

Network Responses to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine in 2022

A Cautionary Tale for Internet Freedom

Reethika Ramesh, Ram Sundara Raman, Apurva Virkud, Alexandra Dirksen, Armin Huremagic, David Fifield, Dirk Rodenburg, Rod Hynes, Doug Madory, Roya Ensafi

USENIX Security '23



February 24, 2022:

Russia escalates invasion into Ukraine

Sanctions

U.S. and Allies Impose Sanctions on Russia as Biden Condemns 'Invasion'

Business Withdrawals

Over 1,000 Companies Have Curtailed Operations in Russia—But Some Remain

Internet Restrictions

Russia reinstates Twitter slowdown, says Meta, Google are 'instigators of war'

New blocks emerge in Russia amid war in Ukraine: An OONI network measurement analysis

Reuters

3 minute read

Maria Xynou, Arturo Filastò, 2022-03-07

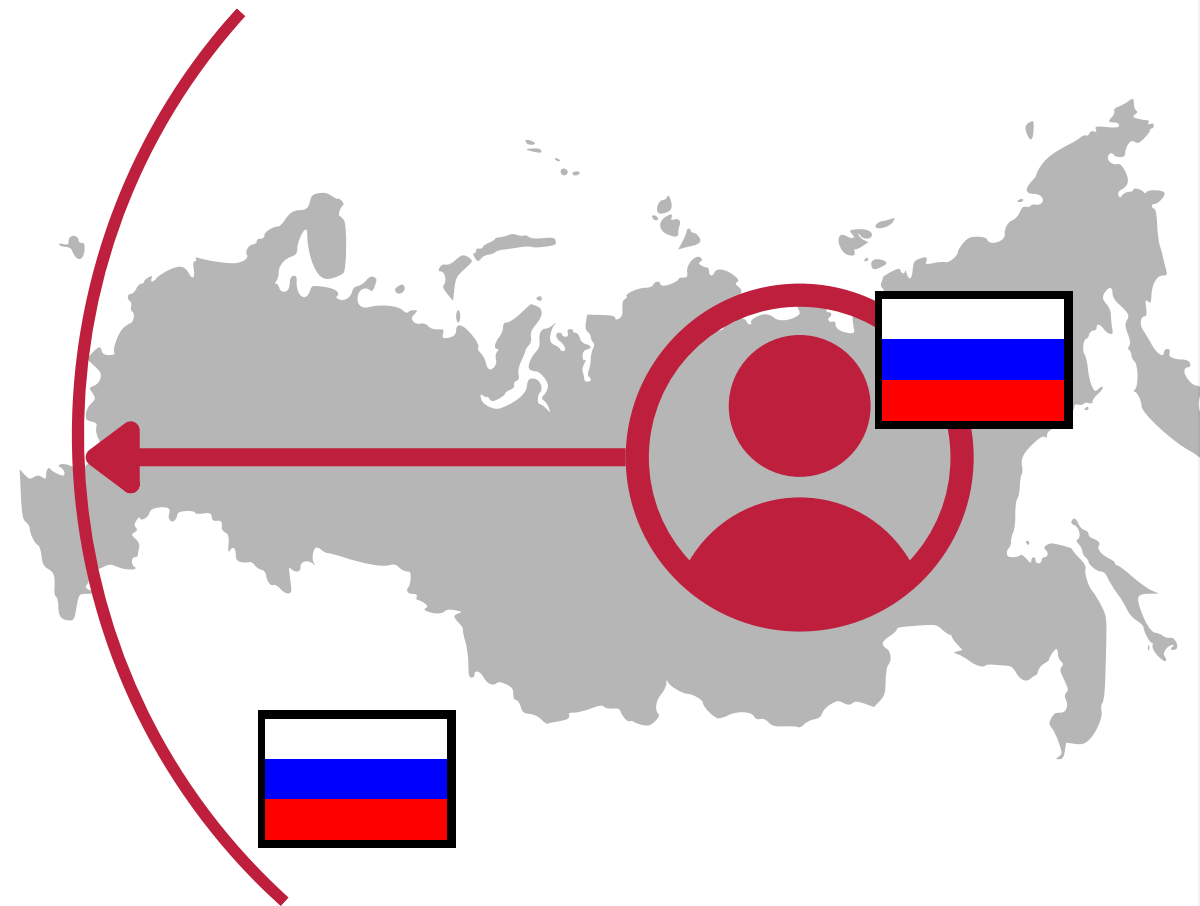
EUROPE

Circumvention

How millions of Russians are tearing holes in the Digital Iron Curtain

A surge in virtual private network downloads is a challenge to Vladimir Putin and his

