The Amateur Computerist

Introduction

This issue of the *Amateur Computerist* focuses on the netizen and how the netizen is having an impact on society now in the 21st Century.

The issue opens with an introduction to the work of Michael Hauben who recognized that the development of the internet brought what is a significant phenomenon, the development of a new social consciousness and identity. This is the emergence of the netizen as a new form of citizenship, a more participatory and socially oriented form of citizenship which often transcends national borders.

When Hauben recognized the emergence of the netizen in his pioneering online research in the early 1990s, he realized also that a new millennium was approaching. The emergence of the netizen was one of the significant phenomenon which would herald the approach of the 21st Century.

While netizen developments have continued around the world, it is in Asia that they have been most notable. The celebration in China of the first

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Netizens Festival Day in September 2009 is one of the rare examples of any national recognition of the importance of this phenomenon. A transcript of a short greeting presented at that Netizens Day event captured on video on YouKu (the Chinese equivalent of YouTube) is the second article in this issue.

Netizen developments have spread broadly and widely, particularly in China. Yet there is little recognition outside of China that this has happened. The article, "China in the Era of the Netizen" provides an introduction to how netizen impact is helping shape China as it emerges in this new era, the "Era of the Netizen."

While the netizen phenomenon is having an effect on various aspects of society, the news media is one area where there is a great need both for change and for the corresponding alternative form being developed by netizens. The article "Netizens Defy Western Fictions Media of China" describes how netizens in China created a media form to criticize western media distortions.

The article "The Need for Netizen Journalism and the Ever Evolving Netizen – News – Net Symbiosis" explains the broader problem when mainstream media create inaccurate narratives as was done in the prelude to the 2003 invasion of Iraq. There were no weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq, but the western media spreading this false narrative functioned to create the pretext for western military aggression against Iraq.

The next article, "Chinese Netizens Question Obama" documents some of the wide ranging questions presented to the U.S. President Obama by netizens in China at the time of his 2010 visit to China. It is followed by "Netizen Impact on Government Policy and Media Practice in China" which presents a broader picture of how netizens in China can play an important role in the development of Chinese policy and media.

Just as netizens in China are playing a significant role in their society, so also netizens in Egypt and South Korea contribute to the political and social developments in their countries. The article "Netizens in Egypt and the Republic of Tahrir Square" describes how netizens utilized the internet to develop broad demands acceptable to different sectors of Egyptian society. This netizen accomplishment contributed to the strength of the Egyptian people during the events of February 2011 in Tahrir Square.

The article "Watchdogging to Challenge the Abuse of Power" is a talk presented at a conference in Paris in summer 2010. The talk looks at the struggle for democracy as the struggle to extend grassroots sovereignty. The internet makes possible a forum to watchdog over those with power in every society. The talk looks at the example of netizens in South Korean but also in the U.S. and elsewhere who provided a significant critique of the false or questionable claims made by the government of South Korea attributing the cause of the breakup in March 2010 of its warship Cheonan to North Korea. The widespread online discussion and refutation of the South Korean government's claims, acted as a catalyst for the United Nations Security Council to encourage a peaceful settlement of the dispute rather than taking the side of the accuser.

The emergence of the netizen is put into the broader framework of the development of the internet in the article "The Internet Model of Socio-Economic Development and the Emergence of the Netizen". The internet offers an alternate model for socio-economic development. The article refers to the work of Charly Gabriel Mbock, a Cameroon social scientist who proposes a vision for how netizens and netizenship can play a significant role in African development. Mbock proposes replacing structural adjustment practices with what he calls a 'democratic adjustment model' for development.

The article "An Alternative to the Neoliberal Model for the Spread of Net Access to All" documents that internet development created a new model different from the economic model of the selfish, self-serving human known as *homo economicus,* replacing it with *homo neticus* or the netizen as a socially oriented participatory actor in social development.

The short description of netizen by Frank Weinreich provides another view of netizens and netizenship. The issue ends with a reprint of Michael Hauben's article, "The Effect of the Net on the Professional News Media" written in 1995. This article still offers an insightful critique of the problems of the main stream media and the alternative model that the internet and the netizens are developing.

This issue provides a collection of articles updating the work done by Hauben but also demonstrating the solidness of the vision he developed of a future society in which netizens would play an increasingly significant role.

The Collected Works of Michael Hauben
A New Website

Welcome to the 21st Century. You are a Netizen (Net Citizen), and you exist as a citizen of the world thanks to the global connectivity that the Net gives you. You consider everyone as your compatriot. You physically live in one country but you are in contact with much of the world via the global computer network. Virtually you live next door to every other single netizen in the world. Geographical separation is replaced by existence in the same virtual space.

With those words Michael Hauben introduced in Spring 1993 his scientific analysis of the emergence of the netizen as the human element of the just spreading internet. Earlier, Michael had participated in the mid and late 1980s on local hobbyist run bulletin board systems (BBSs) and in global Usenet newsgroups. By 1993 he was a student at Columbia University. For over ten years until his untimely death, Michael built a solid body of scholarly and popular work analyzing the importance of the netizen for a more democratic development of human society. Today the concept of netizens and people who identify as netizens can be found in all countries of the world.

Much of the work Michael did to help spread the concept of netizen and to explore new uses of the net appears at various sites on the internet. His

work is commented on and quoted extensively in scholarly and popular articles and posts on and off line. For example, Pier Luigi Capucci, director of Noema Lab in Italy, wrote that Michael Hauben's "research, starting from the origins and development of Usenet to the diffusion of the Net (he participated in online communities since the early 1980s), is fundamental for understanding the current information society, from sharing information to online communication and participation, from the rising and diffusion of the Internet communities to the net policies. He is one of the pioneers who can envisage the future and help us to find the way. With Michael we believe in a vision of the online world as a powerful and positive place." http://www.noemalab.org

Michael's work has now been brought together and archived at the following website:

"Welcome to the Writings of Michael Hauben"

http://www.ais.org/~hauben/Michael_Hauben/Collected_Works/

This website gathers Michaels work under 'Articles' (over 40 written between 1990 and 2001), 'Posts' (pointers to about 1700), 'Music Reviews" of raves, albums and concerts (more than 50), 'Essays' (3), 'Webpages' (11 compiled by Michael) and a 'Misc' collection of other of his writings. All eleven chapters Michael wrote for the book *Netizens* and all of his 30 contributions in the *Amateur Computerist* are together in their own sections. Another section of the website is 'About Michael.'

Michael was a visionary ahead of his time. Many of the ways people now view and use the Internet, and that they now take it for granted, had been long foreseen in his work. As the internet continues to spread and empower people, the concept of netizen and the work of Michael Hauben will continue to be studied. Scholars and others interested should find the website valuable. Suggestions of additions to the website or improvements to its format will be happily received. Please send them to Jay Hauben at: hauben@columbia.edu.

[Editor's Note: The following talk by Ronda Hauben was presented in Beijing on September 14, 2009 as part of the first national Netizens Celebration Day sponsored by the Internet Society of China.*]

China Host To First 'Netizen Day'
Researcher's Remarks on the September 14, 2009 Celebration

I would like to thank the Internet Society of China for inviting me to offer brief remarks today. I want also to congratulate the honored guests for their role in helping to make possible the development of the Internet and the emergence of the Netizens.

It is wonderful that China is holding this netizen day, the first ever to be held anywhere in the world. Often there have been events celebrating the origin and development of the Internet but only rarely has there been recognition offered for the netizen, for those online users who have taken on to contribute to the development and spread of the Net and to making possible the better world that more communication among people will make possible.

The concept of netizen comes from the research and writing of Michael Hauben while he was a college student in the early 1990s. Michael was interested not only in how the Internet would develop and spread, but also in the impact it would have on society.

In 1992 he sent out a set of questions across the computer networks asking users about their experiences online. He was surprised to find that not only were many of those who responded to his questions interested in what the Net made possible for them, but also they were interested in spreading the Net and in exploring how it would make a better world possible. Network users with this social perspective, or this public interest focus Michael called Netizens. Thus the Netizen was not all users, but users with a public purpose.

The Net is also international, so that netizenship isn't a geographically limited concept. To be a netizen is to be not only a citizen of one country but also a citizen of the Net. These users are citizens who were empowered by the Net, or netizens.

Based on his research, Michael wrote the article "The Net and Netizens: The Impact the Net has on People's Lives." The article and the concept of the Netizen spread around the world via the Internet.

Michael and I included his influential article as part of a book titled "Netizens" which we put online on January 12, 1994. Today's celebration of Netizen Day in China is for me also a fitting celebration of the 15th anniversary of putting the first edition of the book "Netizens" online.

Though today is the first national netizen day, I have recently seen on the Internet a call for a World Netizen Day. So the importance of establishing a netizen day begun by the Internet Society of China is a proud beginning of what I hope will become a new tradition, recognizing the importance of the contributions made by Netizens to the continuing spread and development of the Internet.

Congratulations not only to those who have been honored here today, but to all netizens in China and to netizens around the world. May the tradition of the netizen, along with the development of the Internet, grow and flourish.

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* For a Youku video of part of the talk with the translation into Chinese see:
http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTE5MTY3OTUy.html
There were a number of online accounts in Chinese of the September 14 event. Here is one url:
http://account.wangminjie.cn/celebration/
See also in Chinese:
http://tech.qq.com/zt/2009/wangminjie09/#top/

[Editor's Note: The following article was first published in February 2010.]

China in the Era of the Netizen*

by Ronda Hauben
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I recently returned home from a trip to China. Back in New York City, I was left with the feeling that there is something significant happening in China. Some have referred to Beijing as the equivalent in the 21st century of the interesting environment that Prague symbolized for the 1990s. In the air in Beijing one senses that something new is emerging, something that must build on the old but will emerge with its new characteristics.

In Beijing, I had many interesting conversations trying to understand the significance of what is happening there. One was with a friend who is from China but who has lived outside of China for over 20 years. She was back visiting China for a special event and also planned to visit her parents who live in China, as she does every year.

Comparing current day Beijing with the Beijing she knew as a university student, she observed that Beijing, as a world class city, has grown and developed in the Era of the Internet. Her observation helped me to realize that not only was Beijing being developed as a world class city with the benefit of the Internet's contribution, but also that Beijing is a world class city developing in the Era of the Netizen.

Some notes I wrote as I left Beijing observed, "The insight of the trip was that Beijing is a city being developed in the Netizen Era. It is perhaps one of the first world class cities of the Netizen Era. So perhaps a special characteristic of Beijing has to do with the emergence of the Netizen." It wasn't clear to me what the significance was of this observation at the time.

When I returned home from my trip, I came across a publication about the importance of the Netizens in China. The publication was the July 5, 2009 edition of the magazine "NewsChina ." This is the English version published each month of the Chinese weekly magazine *China Newsweek*. The subject of this particular issue was "The Netizens' Republic of China ."

The magazine contains several articles and an editorial about the impact of netizens on the political sphere in China.[1] The editorial was titled "The Netizens Public Square ." One of the articles, "Netizens' the New Watchdogs", had an equally alluring subtitle which asked the question, "Has the era of 'Internet supervision' pitted Chinese netizens against the government in the promotion of democracy and political reform?"

The particular form of "Internet supervision" the article was discussing was whether netizens empowered by the Internet could effectively monitor the actions of their government officials. Can the "era of 'Internet supervision'," be "one in which netizens can compel visible transformation in the

behavior of government bureaucrats," the article asks.[2]

The question of whether or not netizens can affect the actions of their government officials is a question raised by netizens around the world from the early days of Internet development. How this question is being explored by netizens in China is an important development. Yet few around the world, especially those who do not read Mandarin, are aware that this question is being actively explored by netizens in China.

The issue of NewsChina devoted to netizens presents several examples of netizens speaking out online in Chinese discussion groups and forums. Their actions are having an impact on government decision-making processes and on uncovering fraud or corruption. The particular case described in the magazine was the case of Deng Yujiao, a 21-year old waitress who was sexually assaulted by a government official. She tried to defend herself using a knife and in self defense killed her assailant. The magazine describes how her plight became a cause célèbre among netizens in China, who helped her to get a lawyer and to have the charge against her reduced so she didn't have to serve any time in jail.

The magazine gives several other examples of cases of injustice that Chinese netizens championed so as to have justice prevail. Among these is the case of a young college graduate who moved to a different city to take a job, but who didn't have the appropriate temporary residence permit. Picked up for his permit violation, he was placed in a detention center. He became a victim of foul play by residents of the center and security guards and was murdered, but the story was covered up by the police. Netizens began to discuss what had happened to him and the real story of his death began to be unraveled. His assailants were arrested and tried. Eventually the measures the young college graduate was detained under were abolished by the State Council.[3]

Similarly, Chinese netizens have challenged some of the many inaccurate reports about China in the mainstream western media. In 2008 some netizens started a web site that they called www.anti-cnn.com. On the web site they documented many distortions or misrepresentations that appear in the western media.[4]

These are just a few of the many examples of netizen action online that has had an important impact on what the government does. Discussing such netizen actions, Zhan Jiang, a Professor at the China Youth College for Political Science, maintains that "the public supervision (of government-ed) via the Internet serves to promote public participation in political life."[5]

My visit to Beijing in September was my third trip to China. The first had been in November 2005 when I was participating in a panel at an international history of science conference held in Beijing. The title of my talk for the conference was, "The International and Scientific Origins of the Internet and the Emergence of the Netizens." The second trip was in April 2008 when I gave a talk at the Internet Society of China raising the question "whether this is a new Age, the Age of the Netizen?" One of the reasons for my trip in September 2009 was to participate in a Netizens' Day, the first anywhere in the world, which was to be observed on September 14, 2009. The importance of this date is that it marks the date listed on the first email message that was to be sent in 1987 from China onto the international email network known as CSNET. The email message and link were the result of collaborative research between German and Chinese computer science researchers.[6]

The netizens celebration on September 14, 2009 was held at the CCTV Tower in Beijing. There was a stage set up in front of the tower for the ceremony. I was invited to give one of the presentations for the program.[7] My talk which was presented in English and then translated into Chinese, I explained the origin of the concept of the netizen through the research in 1992-3 of Michael Hauben who was a university student doing pioneering online studies about the social impact of the development of the Internet.[8]

I described how in the early 1990s, Hauben sent out a set of questions across the networks asking users about their experiences online. He was surprised to find that not only were many of those who responded to his questions interested in what the Net made possible for them, but also they were interested in spreading the Net and in exploring how it could make a better world possible. Based on his research Hauben wrote his article "The Net and the Netizens."[9]

The netizen, Hauben recognized, was the emergence of a new form of citizen, who was using the power made possible by the Net for a public pur-

pose, and who was not limited by geographical boundaries. The Net for Hauben was a new social institution and the discovery of the emergence of the netizen was the special contribution that he made to the field of network study.

The celebration on September 14, 2009 in Beijing thus was an event not only to celebrate the research and technological advance making possible the connection of China to the international network CSNET. But it was similarly, and perhaps even more significantly, an event recognizing the emergence of the netizens in China and hence, of a new social identity.

The September 14 event was covered in the online media and other media.[10] Being the first such Netizens Day, knowledge of the day was not yet widespread. Some net users commented that they weren't aware that there had been a Netizen Day. For me, however, the event on September 14, 2009 in Beijing was remarkable. In 1994, 15 years earlier the first edition of the Netizens netbook with Hauben's article about netizens had been put online.[11] At the time there was much less access to the Internet and many fewer Netizens. Nevertheless, the phenomenon first identified more than 15 years ago has continued to develop and spread around the world. And in Beijing, in a city where much is new, and grand, and hopeful toward the future, there was a ceremony out in front of the tallest of structures in Beijing, the CCTV tower, recognizing the importance of the Internet and of the Netizen.

This event in Beijing was the first Netizen Day, the first official recognition of the netizen anywhere in the world. It was a celebration to honor the fact that the phenomenon of the netizen continues to develop and spread and to be recognized as a new and important achievement of our times.

Notes

1. Yu Xiaodong, "Netizens, the New Watchdogs", in *NewsChina*, Vol No. 012, July 5, 2009. p. 17. The magazine website is: http://www.newschinamag.com/
See also,
http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=60361336528&topic=8895
2. Yu Xiaodong, "Netizens the New Watchdogs", *NewsChina*, July 5, 2009, p.17
3. This is the case of Sun Zhigang. See "Selected Cases Exposed on the Internet," *NewsChina*, p. 20. This and other examples are described in a paper by Jay Hauben, "China:

Netizen Impact on Government Policy and Media Practice ."
http://www.columbia.edu/~hauben/j-paper.doc
4. Ronda Hauben, "Netizens Defy Western Media Fictions of China: On the 'anti-CNN' forum and Web site", *OhmyNews International*, May 8, 2008.
http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?no=382523&rel_no=1
5. Yu Xiaodong, "Netizens, the New Watchdogs", *NewsChina*, July 5, 2009, p. 17.
6. Jay Hauben, "The Story of China's First Email Link and How It Got Corrected." http://www.scr.scas.cn/whlt/yjjz/
7. See "Honoring the Netizen", talk presented on September 14, 2009. The url is:
http://blogs.taz.de/netizenblog/2009/10/02/first_netizen_celebration_day_held_in_beijing_china_/
8. See for example: Michael Hauben, "Preface: What is a Netizen" in "Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet," online version:
http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/ch106.xpr
9. Michael Hauben, "The Net and the Netizens" in *Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet*, online version: http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/ch106.x01
10. On September 15, there was a program on the China Radio International (CRI) show "Beijing and Beyond" discussing the development of the Netizen in China. The url is:
http://english.cri.cn/7146/2009/09/15/481s515765.htm
11. The book put online in 1994 is also now published in a print edition titled *Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet*. The co-authors are Michael Hauben and Ronda Hauben. Originally published by the IEEE Computer Society, the book is now distributed by John Wiley. The print edition was published in 1997. The url for the online edition is: http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120

* This article appeared on February 2, 2010 on taz.de at:
http://blogs.taz.de/netizenblog/2010/02/14/china_in_the_era_of_the_netizen/

Netizens Defy Western Media Fictions of China: The 'anti-CNN' Forum and Web Site*

Who will win the contest to be the new global media, CNN or netizen media like the anti-CNN online forum and Web site?

This question was given in April 2008 to students in Professor Li Xiguang's global media literacy seminar at Tsinghua University in Beijing to grapple with as their final project.

Professor Li's background is as a journalist, covering science and technology, and as a journalism professor who is the author of significant papers about the role of the Internet in the development of the changing media environment in China. Professor Li had invited me to speak to his students in the global media literacy seminar about the spread of netizens and the impact of the Internet on society for his April 16 class.

Shortly before my trip to China was to begin, however, something quite unexpected occurred. When the Western mainstream media, from CNN to BBC, covered a riot that occurred in Lhasa, the capital of the Chinese Autonomous Region of Tibet, Chinese netizens immediately documented that their coverage was often inaccurate or misleading.

Within a few days of the inaccurate reports, an online forum appeared on the Internet called anti-cnn.com. The forum included articles and videos documenting some of the many distortions in the coverage of the Tibet events. The forum also had areas in English and in Chinese for discussion and debate.

I had discovered the online forum while still in New York and was intrigued by the fact that it not only provided an important source of clarification about the misrepresentations in the media, but also it made available a space for discussion in both English and Chinese about the importance of identifying and countering the false narrative that the mainstream Western media had been creating of the events in Tibet.

