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PASSING THE BATON

FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES AND
OPPORTUNITIES FACING THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

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THURSDAY
JANUARY 8, 2009

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PANEL 1: 11:15-12:15 A.M.

BLOGS & BULLETS:

THE POWER OF ONLINE MEDIA IN PREVENTING OR
IGNITING VIOLENT CONFLICT

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Room 204 C

Walter E. Washington Convention Center
801 Mount Vernon Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

PANELISTS:

JOHN KELLY

IVAN SIGAL

DUNCAN MACINNES

LINTON WELLS

MODERATED BY SHELDON HIMELFARB

This transcript done from audio provided
by the United States Institute of Peace.

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2 11:15 a.m.

3 MR. HIMELFARB: Hi. Why don't we
4 get started? On behalf of the United States
5 Institute of Peace, thank you all very much
6 for coming to this panel entitled Blogs &
7 Bullets where we will be discussing the power
8 of online media to prevent and ignite
9 conflict.

10 My name's Sheldon Himelfarb and I
11 head two new USIP centers of innovation that
12 are co-hosting this panel. One the Center for
13 Science Technology and Peace Building. The
14 other the Center for Media Conflict and Peace
15 Building.

16 And I'm really thrilled to see
17 that we have filled this room. I apologize
18 for packing everybody in so tightly. I hope
19 you're not too uncomfortable especially when
20 I realize that this panel stands in that
21 dangerous place between you and lunch. So.

22 But, it's a great panel indeed as

1 you'll see representing four very distinct
2 viewpoints. Time's short and I want to get to
3 their presentations very quickly to leave as
4 much time as possible for Q&A.

5 So, I'm going to set the stage
6 just with really two brief comments and turn
7 it over to our panelists.

8 The first is to note that of all
9 the topics on the schedule for this
10 extraordinary day of reflection on U.S.
11 foreign policy and peace building at the
12 dawning of this new administration this is the
13 only topic you wouldn't have seen being
14 discussed eight years ago at our last passing
15 the baton ceremony in 2001.

16 Of course, people were already
17 talking about the internet's transformational
18 significance, but it was only more recently
19 when we've really seen it's potential to both
20 prevent and ignite conflict come to light in
21 a way that no one can really doubt its power
22 any longer.

1 On the peace building side, for
2 example, less than a year ago, we saw how a
3 single posting on Facebook in Colombia quickly
4 led to an unprecedented 5 million people
5 coming out to protest the FARC, the guerilla
6 movement there and at the other end of the
7 spectrum, we've seen ever more terror networks
8 like al-Qaeda recruiting money and people with
9 greater efficiency than ever on the internet.

10 Which leads me to my second
11 comment which is really a poignant footnote to
12 history with interesting parallels to the
13 present. Sometime during this past
14 interminable presidential campaign, I heard a
15 commentator refer to the shooting of President
16 William McKinley. So, I did a little bit of
17 research and it turns out the Pan American
18 expedition of 1901 was notable for two
19 reasons.

20 The first was the assassination of
21 McKinley in the Temple of Music where he was
22 giving a speech. The bullet lodged in a very

1 awkward place and after unsuccessfully probing
2 for it, the doctor sewed McKinley back up and
3 as you know, a few days later, he died from
4 the septic wounds.

5 Meanwhile, the second event of
6 note was happening only a few hundred yards
7 away from where he was shot in the Pavilion of
8 Science where the newly developed X-ray
9 machine was on display and in her memoirs,
10 Mrs. McKinley noted with sad irony that the
11 means with which to save her husband's life
12 was so close at hand.

13 And I thought of this story when I
14 thought of our meeting today because it is a
15 similar sense of irony that many of us working
16 in the conflict resolution field feel when it
17 comes to the power of the internet. That it
18 holds so much promise for saving lives and
19 promoting peace if only we'd figure out how to
20 use it for this.

21 As we speak, Twitter and micro-
22 share, cell phone-friendly blogs are being

1 used to tell the world what's happening in
2 Gaza with almost minute-by-minute accounts
3 from Palestinians as well as Israelis. The
4 information is powerful. It's abundant. It's
5 informative and it's often emotional. As
6 capable of inflaming tensions as it is of
7 creating a better informed global citizenry.

8 Interestingly, the X-ray machine
9 when it was first invented cost as many lives
10 as it saved before we understood the perils of
11 radiation as well as we understood its
12 enormous potential. So, we're not strangers
13 to the double-edge sword of new technologies
14 just this particular one-line technology.

15 And with this, let me introduce
16 our four panelists. All of whom have devoted
17 a considerable part of their professional
18 lives to the task I just spoke of which is to
19 say understanding this new medium.

20 Please hold your applause here
21 until I get through them all and I'll be
22 making a more comprehensive introduction with

1 each speaker as they come up to the podium.

2 To my immediate left, our first
3 speaker will be Duncan MacInnes, Minister
4 Counselor at the State Department. Linton
5 Wells, Force Transformation Chair at National
6 Defense University. John Kelly, Chief
7 Research Scientist for Morningside Analytics
8 and Ivan Sigal from Global Voices.

9 So, thank you all for joining us
10 here today.

11 We've agreed each of the panelists
12 are going to speak for no more than ten
13 minutes which should leave plenty of time for
14 questions. So, please have them ready. Jot
15 them down as you -- as they come to you on a
16 piece of paper, the back of your hand,
17 whatever. But, have your questions ready.
18 Because as I said earlier, time is fairly
19 tight before lunch.

20 First off, I'm pleased to
21 introduce Duncan MacInnes, a career diplomat.
22 Most recently, Principal Deputy Coordinator

1 for the State Department's Bureau of
2 International Information Programs and prior
3 to this, he helped established an interagency
4 counterterrorism communications center to
5 develop and coordinate communication
6 strategies to combat extremist ideology of
7 which one such strategy was the creation of a
8 pioneering digital outreach team that's been
9 very active in the blogosphere and other
10 online destinations.

11 Duncan, over to you.

12 MR. MACINNES: A timer here
13 because it's very hard to stay on time. Ten
14 minutes is not very long.

15 Public diplomacy uses the media
16 both online, what I will be calling new media,
17 and traditional media to inform, influence and
18 engage foreign publics.

19 While a key part of our job is to
20 advocate U.S. policy and explain the
21 political, social and cultural side of the
22 United States, an over-arching goal of what we

1 do is to promote the values of civil society,
2 tolerance, rule of law, free markets and
3 respect for human rights. These are precisely
4 the values that are the foundation of efforts
5 to prevent conflict, the counter violent
6 extremism and to promote peace and stability.

7 Public diplomacy has been
8 described as waging a war of ideas, but it's
9 actually more closely rooted in a dialogue on
10 values and ideals, building bridges and
11 promoting mutual understanding. At best, its
12 activities illuminate the kinds of ideals and
13 positive visions that do promote peace,
14 prosperity and cooperation.

15 While these types of public
16 diplomacy goals may appear to be overly
17 idealistic or simplistic, I can assure you
18 that the reality of putting them into practice
19 is exceedingly difficult and messy, requiring
20 down-to-earth, very pragmatic approaches.

21 In discussing the new internet
22 media, a TV journalist recently told me, our

1 audiences are no longer sitting on the
2 couches. They're in front of their computers
3 on their keyboards. It's a new world.

