

FROM PAGE ONE

Turkey Builds New Model Of Censorship

Continued from Page One

clashed with police trying to enforce a ban on the traditional march to Istanbul's Taksim Square, long symbolic as a place of dissent on May Day. Some critics of Mr. Erdogan say privately that they feel more nervous about making antigovernment statements. In cafes and bars here, people compare technical workarounds aimed at dodging the government's website blockages and surveillance efforts.

Mr. Erdogan's shake-up, a rapid-fire response to a power struggle with political enemies, has left Internet companies and government officials from Washington to Brussels worried that Turkey could become a template for other countries where leaders want to rein in the Internet without cracking down with as much force as China or Iran.

Iran is building what it calls a "halal" intranet to replace the Internet, and Chinese officials have imposed a censoring and filtering system known as the Great Firewall. In Turkey, Mr. Erdogan wants unfettered Internet access that can be blocked swiftly if Turkey's intelligence agency spots something it believes is a threat.

"This is a test case for a new authoritarian model of Internet censorship," says Zeynep Tufekci, a Turkish national who is an Internet specialist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Turkey's moves appear to differ from a nonbinding statement of "important values" agreed to last week by dozens of governments and groups, including Turkey, at a meeting on Internet governance. "Everyone should have the right to access, share, create and distribute information on the Internet," they concluded.

Mr. Erdogan backed down from the Twitter ban after it was overturned by Turkey's top court. But officials now are demanding that Twitter move faster to implement orders to block the accounts of specific users.

Twitter has said it is in an "ongoing dialogue" with Turkish authorities, while Google has filed appeals in three courts to end the YouTube ban. A Google spokesman said in an emailed statement: "It is obviously very disappointing to people and businesses in Turkey that YouTube is still blocked." In January, YouTube and Twitter were the third- and sixth-most-popular websites in Turkey, according to trade group IAB Turkiye.

Some of the world's most visible Internet companies are grap-

pling with how far they are willing to go to accommodate Mr. Erdogan's government in return for continued access to the country. The dilemma is aggravated because Turkey is emblematic of the emerging markets where tech companies are looking for a big growth spurt.

Last year, online-advertising spending in Turkey reached \$615 million, about 1.4% of the U.S. total, but grew more than a third faster in local-currency terms, according to data from IAB Turkiye and Interactive Advertising Bureau.

Since the crackdown, the number of formal requests to Google and Twitter to remove content objected to by government officials has surged, pressuring the companies to comply or risk recurring blackouts.

In addition, the same law that gave Mr. Erdogan the power to shut down websites allows Internet service providers in Turkey to block individual Web addresses even if tech companies refuse.

Turkey's parliament, controlled by the prime minister's Justice and Development Party, passed April 17 a separate law letting the Turkish spy agency demand without a court order any data deemed threatening to national security. That could include individual Web browsing activity, email and text messages, and company sales records. It isn't clear if officials are using those powers.

Internet service providers such as Turk Telekomunikasyon AS, in which the government owns a 30% stake, have begun using deep-packet inspection technology, which examines a computer network's traffic and can filter posts or help identify their authors, people familiar with the matter say. The technology, supplied at least partly by Palo Alto Networks Inc. of Santa Clara, Calif., mirrors aspects of what China has used to build its Great Firewall.

Mr. Erdogan's office and Turkey's telecom ministry and regulator didn't respond to phone calls or emailed questions seeking comment about the changes. Turk Telekom says in a statement that it has complied with Turkish laws. A Palo Alto spokeswoman couldn't be reached.

Turkish government officials have said repeatedly that the changes are designed to protect individual privacy and family values. Mr. Erdogan has shown no signs of backing down, especially after his party trounced the main opposition Republican People's Party in local elections in March.



A woman in Ankara shows her identity card Thursday as riot police used water cannons during clashes with antigovernment protesters.

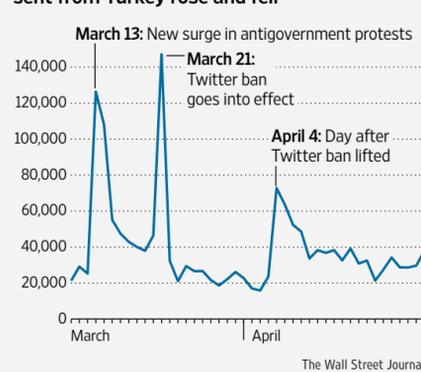
Digital Divide

As Turkey tried to rein in the Internet and users resisted...

TURKEY'S MOVES	COUNTERMOVES
Demand removal of videos, tweets and postings deemed objectionable	Users keep posting. Companies resist some takedown orders
Bounce queries for Twitter.com and YouTube.com to pages saying the sites are blocked by government order	Send tweets as SMS text messages and use 'open DNS' servers that still point to Twitter.com and YouTube.com
Block direct access to Internet protocol addresses behind Twitter's website	Hide messages by routing them through servers outside Turkey or other users' computers
'Hijack' outside 'open DNS' servers used to evade the crackdown	Companies block some content but fight Turkey's moves in court

Source: Brandwatch (tweets)

...the number of Turkish-language tweets sent from Turkey rose and fell



Some technology investors and startup firms say Mr. Erdogan's restrictions could cripple a nascent boom.

