to decide on their own personal preferences for anonymity and tailor their online identities to these preferences
- **Conditional anonymity schemes**
 - Identity escrow (identity is provided to administrator/central authority but kept secret at their discretion)
 - Trusted third-party identity management systems
 - Cryptographic identity protection

Thank You!

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Comparative Analysis of Cybersecurity Metrics to Develop New Hypotheses

D. Fisher, S. Madnick, N. Choucri, X. Li, and J. Ferwerda, Massachusetts Institute of Technology



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Abstract

Free internet security organizations provide comprehensive, detailed, and historical information available to the public. This report presents a comparative analysis of these organizations' metrics, trends, and analysis to demonstrate why they should assist reliable time and resources recovery in this question. By demonstrating the value that each threat metric can provide in a comparative perspective, this report aims to help organizations understand the value of the data they are collecting. The report also provides a comparative perspective on the data they are collecting. The report also provides a comparative perspective on the data they are collecting. The report also provides a comparative perspective on the data they are collecting.

The Data Dashboard

The Data Dashboard contains a simple interface and analysis tool, coupled with a database of data from various sources. The dashboard is designed to be used by researchers and analysts to explore and analyze data from various sources. The dashboard is designed to be used by researchers and analysts to explore and analyze data from various sources. The dashboard is designed to be used by researchers and analysts to explore and analyze data from various sources.

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Minerva Project at MIT & Harvard

Case Study: Software Piracy Losses

The data available through the Data Dashboard system are particularly useful in understanding the impact of software piracy on the economy. The data available through the Data Dashboard system are particularly useful in understanding the impact of software piracy on the economy. The data available through the Data Dashboard system are particularly useful in understanding the impact of software piracy on the economy.



Figure 1: Software piracy losses of some countries from 2003 to 2008.

The Data Dashboard also allows users to explore data by different metrics, such as the number of software piracy losses, the number of software piracy losses, and the number of software piracy losses. The Data Dashboard also allows users to explore data by different metrics, such as the number of software piracy losses, the number of software piracy losses, and the number of software piracy losses.

Software Piracy Losses (US\$) & Losses by Software Piracy Losses (US\$) from 2003 to 2008



Figure 2: Piracy losses scaled by number of Internet users, 2003 to 2008.

The report suggests that the Data Dashboard system is particularly useful in understanding the impact of software piracy on the economy. The report suggests that the Data Dashboard system is particularly useful in understanding the impact of software piracy on the economy. The report suggests that the Data Dashboard system is particularly useful in understanding the impact of software piracy on the economy.



Figure 3: Software piracy losses adjusted for loss per Internet user.

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Next Steps

This report has sought to demonstrate the value of the Data Dashboard system in understanding the impact of software piracy on the economy. This report has sought to demonstrate the value of the Data Dashboard system in understanding the impact of software piracy on the economy. This report has sought to demonstrate the value of the Data Dashboard system in understanding the impact of software piracy on the economy.

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Shirley Hung, Postdoctoral Associate

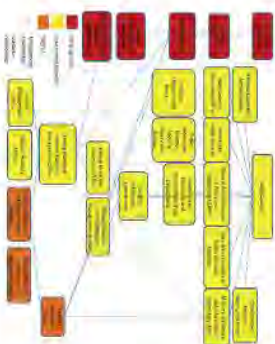
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Preliminary Findings

Control exists at every layer of the Internet, growing more fine-grained at the top

The system reflects the political structure and government priority of social stability

Sources include Chinese government reports and statements, Chinese and Western media, NGOs, etc. Future research should include interviews with policymakers and those involved in implementation.



- Three-part structure with overlapping jurisdictions and responsibilities
- Implementation responsibility delegated downward and outward to companies and society
- Internet control relies upon the panopticon effect and deterrence effect of high-profile cases

This paper was originally intended only to gather existing research into a coherent primer on the control capabilities and mechanisms of the Chinese government. Further avenues for research include:

- Exploring the variety of views within the Chinese government on how to manage the Internet and international pressure to loosen censorship
- Understanding the role of social media within the Chinese Internet landscape. Preliminary discussions with Chinese policymakers suggest significant concern and little consensus on how to proceed.
- Mapping the technical landscape of China's extensive monitoring system. This will most likely require collaboration with computer scientists for their technical expertise.
- Conducting interviews with government officials, advisers, Track 2 policymakers, dissidents, bloggers and other social media figures, corporate figures including those with day-to-day experience with Internet control requirements, etc.