4 New media represents a fundamental
5 shift as people have mentioned before. It is
6 not an exaggeration to say that we are in the
7 midst of a communication revolution that has
8 moved us from the one-way communication of
9 traditional electronic and print media where
10 the content producers push information out to
11 consumers to a new paradigm of a two-way and
12 multiple channel communication between
13 communities of producers, users, user-
14 producers. The audience is truly no longer
15 sitting down. This is not some internet
16 evangelicals. The dawn of a new
17 communications nirvana.

18 The same tools that allow civil
19 society NGOs to build shared communities is
20 also used very adroitly by those people who
21 have intentions that are bad, terrorists,
22 pedophiles or simply con artists.

1 Al-Qaeda was quick to see and
2 exploit the advantage of distributed community
3 building networks on the internet.

4 I will leave it to Linton to talk
5 more about that aspect of the internet, but
6 note that we are acutely aware that web
7 innovations are power tools for those that
8 seek to ignite conflict as well as those who
9 seek to bring peace.

10 What distinguishes old media from
11 the active -- what distinguishes the new from
12 the old media is what I call active audience
13 participation. New media is direct and
14 interactive and involving. It is about
15 building networks and communities. These are
16 attributes ideally suited to the development
17 of powerful and effective track-two diplomacy
18 and people to people conflict resolution
19 programs.

20 I worked in Jerusalem in the late
21 1990s on the West Bank and at that time, we
22 put together a number of remarkable programs

1 to encourage dialogue between Israelis and
2 Palestinians. While often initially very
3 encouraging, these people to people programs
4 generally languished because of the reality of
5 physical separation that made it difficult or
6 impossible to build a long-lasting, self-
7 sustaining community of interest.

8 Today, the situation is not very
9 conducive to people-to-people programs.
10 However, the technology is very conducive to
11 filling that void that was there and making it
12 easier for people to communicate together on
13 an on-going long-term basis virtually where
14 closed borders and separation does not matter.

15 Public diplomacy practitioners see
16 new media in a very positive light and a good
17 new development and one that offers great
18 opportunity to expand our interaction with
19 foreign publics and to reach directly out to
20 people.

21 We do face difficult challenges in
22 adapting our bureaucratic desire for total

1 control over everything we do to the free-
2 wheeling world of the web. At the same time,
3 we are enamored with the possibility it offers
4 of getting out from behind the high security
5 embassy walls and into the communities that we
6 used to deal with on a direct basis earlier.

7 New media revitalizes that core
8 public diplomacy principle that effective
9 communications is direct and personal. Edward
10 R. Murrow famously said, the real crucial link
11 in the international communication chain is
12 the last three feet which is bridged by
13 personal contact, one person talking to
14 another.

15 It perhaps is a strange concept
16 for us who grew up in the pre-internet age a
17 little bit. When I am sitting at my computer
18 18 inches away from the screen typing to a Sri
19 Lankan journalist who's sitting 18 inches from
20 his screen, we have bridged the 10,000 mile
21 gap down to 3 feet.

22 Let me sketch out several examples

1 of how public diplomacy is using new media to
2 prevent conflict and counter violence.

3 Last December of this past year,
4 State working with private partners like
5 Howcast and others held a summit for youth
6 movements in New York that brought together
7 over a dozen youth leaders of online movements
8 from around the world to learn, to share and
9 to discuss how to use social network online
10 tools to tools to empower youth against
11 violence and oppression. These young leaders
12 agreed to form a global youth alliance to
13 support and learn from one another.

14 Sheldon mentioned the No Mas FARC
15 Movement which was the actual impetus for
16 putting together this program and it was the
17 success of 1 million voices against FARC which
18 was started by just one lone Colombian youth
19 that eventually ended up with 12 million
20 people in 190 cities demonstrating against the
21 FARC and against extremism that has terrorized
22 Colombia.

1 That model, I think, is a model
2 that we should look at as a potential model
3 for devoting lots of -- many of our resources
4 towards.

5 The Bureau of International
6 Information Programs launched last fall a
7 video contest for youth around the globe to
8 capture their views on what they think
9 democracy means and to share them through
10 short internet videos. In the spirit of new
11 media, we did not take this on and do it on
12 our own, but reached out to the NGO and
13 private sector to a number of partners
14 including the Director's Guild of America,
15 Motion Picture Association, NDI, IRI, NED,
16 Time Warner, NBC and universities.

17 This program has only been made
18 possible through the presence of cheap video
19 technology and the existence of YouTube which
20 allows individuals around the globe to share
21 their experiences and their hopes and their
22 dreams for democracy on a scale that would

1 have been impossible even as recently as two
2 years ago. So, we're actually developing and
3 using tools that didn't exist in 2006.

4 We were asked to make some
5 recommendations. So, I'll make
6 recommendations. These are not specifically
7 for the new administration, but more and
8 generically for the community and for
9 everyone.

10 One is we should use the power of
11 web communications to promote the free flow of
12 information to people living in the shadow of
13 poverty, oppression and helplessness.
14 Information is key for people to be able to
15 make decisions.

16 Second, is to build conflict
17 resolution models on how to use social
18 networking and new communication technology to
19 turn people to people programs into self-
20 sustaining, self-organizing systems that take
21 off and grow.

22 Third, is to fund NGOs to provide

1 training and technology to youth, women,
2 political activists and journalists on how to
3 use social networking to build communities, to
4 provide the tools to those people.

5 And fourthly, I would say make
6 sure we do not neglect those regions of the
7 world that don't have the latest technology
8 and we have to make a special effort to
9 develop tools that work not with smart phones,
10 but with SMS messaging. So, places like
11 Africa who do not have connection necessarily
12 to the internet, we can still use -- they're
13 still good technologies out there and a number
14 of people I've worked with SMS messaging on
15 what I call plain old cell phones that
16 actually can convey and mobilize communities.

17 So, I think I'm really at the end
18 of my ten minutes and I'll stop. Thank you.

19 MR. HIMELFARB: Thanks a lot,
20 Duncan. When I hear you talk about what you
21 are doing at the State Department now online,
22 I know this is not my grandfather's State

1 Department.

2 And our next speaker Dr. Linton
3 Wells serves as the Force Transformation Chair
4 at National Defense University I mentioned
5 earlier, but prior to coming to NDU, he was
6 the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of
7 Defense for Networks and Information
8 Integration having already served as DoD's
9 Chief Information Officer, CIO.

10 But, perhaps, Linton's best claim
11 to fame is having an article written about him
12 in Wired Magazine where he was described as,
13 a prime mover in the military's embrace of
14 information technology. One of the Pentagon's
15 geeks in chief. Which, I think, is about the
16 highest compliment you can get from Wired
17 Magazine, Linton.

18 All right. The floor is yours.

19 DR. WELLS: Thanks very much,
20 Sheldon. Let me see. Start. Having said
21 this, we are baffled by the timer. Okay.

22 So, the question here is igniting

1 violent conflict and this is clearly a two-
2 edged sword. The power of this media can be
3 shown in a very personal basis by the ongoing
4 story about the teenager who committed suicide
5 as a result of being bullied online.

6 I want you to extrapolate that a
7 minute to targeted attacks against any of us
8 and particularly against people in leadership
9 positions.

10 Every year, I go out to Las Vegas
11 to the convention that's called DEFCON. It's
12 the hacker convention and this past year --
13 actually, last year, a large part of the
14 emphasis was placed on identity theft. How
15 you can, you know, masquerade as somebody to
16 do all sorts of bad things to them. Mainly,
17 in this case, criminal.