While the online forum was named anti-cnn it was not limited to countering errors in reporting in CNN. Rather the founder had chosen anti-cnn for the name as CNN has a global spread and the purpose of the anti-cnn forum was to counter the misrepresentations of China and events in China in the global media.

I was particularly excited to be going to China at a time when a netizen media form had been created to critique the narratives being circulated by mainstream Western media organizations.

We arrived in Beijing early in the morning on April 16, the day I was to give my talk to Professor Li's seminar.

We had arrangements to see Professor Li's assistant in order to get ready to go to the class for my talk. It was 3 p.m., a little while before I was to get ready to go to the class, when Professor Li's assistant called up to our room and asked if she could come up. It was good to see her. I was in the process of putting some finishing touches on my slides for my talk.

She came into our room out of breath, explaining that she had tried to send an email, which I had not seen. She said that several journalists had come to debate with Tsinghua University students about the frustrations netizens in China had with the reporting by several of the Western media organizations. She urged us to come immediately with her to hear the debate.

I saved the version I had of my slides and we left to follow her across the Tsinghua University campus to the meeting between the students and the journalists.

The meeting was in a large room in the journalism building. Four journalists from the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) were seated at a large table, along with Professor Li and a number of students. Other students filled the rest of the room.

The conversation was being held in English and Chinese with Professor Li doing translation from one language to the other depending on the speaker.

There were perhaps as many as 80 people filling the room.

I later learned that the journalists were probably part of a nine person delegation from the IFJ

who had come to speak with the Chinese government about working conditions for the 30,000 journalists who were expected to come to Beijing to cover the Olympics.

While the purpose of the IFJ delegation appeared to be as advocates for the journalists who were to be covering the Olympics, the situation in the debate they were having with Tsinghua students was quite different. At this meeting the students were presenting their frustrations and complaints about the kind of erroneous reporting that had been documented on the anti-cnn forum and asking for an explanation of how such misrepresentations could have happened.

One of the students asked why the Western media did not report about the victims who had died in the fires set by those who took part in the riots. Another student asked why the Western media reported that religious effigies had been burned but didn't report about the people who had died as a result of the fires and other violence in the riot. The student wondered why journalists would give more weight to the destruction of property rather than of human life.

Still another student asked how journalists could cover the story of Tibet if they didn't first take the time to learn the history of what had happened in Tibet in the past.

"Does a free press mean the freedom of the journalist to present his or her own personal views or does it mean the freedom for the public to know the information," asked one of the students.

Many students had hands up when there was the call for questions.

The head of the delegation, Aidan Patrick White, who is the General Secretary of the IFJ, headquartered in Brussels, gave most of the responses, though others in the delegation also answered some of the questions raised by the students.

White explained that when he went into journalism he thought it would be something connected with public service. He had since learned that there is political pressure on journalists no matter what country they are from.

The manager of the anti-cnn Web site, Qi Hanting, is a Tsinghua University student. He was at the meeting and his presentation to the journalists was eagerly greeted by the students. He explained why the students were upset with the distorted coverage they had documented as prevalent in the reports of Western media organizations.

Qi explained that there was a difference between a mistake in a story and a distortion. He offered as an analogy the core of an atom and the electrons surrounding it. The electrons can appear any place around the atom, but if an electron goes too far away it can break away.

Though reporters might write about different aspects of a story, he explained, their stories still can be accurate. But if the report is too far from the reality, it could be explosive.

The journalists from the IFJ responded that they weren't trying to justify bad reporting. There wasn't a conspiracy in the Western media against China. Qi proposed that there was a need to have reporters who emphasize different aspects of a story in order to help there to be the proper understanding of a story, but that was different from presenting a distorted or inaccurate presentation of the story as had happened with a number of the reports of the Tibet riot in the Western media.

With less than 100 days remaining until the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics, the issues and questions presented by Qi and the other Tsinghua University students to the IFJ journalists take on a broader significance. How will the 30,000 journalists who are expected to come to China to report on the Olympics, portray the story of China?

China has recently gone through a significant transformation. One indication of the changes are the many new buildings, the huge majestic structures that fill the Beijing skyline. These new structures, along with the people who live and work in them are a sign that Beijing has become a world class city. Can the journalists who will come to Beijing in August recognize that there is an important story about what is developing in China? Can they become a force to investigate this story and present it, so that that there is an accurate portrayal in the media for people around the world?

This question is being considered by netizens in China and abroad.

While formerly it may have seemed that the Western media could be a reliable source of information about events and viewpoints that were not available in the Chinese media, the view that the Western media could be relied on to present accurate news has been transformed in just a few short weeks in March and April 2008.

Instead netizens working together online are telling the story, not only of what they see is happening in Tibet, but even more importantly, they are documenting the failure of the Western media to be a reliable source of information about China.

In place of the Western media has sprung up a netizen media, contributed to by some of the 210 million Internet users in China, and some of the many overseas netizens.

The story of these netizens in China and abroad is an important story as they have demonstrated a resolve not to surrender the framing of the story of the Beijing Olympics to the distortions of a powerful Western media. Through their own active participation and collaboration, they are working to provide an alternative narrative.

Qi explained that the anti-cnn forum and Web site has a staff of over 40 volunteers. These netizens do the technical work, and the fact checking of the posts and the responses to the posts.

If a submission to the Web site is emotional, he explained, it will appear, but the moderators will not allow any responses to it in order to prevent the discussion from becoming too heated.

A post in the anti-cnn forum raised the question of whether it would be possible to create an east west cultural exchange platform to facilitate communication across the cultural differences between the Chinese people and those from other cultures who will come to China for the Olympics.

During an interview with him a few days after the debate with the journalists from the IFJ, Qi expressed his view that it can be possible to communicate despite the differences and to be able to find out where the differences lay.

Every difference has two aspects, he explained, an emotional component and a rational component.

Even if people can't agree, they can communicate, he proposed. He was hopeful that discussion would go in more communicative directions rather than netizens in China just feeling that they wanted an apology from Western journalists who distort the news about China.

His hope was that the anti-cnn forum on the Internet would make it possible to have comments on issues from a wide range of differing perspectives, rather than such differences leading to polarization and hostility.

His long term goal was that the forum become a site to support many different points of view but also where deviations from the truth would be critiqued.

[Editor's Note: The following article was written as a contribution to the celebration of MayDay 2011.]

The Need for Netizen Journalism and the Ever Evolving Netizen – News – Net Symbiosis*

by Ronda Hauben
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The current international situation raises important questions for discussion and analysis. In a complex world, how can one have a means to understand what is happening? While the mainstream media often project one view of the world, online discussion and analysis have begun to play an ever more important role in offering alternative viewpoints and analysis.

Around the world there has been a recognition that the mainstream western media can play a harmful role for those trying to develop an accurate understanding of the events of our times. The example of the U.S. media promoting the U.S. government misrepresentation that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction led to a number of critiques of how such a falsification could occur. The question was raised as to what is the means to prevent similar occurrences in the future. One such answer was to recognize that the mainstream U.S. media presents only the dominant viewpoint of those in power, and in so doing helps to empower that viewpoint even more.[1]

The current situation with the U.S., France, and the U.K. providing NATO military action against Libya has once again raised the question of the role played by the western mainstream media in reporting the actions of their governments.

As in the Iraq situation where the mainstream news media focused on the reports and views of the Iraqi exile opposition community, similarly in the Libyan situation, much of the mainstream western English language media, along with Al-Jazeera, are reporting overwhelmingly the Libyan defector and opposition reports and views. The question raised in our current situation is whether there is any other means to get a broader perspective of the situation in the Middle East?

The problem of relying on the narrow perspective of much of the mainstream western English language media has been recognized in the past. Is there a means to solve this problem?

Exploring a similar problem, Michael Hauben, in his article, "The Effect of the Net on the Professional News Media: The Usenet News Collective / Man-Computer News Symbiosis"[2] [See this issue page 41] considered what the effect of both the netizen and the Internet would be on the future of the news and the news media. He recognized that a new form of news that was in its infancy was the largest online discussion forum, known as Usenet. Hauben recognized that a new form of news was evolving into a new paradigm which would include both the contributions of netizens and the capabilities of the Internet. Describing the frustration of many netizens with the traditional media that they had to rely on before the Internet, Hauben wrote, "Today, similarly, the need for a broader and more cooperative gathering and reporting of the News has helped create the new online media that is gradually supplementing traditional forms of journalism."

What Hauben realized is that a symbiosis was developing between the News, netizens and the Internet. Symbiosis is a term describing an interdependent relationship between different species. For example, the relationship between the insect Blastophaga grossorun and the fig tree is described in an important paper by one of the pioneers of networking JCR Licklider as a relationship in which each is dependent on the other for survival. Licklider writes:[3] "The fig tree is pollinated only by the insect Blastophaga grossorun. The larva of the insect lives in the ovary of the fig tree, and there it gets its food. The tree and the insect are thus heavily interdependent: the tree cannot reproduce without the insect; the insect cannot eat without the tree; together, they constitute not only a viable but a productive and thriving partnership. This coopera-

tive 'living together in intimate association, or even close union, of two dissimilar organisms' is called symbiosis."

Hauben realized that the news was evolving into a similar interdependent partnership which had become substantial. He wrote, "the collective body of people assisted by (Usenet) software, has grown larger than any individual newspaper…."

There are many examples that have developed of netizens making their contributions to the News and the Net.

One important example of this new media was the anti-cnn web site created in China in 2008.[4] The article "Netizens Defy Western Media Fictions of China" [See this issue page 7] documents how the website was created in response to western media distortions of the Tibet demonstrations and riots and how the website critiqued these distortions.

In 2010 netizens in South Korea and in various online sites around the world took on to challenge the inaccuracies and serious problems in the South Korean government investigation into the sinking of the Cheonan.

The article "Netizens Question Cause of Cheonan Controversy" documents some of the many online contributions made to demonstrate the inaccuracy of the South Korean government's conclusions.[5]

The article "UN Security Council March17 Meeting to Authorize Bombing of Libya all Smoke and Mirrors" includes some of the online critique by netizens of the UN security council characterization of the conflict in Libya as that of peaceful demonstrators needing foreign military intervention for protection.[6]

These are but a few references to the new form of news media that is evolving which is one of analysis and critique, especially of the inaccuracies portrayed by mainstream western media.

Similarly, given the claims of the U.S., French and U.K. governments that it is necessary to bomb Libya in order to protect civilians, a number of web sites have taken up the obligation to offer analysis and perspective challenging such government views and the mainstream media promoting them. In the U.S. even some prominent alternative media like Democracy Now that had challenged the U.S. government's false claims as the pretext for the invasion of Iraq, are now featuring the defector analysis of the situation in Libya. Despite the critique of

how much of the mainstream U.S. media had failed in the period leading up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq, similar superficial news reports are again a norm. With much of the mainstream U.S. news media presenting only the viewpoint of the dominant political interests in the U.S., there is a dire need for netizen–news–net collaboration producing a more in-depth coverage and critical analysis. Web sites like Global Research[7], Counterpunch[8], Mathaba[9], and Voltairenet[10] are just a few of those which have offered a broader critique of the U.S. and NATO military attacks on Libya.

The significance of this new form of news is that there are many netizens who are dedicated to doing the research and analysis needed to determine the interests and actions that are too often hidden from public view. By revealing the actual forces at work, netizens are making it possible to have a more accurate grasp of whose interests are being served and what is at stake in the events that make up the news.

Notes

1. W. Lance Bennett, Steven Livingston, Regina G. Lawrence, "When the Press Fails", Chicago, 2008.

2. Michael Hauben, "The Effect of the Net on the Professional News Media: The Usenet News Collective – The Man-Computer News Symbiosis," in Michael Hauben and Ronda Hauben, *Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet*, Los Alamitos, 1997.
http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/ch106.x13

3. J.C.R. Licklider, "Man-Computer Symbiosis"
http://memex.org/licklider.pdf

4. Ronda Hauben, "Netizens Defy Western Media Fictions of China" *OhmyNews International*, September 5, 2008.
http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?no=382523&rel_no=1

5. Ronda Hauben, "Netizens Question Cause of Cheonan Tragedy: Online media challenge claims that North Korea is responsible for the sinking of the Cheonan," *OhmyNews International*, June 4, 2010.
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6. Ronda Hauben, "UN Security Council March17 Meeting to Authorize Bombing of Libya all Smoke and Mirrors", taz.de, http://blogs.taz.de/netizenblog/2011/03/30/un_march_17_meeting_res1973/

7. http://www.globalresearch.ca/

8. http://www.voltairenet.org/en

9. http://www.mathaba.net/

10. http://www.counterpunch.org

[Editor's Note: This article appeared just after President Barack Obama visited China from Nov 15-18, 2010.]

Chinese Netizens Question Obama
Netizens Ask Thousands of Questions Before Obama's China Visit*

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Last week, the gaze of netizens in China was put on the visit of U.S. President Barack Obama that was to occur Nov 15-18. As part of his visit, a session was planned in Shanghai where President Obama would answer questions from a live audience of students and young people. The U.S. Embassy in Beijing also requested that netizens send questions for President Obama some of which would be included. *Xinhuanet* and *People's Daily*, both national news media in China, also requested questions from net users. Within days, they received thousands of questions.

Blogs exist which regularly translate netizen posts and discussions into English that appear first in Chinese.[1] Quickly, some translated a few of the submitted questions.[2] The questions translated covered a wide range of topics.

Many questions had an internationalist perspective. For example: "It was proven that Iraq did not have WMD. Can you represent the U.S. government in apologizing to the Iraqi people and make war reparations?" "I want to ask President Obama, how do you deserve the Nobel Prize? Please be honest!" "American soldiers are not welcome in Afghanistan so why are you still there killing their civilians? Why are you going there, to 'provoke' them to become human bombs? Right, it's your anti-terrorism business but it's innocent civilians who died. Before you were there, they had a better life." "Mr. President, do you think it is a little ironic to receive the Nobel Peace Prize while American troops are deployed all over the world and involved

in two wars?" "Almost every U.S. president waged a war. Will you do that during your term of office?" "I am very concerned about the Middle East. I remember during the election campaign, you said that if Iran is willing, the United States and Iran have contact. I would like to know what kind of contact with Iran? Have the two sides talked on how? In addition, how do you look at Israel's policies?"

One netizen, rather than asking President Obama a question, gave his advice: "Obama, for your soldiers and all the peace-loving people around the globe, please stop your invasion of the world!"

Many of the netizens questioned what they see as a double standard in U.S. foreign policy: "How would Americans feel if our leader hugged Osama Bin Laden like U.S. presidents did to the Dalai Lama? The meeting would hurt our feelings, and we are all hoping for mutual respect in this relationship." "If in the United States expression of the will of the people is democracy, then when the Chinese people express the collective will, what do you think that is? Did some of you think about the U.S. policy toward China but did not consider the examination of the Chinese people's wishes? What is the reason so many Chinese people are very disgusted with some American politicians?" "If someday Hawaii wants to separate from America, will your government and people support it? If one country uses the excuse of helping Hawaii to protect its people to sell them weapons, in order to keep balance between Hawaii and U.S., will you still support the 'friendly' relationship with that country?"

The U.S. wants China to strengthen its currency because China has such a large trade surplus. The theory is that a stronger currency will make exports more expensive and thus correct a trade imbalance. But a netizen asked: "If exchange rate caused trade imbalance, then the Korean won and the Australian dollar should be appreciated since the two countries had trade surplus for a long time. Based on this, I want to know, as U.S. President why don't you think more about how much U.S. plundered from the world's laboring people with depreciation of its dollar? Even with appreciated Chinese RMB we can't buy Unocal!"

Some had economic questions for President Obama: "Chinese Hong Kong will probably introduce E.U. dollars to its financial system. What do you think?" "I am more concerned about economic issues. All along, the United States is the world's liberal economic model to learn from. Many countries saw, the United States as the 'teacher.' But with the financial crisis, many people have asked, and now 'teacher' is a problem, we 'students' how to do this? Can you talk about economies from the point of view of developing countries?" "Many people think that the dollar in the international monetary system is in a position of hegemony. For other countries the existing system is unfair. With the United States as the largest vested interests, will not the future of the international financial system face increased obstacles to reform?" "Your country always complains about the trade imbalance with us. Then why don't you lift the embargo of high technology products on us? We can make all low tech goods. So tell me why and what we should buy from you?"

There were also questions about Obama's personal life and some comments wishing President Obama well and hoping for good relations between China and the U.S.

Besides the request for questions, the U.S. Embassy organized ahead of Obama's visit a live exchange of questions and answers between a dozen or so well known Chinese bloggers and the U.S. diplomatic mission in China. The character of the questions asked by the bloggers seemed somewhat different from the character expressed in the questions like those above which appeared in English translation online.

Some of the bloggers showed concern about the efforts by the government of China to supervise the content available on the internet. One asked "whether Obama will update his Twitter and facebook as usual while in China?" That appeared as his way to point out that Twitter and facebook access is sometimes blocked in China.

Many of the other questions were also serious. For example, Peking University journalism professor and author Yong Hu asked what the U.S. saw as common values between China and the U.S.

Rao Jin, founder of the Anti-CNN website that scrutinizes China coverage in foreign media and exposes distortions, commented that the youth in China better understand the West than the youth in the U.S. understand China. He asked if President Obama would be able to promote more exchanges between Chinese and American young people.

Rao Jin also broadened the criticism of media control by commenting that with the CIA's increased special powers, he was worried: "I am concerned. I am a user of Gmail, facebook and Twitter, which many people around the world use. The CIA can use special means to enter those services and obtain personal information. How can users like us be guaranteed that our personal data are secure? Also, I know that the U.S.A. has enacted certain laws to monitor the personal email information. Will the Internet control and filtering in the name of anti-terrorism violate the human rights and personal privacy of all users?"

Thousands of netizens in China commenting on a political event is not unusual. There are over 350 million internet users in China and that number is steadily increasing [483 million by July 2011]. More than 100 million of these net users come online for public rather than simply for personal and entertainment purposes. They regularly read and post comments and questions in online forums. Among these are netizens who act as watchdogs over the Chinese government and society.

Every year since 2003, there has been dozens of national netizen commotions around social and political issues, sometimes exposing fraud or corruption or questioning government actions or explanations, sometimes discussing foreign events like disruption of the Olympic touch relay. They have become a normal aspect of Chinese society.

By the example of their questions to U.S. President Obama for his visit to China, netizens in China have applied their social concern and added a new input mechanism for foreign policy consideration.

Notes
1. For example: EastSouthWestNorth
http://www.zonaeuropa.com/weblog.htm
2. See for example, "Chinese Netizen Questions For Obama During His Visit" by Python at China Smack
http://www.chinasmack.com/stories/obama-visit-chinese-netizen-questions/ which includes some cartoons by netizens.

*This article appeared in *Ohmynews International* on Nov 23, 2010 at:
http://english.ohmynews.com/ArticleView/article_view.asp?no=385800&rel_no=1

Netizen Impact on Government Policy and Media Practice in China

I present here two examples where the activity of netizens[*] has had an impact on their societies. I seek to demonstrate developing relations between netizens and the media and netizens and their governments with China as my example.