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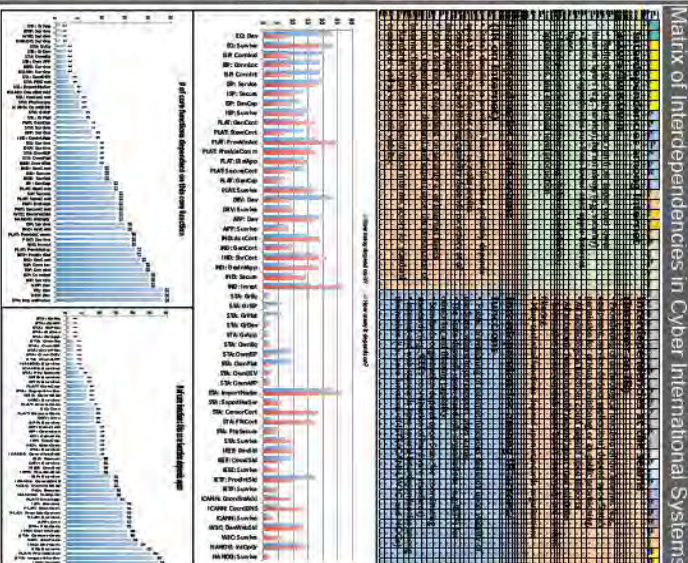
The Research

	Equipment Providers	ISPs	Information/ Communications/ Applications Platforms
	ECI, Survitec	ISP-Comcast ISP-Cornell ISP-Service ISP-Secure ISP-Desktop ISP-Net	PLAT-GemConT PLAT-SharcConT PLAT-Provideo PLAT-ProvideoComm
	Design and Deploy Network Equipment	Connected with Individuals, Businesses, and Platforms Connected with domestic ISPs Connected with the International broadband ISPs Provide Internet service Secure links and services Generate capacity to meet demand Generate network storage	Shore connect Provides access to content Provides communications platform

IND: Shm
IND: Dev

IND: Inve

IEEE	IEEE 802.11	Develop Hardware Standards
	IEEE 802.3	Coordinate Hardware Standards
	IEEE Survive	Generate funds to survive
ETP	ETP: ProductStd	Produce Internal Standards
	ETP: Survive	Generate funds to survive
ICANN	ICANN: CoordStd	Coordinate Internal Addresses
	ICANN: CoordStd	Coordinate the DNS



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Cyber-enabled Loads & Capacities

William E. Young, Jr (LtCol, USAF), PhD Student

Start: October 2011

Research Group: Cyber Security, Explorations in Cyber International Relations, MIT-Harvard


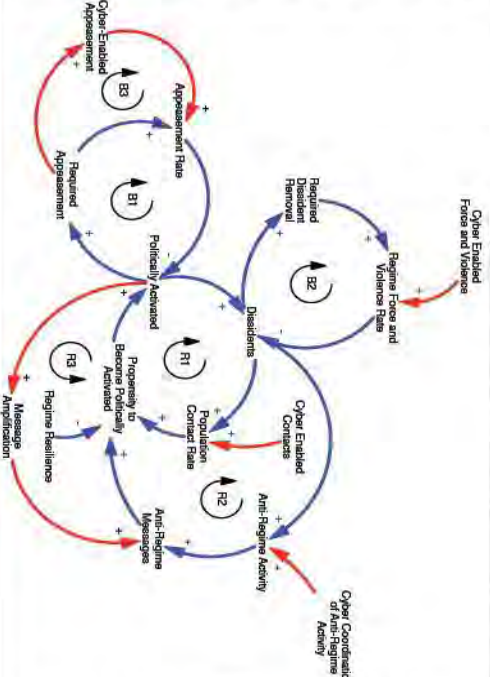
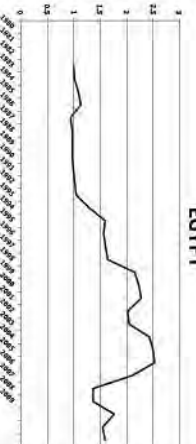
Advisor: Prof Stuart Madnick