18 This year there was an entire
19 focus devoted on social software and what was
20 termed a perfect storm in the sense that
21 people are putting too much information about
22 themselves online on sites that are sort of

1 inherently not very secure and by the way, we
2 folks have been working really hard to develop
3 some neat cross-scripting and other tools so
4 when you think you log into your secure site
5 https, it's actually being sent to us as http
6 and we're just monitoring and changing what
7 you're doing as you're typing and so, this is
8 happening whether we like it or not.

9 And now, imagine then instead of
10 it having poor kids being bullied by their
11 peers, that on the verge of a crisis all of a
12 sudden the Secretary of Defense's website or
13 the Secretary of Defense finds child
14 pornography in his computer, his kids grades
15 are zeroed out and his wife bank accounts go
16 to zero. You know, at a minimum, you're going
17 to be distracted from what's going on with the
18 remainder of the crisis. Okay. So, that's
19 one potential issue. Is targeted attacks.

20 A second would be cyber-riots.
21 So, this first came to my attention in the EP3
22 incident in 2001. Remember when the Chinese

1 -- when the aircraft landed in China. It was
2 damaged in a mid-air collision and there was
3 across both sides of the Pacific, I mean going
4 from east to west and west to east, there was
5 all sorts of hacking going on and we looked at
6 this and said I know we're not in charge of
7 this and the other side was saying we're not
8 in charge of it either and so, whether each
9 side believes someone is doing it or not,
10 there are non-government actors in the space
11 and we saw this clearly in Estonia.

12 But, a feature of this is because
13 of the anonymity of the internet, the
14 governments can manipulate this kind of cyber-
15 riot with very little fear of attribution.
16 So, it's another, you know, feature of what's
17 happening.

18 The key point again for me is the
19 government is not always in control of these
20 things and one needs to be careful about when
21 you say ah, this is the people who did it or
22 similarly if people are blaming us for it.

1 The third point is recruiting of
2 activists and fundraising as Duncan mentioned.

3 How many of you have every visited
4 a Jihadi website? So, we're taking notes.
5 This is being videoed. Right? Okay.

6 There's a very sophisticated
7 combination of subtly and, you know, hammer
8 and blatancy on some of these.

9 For example, if you look at the --
10 how many of you have ever heard of martyr's
11 cookies? Okay. So, a few years ago, and I
12 don't know if it's still up, I imagine it
13 would be, there was a site devoted to the sort
14 of training of the parents of how to raise
15 your child to be a Jihadi and so, it started
16 with Jihadi lullabies and Jihadi nursery
17 rhymes and Jihadi coloring books and I'm told,
18 I have not personally seen this, but other
19 people tell me, that this training syllabus
20 ended with a recipe for martyr's cookies.
21 Where you would then bake the cookies after
22 your child had blown themselves up to go down

1 to the marketplace and celebrate the success
2 of your training program.

3 I mean that's a very powerful
4 approach that may be very foreign and
5 antithetical to a lot of us. We can't deny
6 that it's out there and it can be used.

7 Motivation. So, part is
8 recruitment to bring people on board. The
9 other is keep them motivated.

10 If you look at the websites that
11 are devoted to attacks on Western coalition
12 forces. I mean not only are they dramatic
13 pictures of people blowing up and dead
14 American soldiers and things like that, but
15 they're accompanied by sound tracks of Islamic
16 chants and things like that that for people
17 who live in that world give a very powerful
18 message.

19 Okay. The third and fourth of
20 mode of recruitment and motivation.

21 The fifth is actually in the
22 conduct of a conflict. There's a very

1 interesting set of discussions by a German on
2 how he became a cyber-warrior against Georgia
3 and basically within an hour of saying I'd
4 like to do this, what can I find out about, he
5 had gone online, found the whatever it is take
6 down Georgia website. Having gone there, he
7 was now visited by a mentor who sort of said
8 well, you know, that particular website here
9 isn't getting as much attention as we'd like
10 and he said that within an hour he was fully
11 capable of doing distributed denial-of-service
12 attacks against Georgia.

13 Is that a really sophisticated
14 hack? No, but it's a way that people can
15 participate in ways that they just didn't have
16 -- literally from the 3 feet away comfort of
17 your living room to participate in the
18 conflict.

19 And a number demonstrations.
20 World Trade Organization, we've been very
21 impressed by the extent to which the activists
22 have used flash mobs and cell phones and

1 things like that to out maneuver in many cases
2 the police. Okay. All the police are coming
3 to the corner of 18th and H. Let's go to the
4 corner of 19th and K or something like that
5 and it allows very nimble command and control
6 in some cases.

7 The counter of FARC was mentioned.

8 The use of Twitter in Mumbai is
9 really striking. My most accounts the first
10 reports of the attack were present on Mumbai
11 like 20 -- present on Twitter like 20 minutes
12 before it appeared in the mainstream media
13 and, you know, the velocity of information was
14 just extraordinary.

15 Which leads to an interesting
16 point. Is what you lose in this is a lot of
17 the trust but verify aspects you expect out
18 the media. In some respects, it's a throw
19 everything out there and we'll converge to the
20 truth over time by seeing what sorts out and
21 what doesn't through the filter rather than
22 expecting this to be vetted posting by

1 irrational reporters.

2 Okay. The next piece is
3 highlighting and inflaming grievances.
4 Sheldon mentioned Gaza. I mean this is very,
5 very sophisticated use of social media on both
6 sides. The Israeli consul, I think, in New
7 York has a Twitter feed that they're running.
8 There's YouTube and Facebook.

9 But, even so, just look at the
10 picture of the fighting in Iraq that has been
11 presented to people who watch on the one hand
12 Al Jazeera, on the other hand Fox.

13 You almost have no common basis
14 for a discussion of what is going on in this
15 war if you've gotten all your information from
16 one side or the other. So, in this case,
17 instead of informing to a common
18 understanding, it's actually leading to a
19 diverging understanding.

20 Another use of these media is for
21 posterity. Look at the Martyr's Last
22 Testament video. Not just internationally.

1 The Virginia Tech shooter who posted his, you
2 know, description of what he was doing. The
3 Columbine shooters. So, there's a lot of
4 okay, I can at least record myself and by the
5 way, others can now see what I did and perhaps
6 hold me up as an example.

7 We tend to think that the, you
8 know, the access, the information of the world
9 will tend to be a leveling and liberating
10 function, but in point of fact, it allows for
11 people to form closed groups that reinforce
12 preexisting views. If I want to join my model
13 airplane club, I can find lots of people who
14 want to do that, but I want to find a group of
15 people who deny the Holocaust ever happened or
16 are skinheads or devoted to violent uprising,
17 I can link myself into a world that will just
18 reinforce at every online click the beliefs I
19 already have. It can be very provocative.

20 So, the bottom line of this whole
21 thing is that governments really need to
22 understand the power of this new media. The

1 normal tendency of us in government is to kind
2 of protect. You know, this is new. This is
3 scary. This has security vulnerabilities and
4 it does and so, we lock ourselves into
5 protected enclaves and deny our people the
6 right to use it.

7 You know, the rest of the world is
8 using this whether we like it or not and we've
9 got to find a way to engage.

10 So, a couple of last points here.
11 There's a very interesting project called
12 Social Software at Security, S3, that's being
13 run over at NDU and if you haven't seen them,
14 I encourage you to take a look at Mark
15 Drapeau's post in Government 2.0. He's got
16 some very interesting posts on Mashable.com.
17 But, S3 is looking at how government can take
18 advantage of the energy, you know, velocity
19 and talent out there in the private sector.