I have taken this presentation from a paper I wrote in 2008[1] where I illustrated with six examples that active participation by a critical mass of net users in online discussions, petitions, posts and protests can: (1) influence national public opinion, (2) activate the mainstream media, (3) check actions of the authorities and (4) set some of the political agenda of China. There is evidence that these active net users are beginning to exercise some political power and are contributing to developing Chinese society in the direction of greater citizen participation. In the process they are finding new forms and new means to assert some of the will of the people as pressure for change of government policies and practices and of social norms. My examples are from China, but netizens are active in many countries.

I. Introduction

Internet adoption in China is rapidly expanding as it has been since 1995. As of July 2010, there are

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[*]If you are not familiar with the term 'netizen,' it is explained somewhat in this presentation. As a quick introduction, when computer networking spread and began to be more common in the 1980s and 1990s, some users sensed that something new and powerful was being born. The users who felt they belonged on the Net and took active responsibility for helping new users to join the net began to act like citizens of it. This sense of belonging and responsibility and active participation is a form of citizenship, network citizenship. 'Net citizen,' is shortened to 'netizen.' Netizen is a scientific concept getting at the essence of humans as a social species.

over 420 million people in China who have internet access. Over 117 million of these users read online forums, some of whom also contribute to the over 220 million Chinese language blogs. A still smaller set of net users, about 80 to 100 million are active contributors to forum and chat room discussions. Among the users in this group, I would identify net users who are 'netizens'.

Netizen as a concept of scholarly interest was first analyzed in the research of Michael Hauben at Columbia University starting in 1992. Hauben had participated in the mid and late 1980s on local hobbyist run bulletin board systems (BBSs) and in global Usenet newsgroups. Usenet is a distributed bulletin board or forum system which grew to have up to 90,000 topics. Messages and replies are passed on from computer to computer around the world. Hauben writes that he became aware of "a new social institution, an electronic commons developing."[2] He undertook research to explore how and why these communications forums served as an electronic commons. He posted questions on newsgroups, mailing lists and portals and found a very high level "of mutual respect and sharing of research and ideas fostering a sense of community and participation."[3] Hauben found social and political issues being discussed with seriousness in this online community which the conventional media and his school courses rarely if ever covered or covered only from a narrow angle.

Hauben found that there were people online who actively use and take up to defend public communication. They oppose censorship and disruptive online behavior. He recognized this as a form of network citizenship. He contracted 'net.citizen' into 'netizen' to express the new online non-geographically based social identity and net citizenship he attributed to these people. He wrote, "My research demonstrated that there were people active as members of the network, which the words net citizen did not precisely represent. The word citizen suggests a geographic or national definition of social membership. The word Netizen reflects the new non-geographically based social membership…."[4]

The online self-identity and practice of netizenship spread around the world. Two uses of the word netizen emerged. It is necessary to distinguish between all net users and those users who participate constructively concerning social and political issues in forums and chat rooms or on blogs.[5] This second category comes online for public rather than simply for personal and entertainment purposes. They act as citizens of the net and are the users I feel deserve the name netizen.

To be clear, not all net users are netizens. My usage is similar to that of Haiqing Yu who writes, "I use 'netizen' in a narrow sense to mean 'Net plus citizen.' or 'citizen on the net.' Netizens are those who use the Internet as a venue for exercising citizenship through rational public debates on social and political issues of common concern."[6] I add, also, that netizens are not only 'citizens on the net' but also 'citizens of the net' signifying those who actively contribute to the development and defense of the net as a global communications platform.

The Chinese government and party actively support the spread of the Internet and its active use by people within China. Zixue Tai in his book, *The Internet in China: Cyberspace and Civil Society* reports, "The Chinese government has displayed an unusual level of enthusiasm in embracing the Internet since the mid-1990s… by investing heavily in the infrastructure and in promoting Internet use among its government agencies, businesses, and citizens."[7] When media outside of China report about the Internet in China, the predominant stress is of censorship. Such reporting misses that the government of China provides perhaps the highest level of support in the world.[8] The result is the rapid spread of the Internet and its active use (averaging for net users in China over two and one half hours per day) supported by the highest government and party officials. A foreign journalist working in Beijing commented that users in China "are usually too busy enjoying the Internet they have to lament the Internet they do not have."[9] And, as the examples which follow show, many of them are using it with the purpose of social and political supervision over the government.

II. Examples

As my first example, I take the 'BMW Incident' in 2003 in Harbin. On Oct 16, 2003, two farmers, Liu Zhongxia and her husband, rode their tractor loaded with onions through a narrow street in Harbin, capital city of Heilongjiang Province in Northeast China. The tractor accidentally scrapped the rearview mirror of a car parked on the side of the narrow street. The car was a BMW owned by Su Xiuwen's businessman husband. Ms. Su caused a

commotion haranguing the two farmers because of the damage to her husband's expensive car. Then she got back into the car and drove it into the crowd which had gathered because of the commotion. Ms. Liu, the farm woman, was killed and 12 bystanders were injured.

Ms. Su was tried in a Harbin court on Dec. 20. None of the bystanders testified. They had each received money from Ms. Su's husband. After two hours, the court ruled Ms. Su had not been properly handling her car. The death of Ms. Liu was judged accidental. Ms. Su was given a two year sentence which was suspended. There was brief local media coverage of the trial and it seemed it would pass as a fatal traffic accident, one of many every day in every country.

But two days after the trial, an online message (called a post) about the case appeared on the Strengthening Nation Forum, "Attention: The BMW killed a farmer." The person posting made three main points: (1) Ms. Su was related to a high ranking official. (2) Ms. Su had killed Ms. Liu deliberately. (3) The trial did not follow legal procedures. The post unleashed a wide spread questioning and discussion of the case throughout Chinese language cyberspace. Soon there were over 70,000 comments and opinions relating to the case on one portal alone. Many netizens saw in the incident a posing of the questions of rich versus poor in China, and justice versus corruption. The number of comments rose to over 300,000.

Within two weeks the BMW incident became the online hottest topic in the China. Journalists from outside the province who followed the online commotion went to Harbin to investigate and report for their newspapers. After January 8, China's mainstream national media began intensive coverage. After all this attention, local authorities and legal organs began a reinvestigation.

The online uproar over the case put it on the national news agenda and offered an alternative framing to that of the court and the local media. Almost half of the early posts looked for 'behind the scene' reasons for Ms. Su's light sentence. Less than ten percent accepted the court's decision. Other netizens sought to understand the underlying causes. Some suggested remedies like greater government accountability to public opinion.

Some comments I found in English on bbs.chinadaily.com from Jan 2004 include:

2004-1-6 03:57 PM   #1 xiaozhu (xiaozhu)
No matter who she is. Justice should go to her. Did she do this deliberately? Or is it just a mis-operation? The police should shrug off outside interference and investigate the case in a just way. So do the judges.

2004-1-6 04:11 PM   #2 doubter (doubter)
Police in China can read minds…
From the article above: "Local police said that Su made a mistake by stepping on the accelerator instead of the brake pedal that she intended to strike, due to being flustered." So local police in China can read minds? How did they know what she "intended" to do? Can you just stick to the facts, officer?
Like perhaps the fact that the BMW X5 is a huge car that doesn't smash through a crowd of people into a tree unless you STAMP on the accelerator.
Like the fact that there had been an argument, and if you are "flustered" you don't try to drive.
Like the fact that this is the kind of woman who starts an argument about a tiny scratch on her HUGE expensive car that is too big for Chinese streets. The kind of car that is called a "pedestrian killer" in overseas countries.
The previous person made a comment that the police should ignore outside interference and just focus on the case. Too late for that, I think…

Most posts questioned the trial result but some posts called for harmony.

There was a growing call for the authorities to open a new investigation and hold a new trial. When it was reported in the press that province officials promised "a satisfactory solution to the 'BMW case' will be offered to the public," a post on the Strengthening Nation Forum titled "Why should we trust you?" precipitated a cynical thread casting doubt on the credibility of the officials.[10] More and more the question raised was what kind of China do we want? A netizen with the alias *stellyshi* commented that history shows that "…justice originates with the truth. But now in the world, or in China, the truth means nothing. In modern China, with power and money, you can say anything as you like. Even you can kill one person as you want. So, what is this? Is this fair? Is this so-called socialist country? I don't think so. Never!!!…"[11]

The hundreds of thousands of online posts took many forms including analysis, argumentation, po-

ems, novels, dramas, letters, animations, and jokes. Most posts were sympathetic to Ms. Liu and hostile to Ms. Su. For many netizens, Ms. Su and Ms. Liu, the BMW and the onion cart became symbols of the growing gap and the character differences between the rich and the poor in China. While much coverage in the mainstream media called for government transparency and social improvement, a major direction taken in netizen posts was to raise the questions of the direction in which China should be going and what government policy led to these gaps. The mainstream media called for step-by-step social improvement, the online discussion raised deeper systemic questions.

The off line media and the government in response to the massive netizen activity took more action then they would have. A new investigation was promised and a retrial of Ms. Su. But by mid January the government forbad the mainstream media from any further coverage. It also required the deletion of some and finally all old posts and any new netizen contributions on the major forums and portals. At the new trial, there was no greater penalty for Ms. Su and the monitoring and deleting of BMW related posts caused online attention to shift to other incidents and issues including net censorship.

In this incident all the netizen activity did not lead to a different legal outcome. But it was another example that ferment around a not very uncommon event can lead to examination of contradictions buried in society.

It is arguable that this netizen uprising had an effect on Chinese society regardless of the legal outcome or the deletion of hundreds of thousands of netizen comments. In September 2004, the Fourth Session of the Sixteenth Chinese Communist Party Central Committee rejected the long standing policy orientation 'efficiency first' which had been criticized by some netizens who in the course of their uprisings traced the specific problem to this systemic root.[12]

My next example is about the *Anti-cnn* website which was first put online in April 2008.

On March 14, 2008, Tibetan demonstrators in Lhasa the capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region in China turned violent. A Canadian tourist and the one or two foreign journalists who witnessed the situation put online photos, videos and descriptions documenting the violence of the rioters against citizens and property[13] even before the Chinese media started to report it. The Chinese media framed the story as violence against Han Chinese and Muslim Chinese fomented by the Tibetan government in exile. Much of the mainstream international media like BBC, VOA, and CNN framed the violence as the result of discriminatory Chinese rule and Chinese police brutality.

Wide anger was expressed by many Chinese aboard when they discovered that some of the media in the U.S., Germany, France, and the U.K., were using photos and videos from clashes between police and pro-Tibetan independence protestors in Nepal and India to support that media's claim of violence by Chinese police. A digital slide show that contained a narrated presentation of 11 mislabeled photos inappropriate for the articles with which they appeared[14] spread widely in cyberspace in and outside China.

Within a few days of the appearance of the inaccurate reports, Rau Jin a recent Tsinghua university graduate launched the *Anti-cnn* website (http://www.anti-cnn.com). He explained that, after netizen anger and discussion, he wanted to "speak out our thoughts and let the westerners learn about the truth."[15] The top page of *Anti-cnn* featured articles, videos and photos documenting some of the alleged distortions in the coverage of the Tibet events. The website also had forum sections first in Chinese then also in English. The organizers set as the goal of *Anti-cnn* to overcome media bias in the western media by fostering communication between Chinese netizens and netizens outside of China so that the people of the world and of China could have accurate knowledge about each other. They wrote on their website, "We are not against the western media, but against the lies and fabricated stories in the media." *Anti-cnn* was chosen as the site name, one of the organizers said, "because CNN is the media superpower. It can do great damage so it must be watched and challenged when it is wrong."[16] But the site was not limited to countering errors in the reporting of CNN. It invited submissions that documented bias or countered misrepresentations of China in the global media.

Rau received from net users hundreds of offers of help finding examples of media distortions. He gathered a team of 40 volunteers to monitor the submissions for factualness and to limit emotional

threads. Rau and his group decided on some rules. Name-calling or attacks on individuals or groups were to be deleted. Emotional posts were not allowed to have follow-up comments. Every discussion would have a moderator to explain the rules and watch the discussion.

Forum discussions were started on "Western Media Bias," "The Facts of Tibet" and "Modern China." In the first five days the site attracted 200,000 visits many from outside of China. Over time serious threads contained debates between Chinese and Westerners and between Han Chinese and both Tibetan Chinese and Uyghur Chinese trying to show each other who they were and where they differ or where they agree.

Many visitors from outside China posted on *anti-cnn* their criticism of Chinese government media censorship. For some posters, that was an answer to the exposure of the western media practice. In the responses to such criticism, some Chinese posters acknowledged such censorship but argued it was easy to circumnavigate, that all societies have their systems of bias or censorship and that netizens everywhere must dare to think for themselves and get information from many sources. One netizen with the alias *kylin* wrote, "I can say free media works the same way as less-free media. So what's most important? The people I'd say… If people dare to doubt, dare to think own (sic) their own, do not take whatever comes to them, then we'll have a clear mind, not easily be fooled. I can say, if such people exist, then should be Chinese… the least likely to be brainwashed, when have suffered from all those incidents, cultural revolution, plus a whole long history with all kinds of tricks."[17]

Some analysis of *Anti-cnn* in the western media criticized it as a form of nationalism[18] or of being somehow connected with the Chinese government. The Chinese government and *Anti-cnn* organizers deny any connection with each other and no verifiable evidence of such a connection has been produced. One *anti-cnn* organizer told me that he had hoped for government support but *anti-cnn* was unable to get any.

Often there are expressions of nationalist emotions in Chinese cyberspace, for example calls for boycotting Japanese and French products. After the riot in Lhasa, the Chinese government and media blamed the Dalai Lama and "splitists." There was then an upsurge of nationalist defense of China in-

cluding on *Anti-cnn*. At least some moderators on *Anti-cnn* however are opponents of nationalism arguing that it is a form of emotionalism and needs to be countered by rational discourse and the presentation of facts and an airing of all opinions. The moderators often answered expressions of Chinese nationalism with admonitions to "calm down and present facts." While nationalist sentiment and love of country and anger appear often on the *Anti-cnn* forums, the opportunity for a dialogue across national and ethnic barriers is an expression of the internationalism characteristic of netizens.

Chinese citizens in general know that the mainstream Chinese media have a long history as a controlled and propaganda press. Since the 1990s, there has been a commercialization of that media and more openness, but still much of the national media has strong remnants from its past. On the other hand, there was a widespread assumption among people in China that the mainstream international media are a more reliable source of information about some events such as SARS and for alternative viewpoints. The distribution by netizens like those posting on *anti-cnn* of exposure of distortions and bias in major examples of the international mainstream media called into question for many Chinese people their positive expectation about CNN, BBC, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, etc. The exposures also attracted the attention of others who questioned whether the so-called Western mainstream media is any less a propaganda or political media than the Chinese mainstream media.

On an international level, after the framing of the war in the country of Georgia in August 2008 as the fault of Russia, a Russian netizen started a thread on *Anti-cnn* suggesting a Russian-Chinese alliance. He wrote, "Russian problems with the Western media are identical to Chinese problems…. What need we to do so that their publications about countries like China and Russia will be written in a fair tone rather than being politically motivated? I would be most happy to hear your opinion on these matters."[19]

Over its first year, the *anti-cnn* website had become a significant news portal. But after a year there was a debate to determine its future. Should it remain mainly a watchdog over the global media or should it become a more general news website? Some of the founders left. The site still continues with separate forum sections in Chinese and Eng-

lish (http://forum.anti-cnn.com, English and http://bbs.anti-cnn.com, Chinese) but it is less focused than it was before on exposing media bias.

For me the special significance of the *anti-cnn* website is that it took up the important task of a media watchdog, but especially a watchdog over the most powerful media like CNN and BBC In every society there is a sector of the media which serves the current holders of power. But there is emerging a netizen media which tries to serve the whole society by watching and criticizing the abuses of those with power. The net users who launched *anti-cnn* took for themselves a public and international mission, using the net to watch critically the main international media. In the process there was discussion and debate on important social and political questions. They and those from China and around the world who took up that discussion and debate are examples for me of netizens.

III. Conclusion

Every year since 2003, there has been dozens of national netizen uprisings and commotions over social and political issues, sometimes exposing fraud or corruption or questioning government actions or explanations, sometimes discussing foreign events like disruption of the Olympic touch relay. These netizen commotions have become a normal aspect of Chinese society more so than in any other country.

The Chinese government has signaled its support for active posting on forums. Government officials at all levels are encouraged to take part in forums or on blogs. Government related news sites tolerate very active and often highly critical forum discussions. President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao both said publicly that netizen activity at the time of SARS was important in the fight against the epidemic. More recently they have come online and answered questions posed to them by net users. Summaries of each day's hottest netizen activity are made for the State Council. The dominant stress of censorship reported by media outside of China misses this level of support and the rapidly expanding new media for social and political discussion and debate.

Often ahead of the mainstream media, netizen up risings set the news agenda. Local events are given by netizen activity national or international attention. In alliance with more independent jour-

nalists and editors, online issues can spread to the main stream national media and to the whole Chinese people. Netizen critical framing of issues usually differs from government and mainstream media framing. When popular opinion is formed about these issues it often follows the netizen rather than the government or media framing. The fight around censorship is creative and spirited.[20]

In China, netizen activity influences journalist activity. Some journalists come online for their leads and to find contacts to interview. Some are emboldened by netizen exposures and numbers to dig deeper and take on more controversial topics. The result is that some of the media environment in China is livelier than in societies with less netizen activity even if those societies have less media supervision and guidance.

Setting the agenda, framing issues and arousing public opinion are all aspects of political power in modern society. That the netizens in China are able occasionally to play these roles suggests a political dynamism in Chinese society that is often denied by critics of China. Netizen activity in China is relatively recent. It has many obstacles including a trend toward nationalism and a contest over supervision and control. But the netizens in China are developing into a force contributing to motion of Chinese society in the direction of greater citizen participation. Netizen activity in China confirms some of what we seen as possible when the study of netizenship started in the early 1990s. It is a fertile soil for scholarly attention. I look forward to the publication of the results.

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http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/ch106.xpr
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5. Forum software hosted on internet accessible servers allows for sequential and threaded online text discussions which can be monitored and moderated. Similarly hosted chat room software allows for simultaneous multiple participant real time text conversations. In China, most forums allow alias registration and are often archived. Chat room sessions are ephemeral and are not easily monitored.

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17. http://www.anti-cnn.com/forum/en/thread-2316-1-1.html

18. See e.g., "Web Site Rips West's Reports on China-Tibet Conflict", by Anthony Kuhn at:
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20. See for example, Guobin Yang, *The Power of the Internet in China: Citizen Activism Online*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2009, page 13.

[Editor's Note: This article is about how some of the unifying foundation was set for the broad non-violent demonstrations of the people of Egypt which took place during 18 days in January-February 2011.]

Netizens in Egypt and the Republic of Tahrir Square*

by Ronda Hauben
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On Wednesday February 8, the Egyptian Ambassador to the United Nations, Maged A. Abdelaziz, spoke to journalists at a stakeout outside the Security Council.[1] There had been an ongoing set of questions to Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and his spokesman and to the Security Council President by journalists covering the United Nations in an effort to understand what role the UN is able to play in the struggle going on in Egypt. In response to a question about the ongoing assault at the time on journalists by police in Egypt, the Ambassador said that someone from the foreigner side was instigating the uprising.