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Problem	The Research	Preliminary Results
<p>Understanding Cyber Loads on State Resilience</p> <p>Cyberspace produces new feedback channels that have real and tangible effects (loads) on state resilience (capacity). In some cases, this feedback amplifies dissident influence on the state. However in other cases, cyberspace allows the state to exert a greater level of control on its populace than previously available.</p>	<p>Loads versus Capacities</p>  <p>High-Level Causal Loop Diagram</p> 	<p>Resiliency Index EGYPT</p>  <p>Methodology: Choucri et al, 2006</p>
<p>Methods</p> <p>Qualitative & Quantitative System Dynamics Modeling</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expand the limits of the Goldsmith, et al Pre-Conflict Anticipation and Shaping (PCAS) model to include cyber load and capacity effects on state resilience - Use emerging literature to refine the feedback structure in both dissident and state high-level cyber activity to include aspects of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ message amplification ▪ appeasement ▪ coordination of anti-regime activity ▪ cyber enabled force & violence 	<p>Remaining Research</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Test basic model structure against various case studies against broader set of narratives to ensure model still captures the key cyber dynamics - Model "cyber" loop effects using a suitable proxy with quantitative data to better understand dynamic behavior of loop 	<p>Thank You!</p> <p>This work is funded by the Office of Naval Research under award number N00014-09-1-0597. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Office of Naval Research.</p> <p>This research builds on the outstanding model and research from: Nazli Choucri, Christl Eleudis, Daniel Goldsmith, Dinita Mistree, Stuart E. Madnick, J. Bradley Morrison, Michael D. Siegel and Margaret Swetzel-Harrington.</p>



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Cyber International Relations Theory: Assessing the State of the Art

Robert Reardon and Nazli Choucri, Political Science, MIT

Objectives

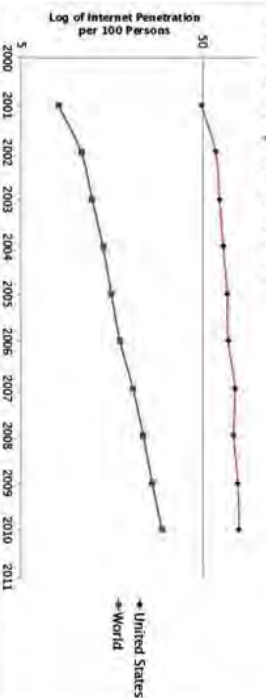
- Outline the scope of the International Relations literature on cyber-related issues with relevance to IR theory
- Frame this literature in terms of its contribution to theory building, theory testing, and issue area
- Assess the strengths and weaknesses of the literature
- Identify gaps and possible avenues for future research

Methods

- Conduct an exhaustive search of the 40 most significant academic and policy-oriented IR journals for articles related to cyber politics
- Limit search to 10-year period 2001-2010, and to journal articles
- Sort articles according to major IR theoretical paradigm, level of analysis, and issue area (where applicable)
- Paradigms: realism, liberalism, institutionalism, constructivism
- Levels of analysis: system level, state level, sub-state level, individual level
- Principal issue areas: cyber security, development, global civil society and the changing role of the state, domestic political change and democratization
- Relevant books, chapters, working papers brought into analysis where appropriate

Why Should IR Theorists Be Interested in Cyber?

Over the past 10 years, Internet use has become an increasingly international phenomenon:



A number of recent events have highlighted the significance of cyber in international politics:

- The Stuxnet attack on Iran's centrifuge program
- The use of social media by the Green Movement in Iran, and across the Middle East in the Arab Spring
- WikiLeaks
- The rapid development of China's cyber infrastructure, and China's efforts to control access to the Web
- The increasing use of cyberspace as a platform for state surveillance
- The rapid development and spread of mobile communication technologies, and the rise of novel network architectures

Yet surprisingly little scholarship has addressed these issues:

- Between 2001-2010, out of the top 40 academic IR and policy journals, only 10 have published one or more articles related to cyber issues.
- The problem is worst in academia; only 5 academic journals have published articles on cyber.
- The search yielded a total of 27 articles from the 40 journals during the entire decade. 20 of the 27 appeared in policy journals. None appeared in the major political science journals such as APSR.
- Only 6 articles presented research explicitly aimed at building and/or testing new theory to understand cyber politics.
- If the problem is that new theory is not needed to understand cyber politics, then where are articles to advance this claim?

Key Characteristics of the Literature

Particularly with respect to political organization and domestic political change, findings tend to be unjustifiably sanguine, unholistic. For instance, cyber innovation and diffusion is frequently linked to democratization, the development of a liberal civil society and increased civil and political liberties, without attention to how the same technologies can be used by regimes to restrict freedoms and enhance their control. The best research has sought to show how the two are interlinked.

Work on cyber security, on the other hand, tends to be unjustifiably alarmist. Cases such as Stuxnet and the cyber attacks on Estonia and Georgia are held up as evidence of the potency of cyber conflict, even as the facts of these cases do not support such claims. The more cautious research has questioned the potential for cyber to be used as a strategic weapon.

Much of the existing literature seeks to use Internet governance and other cyber issues to rehash debates over globalization and the decline of state authority in international politics. As a result, some promising avenues of research have been under-explored. For example, little has been written on why particular forms of governance or organization in cyberspace have been adopted, or which forces shape these choices.

Although most treatments of cyber issues adopt either realist or liberalist assumptions about international relations, there is a growing body of constructivist research on cyber issues. Overall, this has been a positive development, as constructivism is well suited to examine the role that the content of information in cyberspace might play in international relations.