20 But, if I had a couple of
21 recommendations, I'd have government train
22 senior people that this kind of social

1 software is important. It's not static. If
2 you don't use it, you are going to fall
3 behind and with national security
4 ramifications in this space.

5 Second of all, you've got to
6 encourage your employees to use it not just
7 senior people and not just behind closed
8 enclaves. Encourage your people to get out
9 there and understand what this world is
10 because a lot of the people coming behind us
11 are going to be there.

12 And then, finally, we need to
13 seriously work to understand the security
14 implications of this. Security with a small
15 S. Just what risks are we putting ourselves
16 at if we start using this. We know the risks
17 if we don't and what I would suggest is
18 looking at ways to get NSA or NIST, or
19 something to bend these into some categories.
20 These are okay to use anywhere. These you can
21 never use. These you can use in protected
22 enclaves. These you can use with guidance.

1 Something like that so we can get people to
2 use it.

3 Thank you very much.

4 MR. HIMELFARB: Thank you. Well
5 done. Wow. You guys are terrific. I think
6 there's a virtue sitting right behind the
7 speaker in terms of getting him to mind the
8 clock. They're awesome.

9 And a great description there of
10 the perils of the internet and between the
11 two, Linton's presentation and Duncan, I think
12 we get a good sense of the perils and the
13 promise certainly at least from the
14 perspective inside the Beltway.

15 And we're going to go outside the
16 Beltway now here to New York City where John
17 Kelly is the Chief Research Scientist and the
18 founder of Morningside Analytics. A company
19 that's dedicated to taking our understanding
20 of online discourse to a whole new level
21 through some fascinating analysis techniques
22 and he's going to speak about them in a

1 minute.

2 As the Morningside webpage tells
3 us, we take you far beyond hits or page views
4 uncovering who is listening to whom, why they
5 are interested and how ideas move among and
6 between different audiences. Even how
7 messages are framed and reframed as they
8 travel online. So, John, take it away and
9 we're going to dim the lights for John here to
10 show his slides.

11 MR. KELLY: Very thoughtful thing
12 to do.

13 MR. HIMELFARB: You can move it up
14 here.

15 MR. KELLY: Okay. So, I have the
16 unenviable task of trying to say what some of
17 the most advanced internet research
18 methodology has to say about the global
19 internet for the whole world in ten minutes.

20 So, let me start just by kind of
21 hopefully wowing you with some pretty dots.
22 So, you're going to see a lot of pretty dots

1 and the ten minutes means we're going to go
2 quickly through a lot of slides, a lot of
3 visuals. We're going to tickle your eyeballs
4 and hopefully, you'll remember some of it
5 later and if you have questions, please talk
6 to me.

7 This is a three-dimensional social
8 network diagram of the Indian and Pakistani
9 blogospheres. The two large groupings you see
10 at the top are English-language blogs which
11 dominate bloggers in -- is the dominate
12 blogging language for both Pakistan and India
13 and under them down at the bottom there, you
14 see a big swath of Hindi. You can also look
15 around there and see the other vernacular
16 languages of India and Pakistan. Sindhi.
17 Urdu is the red thing coming around there now.

18 But, this is the kind of work we
19 do. To take all of the linking the bloggers
20 do which reflects interests, what information
21 they're spreading, the stuff -- the messages
22 that they want to move and make those visual

1 to both analysis and understanding.

2 So, a quick little joke. Someone
3 in an online forum asked which is worse
4 ignorance or apathy and the top response was
5 I don't know and I don't care.

6 So, fortunately, this is not the
7 dominate sort of activity you find on the
8 internet. The truth is that people who write,
9 who blog, who participate in online social
10 media do care and they are not apathetic and
11 they are certainly not ignorant although
12 sometimes what they believe can even be
13 dangerous as has been mentioned before.

14 We're going to go so fast through
15 this stuff I want to prime you with my
16 conclusions at the beginning.

17 We face a new architecture of
18 public communications. We are going from the
19 old hub and spoke model of mainstream or mass
20 media, a few megaphones and a lot of listeners
21 to something called the Networked Public
22 Sphere. It is a completely different mode of

1 public communications which is already
2 changing politics and communication in the
3 U.S. and will sweep the world.

4 This network features local global
5 scaling. Media markets make less and less
6 sense. The most remote blogger in Afghanistan
7 is three or four hops away from the Daily Kos.

8 We have complex regional,
9 national, sub and transnational networks that
10 form around bloggers. Blogging groups do not
11 map on to nationalities or other known
12 features except partly. The role of the
13 legacy media is changing as new actors enter
14 the communicative stage and we see citizen
15 media, NGOs and all kinds of other folks
16 competing on the -- I'm sorry, communicating
17 on the internet in a common medium of hyper-
18 linked discourse.

19 The fact of increasing
20 connectivity around the world and the youth of
21 the people using it and the technology and
22 skills they are adopting mean that these

1 public networks are going to grow by orders of
2 magnitude. This will get big fast as it did
3 in the United States with the blogosphere. As
4 it has in South Korea, so will it soon in
5 other places and that's very important because
6 we need to think about as these networks grow
7 the shape like the expanding universe. The
8 shape they end up with has a lot to do with
9 the initial conditions when they start
10 growing.

11 So, our goals will be to promote a
12 healthy, transparent and actionable network
13 public sphere.

14 So, now, some more colorful dots
15 and we're going to go through a lot of these
16 fast. These are social network diagrams of
17 the network public spheres of 12 different
18 countries.

19 Let me stick with the premise that
20 crosstalk is good. You don't want the Neo-
21 Nazis off in a corner bubbling around with the
22 like-minded folks. You need people to be

1 exposed to other ideas and just talk to each
2 other even when they disagree. Especially
3 when they disagree.

4 If crosstalk is good, the shape of
5 the network itself, and we're looking at 12
6 languages here, the shapes of these clusters
7 are formed by the linking patterns of the
8 people participating. These clusters are
9 networks of densely connected informational
10 communities where ideas travel fast. They
11 travel less fast between them.

12 So, the very shape of the network
13 aside from the behavior of any individual
14 blogger has implications for how these
15 societies process information and how
16 information spreads there.

17 The structures at the top if
18 crosstalk is what you want clearly good. At
19 the bottom, maybe not so much.

20 Quick look at the Iranian
21 blogosphere. First to describe the
22 methodology a little bit, every dot here

1 represents a blog. Imagine there's a wind, a
2 force moving all the dots to the edge of this
3 map. Any two blogs that are connected by
4 linking to each other are pulled together as
5 though by a spring or force of gravity and so,
6 these network neighborhoods curdle up around
7 people that are sharing links and information
8 more quickly. That arises typically around
9 things that they're interested in common.

10 We also look at what these
11 bloggers link to. Only about 35 percent of
12 links are to other blogs. They're linking
13 mainstream media, NGOs, all kinds of other
14 stuff.

15 So, we cluster the bloggers by
16 everything that they look at to find these
17 informational communities and how they play a
18 role in the large information economy.

19 Here's the Iranian blogosphere and
20 you can see different -- these groups of
21 interest. In the top left, there are poets.
22 We didn't expect to find them. Poetry is big

1 in Iranian culture.

2 But, the players you would expect
3 are on the lower left. They're sort of
4 secular, democrats, the folks that oppose the
5 regime.

6 On the right surprisingly,
7 complicated and robust religious, Islamist
8 blogosphere in Iran. Some of them focused on
9 politics. The red ones there. The others
10 focused on more religious matters.