This refrain accusing outsiders of instigating the Egyptian uprising had also been expressed by Egyptian government officials a few days earlier. What is significant about this claim is that it denies the internal process by which the Egyptian people had organized themselves over a multi-year series of struggles. These struggles included labor struggles, anti-repression demonstrations and online discussions to help to determine a set of political and economic demands uniting the different sectors of Egyptian society.

The claim of outside instigators ignores the role played by active online discussion and other forms of communication by a diversity of political actors, of citizens empowered by their access to the Internet, who had been striving for a more just and dynamic Egypt.

In the early 1990s, a university student in New York, Michael Hauben, took up to do research to explore the political power of the developing networks. Through his research he discovered that a new form of citizenship was being born online.[2]

In response to a set of questions Hauben sent out to people with Net access in the early 1990s, he received descriptions of how people were exploring

how to use the Net to solve the many social and political problems of our times. He called these users who were active citizens exploring how the Net could help to make a better world 'netizens' (Net + Citizen = Netizen). For Hauben, not all users were netizens. Instead he reserved the use of this term to describe those users who empowered by the Net, were exploring how to contribute to a better world.

Many of the characteristics that Hauben discovered among netizens in the early 1990s are also the characteristics of netizens who have been part of the struggle to change Egypt.

Describing some of how the process of mobilization developed, Charles Hirschkind, in his article, "From the Blogosphere to the Street: The Role of Social Media in the Egyptian Uprising" writes: "The seeds of this spectacular mobilization had been sown from across the political spectrum."[3]

Hirschkind describes how a political alliance grew up between the secular leftist organizations and groups with Islamic ties (particularly the Muslim Brotherhood), working together to defend victims of state torture.

Another example of an organization working across the political spectrum in Egypt was the Kifaya movement, a coalition of those with diverse political leanings united in their demand that Egyptian President Mubarak step down and that his son Gamal not succeed him.

With the emergence of this movement in 2004-2005, bloggers became a significant part of the protest activities, reporting on the protests and discussing them online. One blogger, Wael Abbas is mentioned for distributing a video clip of a man being physically abused by the police in Cairo. This video and other forms of online reporting helped to build a movement in Egypt against police abuse.

Another contribution to the current protests was from the many labor struggles in recent years. Strikes helped to spread the sense of the importance of struggle in Egypt. Bloggers, facebook groups, and others online took part in the discussion of grievances and in spreading the information about mobilizations.

April 6, 2008 was an important example of the power of the alliance of online netizens and workers working together to challenge the abusive practices of the Mubarak government.

Hirschkind describes how online discussion and communication have helped to transform diverse political ideas into a common set of political objectives. "They have pioneered," he writes, "forms of political critique and interaction that can mediate and encompass the heterogeneity of religious and social commitments that constitute Egypt's contemporary political terrain."

It is this evolving communication among Egyptian netizens, not foreign instigation, that helped to provide the platform for a movement which was able to embrace a broad spectrum of Egyptian citizens. Describing the movement that developed, Nubar Hovsepian, in his article "The Arab Pro-Democracy Movement: Struggles to Redefine Citizenship" writes, "Organizationally it is more like a network than our outmoded top down structures."[4]

"This is a revolution," he explains, "in the making sparked by youth who are determined to alter the dominant paradigm of politics and power that precludes the central idea which undergrids democracy — citizenship under a social contract."

Hovsepian argues that a new relationship between the Egyptian government and the citizens is at the heart of the movement. "Simply put," he explains, "Arab youth are leading a profound revolt whose central objective is the transformation of former 'subjects' into 'citizens' with agency and voice to make demands of their rulers. The rulers are expected to be servants of their citizens — nothing less is acceptable."

Mohammed Bamyeh in his article, "The Egyptian Revolution: First Impressions from the Field [Updated]" describes the 18 days of the Egyptian uprising as the "dawn of a new civic order."[5] He points to many of the grassroots forms that developed during the days of the uprising, one of which was a mass "civic character as a conscious ethical contrast to the state's barbarism."

He describes the transformation of people's sense of themselves and of their capability as an integral part of the process of the movement. "Like in the Tunisian Revolution," Bamyeh writes, "in Egypt the rebellion erupted as a sort of a collective world earthquake — where the central demands were very basic, and clustered around the respect for the citizen, dignity, and the natural right to participate in the making of the system that ruled over the person." This goal, Bamyeh explains, was expressed as well by "even Muslim Brotherhood participants (who) chanted at some point with everyone else for a 'civic' (madaniyya) state — explicitly

distinguished from two other possible alternatives: religious (diniyya) or military (askariyya) state."

Describing the significance of these developments, Hovsepian regards the Egyptian events as the Arab equivalent of the French Revolution.

In a paper I presented in Paris at Sorbonne III this past summer, titled "Watchdogging to Challenge the Abuse of Power: Netizenship in the 21st Century", [See this issue, page 21] I proposed that the important achievement of the French Revolution was the conceptual transformation of the former subjects into the citizens to be regarded as the sovereign of the State.[6] "It was the citizens who were to possess the power of the nation…. It is among the citizens that the discussion and decisions to determine the progress of the nation belongs." This goal or vision has been considered only as an ideal for over 200 years, as citizens have lacked the capability to exert their supervision over the government or corporate officials who have grabbed the power of the state.

The Egyptian revolution has had its groundwork set by the Egyptian netizens and it is this foundation that provides a strength to meet the many trials to be faced in the coming days.

Hence it is not foreign instigators who are responsible for seeding the soil of the mighty movement that removed Mubarak from power. Instead it is a resurgence of the ideals and demands of citizens which fueled the French Revolution, but which are now strengthened by the actions and deeds of the netizens.

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*This article appeared March 16, 2011 on taz.de at:
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[Editor's Note: The following was presented on July 13, 2010 at Sorbonne III, Paris, France at the 6th International Graduate Conference for graduate students from France, China and Australia studying global communication.]

Watchdogging to Challenge the Abuse of Power: Netizenship in the 21st Century

by Ronda Hauben
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Usenet should be seen as a promising successor to other people's presses, such as broadsides at the time of the American Revolution and the penny presses in England at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Michael Hauben[1]

Part I. Introduction

I want to express my thanks to the hosts of this conference for the formidable challenge they presented in asking us to give a presentation on "Netizenship Concepts and Effects." I am especially happy to be here in Paris making this presentation today on the eve of Bastille Day, of the 221st anniversary of the start of the French Revolution.

The importance to me of the French Revolution is that it gave the world the modern concept of the citizen or the "citoyen" as the embodiment of the significant new identity that it thrust into the consciousness of the people of the world. The institu-

tion of the king was to be replaced by the institution of the citizenry as the sovereign.

I found most helpful something I read a few years ago. It was the proclamation the citizens of France made, that with the French Revolution "Nous sommes le roi", or in English, "We are the king ."

In its essence, this makes the concept of the citizen into the embodiment of the notion of sovereignty. It was the citizens who were to possess the power of the nation. This, too, was recognized as the critical issue for the political theorist of the American Revolution, Thomas Paine. His books "Common Sense" and the "Rights of Man", embody this idea that the citizens of the nation are the sovereigns.[2] It is among the citizens that the discussion and decisions to determine the progress of the nation belongs.

But after more than 200 years this ideal remains an unfulfilled idea. It is an ideal that it has not yet been possible to realize in practice.

In our times, the power of the citizens to be part of the decision making structures is in general limited or most often non-existent. The actual exercise of the power in modern society usually resides elsewhere, whether it be in the hands of those who control large corporations or in the hands of government officials, or in some combination.

The problem thus is how the citizenry can gain some control over the forces that wield power, especially when there is the abuse of that power.

This is a critical problem to be explored and solved.

Part II. Need for Watchdog

This is a problem that a college student in NYC in 1992, Michael Hauben, recognized as a problem that computer networks had the potential to help solve. As a student at Columbia University during the early 1990s, Hauben was studying the writing of different political theorists like Thomas Paine, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Like Paine and Rousseau, Hauben was interested in the problem of political power and democracy. But unlike these important political thinkers who lived and wrote over 200 years earlier, Hauben was also exploring the developing computer networks that were just becoming more broadly available in the early 1990s. Hauben was interested in the impact this new technology would have on soci-

ety. Particularly, he was interested in whether the newly available computer networks would provide a means for citizens to "keep watch on their government to make sure it is working in the interest of the many," as he writes in the article, "The Computer as Democratizer" which he first posted on the Net in the Spring semester of 1992.[3]

This article is now a chapter in the book, *Netizens: on the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet*, a book that Hauben and I collaborated on in the early 1990s. We published the first version of the book on the Internet in January 1994.[4]

The question of power is at the essence of the understanding of the concept of citizenship. Thus a fundamental question underlying the concept of netizenship, as a new form of citizenship that the Internet makes possible, is also related to the question of the use and abuse of power. The sentiment is expressed in the "Computer as a Democratizer." The article explores how the citizenry, utilizing computer networks like the Internet, and hence acting as netizens, can check the abuse of power by government officials. (In 1992 there were a number of different networks which have since been subsumed by the Internet.)

Hauben refers to an article, titled "Liberty of the Press"[5], by James Mill (1773-1836), the Scottish political theorist, who wrote in the early 1800s, and who was the father of the more well known theorist John Stuart Mill.

Referring to the article by James Mill, Hauben writes: "Mill saw that government would be corrupted if the chance exists. Those in the position to rule would abuse their power for their own advantage."[6]

The means Mill proposes to solve this problem is to consider what is required for a press that can act as a watchdog over government. Such a press would have to provide for broad ranging discussion, a process that Mill refers to as "liberty of the press."

Hauben was familiar with the broad ranging discussions that were commonplace among those who had access to the Internet or other computer networks during the early 1990s. He proposed that such broad ranging discussion makes possible the kind of press that Mill proposed was needed.

"The technology of the personal computer," Hauben writes, "of international computer networks, and of other recent contributions embodies

and makes it feasible to implement James Mill 'theory of liberty of the press'."

"The personal computer makes it affordable for most people to have an information access and broadcast station in their very own home. The international computer networks that exist make it possible for people to have debates with others around the world, to search for data in various data banks and to allow people to post an opinion or criticism for the whole world to see."

Such systems, Hauben felt, were beginning "to make possible some of the activity James Mill saw as necessary for democracy to function."

Part III. About Netizens – Some Background

During this period of the early 1990s Hauben was interested in exploring what the impact of the developing Net would be.

Shortly after writing his article, the "Computer as Democratizer," Hauben was encouraged by a professor at Columbia University to do research using the Net itself. Hauben sent out several sets of questions asking people about their experience online. He received many responses.

Studying the responses, he realized something new was developing, something not expected. What was developing was a sense among many of the people who wrote to him, that the Internet was making a difference in their lives and that the communication it made possible with others around the world was enhancing their lives.

Hauben had discovered that there were users online who not only cared for how the Internet could help them, but who also wanted the Internet to continue to spread and thrive so that more and more people around the world would have access to it.

In his experience with online discussion, Hauben had seen the word 'net.citizen' referring to net users who were demonstrating a form of citizenship related to the Net. Thinking about the social concern he had found among those who wrote him, and about the non-geographical character of a net based form of citizenship, Hauben contracted 'net.citizen' into the term 'netizen'. The use of the term 'netizen' has come to conceptualize the online social identity he discovered doing his research.[7]

Hauben wrote a paper describing his research and the many responses he had received. The paper was titled, "The Net and Netizens: The Impact the Net has on People's Lives ." The research for this paper was done in the early 1990s just at the time that the Internet was spreading around the world.[8]

Hauben felt that the characteristics he identified were an embodiment of Thomas Paine's vision in his book *Common Sense*, applied to the needs of the 21st century.

On July 6, 1993, Hauben posted the paper describing his research in four parts under the title partially borrowed from Paine, "Common Sense: The Net and Netizens: The Impact of the Net on People's Lives ."

People around the world found Hauben's article and helped to spread it. The term 'netizen' quickly spread, not only in the online world, but soon it was appearing in newspapers and other publications offline. Hauben did other research and posted his articles online.

In January 1994, several of the articles about netizens and about the history of the Net were collected into a book, along with articles I wrote about the history of the Net. We called the collection the netbook and made it available online. The title of the netbook was "Netizens and the Wonderful World of the Net." Then in 1997 a second edition of the online book, now with the title *Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet* was published in a print edition in English and soon afterwards in a Japanese translation.

In a talk he gave in Japan in 1995, Hauben explained that there were two uses of the word netizen that had developed. One use was to call anyone online a 'netizen.' This was not, however, the use he had conceived of when he proposed the term 'netizen' to describe the people who had responded to his questions. For Hauben: "Netizens are not just anyone who comes online. Netizens are especially not people who come online for individual gain or profit. They are not people who come to the Net thinking it is a service. Rather they are people who understand it takes effort and action on each and everyone's part to make the Net a regenerative and vibrant community and resource. Netizens are people who decide to devote time and effort into making the Net, this new part of our world, a better place."[9]

Thus for Hauben, the term of 'netizen' was reserved to describe the social purpose of users, like those users who had written him describing their concerns and commitment to the spread of the Net and to contributing to the better world that the Net and Netizens can make possible.

The concept and consciousness of oneself as a netizen, in the sense Hauben conceived of the term, has continued to develop and to spread around the world.

Part IV. Social Effects

Another chapter by Michael Hauben in the book *Netizens* is "The Effect of the Net on the Professional News Media: the Usenet Collective/Man-Computer Symbiosis ."[10] This chapter presents a critique of the mainstream U.S. news media that was being discussed among netizens in the mid 1990s.

The chapter also quotes netizens describing the potential provided by the Internet to create a significant new form of news media. Describing this potential, one netizen elaborates, "The collective body of people, assisted by Usenet software (Usenet was a form of discussion groups) has grown larger than any individual newspaper." Building on such observations made by netizens online, Hauben wrote, "As people continue to connect to Usenet and other discussion forums, the collective global population will contribute back to the human community in this new form of news."[11]

Part V. The Cheonan Incident

In trying to consider the effect of netizenship, I want to look at one recent and special example of what appears to be this new form of news.

The example I am referring to is the Cheonan incident. It concerns a South Korean naval ship which broke up and sank on March 26, 2010. At the time it was likely involved in naval exercises with the U.S. military in an area in the West Sea between North Korea and China. This is a situation that has been the subject of much discussion on the Internet.

Initially the South Korean government and the U.S. government said there was no indication that North Korea was involved. Then at a press conference on May 20, the South Korean government claimed that a torpedo fired by a North Korean submarine exploded in the water near the Cheonan,

causing a pressure wave that was responsible for the sinking. Many criticisms have been raised of this scenario.

There is no direct evidence of any North Korean submarine in the vicinity of the Cheonan. Nor is there any proof that any torpedo was actually fired causing the pressure wave phenomenon. Hence the South Korean government has no actual evidence that could be presented in a court of law to support its claims.

In fact, if this claim of a pressure wave were true even those involved in the investigation of the incident acknowledge that "North Korea would be the first to have succeeded at using this kind of a bubble jet torpedo action in actual fighting."[12]

The significant phenomenon I want to consider, however, is the role of netizens and netizenship in this situation.

Part VI. Netizens Respond

Netizens who live in different countries and speak different languages have taken up to critique the claims of the South Korean government about the cause of the sinking of the Cheonan. Such netizen activity has had an important effect on the international community. It also appears to have acted as a catalyst affecting the actions of the UN Security Council in its treatment of the Cheonan dispute.

Such activity is the basis for what I refer to as a new form of news.

The netizens and netizen actions include:

1. South Korean netizens who have discussed and critiqued the South Korean government claims. This includes netizens posting on South Korean web sites including the seoprise, agora, and naver web sites. It includes civil society groups People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD), Solidarity for Peace and Reunification of Korea (SPARK) and others, South Korean bloggers posting in Korean and sometimes spreading English language posts.
2. South Korean newspaper articles including articles in *Hankyoreh*, *Pressian*, and *OhmyNews* in Korean. Also the South Korean newspaper. *Hankyoreh* translates some of its articles into English.
3. English language blogs and online discussion. For example, Scott Creighton's blog, "American Everyman ." Stephen Gowans' blog "What's Left",

and discussion groups like the "Democratic Underground."

4. Scientists and other researchers posting their questions and research findings.

5. Politicians from South Korean opposition parties like the Democratic Party contributing their critiques.

6. Netizens writing in languages other than Korean or English, for example, netizens posting in Japanese, Vietnamese and Chinese have written articles or participated in discussions questioning the South Korean government claims.

7. Articles in English and Russian by Russian scientists and others questioning the South Korean government narrative.

8. North Korean government online articles discussing the issues related to the Cheonan incident and referring to articles offering critiques of the South Korean government claims.

Part VII. Silence in the Mainstream U.S. Media on the Cheonan Controversy

U.S. government official along with much of the mainstream American media have supported the South Korean government claims with little or no mention of the controversy surrounding the situation.[13]

This silence of the U.S. mainstream media about the fact that there is a significant controversy over the claims made by the South Korean government is in sharp contrast to the South Korean media which is sharply divided on the issue, with debate raging between the progressive versus conservative media. One exception to the silence of the U.S. mainstream media was an article in the *Los Angeles Times*.[14]

Part VIII. The Case of the Wrong Schematic Identifying the Torpedo

On May 20, the South Korean government made its case accusing North Korea of sinking the Cheonan at a public press conference. A part of the torpedo it claimed was responsible for the sinking was put on view in a glass case with a set of diagrams displayed above the glass case. The South Korean government said that the diagrams which it claimed matched the torpedo parts in the glass case came from a brochure North Korea provided to foreign countries for export purposes. The torpedo part

displayed in the glass case and the diagrams presented at the press conference were identified as the CHT-02D torpedo.[15]

On May 24, a U.S. blogger who uses the pen name Willy Loman wrote a post titled "The Sinking of the Cheonan: We are being lied to"[16] On his blog "American Everyman," he explained that there was a discrepancy between the diagram displayed above the glass case, and the part of the torpedo on display in the glass case.

He showed in clear detail that the diagram did not match the part of the torpedo on display.

There were many comments on his post, including some from netizens in Korea. Also the mainstream conservative media in South Korea carried accounts of his critique.

One commenter on his blog claimed that Scott Creighton (Willy Loman) had been mistaken in his critique. This led Creighton to reconsider what he had concluded. After a review and additional evidence, Creighton again demonstrated the validity of his analysis.[17]

Three weeks later, at a news conference, a South Korean government official acknowledged that the diagram presented by the South Korean government was not of the same torpedo as the part displayed. Instead the diagram was of the PT97W torpedo, not the CHT-02D torpedo as claimed.

An article in the South Korean newspaper *Hankyoreh* describes the impact of the revelation that the diagram was of another torpedo and that it was not from a North Korean brochure:[18] "(C)onfidence in the military's announcement took a hit after the belated discovery that the full-scale Korean torpedo blueprint presented by the team during its announcement did not correspond to the torpedo in question. Also, the team's announcement suggested that the blueprint was in a catalog produced by North Korea for torpedo sales, but Defense Minister Kim Tae-young and others later changed their story and said that it was on a CD."