Little work has been done on institutionalist approaches to cyber politics. This is remarkable, considering the increasing attention that cyber issues have received in multilateral fora, and the growing efforts being put into crafting international institutions that deal with cyber issues.

Perhaps, because of the small number of articles and the diversity of topics and approaches, there is little cumulativeness in the literature.

No studies engage across issue areas. This is problematic, as there are relevant policy tradeoffs that are poorly understood, such as between promoting civil liberties and cyber security.

About the Authors

Robert Reardon is ECIR Postdoctoral Associate in the Political Science Department at MIT. Nazli Choucri is Professor of Political Science at MIT, and is the MIT Principal Investigator for ECIR.

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Cyberspace as Ungoverned Space

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Research Group: The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University



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Problem	The Research	Preliminary Results/Results
Identify the governance structures of cyberspace and determine whether they are sufficient to enable regulation. In addition, analyze whether reasonable limits exist on the activities undertaken by governments.	Governance of Cyberspace: Cybersecurity To what extent are governments able to regulate in cyberspace? In cases where they are unable or unwilling to regulate, what informal forms of governance (driven by the private sector, individuals, etc.) step into the void to close the governance gaps? How does this happen and is it successful and/or sufficient?	While it serves as a useful tool for individuals and groups, cyberspace enables much more regulation than is commonly thought. On balance the space may actually serve the interests of governments more than that of individuals or groups because of the increased surveillance and monitoring capabilities that it presents.
Methods	Governance through Cyberspace: Surveillance and Monitoring	Remaining Research/Follow-up
Split the issue up into two sub-issues: governance of cyberspace; and governance through cyberspace.	What limits are set on the activities of governments in cyberspace? Are governments able to regulate in new and innovative ways by operationalizing the cyber domain to their advantage? To the extent that cyberspace enables regulation, are the rights of the regulated being protected?	What governance gaps remain? Will we see increased government control of cyberspace in the future? How will illicit groups evolve in cyberspace?
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The Dynamics of Managing Undersea Cables

Michael P. Sechrist, MPP, Chintan Vaishnav, PhD;

Daniel Goldsmith, MBA

Start: May 2011

Research Group: Cyber Security, Explorations in Cyber International Relations, MIT-Harvard

Adviser: Prof. Naoki Chouai



Explorations in Cyber
International Relations

Workshop on
People, Power, and CyberPolitics
MIT, December 7 and 8, 2011

Problem

Can the Old Modes of Governance Meet the New Demands of the Internet?

The exponential growth of the Internet may soon demand that undersea cable deployment happen as quickly as possible. Legacy institutional barriers may need to be streamlined to the point of near instantaneous approval. Staying ahead of the exponential Internet growth rate is key to implementing a resilient, redundant, accessible Internet in the U.S. and around the world.

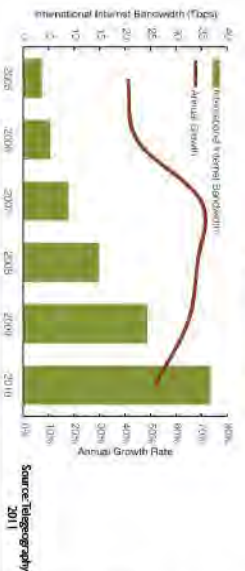
Methods

Qualitative & Quantitative System Dynamics Modeling

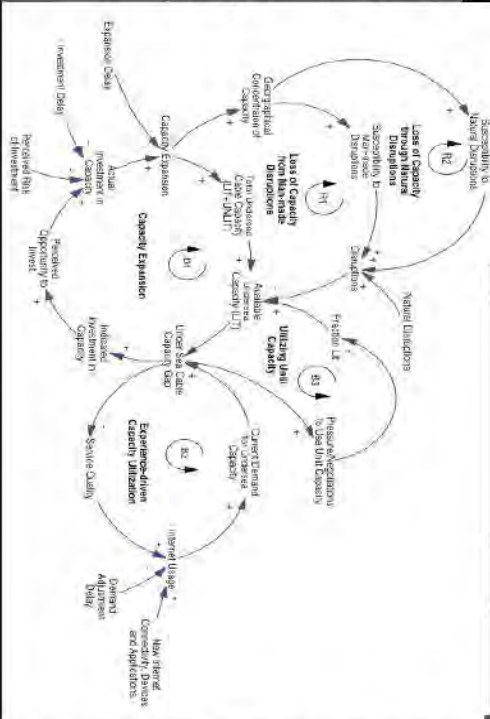
- Use a system dynamics model to identify and analyze the causal structures responsible for the above problem.
- Use emerging literature to refine the feedback structure in both dissident and state high-level cyber activity (message amplification, appeasement, coordination of anti-regime activity, force & violence, contact).
- Perform policy analysis of the model to propose solutions.