Social-media companies like Twitter and YouTube "have nothing to do with freedom," said Mr. Erdogan, who is weighing a run for president and has said he would try to make the largely ceremonial post more powerful. August's election will be the first in which Turkish voters directly choose their president.

Technology firms have asserted wide leeway to remove content from their sites but usually do so only if it violates their legal "terms of service." Those terms include copyright violations and valid legal orders.

"When we suspend or withhold accounts, we do [so] in response to user complaints or court orders, not in response to government requests," said Colin Crowell, Twitter's vice president of global public policy.

If websites or tweets violate a local law or legal order, Twitter and Google often block the content—but sometimes allow users to bypass the ban with minor tweaks to their website settings. The cat-and-mouse strategy is "part of the DNA of Silicon Valley," says a person familiar with the matter.

Officials have said Turkey's sovereignty and national interest trump the companies' rules, justifying the new laws and website blockages.

Several cabinet ministers have accused Twitter of tax evasion because it has no office in the country. Officials have demanded that the San Francisco firm open an office in Turkey. Doing so would make Twitter vulnerable to the new law that lets the spy agency demand information without a court order.

Mr. Erdogan's visit last year to Silicon Valley was buoyed by

a budding spirit of compromise and mutual opportunity. He visited Apple Inc., Google and Microsoft Corp.

Mr. Erdogan's position began to shift dramatically less than a month after coming home. Tweets and other social media helped fuel antigovernment protests across Turkey that left seven people dead. The prime minister called Twitter a "menace to society," and his political party set out to fight critics online with a 6,000-person team of loyalists.

Last December, leaks of wiretapped recordings posted anonymously on Twitter and YouTube

In cafes and bars across Istanbul, people compare ways to evade the Internet blockade and surveillance.

implicated dozens of Mr. Erdogan's closest allies and family members in allegedly corrupt practices.

He denied the claims, said the tapes were doctored and accused Fethullah Gulen, a U.S.-based Turkish imam with millions of followers, of masterminding the mess. The imam says he isn't responsible for the recordings.

Despite criticism from Western allies and fistfights in Turkey's parliament, lawmakers approved Mr. Erdogan's move to empower the government to shut down websites without court orders.

The shake-up spread to Turkey's telecom regulator, where five top managers were replaced. "Authorities walked into their offices and said: 'Leave now. Don't even bother taking your jackets,'" says one person famil-

iar with the incident. The agency's new boss: Ahmet Cemaladdin Celik, a longtime spy at Turkey's intelligence service.

Under Mr. Celik, the number of requests to Internet companies to remove content has soared, including more than 15 to Twitter so far this year, up from two in the last half of 2013.

On March 20, Mr. Erdogan vowed to "eradicate" Twitter. Hours later, the telecom regulator began bouncing queries for the company's website to an error message. Top Internet service providers in Turkey got phone calls from the agency with firm instructions: "Just block it now."

At Twitter headquarters, employees saw the hashtag #Twitterisblockedinturkey, an alert from Turkish users, rocket to the top of the website's hottest topics. Top officials gathered in a "virtual war room" to discuss Twitter's options.

The company decided to tweet instructions to Turkish users on how to circumvent the ban using text messages. It had done the same thing in Venezuela earlier this year.

Internet users in Turkey worked hard to evade Mr. Erdogan's crackdown. Graffiti painted on walls in Istanbul and other Turkish cities steered people to "open DNS" addresses run by Google. Some users hid messages by routing them through encrypted networks outside Turkey or software that connected through other users' computers.

Turkish authorities blocked YouTube after demanding that the company remove videos that claimed to include a recording of Turkey's foreign minister and spy chief discussing the viability of faking an attack by Syrian terrorists to justify armed intervention inside Syria.

"We blocked YouTube to protect our national security," Mr.

Erdogan said bluntly. He said the leak was "villainous and cowardly" but hasn't disputed the authenticity of the recording.

The shutdown came before lawyers at Google, based in Mountain View, Calif., had fully reviewed the demand. Within 24 hours, Google agreed to halt the videos in Turkey.

Moves by computer users to work around the bans led the Turkish government to tighten its grip even more. As the local elections loomed, Turk Telekom began impersonating servers owned by Google and other U.S. companies, according to Renesys Corp., a Manchester, N.H., company that monitors Internet performance. That let the telecom company redirect or block access to sites and monitor browsing activity, lawyers and Internet activists say.

Google criticized Turkey on the company's security blog. Turkish officials haven't publicly admitted or denied the practice, widely referred to as hijacking.