Describing the significance of having documented one of the fallacies in the South Korean government's case, Creighton writes:[19] "(I)n the end, thanks to valuable input from dozens of concerned people all across the world…. Over 100,000 viewers read that article and it was republished on dozens of sites all across the world (even translated). A South Korean MSM outlet even posted our diagram depicting the glaring discrepancies between the evi-

dence and the drawing of the CHT-O2D torpedo, which a high-ranking military official could only refute by stating he had 40 years military experience and to his knowledge, I had none. But what I had, what we had, was literally thousands of people all across the world, scientists, military members, and just concerned investigative bloggers who were committed to the truth and who took the time to contribute to what we were doing here." "'40 years military experience' took a beating from 'we the people WorldWide' and that is the way it is supposed to be."

This is one of a number of other serious questions and challenges that have been raised about the South Korean government's scenario of the sinking of the Cheonan.

Other critiques include a three part report by the South Korean NGO *People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy* (*PSPD*).[20] This report raised a number of questions and problems with the South Korean government's case. The *PSPD* document was posted widely on the Internet and also sent to the President of the United Nations Security Council for distribution to those Security Council members interested. *PSPD* also sent the document to the South Korean UN Mission.

Another of the influential events which helped to challenge the South Korean government's claims was a press conference in Japan held on July 9 by two academic scientists. The two scientists presented results of experiments one of them did which challenged the results of experiments the South Korean government used to support its case.[21]

Another important challenge to the South Korean government report was the finding of a Russian team of four sent to South Korea to look at the data from the investigation and to do an independent evaluation of it. The Russian team did not believe the South Korean government claim that a pressure wave from a torpedo caused the Cheonan to sink.[22]

Part IX. Security Council Activity during the Month of June

Online efforts by netizens provided a catalyst for the actions of the UN Security Council concerning the Cheonan incident.

South Korea sent a letter to the Security Council on June 4. It requested to make a presentation of its case to the Security Council. South Korea appears to have expected that North Korea would stay away from the Security Council. This had been North Korea's practice in recent situations after it saw that the Security Council failed to defend Iraq from the false WMD claims.

On June 8, however, North Korea sent a letter to the Security Council refuting the accusations against it made by South Korea.

On Monday afternoon June 14 at 3 p.m., South Korea made its presentation to the Security Council. This was followed by a presentation by the North Korean UN delegates.

After the two presentations, the Mexican Ambassador, Claude Heller, who held the rotating Security Council presidency for the month of June, spoke to the press. He said that it was "very important that North Korea has approached the Security Council."[23]

In response to a question about his view on the issues presented, Heller responded, "I am not a judge. I think we will go on with the consultations to deal in a proper manner on the issue."

He also indicated that the Security Council would continue its consultations after the meetings it had with the delegations of both nations. Heller said that it was very important to have received the very detailed presentation by South Korea and also to know and learn from the arguments of North Korea.

He also explained that, "the Security Council issued a call to the parties to refrain from any act that could escalate tensions in the region, and makes an appeal to preserve peace and stability in the region."

Though the North Korean ambassador at the UN rarely speaks to the media, the North Korean UN delegation scheduled a press conference for the following day, Tuesday, June 15. During the press conference, the North Korean Ambassador presented North Korea's refutation of the allegations made by South Korea. Also he told of North Korea's request to be able to send an investigation team to the site where the sinking of the Cheonan occurred. South Korea had denied the request. During its press conference, the North Korean ambassador noted the there was widespread condemnation of the investigation in South Korea and around the world.[24]

The press conference held on June 15 was a lively event. Many of the journalists who attended were impressed and asked that there be future press conferences with the North Korean Ambassador.

By the end of June the Security Council had held consultations, but there had not yet been any decision on what the Security Council members would do regarding the Cheonan. On June 30, on the last day of his presidency of the Security Council, the Mexican Ambassador was asked what the contentious issue was. He responded: "(T)he consideration of the results of the findings of this Commission that was established by the ROK, so the evaluation of the investigations so far. That's what I can say."[25]

During the early part of July the members of the Security Council continued to discuss the Cheonan incident.

On July 9, the members of the UN Security Council agreed to a Presidential Statement about the Cheonan.[26] They did not blame North Korea. Instead they took note of the South Korean investigation. The Security Council expressed "its deep concern ." (Note: these are words which can be interrupted in different ways.)

The Presidential statement said, "the Security Council takes note of responses from other relevant parties, including the DPRK, which has stated that it had nothing to do with the incident."

The Statement did not say who these relevant parties were, with the exception of North Korea. But an article in *Hankyoreh* on July 10, just after the Presidential statement was issued, explains that the Russian team sent to make a report on the South Korean Cheonan investigation, rejected the claim that a torpedo was responsible for sinking the Cheonan. The Russian team said that was not possible.[27]

The events of the month of June 2010 are an indication that the Internet and netizens can make it possible to achieve the objectives Hauben predicted almost two decades ago. Netizens are learning how it is possible to provide a check on the abuse of power. This is an important effect of netizenship. Such experience should be studied and understood so that more and more netizens will recognize that such struggles are worthy of their time and effort.

Part X. Conclusion

In conclusion, I want to refer back to the prediction that Michael Hauben made in the Spring of 1992, based on his research about the potential of the Internet and the Netizens.

"This is an exciting time," he wrote, "because the democratic ideas of some great political thinkers are becoming practical. James Mill wrote that for government to serve the people, it must be watched over by the people…."

The kind of discussion and interchange that the Internet and netizens are engaging in, is an example of the kind of efforts needed to create a watchdog that can effectively monitor and challenge the abuse of power.

Hauben saw the Internet and other computer networks as contemporary examples of the kind of press required for good government to exist. "But to keep such democratic forms developing, and spreading," he wrote, "requires constant work from those dedicated to the hard fight for democracy."[28]

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2. *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine, printed by W. and T. Bradford, Philadelphia, 1791, online at:
http://www.earlyamerica.com/earlyamerica/milestones/commonsense/text.html. *The Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution*, online at:
http://www.infidels.org/library/historical/thomas_paine/rights_of_man/
3. Chapter 18, *Netizens*, online at:
http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/ch106.x18
4. *Netizens*, Table of Contents, online at:
http://www.columbia.edu/~hauben/netbook_contents.html
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http://oll.libertyfund.org/index.php?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=1762&Itemid=27http://oll.libertyfund.org/index.php?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=1762&Itemid=27
6. Chapter 18, *Netizens*, (p. 315), online at:
http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/ch106.x18
7. "What is a Netizen?", Preface, *Netizens*, online at:
http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/ch106.xpr
8. Chapter 1, *Netizens*, online at:
http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/ch106.x01
9. Talk given at the Hypernetwork '95 Beppu Bay Conference in Japan, Preface, *Netizens*, online at:
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10. Chapter 13, *Netizens*, online at:
http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/ch106.x13
11. Ibid., p. 233
12. "Questions linger 100 days after the Cheonan sinking", *Hankyoreh*, July 3 2010, online at:
http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/428715.html
13. U.S. officials like Asst Sec of State Kurt Campbell, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, and even the U.S. President Barack Obama have made statements supporting the accusations of the South Korean government officials against North Korea.
14. In July 2010, the *Los Angeles Times* carried an article describing the controversy over the sinking of the Cheonan. http://articles.latimes.com/2010/jul/23/world/la-fg-korea-torpedo-20100724
15. http://english.chosun.com/site/data/img_dir/2010/06/30/2010063000846_0.jpg
16. http://willyloman.files.wordpress.com/2010/05/not-a-perfect-match-updated2.jpg
17. From "PCC-772 Cheonan: South Korean Government Admits the Deception (and then Lies about It)", June 30, 2010. http://willyloman.wordpress.com/2010/06/30/pcc-772-cheonan-south-korean-government-admits-the-deception-and-then-lies-about-it/
18. See article in *Hankyoreh* on July 3, 2010, http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/428715.html
19. http://willyloman.wordpress.com/2010/06/30/pcc-772-cheonan-south-korean-government-admits-the-deception-and-then-lies-about-it/
20. The PSPD's Stance on the Naval Vessel Cheonan Sinking http://blog.peoplepower21.org/English/20902
21. The press conference was held on July 9 at the Tokyo Foreign Correspondents Club. The program was titled "Lee and Suh: Inconsistencies in the Cheonan Report ." See: http://www.fccj.or.jp/node/5810.
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See also "Russia's Cheonan Investigation Suspects that Sinking Cheonan Ship was Caused by a Mine", posted on July 27, 2010, *Hankyoreh*, modified on July 28, 2010, at:
http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_northkorea/432232.html
23. Representative of Mexico, H.E. Mr. Claude Heller on the Cheonan incident (the sinking of the ship from the Republic of Korea) and on Kyrgyzstan. June 14, 2010, video at:
http://webcast.un.org/ramgen/ondemand/stakeout/2010/so100614pm3.rm at 5 minutes
24. Press Conference: H.E. Mr. Sin Son Ho, Permanent Representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United Nations, on the current situation in the Korean Peninsula. June 15, 2010, video at:
http://webcast.un.org/ramgen/ondemand/pressconference/2010/pc100615am.rm
25. Stakeout, Claude Heller on June 30, 2010
26. UN Security Council, S/PRST/2010/13. See:
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The Internet Model of Socio-Economic Development and the Emergence of the Netizen

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Part I. – Preface

In this paper I want to explore a paradigm different from that of the market, as the motivator of economic development. This model is a model that is scientifically oriented and based on the practices developed in technical and scientific research. It is a model that is open, collaborative and directed toward an evolving vision or goal.

I will call this model the Internet socio-economic development model. It is a model very different from the neo-liberal capitalist oriented socio-economic development model. It is a model based on grassroots participation and feedback. Its theoretical foundation was cybernetic feedback theory and communication theory.

It is a model that recognizes socio-economic development as the development of a system, where a change in one part of the system affects other parts of the system. Critical to this model is the goal

or vision that provides the orientation for the processes or practices of development. Also critical to this model is the dynamic nature of the goal or vision as a collaborative process.

This paper will explore how this model evolved from the experience of the development of the Internet. It is a model building on the processes of development of the systems and technologies that we now call the Internet.

Also this paper will explore the adaptive and generative nature of this model which, among other contributions, has led to the development of the netizen and netizenship as a means of participatory empowerment of the users toward a socially oriented public policy objective.

This model describes how it was possible to develop the Internet from within the scientific and research community. Developing countries which also want Internet development are being told on the other hand they need to follow a neoliberal model of development of the Internet. Instead of the lessons of the Internet development model being shared with developing nations, developing nations are encouraged to adopt a model, requiring them to liberalize their laws to be attractive to foreign investment and loans from outside.

The commercial or investment sectors were not capable of developing the Internet. Describing the Internet development process, Robert Kahn, one of the pioneers who provided leadership for Internet development, described how the Internet grew and flourished under government stewardship [before the privatization process-ed] because 1) the U.S. government funded the necessary research, and 2) it made sure the networking community had the responsibility for its operation, and also insulated the early Internet community from bureaucratic obstacles and commercial matters so the Internet could evolve dynamically. Such a role for government in Internet development is very different from relegating development to the private sector.

Another critical aspect of Internet development was the welcoming of grassroots feedback and taking into account the feedback to make the needed changes in the processes. The netizen and netizenship emerged as an embodiment of this feedback process.

Part II. – Introduction

In January 1992 I was fortunate to be able to get a connection from my computer in Dearborn, Michigan to a computer in Cleveland, Ohio, known as the Cleveland Freenet. This was a free connection making it possible to access the Unix based computer network known as Usenet. I had heard Usenet was filled with interesting and substantial posts and was eager to get access to it.

At the time I was following the economic developments in the U.S. economy and was interested in understanding the problems which appeared serious. When I managed to get a connection to a discussion group on Usenet, which was called the misc.books.technical newsgroup, I sent a post about my interest in economic discussion.

From: au329@cleveland.Freenet.Edu
Newsgroups: misc.books.technical
Date: 10 Jan 92 07:48:58 GMT
Organization: Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, (U.S.A.)
Nntp-Posting-Host: cwns9.ins.cwru.edu

I am interested in discussing the history of economics — i.e. mercantilists, physiocrats, adam smith, ricardo, marx, marshall, keynes etc. With the world in such a turmoil it would seem that the science of economics needs to be reinvigorated.

Is there anyplace on Usenet News where this kind of discussion is taking place? If not is there anyone else interested in starting a conference.economics and how would I go about doing this. This is my first time on Usenet News.
au329@cleveland.freenet.edu

I received perhaps 10 emails from different people on Usenet telling me in various ways that my post was not appropriate for a newsgroup discussing technical books. Also, however, several who responded told me that my post was interesting and directed me to the newsgroup that was appropriate for the topic I had proposed. The newsgroup they directed me to was the "sci.econ" newsgroup. One of the responses, strikingly representative the culture of Usenet, said: "Start discussing on sci.econ. We're all ears."[1]

The reason this was significant is that it let me know what was wrong with what I had done, but

also that there were those on Usenet who were "listening."

This post was done on January 10, 1992. This was during the period that the Internet was beginning to spread and become a worldwide network. It is perhaps difficult for many to understand the experience of being on the Net in this period before widespread access to the Internet was available.

Writing in the Introduction to the Internet Society conference proceedings in 1993 (INET '93), one of the Internet pioneers, Lawrence Landweber writes[2]: "INET '93 the annual conference of the Internet Society is the first global networking conference to take place since the existence and availability of networks and their services have become known to the general public…. We welcome you to INET'93 and hope you will enjoy the people and the look into the future that you will encounter."

What is significant about this statement and the conference it is introducing is that it helps to mark the time period, 1993, when a significant new economic development had been achieved, primarily outside of and without any significant role being played by the market.

Most of the current discussion in research and academic circles focuses on the impact of the Internet, or issues about the difficulties of having it spread to all. It is similarly important to focus on the understanding for economics of the significance of the Internet development processes which took place over more than a 20 year period of time involving thousands of researchers, students, and others around the world. By exploring the development model that made it possible to create the Internet and to spread it around the world, one can consider if there are lessons from this process toward not only the continued scaling of the Internet, but also toward solving other problems of economic and technical development.

Part III. – The Role of Government in the Creation of the Internet

In trying to understand the nature of the government role in the creation of the Internet, I came across an anomaly. Indeed there had been a government role, but this role was intimately tied up with the concept of governance. In his book "Nerves of Government", the political scientist Karl Deutsch reminds the reader, "Let us recall that our word 'gov-ernment' comes from a Greek root that refers to the art of the steersman."[3]

Deutsch elaborates on the significance of looking at the concept of government as "steersman ."

"The same underlying concept," he says, "is reflected in the double meaning of the modern word 'governor' as a person charged with the administrative control of a political event, and as a mechanical device controlling the performance of a steam engine or an automobile."[4]

The institutional structure at the core of the government role in the Internet's development was known as the Information Processing Techniques Office (IPTO). The IPTO was created as a civilian office in the U.S. Department of Defense. This office provided the protective institutional form to nurture the early development of computer science, and then of the Internet.

Describing this office, the authors of a study done by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Science write[5]: "The entire system displayed something of a self-organizing, self-managing system."

The explanation of the anomaly is that the Information Techniques Processing Office embodied the concepts of governance and communication science that the first director of the Office, JCR Licklider, had encountered in his research and scientific work as part of an international community of scientific researchers.

The office, writes Robert Fano, one of the researchers who was part of the research community pioneering developments in computer and communication science, "was structured like no other government research program, akin to a single, widely dispersed research laboratory with a clear overall goal."[6]

Fano credits the director, Licklider, for establishing the program so that it was "on the right track with policies from which his successors did not materially depart."

Licklider, acted, "as its director and intellectual leader. He fostered close communication and collaboration among all parts of his far-flung laboratory." In this way he created a significant research community.

Fano explains how Licklider "further instilled in that community the sense of adventure, dedication, and camaraderie that he had learned to value in his research career. He also made sure that the

availability of computer resources would not be a limiting factor in the research program, And that plenty of funds would be available for the support of graduate students, whom he correctly regarded as a most important and precious resource."

Licklider was part of a community of researchers who studied the conceptual models for feedback, learning and adaptive systems. Licklider, as a psychologist who had done pioneering brain research had become intrigued with the potential of the computer for the scientific community he was part of.

In a paper he wrote with computer science researcher Wesley Clark, Licklider set as the objective to provide for the coupling of the general purpose human information processing system with the general purpose computer information system. Their object was to "amalgamate the predominantly human capability and predominantly computer capability to create an integrated system for goal oriented online inventive information processing."[7]

Licklider had a broad conception for what the computer was to be able to do and the role for the human in the close human computer partnership he envisioned. He was able to understand the technical and conceptual needs to start a far ranging research program to implement this vision. Critical to the program was the research community he created. He started the Information Processing Techniques Office in the Fall of 1962. He had two years to demonstrate progress in the new form of computing he was proposing.

Part IV. – The Scientific Technical Community

The IPTO funded researchers and encouraged them to develop programs that came to be known as Centers of Excellence. IPTO funded a program at MIT known as Project MAC. It funded a program at Stanford in Artificial Intelligence. At Carnegie Mellon University, Alan Newell and Herb Simon headed the program also in Artificial Intelligence. Other programs were funded at other universities. Part of the research program was for the researchers to use different computer and software systems but to collaborate and share the problems and work they were doing to find the questions they had in common, so as to identify what were the generic issues of computer science.

At the essence of Licklider's quest was to gain an understanding of the computer as a communication device. Along with the effort to form a community of researchers who would collaborate and work together, was the commitment to disseminate widely the results of the research.

Along with support for publication of research in journals, and participation in conferences, researchers were sent abroad when invited. It was during a meeting in Great Britain organized by the British Computer Society, where 10 IPTO researchers participated, that the British researcher, Donald Davis, first began to think of the ideas for the creation of computer networking technology that came to be known as packet switching.

In a paper Licklider wrote with another researcher Robert Taylor in 1968, Licklider outlined a vision for a network of networks.[8] Licklider's vision was of the creation and development of a human-computer information utility. For this to develop and be beneficial, everyone would have to have access. The network of networks would be global. It wouldn't be just a collection of computers and of information that people could passively utilize. Rather his vision was for the creation of an online community of people, where users would be active participants and contributors to the evolving network and to its development. To Licklider, it was critical that the evolving network be built interactively.

Also Licklider believed that there would be a need for the public to be involved in the considerations and decisions regarding network development. He recognized that there would be problems with pressure put on government from other sectors of society and that active citizen participation would be needed to counter these pressures. Licklider, writes: "many public spirited individuals must study, model, discuss, analyze, argue, write, criticize, and work out each issue and each problem until they reach consensus or determine that none can be reached — at which point there may be occasion for voting."

Licklider believed that those interested in the development of the global network he was proposing, would have to be active in considering and determining its future. He also advocated that the future of politics would require that people have access to computers to be involved in the process of government. Licklider writes, "Computer power to

the people is essential to the realization of a future in which most citizens are informed about, and interested and involved in the process of government."[9]

Part V. – Internet Research Community International from Its Beginnings

Internet development started in 1973 and involved researchers in a number of different countries. The development of a protocol to make communication possible across the boundaries of diverse national networks required the close collaboration of researchers in an international community.[10]

The resulting computer communication network made it possible to send data across the boundaries of diverse technical and administrative networks. Thousands of researchers, students and others were involved in the development processes from around the world.