The Research

Internet Growth Doubles Yearly



High-Level Causal Loop Diagram



Preliminary Results

With an Internet growing by a factor of 1000 over the next 20 years, the physical layer of the Internet needs to grow and expand; the current open-ended, ill-defined and opaque cable permitting processes, in the form of Team Telecom in the United States and other agencies in other states around the world, adds unnecessary risk to making this Internet growth a reality.

Remaining Research

- Test basic model structure against various cable deployments and outages to ensure model captures important cyber dynamics
- Model U.S. and international governance structures for cable permitting and deployment; add this research to system dynamics model

Thank You!

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Escalation Management in Cyber Conflict: A Research Proposal

Robert Reardon, ECIR Postdoctoral Associate, Political Science, MIT



Explorations in Cyber International Relations

Workshop on People, Power, and CyberPolitics
MIT, December 7 and 8, 2011

Research Questions	Relevant Attributes of Cyber	Implications																																
<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Under what conditions is cyber conflict most likely to lead to uncontrolled escalation?•Under what conditions is cyber conflict likely to lead to escalation in other domains (conventional, nuclear)?•What steps are most effective at the reducing the risks of escalation?•How relevant are existing theories of deterrence and escalation management to cyber conflict?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Constant background of attacks•Diversity of actors (state and non-state)•Diverse motives for attacks•Difficult to identify attacker•Difficult to identify the source, purpose of attack. <div><div>ATTACKERS</div><ul style="list-style-type: none">•State•Non-State Proxy•Autonomous Non-State Actor•Domestic<div><div>ROLE OF STATE</div><ul style="list-style-type: none">•Attacks Conducted by State•State Directs Proxy Attacks•State Encourages Private Attackers•State Proxy Attacks Without State Direction•Private Attackers Mot. Directed by State<div><div>MOTIVES</div><ul style="list-style-type: none">•Preparation for Kinetic Attack•Hacktivism•Terrorism•Cybercrime•Espionage</div></div></div>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Avoid framing cyber defense in military terms, and avoid defining threshold for cyber "act of war."•Declaratory policies should remain ambiguous (could perversely encourage other parties, create credibility trap)•Efforts to deter through retaliation are likely to be self-defeating.•Important role for international coordination and foreign capacity building.•Strengthen lines of communication and promote international dialogue.•Deterrence by denial has limited utility, and can risk unacceptable or self-defeating costs.																																
Analytic Framework	Escalation Management in Different Forms of Conflict	Research Plan																																
<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Most Analyses Have Looked to Theories Developed for Cold-War Nuclear Deterrence as Model to Understand Escalation in Cyber•A Number of Characteristics of Cyber Conflict Suggest Irregular Warfare May be a Better Framework for Analysis:	<table><tr><th>Paths to Escalation</th><th>Nuclear (Cold War)</th><th>Irregular Warfare</th><th>Cyber</th></tr><tr><td>Relevant Actors</td><td>Small Number of States, Global Interests</td><td>Many, Diverse, Multiple Conflicts Exist Simultaneously</td><td>Many, Diverse, Multiple Conflicts Exist Simultaneously</td></tr><tr><td>Knowledge of Other Actors' Intentions and Capabilities</td><td>High, Signals Relatively Easy to Send, Receive, and Interpret</td><td>Low, Signal-to-Noise Problem</td><td>Low, Signal-to-Noise Problem</td></tr><tr><td>Ability to Accurately Attribute Attacks</td><td>High</td><td>Low</td><td>Low</td></tr><tr><td>Risk of Deliberate Escalation</td><td>Low</td><td>High</td><td>Unknown</td></tr><tr><td>Risk of Proxy Attacks</td><td>Low</td><td>High</td><td>High</td></tr><tr><td>Frequency of Attacks</td><td>None</td><td>High</td><td>Constant</td></tr><tr><td>Damage from Attack</td><td>Extremely High, Symmetric Vulnerability</td><td>Variable, Asymmetric Vulnerability</td><td>Extremely Variable, Typically Low, Asymmetric Vulnerability</td></tr></table>	Paths to Escalation	Nuclear (Cold War)	Irregular Warfare	Cyber	Relevant Actors	Small Number of States, Global Interests	Many, Diverse, Multiple Conflicts Exist Simultaneously	Many, Diverse, Multiple Conflicts Exist Simultaneously	Knowledge of Other Actors' Intentions and Capabilities	High, Signals Relatively Easy to Send, Receive, and Interpret	Low, Signal-to-Noise Problem	Low, Signal-to-Noise Problem	Ability to Accurately Attribute Attacks	High	Low	Low	Risk of Deliberate Escalation	Low	High	Unknown	Risk of Proxy Attacks	Low	High	High	Frequency of Attacks	None	High	Constant	Damage from Attack	Extremely High, Symmetric Vulnerability	Variable, Asymmetric Vulnerability	Extremely Variable, Typically Low, Asymmetric Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Explore existing literature on deterrence and escalation management in irregular warfare.•Identify key areas of similarity /difference between cyber and other forms of irregular warfare.•Develop comparative case-study analysis, drawing from four different types of conflict: irregular warfare, nuclear conventional, and cyber.
Paths to Escalation	Nuclear (Cold War)	Irregular Warfare	Cyber																															
Relevant Actors	Small Number of States, Global Interests	Many, Diverse, Multiple Conflicts Exist Simultaneously	Many, Diverse, Multiple Conflicts Exist Simultaneously																															
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<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Combats are extremely difficult to deter•Many have no interest in managing conflict intensity.•Asymmetries of information, interest, and capabilities are present.•Escalation management is set in a context of overlapping and simultaneous conflicts.		<p>Author and Affiliation</p> <p>Robert Reardon is a postdoctoral associate with the ECIR project at MIT. He received his PhD in political science from MIT in 2010, and spent the 2010-2011 academic year as a Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow at RAND, where he continues to work as an adjunct political scientist.</p> <p>This work is funded by the Office of Naval Research under award number N00014-09-1-0597. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the author alone and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Office of Naval Research or any other organization.</p>																																