11 There's a 70-page paper you
12 download from Harvard's website if you want to
13 read about this. Just Google Iranian
14 blogosphere and John Kelly, you'll find it.

15 You can see Ahmadinejad and
16 Khatami's website there.

17 The critical point here is that
18 sometimes opponents are well connected. Their
19 views are represented online and they mix it
20 up as they do in Iran.

21 By the way, these are the bloggers
22 that use the word America talking about

1 America and you can also use these maps to see
2 what folks are talking about in different
3 places. Everybody talks about Islam. The
4 people that talk about Evin Prison in Tehran
5 are the people that might have to go there and
6 the people that talk about the mahdi, the 12th
7 imam are the people that actually expect he's
8 coming back soon.

9 By the way, you might say well,
10 Iran blocks the internet. Well, it does. The
11 ones on the left side are the blogs that are
12 block inside Iran. The ones on the right are
13 the ones that are visible.

14 So, even when government's try to
15 block these networks, most of it is visible.
16 Pakistan may be an exception.

17 Here's by contrast the Afghan
18 blogosphere. It looks different. We notice
19 from the share and it's a different
20 configuration of clusters. Interestingly
21 enough Dari and Pashto is mixed. Most of
22 these bloggers live in Kabul and if you notice

1 in the bottom there, are some Taliban websites
2 and the key point here is that they are
3 completely disconnected, almost completely
4 disconnected from the blogosphere. The Afghan
5 blogosphere pays no attention to the Taliban.

6 There is only one connection. If
7 we activate the link to look at them, it's a
8 little dark. I apologize. There actually is
9 a link connecting the Taliban up to the rest
10 of the bloggers except it goes through an
11 Arabic blogger blogging from the Middle East.

12 So, this is the first place to
13 make the point that these are global networks
14 where it's an Arabic blogger paying attention
15 to the Taliban who are actually connecting it
16 to the other Afghan bloggers. Very
17 interesting.

18 These are by the way Afghan
19 bloggers who use the word Taliban and they're
20 the ones that use George W. Bush. So, we can
21 see what they're talking about and they're
22 more concerned with our current president than

1 with the Taliban interestingly enough.

2 So, here's where it gets really
3 interesting. We take in the right-hand side
4 there, that big group you see, those are the
5 same Afghan bloggers and now we looked at the
6 ones that they connect to in the United States
7 on the left there. So, this is reenforcing
8 the idea that these are global networks. So,
9 we have Afghan bloggers connected mostly to
10 military and NGO bloggers, some intel bloggers
11 in the U.S.

12 But, notice at the top there, a
13 group of Balochi bloggers mostly separatists
14 who would like independence from the countries
15 that actually they inhabit now. They are as
16 densely connected to the Afghan blogosphere as
17 are American bloggers.

18 Now, it gets really interesting.
19 On the right, you see Afghan bloggers and on
20 the left, you see those same clusters from the
21 Iranian blogosphere. They're kind of nestled
22 in there. We activate the links and look at

1 that. Is it not unfair to say that the Afghan
2 blogosphere is a satellite of the Iranian
3 blogospheres. These are dense connections by
4 which information, opinions, attitudes flow.
5 Match that with the connection to the U.S.
6 blogosphere keying in mind, of course, that
7 Dari is flavor of Persian that is mutually
8 intelligible.

9 So, these networks also form
10 around cultural things. Things that don't
11 have a lot to do or care much about national
12 borders.

13 So, how does this interact with
14 the media. Local news gets big play. Here
15 we're just seeing two different news outlets
16 and two links to them in these two
17 blogospheres. The BBC, the biggest trusted
18 source, has a similar spread. Not quite as
19 will, but look at the Voice of America. Not
20 doing quite so well. So, BBC, VOA and now
21 look at YouTube.

22 YouTube, Wikipedia, these new

1 social distributed media platforms have the
2 reach in the global blogosphere of the BBC.
3 They are growing fast and what's holding them
4 back is bandwidth not demand.

5 Now, blogospheres are all
6 different sizes. We've got gigantic ones like
7 the U.S. We've got medium-sized ones like
8 Iran and we've got tiny little ones like
9 Afghanistan.

10 But, keeping in mind that there's
11 a tremendous network of global connections
12 that bring in other kinds of actors you can't
13 reduce to a nation. So, think of the Balochis
14 and now multiply that by 20 for all the
15 different regional ethnic little blogospheres.
16 A lot of them agitating for separation that
17 are networked in with these national sites.

18 So, now, let's return quickly to
19 our first map we were looking at in 3D now in
20 2D. So, we have considering very topical
21 Pakistan and India. What would you do looking
22 at this map? I guarantee you that there are

1 people here without -- that are presenting
2 outrageous conspiracy theories about the
3 Mumbai attacks. There are people who are
4 beating the drums of war and there are people
5 who are playing the pipes of peace. All out
6 there as well as talking about cricket and
7 cooking recipes.

8 So, there's a lot going on here
9 and understanding how to actually use it for
10 peace building requires a lot of intelligence
11 and let me just make a few points.

12 I think the first thing that
13 people should try and do is understand that
14 these networks can be healthy or unhealthy and
15 we should try and promote healthy networks.

16 The way they activate in times of
17 conflict will have a lot to do with the 99.9
18 percent of the time that they are not
19 activated around conflict. So, building the
20 long-term capacity is critical.

21 It means connectivity. It means
22 practices of the sort of training that Duncan

1 was talking about. It means technology, but
2 it also means what I'm calling oxygen, which
3 is the kinds of ways that social capital are
4 built through these networks. The journalists
5 listen to bloggers. The formation that social
6 capital can build in the way folks interact as
7 it does here.

8 It's important that these networks
9 be transparent. We don't want what Linton was
10 talking about with people running off in a
11 corner and bubbling with their own kind,
12 stewing in the juices of their own particular
13 madness.

14 To the extent that these networks
15 are public, that people with even radically
16 divergent views must present them to
17 themselves and others, I think we're better
18 off. That requires trying to lay a foundation
19 that includes protecting speech by these
20 bloggers around the world, standing up for
21 them when they're being sent to jail. It
22 means helping to curb the censorship of the

1 internet and it means building a range of
2 trusted sources of information who can be
3 linked to and build that trust as part of the
4 capacity of the network over time.

5 And lastly, we want this network
6 to be actionable and by actionable, I mean
7 that we don't want to just look at it without
8 any power to act. But, we want ourselves to
9 be able to monitor it, to understand it, to
10 interact with it and to enable other third-
11 party players, NGOs and others that are
12 working in the field to themselves know the
13 local network, be engaged with it, be part of
14 the capacity building so that when something
15 happens they're there. They're connected.
16 They know each other. They trust each other.
17 They know where to go for good information.

18 It's groundwork that has to be
19 laid before a crisis hits not thought about
20 when it does hit.

21 So, monitoring and engaging is my
22 final point.

1 MR. HIMELFARB: Wow. Now, how
2 many of you would ever have guessed there were
3 60,000 active Persian language blogs? I mean
4 it's an amazing number.

5 Thank you, John.

6 I know folks have lots of
7 questions for our three panelists. Please
8 keep them. You know, as I said, jot them
9 down. After Ivan, we're going to go to
10 questions here, but that's why we're sort of
11 moving right across the tables to finish the
12 presentations up front and then we'll have
13 plenty of time for questions.