At a meeting in Sept 1973 at the University of Sussex, in Brighton, England, two U.S. researchers, Bob Kahn and Vint Cerf presented a draft of a paper proposing a philosophy and design to make it possible to interconnect different networks. The basic principle was that the changes to make communication possible would not be required of the different networks, but of the packets of information that were traveling through the networks.

To have an idea of the concept they proposed it is helpful to look at a diagram to show what the design would make possible:
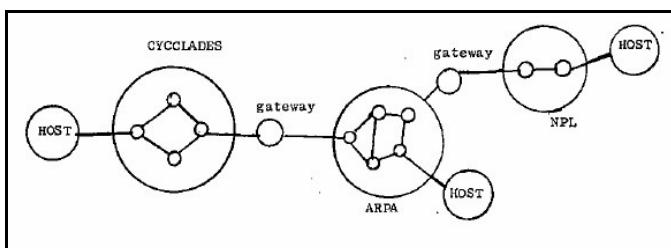

Diagram of suggested connections among Cyclades in France, ARPAnet in the U.S. and NPL in the U.K.

This diagram is from a memo by Vint Cerf, but it is not an actual plan for the Internet.

In the gateways, changes to the packets would be made to make it possible for them to go through the networks. Also the gateways would be used to direct the packets toward their destination. A process called routing.

The philosophy and design for an internet was officially published in a paper in May 1974. The paper is titled "A Protocol for Packet Network Intercommunication" by Vinton Cerf and Robert Kahn with thanks to others including several from the international network research community for their contributions and discussion.

Describing the process of creating the TCP/IP protocol, Cerf explains that the effort at developing the Internet protocols was international from its very beginnings. Peter Kirstein, a British researcher at the University College London (UCL) presented a paper in Sept 1975 at a workshop in Laxenburg, Austria, describing the international research process.

This workshop was attended by an international group of researchers, including researchers from Eastern Europe. Kirstein reports on research to create the TCP/IP protocol being done by U.S. researchers, working with British researchers and Norwegian researchers.

There is a diagram that Kirstein presents showing the participation of U.S. researchers via the ARPANET, along with British researchers working at the University College London (UCL) and Norwegian researchers working at NORSAR:
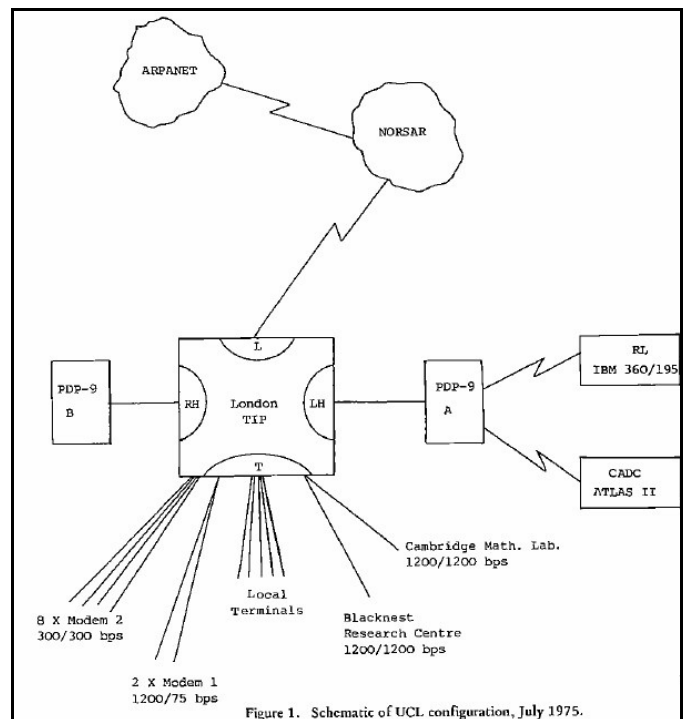

Figure 1. Schematic of UCL configuration, July 1975.

Describing such an international collaboration in building a packet switching satellite network as part of the Internet, Bob Kahn writes: "SATNET… was a broadcast satellite system. This is if you like an ETHERNET IN THE SKY with drops in Norway (actually routed via Sweden [Tanum]) and then the U.K. [Goonhilly], and later Germany [Raisting] and Italy [Fucina]."
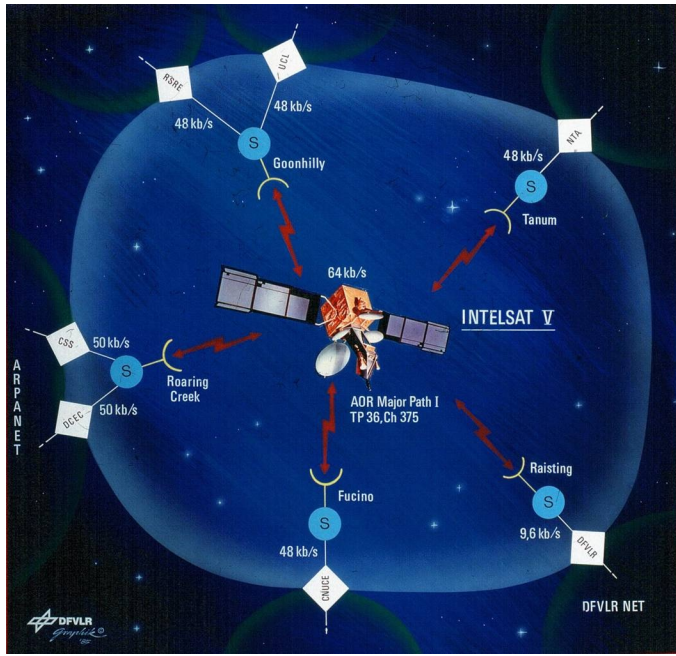
SATNET

Networking continued to develop in the 1980s. Among the networking efforts were those known as Usenet (uucp), CSnet, NSFnet, FIDONET, BITNET, Internet (TCP/IP), and others.

By the early 1990s TCP/IP became the protocol adopted by networks around the world.

Part VI. – Emergence of the Netizen

It is also in the early 1990s that the co-author of the book *Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet*, Michael Hauben, did some pioneering online research as part of class projects in his studies at Columbia University. He explored where the networks could reach and what those who were online felt was the potential and the problems of the developing Internet.

In the process he discovered that there were people online who were excited by the fact that they could participate in spreading the evolving network and contributing so that it would be a helpful communication medium for others around the world.

Michael saw these users as citizens of the net or what at the time was referred to as net.citizens

Shortening the term to 'netizen,' he identified and documented the emergence of a new form of citizenship, a form of global citizenship that is called netizenship.

Describing these online citizens, the netizens, Michael writes: "They are people who understand that it takes effort and action on each and everyone's part to make the Net a regenerative and vibrant community and resource. Netizens are people who decide to devote time and effort into making the Net, this new part of our world, a better place." (Hauben and Hauben, 1997)

The concept of Netizens has spread around the world. There are many examples of users who have identified the participatory potential of the Internet as a means for them to try to explore how they can contribute to a more democratic and just society. Netizens in South Korea[11] and China[12] are particularly active in exploring the potential of the Internet to give them the ability to monitor those with power in their societies.

Part VII. – Netizens Providing Hope for Future Development

In his article "Social Science and the Social Development Process in Africa" Charly Gabriel Mbock, critiques the structural adjustment model of development that has pauperized Africa. He describes how loans were made by Western countries which benefitted a small segment of African society and of the Western nations that made the loans. These left a debt of not only the loan but also continuing interest payments which the people of Africa have to pay back despite the fact they never benefitted from the loans themselves.[13]

In place of the "structural adjustment program" that brought the people of Africa so much trouble, Mbock proposes a "democratic adjustment program."[14]

"No one can stop the globalization process," Mbock writes, "But perhaps a world of global netizens could help to mitigate the consequences of the global economy."[15]

"Will the situation improve," Mbock asks, "if the future brings 'netizenship' to Africans?" He writes[16]: "Michael and Ronda Hauben are of the opinion that the Net and the new communications

technologies will encourage people to shift from citizenry to netizenry, away from 'geographical national definition of social membership to the new non-geographically based social membership'"[17]

"The dream of worldwide 'netizenry,'" Mbock writes, "is the creation of a global community devoted to a more equitable sharing of world resources through efficient interactions."

He writes, quoting *Netizens*: "A Netizen (Net citizen) exists as a citizen of the world thanks to the global connectivity that the Net makes possible. You consider everyone your compatriot. You physically live in one country but you are in contact with much of the world via the global computer network. Virtually you live next door to every other single Netizen in the world. Geography and time are no longer boundaries (…) A new, more democratic world is becoming possible as a new grassroots connection that allows excluded sections of society to have a voice."[18]

"If such a global community were to become reality, then community ways would prevail over market values," writes Mbock. "As an efficient and democratic breakthrough, technological innovation would lead to deep-seated social transformations resulting in global change…."[19]

"The hypothesis of a new world order," he proposes, "is an opportunity for catch-up of countries in Africa to create," quoting from Michael Hauben, "a forum through which people influence their governments, allowing for the discussion and debate of issues in a mode that facilitates mass participation."[20]

"The outcome would be netdemocracy," Mbock writes, "with a three-pronged system of dialogue; dialogue among the citizens of a given country, dialogue among these citizens and their local or national government, and dialogue among 'netizens'. The world as a global community of 'netizens,' would then, 'at last' possess its long-awaited engine for effective and social development in Africa."[21]

"To Sean Connell," Mbock writes, referring to a quote from Connell in *Netizens*, "the Net is a highway to real democracy, 'a means to create vocal, active, communities that transcend race, geography and wealth,' a mechanism through which everybody can contribute to the governing of his or her country."[22]

Mbock argues that: "(A)s a new paradigm shift from citizenship to genuine, 'netizenship' is the worldwide innovation that social scientists should herald, and not only for Africa. This implies looking beyond national citizen passports, to negotiate global, 'netizen' ones."[23]

Mbock's application of the concept of netizenship to help solve the problems created by the structural adjustment policies of the Bretton Woods institutions offers a mechanism to provide a watchdog over the abuse of power in development processes. The model of Internet development provide a means to base development on a scientific foundation.

Part VIII. – Conclusion

The question being considered in this paper is how to understand the process of Internet research over a 20 year period of time as a socio-economic phenomenon.

There has been much criticism of the neoliberal economic paradigm especially of the structural adjustment policies carried out by the Bretton Woods Institutions.

In his Nobel Prize speech, Joseph Stiglitz addresses the difficulty of creating a new paradigm in economics. "To develop a new paradigm," he says, "we had to break out from the long established premises, to ask what should be taken as assumptions and what should be derived from analyses."[24]

There is recognition that it is not adequate to critique this paradigm, but thought has to be given to the set of assumptions and analyses that have dominated the neoliberal economic paradigm for several decades.

In an article on his comprehensive development paradigm, Stiglitz considers the long standing debate on the relationship between democracy and development. Arguing that it is not necessary to sacrifice democracy to achieve development, Stiglitz notes the need for and potential of a more participatory process in society given new developments like the Internet.[25] But while he is arguing in favor of the benefit to development of more democratic processes, he also notes how difficult it may be to achieve these.

While Stiglitz refers to some examples of participatory processes aiding economic development, the process of the development of the Internet and of the various technologies it helped to bring about,

provide a significant source of experience to understand the potential and problems of these new processes. And just as other members of this panel, demonstrate in their papers, the Internet Model of Socio-Economic Development and the Emergence of the Netizen establishes the basis to recognize that the *homo neticus*, or the netizen, rather than the egoistic, short-sighted *homo economicus*, may provide a better theoretical role model for social science and economics than the short sighted, self serving *homo economicus*.

Notes

1. Michael Hauben and Ronda Hauben, *Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet*, (hereafter cited as *Netizens*), p. 61-62.

2. *Proceedings of INET'93*, editor: B. Leiner, International Networking Conference, San Francisco, CA, August 17-20, 1993, p. 8

3. Karl Deutsch, *Nerves of Government*, p. 182.

4. Ibid.

5. *Study of IPTO* by National Research Council of National Academy of Science, 1999, p. 105.

6. Robert Fano, "Joseph Carl Robnett Licklider March 11, 1915—June 26, 1990",
http://www.ais.org/~jrh/licklider/lick-fano.html

7. Wesley Clark and JCR Licklider, "Online Man Computer Communication", AFIPS, *Proceedings of May 1-3, 1962, Spring Joint Computer Conference*, San Francisco, Calif, pp. 113-128

8. JCR Licklider and Robert Taylor, "The Computer As a Communication Device ."
http://apotheca.hpl.hp.com/ftp/pub/dec/SRC/publications/taylor/licklider-taylor.pdf

9. Ronda Hauben, "The International Origins of the Internet and the Impact of this Framework on its Future", talk given at Columbia University, November 4, 2004
http://www.columbia.edu/~rh120/other/misc/wsistalknov2004.doc

10. Ronda Hauben, "The Internet: On its International Origins and Collaborative Vision, (A Work In Progress)"
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11. Ronda Hauben, "On Grassroots Journalism and Participatory Democracy in South Korea," in *Korea Yearbook 2007: Politics, Economics and Society*, edited by Ruediger Frank et al, Brill, 2007.

12. Shaobin Yu, "Interaction in the Information Era: Is Internet Supervision the Panacea?"
http://www.egpa2009.com/documents/psg1/YU.pdf

13. Charly Gabriel Mbock, "Social Science and the Social Development Process in Africa", *Social Science and Innovation*, OECD, 2001, p. 161.

14. Mbock, p. 160

15. Mbock, p. 165

16. Mbock, p. 166

17. Mbock, referring to *Netizens* pp. x-xi

18. *Netizens*, pp. 3-5

19. Mbock, p. 165

20. Mbock, referring to *Netizens* p. 56

21. Mbock, p. 165

22. Mbock, referring to *Netizens* p. 249

23. Mbock, p. 166

24. In his Nobel Prize speech, Joseph Stiglitz addresses the difficulty of creating a new paradigm in economics. "To develop a new paradigm," he says, "we had to break out from the long established premises, to ask what should be taken as assumptions and what should be derived from analyses." Joseph Stiglitz, "Information and the Change in the Paradigm in Economics," Prize Lecture, December 8, 2001, p. 487.

25. Joseph Stiglitz, "Participation and Development: Perspectives from the Comprehensive Development Paradigm," *Review of Development Economics*, 6(2), 2002, p. 169.

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Social Science and Innovation, OECD, 2001, OECD Publications, Paris.

Proceedings of INET'93.

[Editor's note: The following presentation was made at the 12th Annual Conference of the Association of Heterodox Economics (AHE) in Bordeaux, France, July 7 to 13, 2010. This presentation was part of a panel which had as its common theme the appropriateness of a *homo neticus* (or netizen) model for future economic theory.]

An Alternative to the Neoliberal Model for the Spread of Net Access to All

by Jay Hauben
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Hello. I am happy to be here at this heterodox economists conference. The world sorely needs a replacement of classical economic theory. The more heterodoxy the better.

In 1998, at the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) Plenipotentiary Conference, delegates from Tunisia suggested the idea of a World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). In Geneva in Dec 2003 and Tunis in 2005, the gathered attendees from over 175 countries heard a cry from the people of the world delivered especially by representatives from Africa, Asia and Latin America for inclusion in the Internet age. That was the message from the many heads of state who asked for help to include their people and economies and who feared the result if large numbers of people were left out. They demanded universal inclusion of all people and help to achieve it.

The Tunis Summit was almost five years ago. In that time the requests from the developing countries have often been met with the advice that they must first liberalize their infrastructure so they would attract the necessary foreign investment needed for internet connectivity for their people. That advice comes from a failed model. But also that advice flies in the face of how the internet spread in the developed countries themselves.

In this talk I will share a few examples from my paper on how the internet was developed and spread by a public, collaborative, scientific model of development shielded from commercial and political pressures. Starting in 1947 when John von Neumann argued that computer development be at a university and in the public domain, continuing with the open source development and spread of the Unix operating system, the hobby computer and amateur BBS movements, etc, most of the developed world's network connectivity was fueled by participation of the users in self generated or state regulated public processes creating a tradition of sharing and crossing borders that is a characteristic of computer development and computer science.

The people and events that I will describe fit a model different from *homo economicus*. There are clues that the model *homo neticus* or netizen (net citizen) may more appropriately and more scientifically describe the emerging internet-impacted society.

If we look back at the emergence of the stored program electronic computer we find the Hungarian-born scientist and mathematician John von Neumann setting a solid scientific foundation for computer development in his work for the U.S. government during the Second World War. In 1945, he wrote the *First Draft*, a report presenting detailed arguments for the axiomatic features that have characterized computers ever since. But when the war ended there began to be a battle over who would get the patent for the basic ideas that were embodied in the first successful electronic digital computers.

Von Neumann saw a potential conflict between scientific and commercial development of computers. He was not opposed to commercialism. But when it really counts, when something important is possible, von Neumann argued it must be "done differently." Herman Goldstein, a U.S. Army mathematician assigned to the ENIAC project, judged the *First Draft* should be distributed. He reports that he "gave copies of it to people who asked for them, from all corners of the world." Goldstein was essentially putting the *First Draft* into the public domain, as was judged in a court decision in 1947. Von Neumann and Goldstine thus made documentation concerning electronic high speed computers public at the very beginning of their development.

Von Neumann wanted to insure that a computer would be developed that could be used as a research tool by mathematicians and scientists like himself. He wrote that he was concerned that if a government lab developed a computer it would be for its own limited purpose and if there was commercial development it would be linked to past products and practices and not have a fresh start. [Notice that von Neumann made a distinction between public and government. Government could restrict what the public needed.]

Von Neumann argued that a computer for scientists should be developed in an institute devoted to pure research and it would have many imitators. Based on his arguments and his prestige he won the approval of the Institute for Advanced Studies and found funding including from the U.S. Army and Navy. His military funders accepted that its use would be restricted to experimental scientific research. He wrote: "It is …, very important to be able to plan such a machine without any inhibitions and to run it quite freely and governed by scientific considerations." The computer became known as the Institute for Advanced Studies or IAS computer.

Von Neumann also set the pattern in the very beginning that the fundamental principles of computing would not be patented but should be put in the public domain. He wrote: "…[W]e are hardly interested in exclusive patents but rather in seeing

that anything that we contributed to the subject, directly or indirectly, remains accessible to the general public…. [O]ur main interest is to see that the government and the scientific public have full rights to the free use of any information connected with this subject."

He was here placing his contributions to computer development into the long tradition of the public nature of science, the norm of sharing scientific results. That norm had been interrupted by the war even among scientists and von Neumann was now returning to it.

Von Neumann gathered a team of scientists and engineers at the Institute for Advanced Studies to design and construct the IAS computer. He and his team documented their theoretical reasoning and logical and design features in a series of reports. They submitted the reports to the U.S. Patent Office and the U.S. Library of Congress with affidavits requesting that the material be put in the public domain. They sent these reports – 175 copies – to scientist and engineer colleagues in the U.S. and around the world. The reports included full details how the computer was to be constructed and how to code the solution to problems.

Aided by the IAS reports, researchers designed and constructed computers at many institutions in the U.S., and in Russia, Sweden, Germany, Israel, Denmark, and Australia. Also, scientific and technical journals began to contain articles describing computer developments in many of these countries. Visits were exchanged so the researchers could learn from each other's projects. This open collaborative process in the late 1940s laid a solid foundation for computer development. That development was international from its early days. It was only upon that scientific foundation that commercial interests were able to begin their computer projects starting by the early 1950s.