Establishing the Baseline: A Framework for Organizing National Cybersecurity Initiatives

Aadya Shukla, Science, Technology and Public Policy
Fellow

Research Group: Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government



Explorations in Cyber
International Relations

Workshop on
People, Power, and CyberPolitics
MIT, December 7 and 8, 2011

1. BACKGROUND

Policy making needs Interoperation

A clear understanding and communication of stakeholders' concerns across both domestic and international boundaries is a must.

Multiplicity of standards, guidelines and frameworks makes Interoperation difficult.

- The OECD issued Guidelines for the Security of Information Systems (1982).
- The UN issues resolution (55/63) on combating criminal misuse of Information Technologies (2000).
- Council of Europe Draft on Cybersecurity (1999)
- ENISA (European Network and Information Security Agency) Guidelines on Incident Management (2010)
- Comprehensive Guidelines to combat cyber challenge from Organization of American States (OAS), 2004.
- UK / US guidelines on Cybersecurity (2009 onwards)

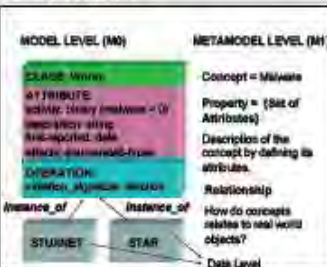
3. APPROACH

Apply **Metamodeling technique** (used in Software Engineering and AI) to design the required Integrated Framework.

What is:

Metamodel: Model of models.

Metamodeling: Higher level abstraction to represent observed or expected behavior of a real world phenomenon constrained by different contexts.



If the task were to characterize the phenomenon of **Malware**, then we can use meta level constructs (**Concept, Property and Relationship**), to have a **model of models** for all malware types.

5. UTILITY OF SOLUTION

National (Dutch, German and British) and regional cyber strategy (EU) were analyzed to enable better characterization of these initiatives.

Comparison of the EU Model with the rest demonstrates that **evolution** of regional strategy and national strategies of the members of the regional alliance happens at different scales.

Comparison of national initiatives highlights **further categories** required for Interoperation and improvements among nation states.

A clean way to **separate the generic and specific cyber concerns** of nation states.

Metamodel can be used to **aggregate initiatives by cyber concerns** to identify partners and allies in cyberspace.

Helps to decipher cyber strategy initiatives in a technology independent manner.

2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

An Integrated framework to characterize various strategies embodied in various national and international strategies is missing from the domain.

Therefore, It is hard to answer the following questions:

1. What are the **specific and generic concerns** of the stakeholders in cyberspace?
2. How do nation states balance their domestic priorities against **need to comply** with international guidelines?
3. How successful a particular initiative is against a **specific type of cyber concern**?
4. How does a national strategy scale up with change in cyber priorities?
5. What can be learned from other national initiatives?

4. SOLUTION

A light weight metamodel as an integrated framework for cyber strategies to establish the baseline:

Separate models for different types of cyber strategies (i.e., **Standard, Guideline, Regulation**)

Model component Classes :

'Actor' roles and categories of stakeholders (for example: ENISA is an instance of an Actor in a role 'policy-owner').