14 Ivan. Ivan -- now, many of these
15 guys are bloggers. Many of you are bloggers,
16 but Ivan is the only one I know that actually
17 makes a living blogging. He is the Executive
18 Director of an organization known as Global
19 Voices a coalition of citizen journalists and
20 bloggers in 150 countries which began as a
21 project at Harvard Law School's Berkman Center
22 for internet and Society and before Global

1 Voices, Ivan spent ten years working in media
2 development in Former Soviet Union and Asia
3 supporting and training journalists and
4 working on media co-production. So, he knows
5 what of he speaks.

6 Ivan.

7 MR. SIGAL: Thank you, Sheldon.
8 It's always a pleasure to follow John Kelly
9 because he's pretty much covered everything.

10 So, I have a couple of quick
11 points to add that address specifically issues
12 of countries in conflict.

13 When we think about the 60
14 countries that we generally categorize in the
15 world as weak or fragile states and think
16 about how conflict occurs in those
17 environments whereby you've got weak
18 governance, lots of political movements, lots
19 of instability, traditionally that has been an
20 environment where there is a scarcity of
21 information and we've approached conflict in
22 that way. We manage media from that

1 perspective and from that lens.

2 And what this has shown us very
3 clearly is that we have a paradigm shift
4 towards an abundance of media, an abundance of
5 communication technologies that we're looking
6 at today in many countries and in the next 10
7 or 15 years, will be true everywhere including
8 in those countries that we consider today weak
9 and fragile.

10 So, Somalia has five cell phones
11 network and good internet connections and no
12 government. That is a model that we need to
13 -- a mind set that we need to absorb.

14 Afghanistan per John's map, four
15 years ago had no bloggers. Today there's
16 400,000 internet users there and a trunk line
17 is being built around the country and we'll
18 see massive growth of internet use and
19 expansion there and the cycles of technology
20 mean that this -- the pace of growth and
21 adaptation will increase from what we've seen
22 rather than slow.

1 So, we should expect a future
2 whereby conflict takes place amidst
3 communications abundance.

4 Enough on structure. I've been
5 asked today to talk specifically about how
6 people use digital media in and around
7 conflict. We talk about bloggers, but
8 Sheldon's asked me to explain who they are and
9 who is actually using media in this kind of
10 context.

11 So, I want to start by saying that
12 in many conflicts and complex emergencies and
13 significant political upheavals in the past
14 few years, citizen media has played a very
15 significant role in providing information of
16 all sorts beyond the mainstream media for the
17 past three years. So, we look at Lebanon. We
18 look at -- in 2006. We look at Pakistan
19 political upheavals in 2007 or Burma in 2007
20 or Kenya at the end of 2007, early 2008 and we
21 see again and again that citizen media are not
22 just informing. They are also being used as

1 a tool for mobilization and activization for
2 people who have an interest in the outcome of
3 conflict.

4 And so, a mind shift there is that
5 media is not just a -- does not just have a
6 functional relationship to conflict. It is
7 actually an element in it. It is the space or
8 the ground on which conflict is playing out.

9 A couple of quick points on the
10 perception and expectations of citizen media.
11 Here we often think of bloggers as people who
12 are producing a lot of comment and a lot of
13 hype and a lot of noise and anger around and
14 we talk about it's divisive.

15 But, in context outside of the
16 United States especially in regimes that are
17 or countries where there maybe are controlled
18 press or autocracies, mainstream media are not
19 necessarily the source of free and unbiased
20 information. Not even true in the U.S.

21 And in that context, citizen media
22 can play a really, really important role for

1 producing good information because the
2 mainstream media is not doing it itself. It's
3 a force of propaganda.

4 So, it's a different mental
5 approach to that as well and citizen media and
6 the abundance of media here provides access
7 for voices for those people, for public
8 intellectuals, for independent voices that did
9 not -- simply did not exist before.

10 Specifically now looking at the
11 question of how people are using media in
12 conflict zones, of course, we have the
13 incidental question. So, an event occurs.
14 Somebody is there and takes a picture of it.
15 So, the U.S. military bombed Azizabad in
16 Western Afghanistan. There was a dispute over
17 the number of people killed. An Afghan who
18 was local had a cell phone, took a picture,
19 took a video on his camera, shared that video
20 with The New York Times, that video went up
21 and it caused a huge ruckus globally in terms
22 of civilian casualties in the Afghan war.

1 That's the incidental model.

2 The second is the fact of the
3 public network sphere that John was talking
4 about. People are doing things in their own
5 times, in their own effort and as conflict
6 occurs in their community, they shift the
7 focus of what they're doing to work on that
8 and that's an example of a partial attention
9 relationship to conflict. People are not --
10 it's not a question of building institutions
11 to be involved, but a question of incidental
12 attention.

13 The third issue that I'm going to
14 focus the rest of my time and talk -- on the
15 talk today is about people or initiatives that
16 focus specifically on using media, using
17 citizen media and digital media to approach
18 issues of peace and conflict and this is a
19 place where we'll start to see that people are
20 trying not just to say what's occurring in the
21 world, but also to understand, to analyze and
22 contextualize information, to create meta-data

1 or databases to map conflict, to try to help
2 early -- to create early warning systems so
3 that people can use information to effectively
4 get out of the way of conflict, to help tamp
5 it down if they know it's occurring. So, the
6 very question, for instance, the early warning
7 for genocide, early warning for -- in local
8 communities as well.

9 I'd like to point out that these
10 are often citizen-led initiatives. The
11 motivation often comes from the ground. It
12 doesn't come from above. It comes from people
13 who have technology access and skills and say
14 I want to do something to help my community
15 and do so.

16 So, I have a couple of examples
17 for you and I'll see if I can get through them
18 in my time.

19 This is an example of a Sri Lankan
20 citizen media project called Groundviews that
21 focuses specifically on creating -- amplifying
22 peace and anti-conflict news and information.

1 It was created by a young man named Sanjana
2 Hattotuwa who's Sinhalese who saw an
3 opportunity to use his technological skills to
4 amplify this question in the Sri Lankan
5 blogosphere and in two years of running this
6 project, he's basically created a mainstream
7 media outlet more or less by himself and to
8 the point where he's able to do videos in this
9 case of a prominent government official who
10 now has a platform to talk about his views on
11 peace and violence.

12 Ground Views is part of an
13 initiative of a number of Sri Lankan
14 organizations to use digital media
15 technologies to monitor election violence and
16 they use this by training a number of citizen
17 journalists and citizen media to observe
18 polling places and then using SMS texting.
19 Send messages back to the Center for
20 Monitoring Election Violence who then post the
21 issue as it occurs and they have a vetting
22 mechanism. So, this is an example of saying

1 we have the technology and we need to focus it
2 specifically to answer a question or solve a
3 problem.

4 This is Ushahidi.com. It's a
5 project created by a group of three Kenyan
6 bloggers who at the end of 2007 saw an
7 opportunity to use their knowledge to try to
8 create better information around the post-
9 election violence and they set up a simple
10 mechanism to allow people to SMS incidents or
11 call in incidents around their communities and
12 then they categorized them and posted them and
13 created a time line of events. Ushahidi again
14 is a totally local initiative.

15 This is a map that was created a
16 group called the Harvard Humanitarian
17 Initiative to study Ushahidi and to compare
18 the accuracy of the information they produced
19 with national and international media who are
20 also reporting on Kenya and citizen media
21 reports. In a nutshell, they found that not
22 one of those sources produced anything other

1 than anecdotal information, but only Ushahidi
2 was able to present completely contextualized
3 and location sensitive information on a
4 regular basis. So, both the citizen media and
5 the mainstream media fail about one-third of
6 the time to actually present useful or
7 accurate information and this kind of project
8 was able to do so more clearly.