The 1960s were ushered in by the beginning of development of the time-sharing mode of computer operations. Before time-sharing, computers were used mostly in batch processing mode where users would bring tasks for the computer coded on punch cards called jobs to the computer center. The computer operator created a queue of jobs to be run one after the other as a single batch. Only later would users received back the results. From the point of view of computer efficiency, the great calculating speed of the computer would be wasted if slower humans were to interact with it.

First at a UNESCO conference in 1959 and then at MIT the idea was proposed that computer calculating time could be broken up into intervals with different users having access to their own equal milli-second intervals on a rotating basis. Such computer time-sharing technology could make possible the simultaneous and efficient use of a single computer by many users. In this way more people could be using computers and each user could interact with the computer directly. When finally developed, this sharing was so fast that each user had the illusion he or she was the sole full time user.

The first successful time sharing experiments were at MIT. By the end of 1962, the CTSS (Compatible Time Sharing System) was available to a growing community of users. The developers, Robert Fano and Fernando Corbato, report that the biggest surprises were one, that more than 50% of the improvements made to the system were suggested and developed by the users not the development team. And two, that a strong bond of friendship and collaboration developed among the users especially because they made themselves available to each other to share problem fixes and other experiences.

Corbato explained that the system had an open quality, "which allowed everyone to make the system kind of their thing rather than what somebody else imposed on them…. So people were tailoring it to mesh with their interests."

The human-computer interactivity made possible by time-sharing suggested to JCR Licklider, an American psychologist and visionary, and others the possibility of human-computer thinking centers. A computer and the people using it forming a collaborative work team. Licklider then envisioned the interconnection of these centers into what he called in the early 1960s the "intergalactic network", all people at terminals everywhere connected via a computer communications system. Licklider also foresaw that all human knowledge would be digitized and somehow made available via computer networks for all possible human uses.

In 1965, Donald Davies, a British computer scientist, visited the time-sharing research sites in the U.S. Later he invited time-sharing researchers to give a workshop at his institution. Davies reports that after the workshop he realized that the principle

of sharing could be applied to data communication. He conceived of a new technology which he called packet switching. The communication lines could be shared by many users if the messages were broken up into small packets and the packets interspersed. The technology that Davies introduced treated each user's message and each packet equally. By sharing the communication system in this equalitarian way, a major efficiency was achieved over telephone circuit technology.

Packet switching networking among geographically separated people as predicted lead to communities based on common interest rather than restricted to common location. Licklider expected that network technology would facilitate sharing across borders.

Von Neumann's putting his computer code in the public domain was repeated. In 1969, mathematicians at the U.S. telephone company AT&T Bell Telephone Laboratories (Bell Labs) started to build a computer time-sharing operating system for their own use. They called it Unix.

Bell Labs mathematicians Ken Thompson and Dennis Ritchie appealed to management to buy for them a substantial computer for their operating system development work. Management declined. That forced Thompson to work with a seldom-used small computer and work very carefully. Starting from scratch, along side his other projects, he worked to build the system he wanted for himself, to be shared among multiple users.

Other Bell Labs researchers made their input. All users were eager to write small programs called tools to facilitate their own work and make these available to other users. In this process of self directed work and free interchange of ideas the operating system Unix emerged, a shared system around which a community of users could form. None of the researchers withheld their inventions so as to make a commercial product from them.

Using the Unix environment themselves for their own work and fun, the researchers experienced its strengths and weaknesses. They were happy to share the code with their friends elsewhere. One story is that Thompson sent the code on magnetic tape in the mail to colleagues. They were able to get it up and running based on the open code. Within the code he and others had put remarks about what a section of code was doing. In that way the code was self-documented. Because the code was open, it could be understood and modified and customized. That gave Unix a vibrant life and led to many varieties called 'flavors'.

AT&T was restricted from offering Unix as a commercial product because as a regulated communication utility it was limited to telephone, telegraph, and "common carrier communications" commercial activity. Open code Unix spread rapidly. But outside of AT&T, Bell Labs offered no support. Users were on their own.

John Lyons a professor in Australia read the journal article in which Thompson and Ritchie described Unix. He wrote them for a copy of the tape. His school paid $150 and signed a license agreement and received the code. "We needed help," he told an interviewer, "but we couldn't get any from outside sources so we ended up generating our own expertise." [As an aside, a computer person in Africa read this quote and realized that was a good principle for Africa too.] Lyons prepared two books, one *Source Code* and the other *A Commentary on the Unix Operating System*. Those books circulated all over the world. At some point AT&T forbad further distribution, arguing the code was proprietary. That did not stop the Unix community. From then on the *Commentary* was photocopied multiple times by users and circulated 'underground' to help introduce the principles of Unix and operating system coding to the growing community of users.

One more piece of the Unix story is the desire in 1991 by a Finnish student, Linus Torvalds to have a Unix like environment on his small PC. He set out to give himself the environment he wanted by analyzing what an operating system does and then writing a Unix like system from scratch. At the beginning of his work, Torvalds posted online a request for some specific help. The positive response led him to put his code online when he had made some progress with it. The result was a few people contacted him offering some suggestions or comments. He welcomed their help and some began to collaborate with him.

In a short time, a community of individual remote developers adopted the project and worked with Linus. The result is an ever expanding Unix-like, freely available, open operating system, Linux. The developers of Linux collaborate voluntarily to develop a public good for themselves and whoever else wants to use it. Between 2005 and 2008, over

3700 individual developers contributed to the Linux kernel code.

The time-sharing scientists that Licklider supported also began in 1969 an experiment to connect their time-sharing centers across the U.S. Their project resulted in the first large scale network of dissimilar computers. Its success was based on packet switching technology. That network became known as the ARPANET, named after the parent agency that sponsored the project, the Advanced Research Project Agency (ARPA). The ARPANET was a scientific experiment among academic researchers not as is often stated a military project. The goal of the ARPANET project was "to facilitate resource sharing ." The biggest surprise was that the ARPANET was used mostly for the exchange of text messages among the researchers about their common work or unrelated to work. Such message exchanges occurred in every time sharing community. The ARPANET only increased the range and number of users who could be reached. Thus was born network email, an effective and convenient added means of human communication.

The ARPANET started with four nodes in early 1970 and grew monthly. All technical work on it was reported in the open technical literature. The thought of interconnecting similar networks in other countries seemed a natural next step. Again the technology itself invited sharing and connecting, all of which requires collaboration.

The spark toward what we know today as the internet emerged seriously in October 1972. The International Working Group (INWG) was created which helped foster the exchange of ideas and lessons. The problem to be solved was how to provide computer communication among technically different computer networks in countries with different political systems and laws. From the very beginning the solution had to be sought via an international collaboration. The collaboration that made possible the TCP/IP foundation of the internet was by U.S., Norwegian and U.K. researchers. These researchers shared their knowledge and results even with researchers from the Soviet Union, the G.D.R., and Hungary etc. at conferences in Austria. They found that the researchers from the East had read the ARPANET literature.

In the U.S., the advantage of being on the ARPANET attracted the attention of computer scientists and their graduate students. But most universities could not get grants to afford the estimated $100,000 annual cost nor had the influence to get connected. A common feeling was that those not on the ARPANET missed out on the collaboration it made possible.

To remedy the situation of being outside of the ARPANET, two graduate students Tom Truscott and Jim Ellis developed a way to use the uucp remote copy function built into the Unix operating system to pass messages on from Unix computer to Unix computer over telephone lines. Under control of their software, computers could periodically call each other swapping new messages. The messages thus made their way via uucp from computer to computer around the world. A message could be commented on and the comments would then be passed on with the messages. In that way the messages became a discussion. Truscott and Ellis called the system Usenet and gave away copies of the code on the summer 1980 Unix users conference tape. Totally for free and totally voluntarily, Usenet software spread around the world. Based at first on telephone connections between computers the communication costs could be substantial. Some help with phone costs was given by AT&T the regulated U.S. phone company. Computer tapes containing a set of messages were sometimes mailed or carried between say the U.S. and Europe or Australia as a less expensive means of sharing the discussions.

Messages on Usenet were and are grouped by topic as "newsgroups ." Regular readers and posters to specific newsgroups formed communities of like interest and discussed and debated often heatedly the topics of their newsgroups. A culture of helpfulness and respect built up over time. A global rather than local viewpoint often emerged. Usenet was given its content, its structure its policy by its active system administrators and users. It still exists today. The technology has no central point. Control or ownership if any would be outside the system. The main active users were fiercely anti-commercial since any profit to be made would be off of the voluntary contributions of the users and at their expense.

At about the same time and in parallel with the development and spread of Usenet, a hobbyist and grass roots BBS movement developed. Soon after small home computers emerged around the early 1980s, software was developed which allowed home users to receive telephone calls from remote

computers directed to their home computers. Young and not so young people commandeered the family phone for a few hours a day and let the neighborhood know the phone number. In that way one user at a time discussions started of every variety imaginable. Often the system was open and free with the family phone bill absorbing the cost. Before the fall of the Wall, Berlin Germany had as an attraction for people to live there a fixed monthly phone charge. Over 250 such BBS (bulletin board systems) emerged in Berlin by the late 1980s.

To sum up, there is a solid tradition associated with computers and computer networks. That tradition has been international from the very beginning. When von Neumann sent out his reports or Thompson sent out his tapes, or Torvalds put his code online, or Truscott and Ellis gave copies of Usenet code away, they were not making a selfish or a local or a national act. They acted as citizens of the world. They were helping human society exercise its networking urge. They were acting as *homo neticus*. The internet itself serves to give more people the chance to be part of this larger world identity.

All the examples show a high level of sharing. None of the people mentioned had any reluctance making public their findings or a description of their innovations by publishing or by posting or by sending out copies. This sharing was a reflection of and is reflected in the time sharing and packet sharing technical essence of the internet. Most situations described had a passing on what was received or better an adding to and passing on. All of the examples show valuing of the public domain.

The evidence from hunter-gatherer archaeology is that hominids have carried on social exchange for at least two million years. The history of culture shows that social exchange is universally human and not a recent cultural invention. The example of Linux which is upgraded every few months shows that the internet is making possible successful collaboration on a large scale. The examples suggest that sharing will be a large part of any model that replaces *homo economicus*.

In some of the examples AT&T plays a special role. For example, the mission of Bell Labs was communication. A mission very close to the essence of computing. Bell Labs was supported to fulfill that mission by treating its scientists as self-motivated citizens of the scientific community. In such an environment, Thompson and Richie were able to develop Unix which created a programming environment similar to Bell Labs itself. Since the breakup of AT&T, Bell labs has been shrunk to a manufacturing design lab. There is no similar Bell Labs in the U.S. today.

All the people I describe above were not lacking in subsistence. They were able to do and share their work with a public purpose and for society because by one means or another society was taking care of them. They were subsidized or supported by governments or AT&T, or their parents or by their own other work. As part of a search for a new model perhaps a lesson here is that creative or scientific or public work needs to be subsidized by society if it is to for social not private good.

We are searching for a theoretical frame work to see what direction the future should take. There are people who actively contributed towards the development of the internet and the networked society that is emerging. These people understood the value to all of public goods and of collective work. Especially what their contributions led to is the communal aspects of public communications. In the 1990s, Michael Hauben realized these people were acting as citizens of the networked society. He contracted net.citizen to netizens. The people and events I have described are a small sub-segment of such netizens. They do not fit the *homo economicus* model. The model *homo neticus* or netizen (net citizen) may more appropriately and more scientifically describe the emerging internet-impacted society and thus help to replace the disintegrating and discredited *homo economicus* model.

Establishing a Point of View Toward Virtual Communities Netizenship

The term citizen literally means a woman or a man living in a certain town. Its second meaning is that being a citizen means that you are an inhabitant of a state living there in full rights as member of the state. I tried to show that there is no such thing as living on the Net. In this regard there is no such thing as a Netizen.

The Netizen is a citizen with an account and CMC is a sophisticated tool. Nothing more (but that's by far enough!). This tool is used by citizens which, through its use, are enabled to overcome the barriers of time, distance, and travel or phone costs between sender and recipient. Thus *CMC* offers great possibilities in social interaction, politics, work and entertainment, but it requires responsible behavior in return. And this is where we meet the Netizen. The Netizen is aware of being part of a public network. Like the citizen is part of a state, so is the Netizen: a member with full rights, but also with the duty of responsible behavior and the demand of defending this place of free speech and unrestricted interaction (or else she might loose it). Netizenship doesn't mean leading a second (and third and fourth and so on) life in virtual worlds, but a responsible and watchful usage of the medium, recognizing the importance and meaning of the Net for the sensual world.*

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*The thread continues at:
http://www.december.com/cmc/mag/1997/feb/wein.html

The Effect of the Net on the Professional News Media: The USENET News Collective The Man-Computer News Symbiosis

by Michael Hauben

The archdeacon contemplated the gigantic cathedral for a time in silence, then he sighed and stretched out his right hand towards the printed book lying open on his table and his left hand towards Notre Dame, and he looked sadly from the book to the church: 'Alas,' he said, 'this will kill that.'

Victor Hugo,
Notre Dame de Paris

I. Media criticism

Will this kill that? Will the new online forms of discourse dethrone the professional news media?

The French writer Victor Hugo observed that the printed book rose to replace the cathedral and the church as the conveyor of important ideas in the 15th century. Will Usenet and other young online discussion forums develop to replace the current news media? Various people throughout society are currently discussing this question.

The role of modern journalism is being reconsidered in a variety of ways. There are journalists and media critics, like the late Professor Christopher Lasch, who have challenged the fundamental premises of professional journalism. There are other journalists like *Wall Street Journal* reporter Jared Sandberg, who cover an online beat, and are learning quickly about the growing online public forums. These two approaches are beginning to converge to make it possible to understand the changes in the role of the media in our society brought about by the development of the Internet and Usenet.

Media critics like Christopher Lasch have established a theoretical foundation that makes it possible to critique the news media and challenge the

current practice of these media. In "Journalism, Publicity, and the Lost Art of Argument," Lasch argued: "What democracy requires is public debate, and not information. Of course, it needs information, too, but the kind of information it needs can be generated only by vigorous popular debate."[1]

Applying his critique to the press, Lasch wrote: "From these considerations it follows the job of the press is to encourage debate, not to supply the public with information. But as things now stand the press generates information in abundance, and nobody pays any attention."[2]

Lasch explained that more and more people are getting less and less interested in the press because, "Much of the press now delivers an abundance of useless, indigestible information that nobody wants, most of which ends up as unread waste."[3]

Reporters like Jared Sandberg of the *Wall Street Journal*, on the other hand, recognize that more and more of the information that the public is interested in, is starting to come from people other than professional journalists. In an article about the April 1995 Oklahoma Federal Building explosion, Sandberg writes: "In times of crisis, the Internet has become the medium of choice for users to learn more about breaking news, often faster than many news organizations can deliver it."[4]

People curious and concerned about relatives and others present on the scene turned to the Net to find out timely information about survivors and to discuss the questions raised by the event. Soon after the explosion, it was reported and discussed live on Internet Relay Chat, in newsgroups on Usenet such as alt.current-events.amfb-explosion and on various Web sites. Sandberg noted that many logged onto the Internet to get news from first-hand observers rather than turning on the TV to CNN or comparable news sources.

Along with the broader strata of the population that has begun to report and discuss the news via the Internet and Usenet, a definition of who is a media critic is developing. Journalists and media critics like Martha Fitzsimon and Lawrence T. McGill present such a broader definition of media critics when they write, "Everyone who watches television, listens to a radio or reads passes judgment on what they see, hear or read."[5] Acknowledging the public's discontent with the traditional forms of the media, they note that, "the evaluations of the media put forward by the public are grim and getting worse."[6]

Other journalists have written about public criticism of the news media. In his article, "Encounters Online", Thomas Valovic recognizes some of the advantages inherent in the new online form of criticism. Unlike old criticism, the new type "fosters dialogue between reporters and readers."[7] He observes how this dialogue "can subject reporters to interrogations by experts that undermine journalists' claim to speak with authority."[8]

Changes are taking place in the field of journalism, and these changes are apparent to some, but not all journalists and media critics. Tom Goldstein, Dean of the University of California at Berkeley Journalism School, observes that change is occurring, but the results are not fully understood.[9]

II. Examining the role of Internet/Usenet and the press

There are discussions online about the role of the press and the role of online discussion forums. The debate is active. There are those who believe the printed press is here to stay, while others contend that interactive discussion forums are likely to replace the authority of the print news media. Those who argue for the dominance of the online media present impassioned arguments. Their comments are much more persuasive than those who defend the traditional role of the print media as something that is handy to read over breakfast or on the train. In a newsgroup thread discussing the future of print journalism, Gloria Stern stated: "My experience is that I have garnered more information from the Internet than I ever could from any newspaper. Topical or not, it has given me community that I never had before. I touch base with more informed kindred souls than any tonnage of paper could ever bring me."[10]

Regularly, people are commenting on how they have stopped reading newspapers. Even those who continue to read printed newspapers note that Usenet has become one of the important sources for their news. For example, a user wrote: "I do get the *NY Times* every day, and the *Post* and the *Washington Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* (along with about 100 other hard-copy publications), and I still find Usenet a valuable source of in-depth news reporting."[11]

More and more people on Usenet have announced their discontent with the traditional one-way media, often leading to their refusal to seriously read newspapers again. In a discussion about a *Time* magazine article about the Internet and Usenet, Elizabeth Fischer wrote: "The point of the whole exercise is that for us, most of us, paper media is a dead issue (so to speak)."[12]

In the same thread, Jim Zoes stated the challenge posed by the online media for reporters: "This writer believes that you (the traditional press) face the same challenge that the monks in the monastery faced when Gutenberg started printing Bibles."[13]

Describing why the new media represent such a formidable foe, Zoes continued: "Your top-down model of journalism allows traditional media to control the debate, and even if you provide opportunity for opposing views, the editor always had the last word. In the new paradigm, not only do you not necessarily have the last word, you no longer even control the flow of the debate."[14]

He concludes with his understanding of the value of Usenet to society: "The growth and acceptance of e-mail, coupled with discussion groups (Usenet) and mail lists provide for a 'market place of ideas' hitherto not possible since perhaps the days of the classic Athenians."[15]

Others present their views on a more personal level. One poster writes: "I will not purchase another issue of *Newsweek*. I won't even glance through their magazine if it's lying around now given what a shoddy job they did on that article."[16]

Another explains: "My husband brought [the article] home for me to read and [I] said, 'Where is that damn follow up key? ARGH!' I've pretty much quit reading mainstream media except when someone puts something in front of me or I'm riding the bus to work."[17]

These responses are just some of the recent examples of people voicing their discontent with the professional news media. The online forum provides a public way of sharing this discontent with others. It is in sharing ideas and understandings with others with similar views that grassroots efforts begin to attempt to change society.