'Scope' class defines boundaries of relevance: Geographical (national, regional, international); Application (Crime, Security, Commerce, Society); Technical (hardware, software, network)

'Priority' defines weight of different cyber concerns per cyber strategy.

Protocol defines processes, documents and nodes (human & machine) required to deploy a given cyber strategy.

6. CONCLUSIONS

1. UNDERSTANDING YOUR OWN TURF IS NOT ENOUGH

Fluid international boundaries and asymmetric nature of threat in cyberspace, requires policy level interoperation in a wider context. Our metamodeling approach allows a **collective, consistent, dynamic and systematic understanding** by adding new models to the Framework.

2. PRACTICAL APPLICATION

Metamodel will be used in building a feature-based online tool to assist new researcher & policymakers interested in understanding the domain.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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- STPP Programme, Harvard Kennedy School,

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Minerva Research Project at MIT & Harvard Explorations in Cyber International Relations

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Finding Order in a Contentious Internet

Jesse Sowell, ESD PhD Candidate



Start: September 2009
Research Group: Advanced Network Architecture Group, CSAIL
Thesis Advisor: Dr. D. Clark Committee: Prof. K. Oye (chair); Prof. C. Fine; Prof. N. Christofori; Dr. F. Field

Problem

In 1998 an attempt to remove an offensive video blocked YouTube for most of the Internet...network operators resolved the issue in three hours. Spaniards disseminate authoritative spam blocking lists, performing a vetting function while distributing monitoring and enforcement effort. Non-state collectives are increasingly playing function-specific Internet governance roles, often competing with conventional governance nodes. Despite demonstrated operational and decisional capacity, little is known about how this capacity develops or how it is maintained. This research is an empirical, comparative analysis of governance arrangements and the implications for the ongoing design and operations of the Internet.

Key Questions

- Why do actors in these governance arrangements (institutions) cooperate?
- What elements of structure and process reinforce cooperation and contribute to operational capacity?
- Are these patterns durable, not simply one-off events?
- How contingent are patterns on the public, private, or hybrid character of the organization modes in which they are embedded?
- What factors contribute to dynamic efficiency?
- How do these governance arrangements interact with conventional modes of governance? How do they compare?
- What contributes to legitimacy, authority, and accountability in these arrangements?

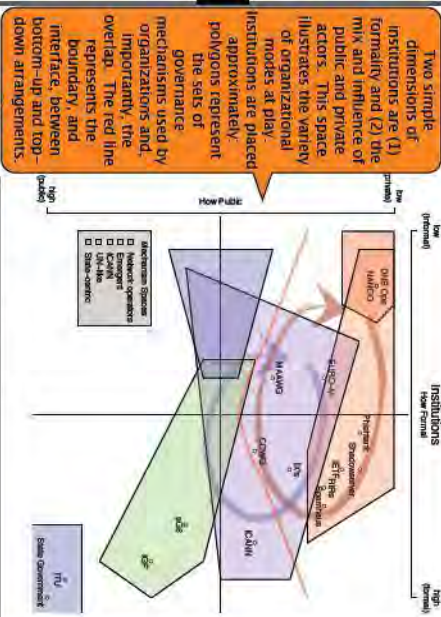
Methodology

- Social Network Analysis (*structure*)
- Attendee lists (figure to right)
- E-mail speakers
- Policy co-authors
- Text Mining (*structure, process*)
- Concept clusters in documents
- Actions related by common interests
- Cases and interviews (*process, mechanisms*)
- Identify policy and issue communities
- Observation of the community
- Surface causal mechanisms

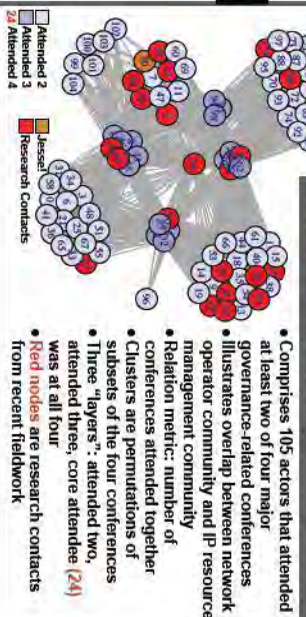


The Research

Institution Landscape and Boundaries



Attendee Network



Preliminary Results

- Emergent governance arrangements — private regimes
- Regime components
- NOCs serve as informal information exchanges, reducing community uncertainty
- RIRs engage in monitoring and some enforcement
- Evidence of a broad, pluralistic marketplace of governance arrangements
- Variety of accountability mechanisms
- Confirmation of client-constituent spectrum
- Interface with top-down arrangements
- Active collaboration with states and IGO's
- Collaborating organizational modes are not isomorphic

Remaining Research

- Theory Building
- Preliminary results provide sufficient evidence to develop an expanded theory of private authority (chapter 3)
- Develop criteria for testing theory
- Analysis
- Social network metric
- development
- identify and extract issue and community clusters from documents
- Evaluate social networks and communities over time
- Idiographic Studies
- Function-specific organizations
- Asia-Pacific region, communities
- Revisit North America and EU
- ICANN and IGF?
- Africa and Latin America/South America?