9 Ushahidi then went on to become an
10 organization that wants to take the software
11 around the world and they won a number of
12 awards and this is now their homepage and this
13 technology has recently been adapted in Gaza
14 with Al Jazeera using their technological
15 application to map conflict using the Twitter
16 sites that you were talking about to actually
17 put it on record.

18 And so, what we're seeing is a
19 citizen initiative that is being -- that is
20 directed specifically to say how do we get
21 better information out of a conflict and this
22 is only in a course of a year. These guys

1 started this a year ago and it's still pretty
2 primitive, but it's a lot better than what was
3 being done.

4 So, last group, this is Global
5 Voices. This is the organization that I work
6 for. It's an organization of about 250
7 volunteers and editors who try to -- who
8 translate and contextualize blogs and citizen
9 media and Twitter and other types of social
10 media for around the world to try to explain
11 or place in a larger context the community and
12 makes sense of what we see in the blogospheres
13 that John's been presenting to us.

14 And this is very much a matter of
15 saying that serendipity or the experience of
16 understanding how the rest of the world thinks
17 is something that we can actually engineer.
18 It's not just a matter of saying well, look.
19 We hate over here and you guys have a separate
20 group over there. That is actually a choice
21 that we have because it's not necessarily a
22 technological issue. It's a human issue and

1 this is an attempt to answer that.

2 And some of the things we do
3 really quickly are we focus very much on
4 breaking news and issues that maybe don't have
5 great coverage by international journalists
6 and every time that happens, we do a special
7 page.

8 I'm almost done.

9 This is a special page from
10 Mumbai. An example of what we do. This is an
11 example of a story from Gaza recently and
12 relevant and it's about -- a story of about
13 two bloggers, one in Sderot and one in Gaza
14 who are talking to each other and just an
15 example of how to emphasize those stories and
16 the last slide, this is the page of those two
17 bloggers and example again of people saying we
18 ourselves think that we can make a change.

19 I'm probably about out of time.

20 So, I'm going to -- I'll defer -- do you want
21 me to defer my comments, my recommendations?

22 MR. HIMELFARB: Yes.

1 MR. SIGAL: Or go on? Defer them?

2 Okay.

3 MR. HIMELFARB: Excellent. Thank
4 you, Ivan. Super.

5 Well, now, you have a good sense
6 of who the blogger is as well. We have really
7 covered the waterfront in the last hour here.
8 We've talked about conflict prevention through
9 online discourse. We've talked about conflict
10 incitement. We've talked about mapping the
11 blogosphere and now, the view of the bloggers
12 themselves on this brave new medium and I'm
13 sure there are lots of questions out there.

14 We have folks with microphones.
15 Okay. So, we've got a couple of minutes for
16 questions. Before I take them, let me remind
17 you. Questions only please. No speeches.
18 So, we can get as many in the time that we
19 have left. Get as many in there.

20 President Truman once was said to
21 have told a questioner who went on too long,
22 he said, please be clear, be direct and be

1 seated. So, if we can observe his mandate, it
2 would be useful.

3 First question? Right here.

4 We've got a microphone.

5 MS. SCHNEIDER: Hi, I'm Cynthia
6 Schneider. I work -- hi, Sheldon.

7 MR. HIMELFARB: Hi.

8 MS. SCHNEIDER: I work at
9 Georgetown University in the Brookings
10 Institution. Thank you so much. What a
11 fascinating, fascinating panel.

12 I have a question mainly mostly
13 for John and Ivan about whether this exists
14 already or the potential or no, maybe it's for
15 everybody. For the potential of social
16 networks forming in the kind of positive way
17 around cultural phenomenon people entities.
18 Such as, for example, around music, like
19 around hip hop music, around, you know,
20 fashion, around sports figures or whatever.

21 I mean we know that young people
22 were attracted to extremist groups. It's not

1 necessarily they're more religious. It's just
2 a thing to belong to.

3 So, are there things like that to
4 belong to around cultural icons or could there
5 be and how would that work and I mean
6 internationally like crossing different
7 borders.

8 MR. KELLY: So, I've got one
9 response to that which brings in something
10 Linton said earlier about the way that some of
11 the Jihadi sites use music. Which is if you
12 look at Iranian blogs or blogs in a lot of
13 parts of the world, they all use music. Not
14 just the Jihadi ones. The poetry blogs use
15 music. So, there are cultural practices of
16 self-identity presentation and involvement in
17 cultural practices that end up online and
18 being sensitive to those and understanding
19 what they are can help you understand better
20 both how to do I think some of what you're
21 talking about which is to organize positive
22 speech around cultural stuff and I think

1 that's a great idea.

2 You see especially in Afghanistan
3 the Afghan blogs and the Iranian blogs a
4 mixture of poetry and politics. People write.
5 I mean think about Afghanistan. People write
6 poetry about the news and that poetry ends up
7 in villages being sung. It's like a homeric
8 tradition and it's one of the ways that
9 information spreads in Afghanistan.

10 So, being sensitive to the
11 cultural context and especially how other
12 kinds of cultural practices are involved in
13 the spreading of information and how that gets
14 hooked in online is a really key thing to pay
15 attention to.

16 MR. HIMELFARB: Thanks, Cynthia.
17 Next question here. We have a --

18 MS. SCHWEBER: Hi. My name's
19 Claudine SchWeber. I'm at the University of
20 Maryland University College.

21 Someone had said something about
22 the importance of visualness or it had been.

1 Of seeing. I'm wondering if you have examples
2 of groups you -- individuals or groups using
3 things -- you know, using Skype or other
4 visual medium to communicate with each other
5 so they can actually get closer and see in a
6 way that is positive or is it mostly text
7 based?

8 MR. HIMELFARB: Go ahead, Ivan.

9 MR. SIGAL: Visual -- visual --
10 well, first of all the main question is
11 bandwidth --

12 MS. SCHWEBER: Okay.

13 MR. SIGAL: -- outside of -- so,
14 where there is actual technical capacity for
15 video and audio, people use it and video
16 sharing sites are incredibly popular and so --
17 and image sharing sites are as well.

18 So, whether that can be translated
19 into -- what I would recommend is that those
20 be elements -- if you're trying to build a
21 project, those would be elements that you'd
22 systematically try to put into your work

1 because people certainly are interested in
2 visual cues and sharing as long as they're
3 sensitive to the bandwidth issue.

4 MR. HIMELFARB: John, in your
5 mapping, do you distinguish between video text
6 space online discourse?

7 MR. KELLY: We do. I mean all of
8 the stuff you're seeing are the maps of the
9 discussion spaces and actually, a lot of the
10 work we do is looking at what those discussion
11 spaces are talking about what media they're
12 using. So, obviously, pictures are very
13 important.

14 The bandwidth thing is key
15 however. Because a lot of places the -- in
16 fact, in Iran, the government has throttled
17 back the available bandwidth to consumers
18 because they were too worried about YouTube
19 and things like that.

20 So you have to sort of be
21 bandwidth conscious, but as bandwidth
22 increases and it will increase, it is

1 increasing. The richer media become much more
2 important.