At the same time, Turkish officials prodded Google to make faster decisions about government requests to block objectionable content, people familiar with the matter say. While Google had agreed to block some of the hundreds of videos the government wanted to remove, the company resisted a push to shift more decision-making authority to employees in Turkey.

Four days after the local-election victory by Mr. Erdogan's party, the highest court in Turkey overturned the Twitter ban as "illegal and arbitrary." He complied but has said he doesn't respect the ruling.

In Istanbul, graffiti with instructions on how to sidestep Internet censorship has been covered in gray paint. When the graffiti reappears, so do government authorities, armed with more gray paint.



New graffiti: 'Don't change DNS settings, change the government.'

Navy Sub Culture Relies on Rules, 'Odd Couple' Matches

Continued from Page One

For whatever reason, be it an effective training tool or an affection for Neil Simon plays, officers aboard the USS New Mexico love "Odd Couple" matches. Among the crew, Lt. Bergeron is known for his no-nonsense demeanor. Lt. Plummer, the senior officers note, often acts as if he were at submarine summer camp.

"Tommy is a bit of a free spirit and Lt. Bergeron is the exact opposite," said Lt. Randy Riewerts, the New Mexico's navigator. "So who did we pair together as officer and his protégé to stand watch?"

The New Mexico is a nuclear-powered Virginia-class attack sub, the newest, most high-tech boats in the Navy submarine fleet. It spent March cruising under the Arctic ice cap. Inside, the commanding officer observed countless watch cycles featuring Lt. Bergeron fuming over Lt.

Plummer's performance.

"I actually get a lot of joy watching Josh's face tense up as he stands behind Tommy," said Cmdr. Todd Moore, the New Mexico's skipper.

Of the many important rules on the sub, there is one in particular that no junior officer is ever allowed to forget.

"It is not OK to be new," said Cmdr. Moore, looking at Lt. Plummer. "It sums up the whole experience."

Added Lt. Plummer: "Being new comes at great expense to your sleep and your happiness."

Which is to say, on a sub, inexperience is never an excuse. Weapons, engine and life-support systems might be difficult to master but, all the same, they must be learned and understood.

For Lt. Plummer's first month aboard the New Mexico he was an ensign, the lowest ranking officer in the U.S. Navy. Ensigns aren't expected to know much

about how the submarine operates. Their errors are forgiven and quickly forgotten.

As the senior ensign aboard the boat—in fact, the only ensign on the boat—Lt. Plummer had a far more pleasant task, which was to write funny rules to entertain the crew.

Once he was promoted to Lieutenant Junior Grade, the next step up, expectations and responsibility rose dramatically. Also, the job of writing entertaining rules passed to his replacement, Ensign Michael Hughes.

The idea of a mischievous ensign long ago seeped into popular culture—think Ensign Pulver from the movie "Mr. Roberts," but the position of the most junior officer on a sub is unique, even within the Navy.

Ensign Hughes's rules hang on the wall of the wardroom, where officers eat and hold meetings. There are rules about what

pop music to play on a Friday: Keshia. Rules about what to do, in violation of submarine etiquette, an order is given during dinner: Repeat the order followed by "hashtag optional." ("To get the joke," Lt. Plummer explains, "you need to understand there is no such thing as an optional order.")

Making funny rules at the expense of senior officers may not be the safest path to an illustrious naval career. That is why Ensign Hughes's most successful rules are at the expense of Lt. Plummer. One rule allows Lt. Bergeron to beat Lt. Plummer at will with "a stick no wider than the width of his thumb." Being constantly goaded about errors can, occasionally, push the second-most junior officer over the edge. That is what happened to Lt. Plummer during one of the training runs the New Mexico made before heading to the Arctic.

Among the more serious but usually not catastrophic errors a submariner can make is to inadvertently surface the submarine while it is prowling undersea, a mishap called "broaching" the boat.

Lt. Bergeron was driving the submarine in somewhat rough seas when he misjudged the buoyancy of the sub and the New Mexico lurched to the surface unexpectedly, giving away the boat's position.

An officer who broaches the boat must wear a pair of pilot wings on his uniform, a reminder that subs aren't meant to fly.

And so the next day, Lt. Bergeron, wearing the wings, was in a particularly bad mood and was correcting Lt. Plummer more than usual. As his watch in the control room was ending, in a grievous breach of military protocol, Lt. Plummer turned to his mentor and said:

"Maybe Broachy McBroacher-

son could teach me a thing or two."

Lt. Bergeron looked at Lt. Plummer with what the other sailors described as a lethal stare. Rookies who have never driven the submarine do not make fun of the errors of more experienced sailors.

The incident prompted Ensign Hughes to give Lt. Bergeron the power to beat Lt. Plummer. Lt. Bergeron insists he has never exercised his right. Lt. Plummer appreciates the mercy but said he fears he will never live down the comment.

"I am deathly afraid of the first time I have to bring the boat to periscope depth," he said. "Who will be standing there over my shoulder with the wings ready?"

Online»
Watch a video of the submarine at WSJ.com/Ahed.