Social network analysis and idiographic studies proceed in tandem. Analysis provides initial structure to interviews. Subsequent cases analysis provides validation of indicators and insights into hidden variables. Two more iterations, incorporating community data collection, are expected between now and Fall 2012.

Thank You!

This work is funded by the Office of Naval Research under award number N00014-09-1-0697. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Office of Naval Research. I extend my deepest appreciation to the many members of the Internet community who have supported this research. This work would not be possible without their help and support.



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Explorations in Cyber
International Relations
(Work in progress for the 10th Anniversary)

Workshop on
People, Power, and CyberPolitics
MIT, December 7 and 8, 2011

Learning Legal Principles to Enable Law at Cyber Speeds

Mark A. Finlayson, PhD Candidate

Started Program: Fall 2003; Defended: Oct 2011

Research Group: Genesis Group, MIT CSAIL

Thesis Advisor: Patrick Winston, EECS Committee: Whitman Richards, BCS; Peter Szolovits, EECS & HST; Josh Tenenbaum, BCS

Goal: Law at Cyber Speeds

If we are to enable the creation of
Automatic Cyber Targeting Systems
to respond in network time to cyberattacks, we must
be able to do legal analyses at network speeds.



Test Domain: Probable Cause

Example Legal Case:
US v. Mays 466 F.3d 335 (2006)

Police officers conducted two controlled purchases of "crack" cocaine from an informant, Steven T. Lumsden. For the first purchase, Lumsden provided a black male named "Melvin." For the second transaction, the same informant purchased 0.3 grams of "crack" cocaine for \$20 from a black female whom the informant identified as "Melvin's mother." Officer Bo Lumsden of the Streveston Police Department prepared an affidavit to apply for a search warrant. The magistrate judge found probable cause and issued the warrant.

Police found and seized approximately 25 grams of powder cocaine and 72 grams of "crack" cocaine, as well as firearms, ammunition, a bulletproof vest, three digital scales, and a measuring cup in a double bag identified as belonging to Melvin Lee Mays. Mays was arrested. He filed a motion to suppress, alleging that the search warrant was not supported by probable cause. He also filed an affidavit for a writ of habeas corpus. The court granted the writ, finding that the narcotics convictions and one prior felony conviction for aggravated battery. Mays further filed a motion to sever the felon-in-possession charges from the remaining charges and post-verified motions for a new trial and judgment of acquittal. Finally, Mays objected to an enhancement in his pre-sentence report based on a narcotics conviction he received when he was 17 years old but tried as an adult.

The district court denied all of Mays's motions and objections. Mays was convicted and sentenced.

Mays timely appealed.

We affirm the conviction and sentence.

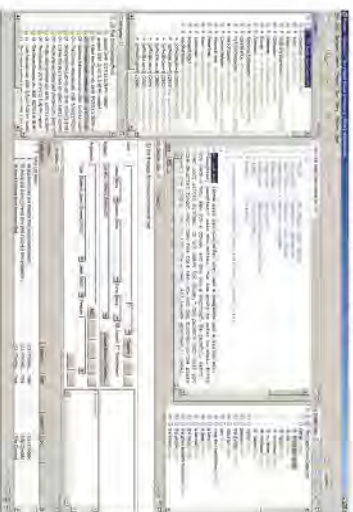
Problem:
Automatically
Identifying Legal
Principles

Identification of and reasoning from
case precedents relies on legal
principles; computers currently have
no ability to extract legal principles in
an automatic and dynamic way.

Step 1:
Assemble Corpus of
Appellate Cases



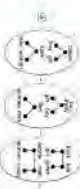
Step 2: Semantic Annotation
(Finlayson 2008, 2011)



**Step 3: Run Analogical
Story Merging (ASM)**
(Finlayson 2009, 2011)



**Result: Extracted
Legal Principles**



Evaluation: Compare with Legal
Principles explicitly identified in
the case review

Capabilities Enabled

- Automatic identification of relevant legal precedents
- Automatic discovery of emerging legal frameworks
- Automatic Cyber Targeting systems to respond in network time to cyberattacks



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Results

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