3 I think one of the most remarkable
4 things we see around the world is the use of
5 YouTube. I mean if you look at all the
6 YouTube videos that are popular in the Iranian
7 blogosphere, for instance, there is amazing
8 content there. Content on sugarcane workers
9 rioting in the provinces, clerics on stage
10 saying very odd things, people making ad hoc
11 music videos in downtown Tehran criticizing
12 the government. It's amazing stuff that the
13 citizens themselves are creating and that will
14 increase as the bandwidth increases.

15 MR. HIMELFARB: Linton.

16 DR. WELLS: Just one important
17 session I was at about a year ago was on
18 strategic listening just to follow up the
19 point you made and, you know, the American way
20 of communication -- strategic communication
21 often is transmit. And the richness of what's
22 out there in these other societies suggests we

1 ought to step back for a little bit and just
2 listen to what they're saying themselves and
3 trying to tell us before we decide what
4 message we're going to deliver.

5 MR. HIMELFARB: Microphone over
6 there.

7 QUESTIONER: You talk a lot about
8 Facebook, about YouTube, about individual
9 blogs, but where is the impetus for an open
10 branded platform for public diplomacy?

11 MR. HIMELFARB: Duncan.

12 MR. MACINNES: We do have a
13 platform called America.gov which is a
14 platform where we try to be more web 2.0 than
15 we were previously. It includes video. It
16 includes some blogging. It includes reader
17 and audience feedback asking them to
18 participate. It includes a lot more video.
19 We produce now our own YouTube type three
20 minute and under videos on things as varied as
21 how Americans celebrate Ramadan to how
22 entrepreneurship works on youth. So, there's

1 lots of things like that.

2 That's a platform and I think
3 that's an important way that we do it.

4 We also have straight blogging.

5 In many of the places of the world like in the
6 Arab world, there's not that many bloggers,
7 but there's a lot of discussion forums that
8 are platforms where they'll have thousands of
9 people logging on to discuss things from
10 movies to international affairs.

11 We go to those forums because they
12 are where the audience is.

13 MR. HIMELFARB: Let's come over to
14 this side and then we'll come back to that
15 side. We've been over here for awhile.

16 MS. LIEPOLD: Hi. My name is Mary
17 Liepold. I work for an organization called
18 Peace X Peace that was founded in 2002 before
19 there was a term social networking and what
20 we're all about is creating that space for
21 citizen diplomacy for women particularly to
22 connect on the basis of differences not on the

1 basis of similarities and then learn to care
2 about each other and find the differences.
3 So, it does exist. I don't want to take up
4 more time than that. But, it's
5 www.peacexpeace spelled P-E-A-C-E X P-E-A-C-
6 E.org.

7 MR. HIMELFARB: All right. This
8 has been a public service announcement.

9 Let's take the -- thank you, Mary.
10 Let's take it over here. Susan. There you
11 go.

12 MS. ABBOTT: Hi. My name is Susan
13 Abbott and I'm from the Annenberg School for
14 Communication and my question is about
15 branding and diplomacy and I wondered what the
16 panelists had to say about their experiences
17 of U.S. branding and the outgoing
18 administration and incoming administration and
19 whether you might consider doing more
20 strategic partnerships and thinking about how
21 messages are imparted in countries where the
22 U.S. may not be so popular yet diplomacy is

1 still quite relevant? How do you get around
2 the branding issue?

3 MR. HIMELFARB: Duncan, I think
4 that's your bailiwick there.

5 MR. MACINNES: Yes, I think there
6 was discussion. There has been discussion of
7 is there a U.S. brand and the answer is no.
8 We're not a product.

9 You have an administration -- any
10 administration has its policies, but America
11 for foreigners particularly in what we're
12 trying to promote is America as a set of
13 ideals, as a culture, as not a political
14 agenda, but what we want to get back to is
15 what we had in the '50s and '60s which is
16 America representing something positive to the
17 world with the ability to be a positive player
18 and bring a -- you know, a vision that people
19 want to subscribe to and I think that's been
20 missing recently for a number of years and
21 it's not -- it's just because, you know, when
22 you become the sole super power, you get a lot

1 of negativity attached to that.

2 But, we need to move back to
3 becoming a place where people see as a
4 positive force in the world and that can be
5 done and we are a positive force. We haven't
6 changed I think in many way, but one of our
7 jobs is to describe America as a whole. You
8 know, as a complex culture. So.

9 MR. HIMELFARB: All right. We're
10 bumping up against lunch. We have time for
11 just two quick ones here. Could I have a
12 microphone up here and then one back there?

13 MS. CALWIN: I'm Kate Calvin
14 (phonetic) with the Academy for Educational
15 Development Center for Civil Society and
16 Governance and I'm wondering about
17 connectivity. For example, in Chad or other
18 countries, areas like that, what do you see in
19 terms of time frame development of that
20 connectivity to be able to take advantage of
21 these kinds of new media?

22 MR. HIMELFARB: So, anybody who

1 wants to jump in on this one.

2 MR. SIGAL: Well, just really
3 quickly I'll say the computer for the next
4 generation is the cell phone and we'll have
5 connectivity via cellular networks for Chad,
6 for the regions that you're talking about
7 before we have internet connectivity.

8 MR. KELLY: I just want to make an
9 auxiliary point though. Which is that you
10 don't have to wait until there's connectivity
11 and a lot of citizenry online to try to
12 understand and appreciate the difference that
13 these networks are already making.

14 Keeping in mind that say bloggers,
15 for instance, or other participants online, a
16 lot of what they're doing is informing
17 journalists.

18 So, particularly -- so, it's
19 certainly true for the U.S. and maybe in some
20 cases more true for countries where it's fewer
21 of the population are online and it's more of
22 the elite online. Those elite are also the

1 journalists. So, they are still key points in
2 the transmission of information that goes out
3 through other media.

4 So, just like the telegraph, no
5 one ever got their news directly from the
6 telegraph except Abraham Lincoln in the Civil
7 War, but the telegraph revolutionalized the
8 news business without actually being a
9 consumer medium.

10 MR. HIMELFARB: Good point. Last
11 question.

12 MS. ANYASO: Yes, I'm Claudia
13 Anyaso also at the State Department and I'm
14 from the Africa Bureau. You scooped my
15 question over there when you asked about Chad.
16 So, I'll slip to my second one.

17 And that is what's the difference
18 in terms of the connectivity of what you're
19 seeing in the blogosphere vis-a-vis North
20 Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa? Of course, we
21 don't have the bandwidth a lot of times in
22 Sub-Saharan Africa.

1 MR. HIMELFARB: Yes, I think
2 actually Ivan knows more about that.

3 MR. SIGAL: I mean bandwidth in
4 Africa is mainly concentrated in cities first
5 of all. So, I would say obviously in Sub-
6 Saharan and South Africa and a few other
7 places you have very high bandwidth and South
8 Africa is very much a hub for internet use in
9 the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa.

10 In the north, Morocco, Tunisia,
11 Egypt are very active and so, I think I would
12 focus less on that environment and look
13 specifically at sectors or centers of
14 technological innovation and resources.

15 MR. HIMELFARB: All right. I'm
16 getting the high sign that we're bumping up
17 against -- we've had good food for thought,
18 but now we've got food for the stomachs coming
19 up here.

20 Let me thank everyone for
21 attending and I realize we've only scratched
22 the surface here. We've gone very broad. We

1 will be going very deep at the Institute in
2 our centers of innovation where we are
3 actively studying this topic.

4 So, thank you all for coming today
5 and thank you to our panelists.

6 (Whereupon, the above-entitled
7 matter was concluded.)

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