While some Net users have stopped reading the professional news media, others are interested in influencing the media to more accurately portray the Net. Many are critical of the news media's reporting of the Internet, and other events. Users of the Internet are interested in protecting the Internet. They do this by watch-dogging politicians and journalists. Concern with the coverage of the Internet in the press comes from first-hand experience with the Internet. One Net-user expressing such dissatisfaction writes: "The Net is a special problem for reporters, because bad reporting in other areas is protected by distance. If someone reports to the *Times* from Croatia, you're not going to have a better source unless you've been there (imagine how many people in that part of the world could correct the reports we read). All points of Usenet are equidistant from the user and the reporter. We can check their accuracy at every move. And what do we notice? Not the parts that the reporter gets right, just the errors. And Usenet is such a complete culture that no reporter, absent some form of formal training or total immersion in the Net, is going to get it all right."[18]

Another online critic writes: "It's scary when you actually are familiar with what a journalist is writing about. Kinda punches a whole bunch of holes in the 'facts'. Unfortunately it's been going on for a long time we, the general viewing public, just aren't up to speed on the majority of issues. That whole 'faith in media' thing. Yick. I can't even trust the damn AP wire anymore after reading an enormous amount of total crap on it during the first few hours of the Oklahoma bombing."[19]

In Usenet's formation of a community, that community has developed the self-awareness to respond to and reject an outside description of the Net. If the Net was just the telephone lines and computer infra structure making up a machine, that very machine could not object and scold journalists for describing it as a spreader of pornography or a bomb-production press. Wesley Howard believes that the critical on line commentary is having a healthy effect on the press: "The coverage has become more accurate and less sloppy in its coverage of the Net because it (the Net) has become more defined itself from a cultural point of view. Partly because of growth and partly because of what the media was saying fed debates and caused a firmer definition within itself. This does not mean the print media was in any way responsible for the Net's self definition, but was one influence of many."[20]

Another person, writing from Japan, believed that journalists should be more responsible, urging that "all journalists should be forced to have an

e-mail address." He explained: "Journalists usually have a much bigger audience than their critics. I often feel a sense of helplessness in trying to counter the damage they cause when they abuse their privilege. Often it is impossible even to get the attention of the persons responsible for the lies and distortions."[21]

Usenet newsgroups and mailing lists provide a media where people are in control. People who are online understand the value of this control and are trying to articulate their understandings. Some of this discussion is being carried on on Usenet. Having the ability to control the mass media also encourages people to try to affect other media. The proposal to require print journalists to acquire and publicize an e-mail address is an example of how online users are trying to apply the lessons learned from the online media to change the print media.

III. People as critics: the role the Net is playing and will play in the future

People online are excited, and this is not an exaggeration. The various discussion forums connected to the global computer communications network (or the Net) are the prototype for a new public form of communication. This new form of human communication will either supplement the current forms of news or replace them. One person on a newsgroup succinctly stated: "The real news is right here. And it can't get any newer because I watch it as it happens."[22]

The very concept of news is being reinvented as people come to realize that they can provide the news about the environment they live in; that people can contribute their real-life conditions and this information proves worthwhile for others. The post continued: "As other segments of society come online, we will have less and less need for some commercially driven entity that gathers the news for me, filters it, and then delivers it to me, hoping fervently that I'll find enough of interest to keep paying for it."[23]

Such sentiment represents a fundamental challenge to the professional creation and dissemination of news. The online discussion forums allow open and free discourse. Individuals outside of the traditional power structures are finding a forum in which to contribute, where those contributions are welcomed. Describing the importance of the open fo-

rum available on the Net, Dolores Dege wrote: "The most important and eventually most powerful aspect of the Net will be the effect(s) of having access to alternative viewpoints to the published and usually (although not always either intentionally or consciously) biased local news media. This access to differing 'truths' is similar to the communication revolution which occurred when the first printing presses made knowledge available to the common populace, instead of held in the tight fists of the clergy and ruling classes."[24]

This change in who makes the news is also apparent to Keith Cowing: "How one becomes a 'provider' and 'receiver' of information is being totally revamped. The status quo hasn't quite noticed yet this is what is so interesting."[25]

While this openness also encourages different conspiracy theorists and crackpots to write messages, their contributions are scrutinized as much as any other posting. This uncensored environment leads to a sorting out of mis-truths from thoughtful convictions. Many people online keep their wits about them and seek to refute half-truths and lies. A post from Australia notes that it is common to post refutations of inaccurate posts: "One of the good things about Usenet is the propensity of people to post refutations of false information that others have posted."[26]

As the online media are in the control of many people, no one person can come online and drastically alter the flow or quality of discussion. The multiplicity of ideas and opinions make Usenet and mailing lists the opposite of a free-for-all.

IV. Qualities of this new medium

A common assumption of the ethic of individualism is that the individual is in control and is the prime mover of society. Others believe that it is not the individual who is in control, but that society is being controlled by people organized around the various large corporations that own so much of our society whether those corporations are the media, manufacturers, etc. The global computer communications networks currently allow uncensored expression from the individual at a bottom rung of society. The grassroots connection of people around the world and in local communities based on common interests is an important step in bringing people more control over their lives. Lisa Pease wrote in alt.journalism: "The net requires no permissions,

no groveling to authority, no editors to deal with no one basically to say 'no don't say that.' As a result, far more has been said here publicly than has probably been said in a hundred years about issues that really matter political prisoners, democratic uprisings, exposure of disinformation this is what makes the net more valuable than any other news source."[27]

Similar views are expressed by others about the power of the Internet to work in favor of people rather than commercial conglomerates: "The Internet is our last hope for a medium that will enable individuals to combat the overpowering influence of the commercial media to shape public opinion, voter attitudes, select candidates, influence legislation, etc."[28]

People are beginning to be empowered by the open communications the online media provide. This empowerment is beginning to lead toward more active involvement by people in the societal issues they care about.

V. The Pentium story

In discussions about the future of the online media, people have observed how Usenet makes it possible to challenge the privileges inherent in the traditional news media. John Pike started a thread describing the challenge the Net presents to the former content providers: "To me this is the really exciting opportunity for Usenet, namely that the professional content providers will be directly confronted with and by their audience. The prevailing info-structure privileges certain individuals by virtue of institutional affiliation. But cyberspace is a far more meritocractic environment the free exchange of ideas can take place regardless of institutional affiliation."[29]

Pike continues by arguing that online forums are becoming a place where "news" is both made and reported, and thus traditional sources are often scooped. He writes: "This has tremendously exciting possibilities for democratizing the info-structure, as the 'official' hardcopy implementations are increasingly lagging cyberspace in breaking news."[30]

An example of news being made online occurred when Intel, the computer chip manufacturer, was forced to recall faulty Pentium chips because of the online pressure and the effect of that pressure on computer manufacturers such as IBM and Gateway. These companies put pressure on Intel because people using Usenet discovered problems with the Pentium. The online discussion led to people becoming active and getting the manufacturers of their computers, and Intel to fix the problems.

In the article "Online Snits Fomenting Public Storms," *Wall Street Journal* reporters Bart Ziegler and Jared Sandberg commented: "Some industry insiders say that had the Pentium flub occurred five years ago, before the Internet got hot and the media caught on, Intel might have escaped a public flogging and avoided a costly recall."[31]

Buried in the report is the acknowledgment that the traditional press would not have caught the defect in the Pentium chip, but that the online media forced the traditional media to respond. The original reporting about the problem was done in the Usenet newsgroup comp.sys.intel and further online discussion took place in that newsgroup and other newsgroups and on Internet mailing lists. The *Wall Street Journal* reporters recognized their debt to news that people were posting online to come up with a story that dealt with a major computer company and with the real world role that Usenet played.

In another article in the *Wall Street Journal*, reporter Fara Warner focused on the impact of the online news on Intel. "[Intel] offered consumers a promise of reliability and quality, and now that promise has been called into question," she writes, quoting the CEO of a consulting firm.[32] The people who did this questioning were the users of the computers with the faulty chips. Communicating about the problem online, these users were able to have an impact not otherwise possible. Ziegler and Sandberg noted that the discussions were online rather than in "traditional public forums like trade journals, newspapers or the electronic media."[33] Online users were able to work together to deal with a problem, instead of depending on other forums traditionally associated with reporting dissatisfaction with consumer goods. After all of the criticisms, Intel had to replace faulty chips to keep their reputation viable. *The Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times* and other newspapers and magazines played second fiddle to what was happening online. In their article, Ziegler and Sandberg quote Dean Tom Goldstein: "It's absolutely changing how journalism is practiced in ways that aren't fully developed."[34]

These journalists acknowledge that the field of journalism is changing as a result of the existence of the online complaints. The online connection of people is forming a large and important social force.

An Australian reporter, John Hilvert, commented on the value of being online: "[Usenet] can be a great source of leads about the mood of the Net. The recent GIF-Unisys-CompuServe row and the Intel Pentium bug are examples of Usenet taking an activist and educative role."[35]

Although it is hard to rely on any single piece of information, Usenet is not about ideas in a vacuum. Usenet is about discussion and discourse. The great number and range of the unedited posts on Usenet bring up the question of whether editors are needed to deal with the amount of information. Discussing the need to take time to deal with the growing amount of information, a post on alt.internet.media-coverage explained, "The difference being that for the first time in human history, the general populace has the ability to determine what it finds important, rather than relying on the whims of those who knew how to write, or controlled the printing presses. It means that we as individuals are going to have to deal with sifting through a lot of information on our own, but in the end I believe that we will all benefit from it."[36]

Such posts lead to the question of what is meant by the notion of the general populace and a popular press. The point is important, as those who are on the Net make up but a small percentage of the total population of either the United States or the world. However, that online population makes up a significant body of people connecting to each other online.[37] The fast rate of growth also makes one take note of the trends and developments. Defining what is meant by 'general populace and a popular press' the post continues: "By general populace, I mean those who can actually afford a computer, and a connection to the Net, or have access to a public terminal. As computer prices go down, the amount of people who fit this description will increase. At any rate, comparing the 5-10 million people with Usenet access, to the handful who control the mass media shows that even in a nascent stage, Usenet is far more the 'people's voice' than any media conglomerate could ever be."[38]

Computer pioneers like Norbert Wiener, J.C.R. Licklider and John Kemeny discussed the need for man-computer symbiosis to help humans deal with the growing problems of our times.[39] The online discussion forums provide a new form of man-computer symbiosis. They are helpful intellectual exercises. It is healthy for society if all members think and make active use of their brains and Usenet is conducive to thinking. It is not the role of journalists to provide answers. Even if everybody's life is busy, what happens when they come to depend on the opinions and summaries of others as their own? Usenet is helping to create a mass community that works communally to aid the individual to come to his or her own opinions.

Usenet works via the active involvement and thoughtful contributions of each user. The Usenet software facilitates the creation of a community whose thought processes can accumulate and benefit the entire community. The creation of the printed book helped to increase the speed of the accumulation of ideas. Usenet now speeds up that process to help accumulate the thoughts of the moment. The resulting discussion seen on Usenet could not have been produced beforehand as the work of one individual. The bias or the point of view of any one individual or group is no longer presented as the whole truth.

Karl Krueger describes some of the value of Usenet in a post: "Over time, Usenetters get better at being parts of the Usenet matrix because their own condensations support Usenet's, and this helps other users. In a way, Usenet is a 'meta-symbiont' with each user the user is a part of Usenet and benefits Usenet (with a few exceptions), and Usenet includes the user and benefits him/her."[40]

Krueger points out how experienced Usenet users contribute to the Usenet community. He writes: "As time increases normally, the experienced Usenet user uses Usenet to make himself more knowledgeable and successful. Experienced users also contribute back to Usenet, primarily in the forms of conveying knowledge (answering questions, compiling FAQs), conveying experience (being part of the environment a newbie interacts with), and protecting Usenet (upholding responsible and non-destructive use, canceling potentially damaging SPAMs, fighting 'newsgroup invasions,' etc.)."[41]

As each new user connects to Usenet, and learns from others, the Usenet collective grows and becomes one person richer. Krueger continues:

"Provided that all users are willing to spend the minimal amount of effort to gain some basic Usenet experience then they can be added to this loop. In Usenet, old users gain their benefits from other old users, while simultaneously bringing new users into the old-users group to gain benefits."[42]

The collective body of people, assisted by the Usenet software, has grown larger than any individual newspaper. As people continue to connect to Usenet and other discussion forums, the collective global population will contribute back to the human community in this new form of news.

VI. Conclusion

Newspapers and magazines are a convenient form for dealing with information transfer. People have grown accustomed to reading newspapers and magazines wherever and whenever they please. The growing dissatisfaction with the print media is more with the content than with the form. There is a significant criticism that the current print media do not allow for a dynamic response or follow-up to the articles in hand. One possible direction would be toward online distribution and home or on-site printing of online discussion groups. This would allow for the convenience of the traditional newspaper and magazine form to be connected to the dynamic conversation that online Netnews allows. The reader could choose at what point in the conversation or how much of the discussion to make a part of the printed form. But this leaves out the element of interactivity. Still, it could be a temporary solution until the time when ubiquitous slate computers with mobile networks would allow the combination of a light, easy to handle screen, with a continuous connection with the Internet from any location.

Newspapers could continue to provide entertainment in the form of crossword puzzles, comics, classified ads, and entertainment sections (e.g., entertainment, lifestyles, sports, fashion, gossip, reviews, coupons, and so on). However, the real challenge comes in what is traditionally known as news, or information and newly breaking events from around the world. Citizen, or now Netizen reporters are challenging the premise that authoritative professional reporters are the only possible reporters of the news. The news of the day is biased and opinionated no matter how many claims for objectivity exist in the world of the reporter. In addition, the choice of what becomes news is clearly subjective.

Now that more people are gaining a voice on the open public electronic discussion forums, previously unheard "news" is being made available. The current professional news reporting is not really reporting the news, rather it is reporting the news as decided by a certain set of economic or political interests. Todd Masco contrasts the two contending forms of the news media: "Free communication is essential to the proper functioning of an open, free society such as ours. In recent years, the functioning of this society has been impaired by the monolithic control of our means of communication and news gathering (through television and conglomerate-owned newspapers). This monolithic control allows issues to be talked about only really in terms that only the people who control the media and access to same can frame. Usenet, and [online] News in general, changes this: it allows real debate on issues, allowing perspectives from all sides to be seen."[43]

Journalists may survive, but they will be secondary to the symbiosis that the combination of the Usenet software and computers with the Usenet community produces. Karl Krueger observes how the Usenet collective is evolving to join man and machine into a news-gathering, sorting and disseminating body. He writes: "There is no need for Official Summarizers (a.k.a. journalists) on Usenet, because everyone does it by cross-posting, following-up, forwarding relevant articles to other places, maintaining ftp archives and WWW indexes of Usenet articles."[44]

He continues: "Journalists will never replace software. The purpose of journalists is similar to scribes in medieval times: to provide an information service when there is insufficient technology or insufficient general skill at using it. I'm not insulting journalism; it is a respectable profession and useful. But you won't need a journalist when you have a good enough newsreader/browser and know how to use it."[45]

These online commentators echo Victor Hugo's description of how the printed book grew up to replace the authority that architecture had held in earlier times. Hugo writes: "This was the presentiment that as human ideas changed their form they would change their mode of expression, that the crucial idea of each generation would no longer be written in the same material or in the same way, that the book of stone, so solid and durable, would

give way to the book of paper, which was more solid and durable still."[46]

Today, similarly, the need for a broader, and more cooperative gathering and reporting of the news has helped to create the new online media that are gradually supplanting the traditional forms of journalism. Professional media critics writing in the *Freedom Forum Media Studies Journal* acknowledge that online critics and news gatherers are presenting a challenge to the professional news media that can lead to their overthrow when they write: "News organizations can weather the blasts of professional media critics, but their credibility cannot survive if they lose the trust of the multitude of citizens critics throughout the United States."[47]

As more and more people come online, and realize the grassroots power of becoming a Netizen reporter, the professional news media must evolve a new role or will be increasingly marginalized.

Notes

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6. Ibid.
7. Thomas S. Volovic, "Encounters Online," *Media Studies Journal*, Vol 9 no 2, Spring 1995, p. 115.
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9. Bart Ziegler and Jared Sandberg, "Online Snits Fomenting Public Storms," *Wall Street Journal*, December 23, 1994.
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    Date: 7 April 1995
    Subject: Re: Future of print journalism
    Newsgroups: alt.journalism
11. From: John Pike
    Date: 24 April 1995
    Subject: Re: Usenet's political power (was Re: Content Providers
    Professionals versus Amateurs on Usenet)
    Newsgroups: alt.culture.usenet
12. From: Elizabeth Fischer
    Date: 20 July 1994
    Subject: Re: TIME Cover Story: pipeline to editors
    Newsgroups: alt.internet.media-coverage
13. From: Jim Zoes
    Date: 22 July, 1994
    Subject: Re: Time Cover Story: pipeline to editors
    Newsgroups: alt.internet.media-coverage
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. From: Catherine Stanton
    Date: 21 July 1994
    Subject: Re: Time Cover Story: pipeline to editors
    Newsgroups: alt.internet.media-coverage
17. From: Abby Franquemont-Guillory
    Date: 22 July 1994 13:45:19 -0500
    Subject: Re: Time Cover Story: pipeline to editors
    Newsgroups: alt.internet.media-coverage
18. From: The Nutty Professor
    Date: Mon, 16 Jan 1995 13:35:34 GMT
    Subject: Re: Reporter Seeking Net-Abuse Comments
    Newsgroups: alt.internet.media-coverage
19. From: Mikez
    Date: Tue, 25 Apr 95 03:58:55 GMT
    Subject: Re: Mass media exploiting 'cyberspace' for ratings
    Newsgroups: alt.journalism.criticism
20. From: Wesley Howard
    Date: 8 Apr 1995 05:39:43 GMT
    Subject: Re: Does Usenet have an effect on the print news media?
    Newsgroups: alt.internet.media-coverage
21. From: John DeHoog
    Date: Fri, 21 Apr 1995 20:01:24 +0900
    Subject: Make journalists get an e-mail address!
    Newsgroups: alt.journalism
22. Message-Id: <elknox.35.00091823@bsu.idbsu.edu>
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24. Delores Dege, "Re: Impact of the Net on Society," e-mail message, 21 February 1995.
25. From: Keith L. Cowing
    Date: Mon, 17 Apr 1995 12:33:23 -0500
    Subject: Re: Content Providers Professionals versus Amateurs on Usenet
    Newsgroups: alt.culture.internet
26. From: William Logan Lee
    Subject: Re: Is hobby computing dead?
    Newsgroups: alt.folklore.computers
27. From: Lisa Pease
    Date: Wed, 5 Apr 1995 23:17:24 GMT
    Subject: Re: Future of print journalism
    Newsgroups: alt.journalism
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    Date: 20 Mar 1995 21:05:54 -0500
    Subject: Re: Impact of the Net on Society
    Newsgroups: alt.culture.internet
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    Date: 17 Apr 1995 12:21:49 GMT
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    Date: Wed, 5 Apr 1995 03:40:57 GMT
    Subject: Re: Does Usenet have an effect on the print news media?
    Newsgroups: alt.culture.usenet
36. From: Miskatonic Gryn.
    Date: 17 Apr 1995 15:31:22 -0400
    Subject: Re: Cliff Stoll
    Newsgroups: alt.internet.media-coverage
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    Newsgroups: news.future, comp.society.futures, ny.general
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44. Karl A. Krueger.
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