Dangers to Internet Freedom



Russia's Actions

Censorship

BGP Withdrawals

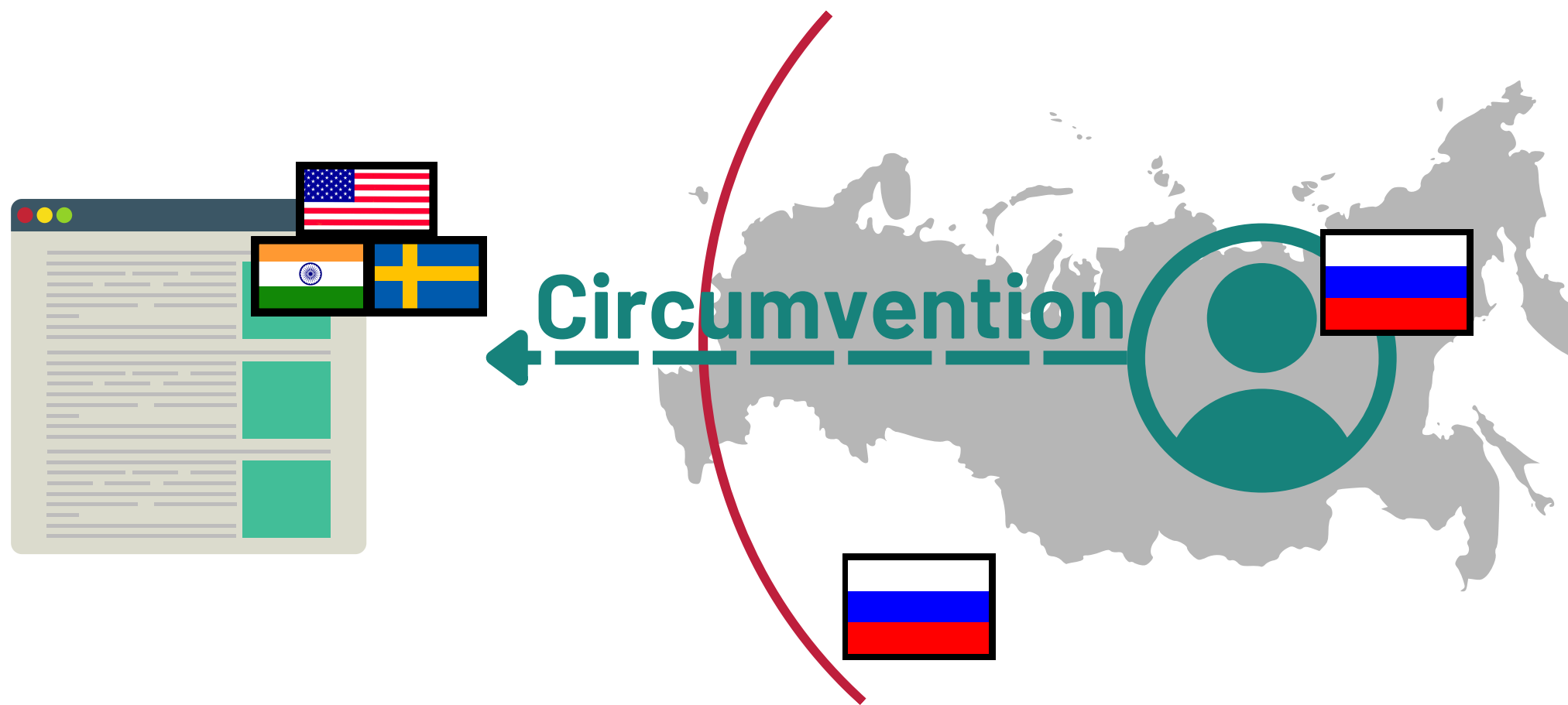
Circumvention Battle

Geoblocking

Domestic CAs

Foreign Actions

Dangers to Internet Freedom



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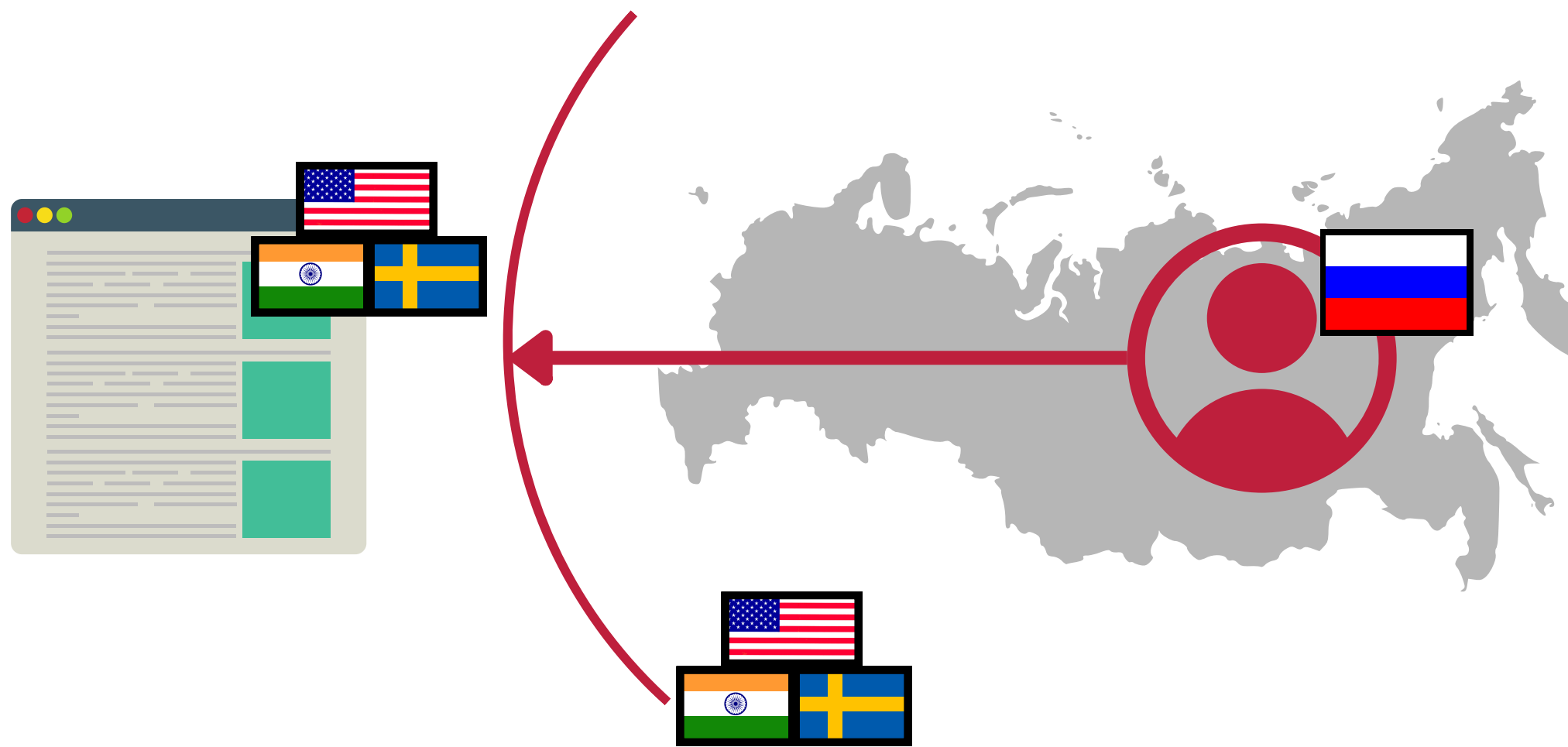
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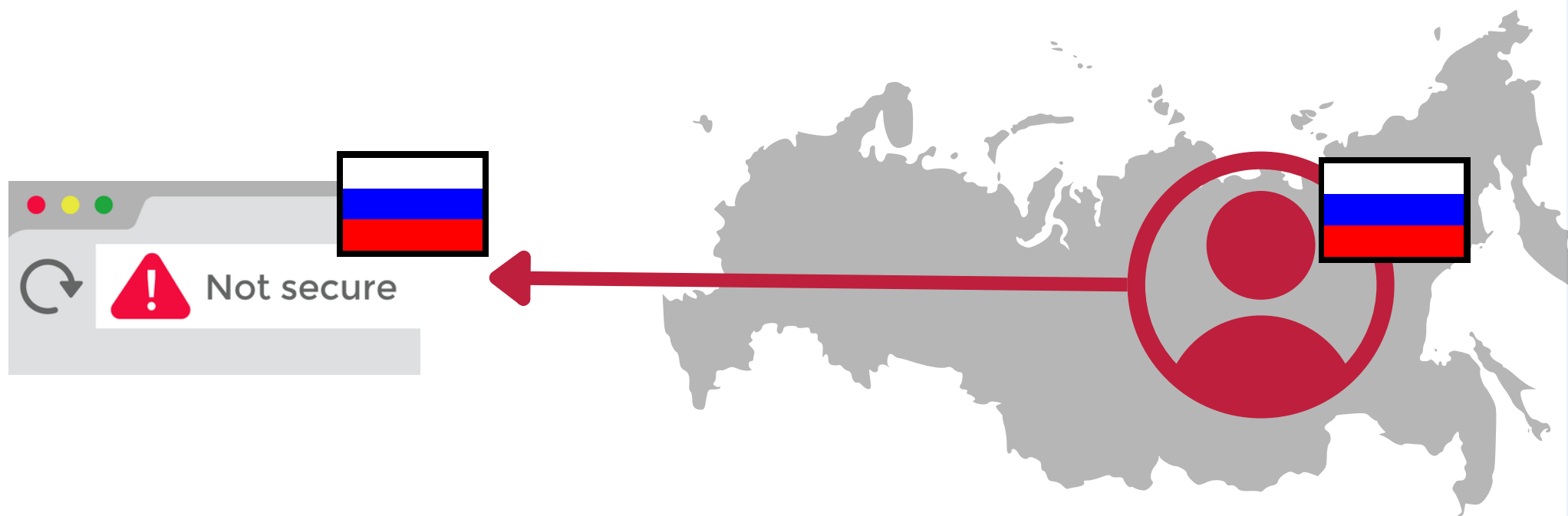
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**Increased isolation, control over
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Russia

Foreign

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Our Study

Goal: Systematic study of network restrictions following invasion

Censorship

BGP Withdrawals

Circumvention Battle

Geoblocking

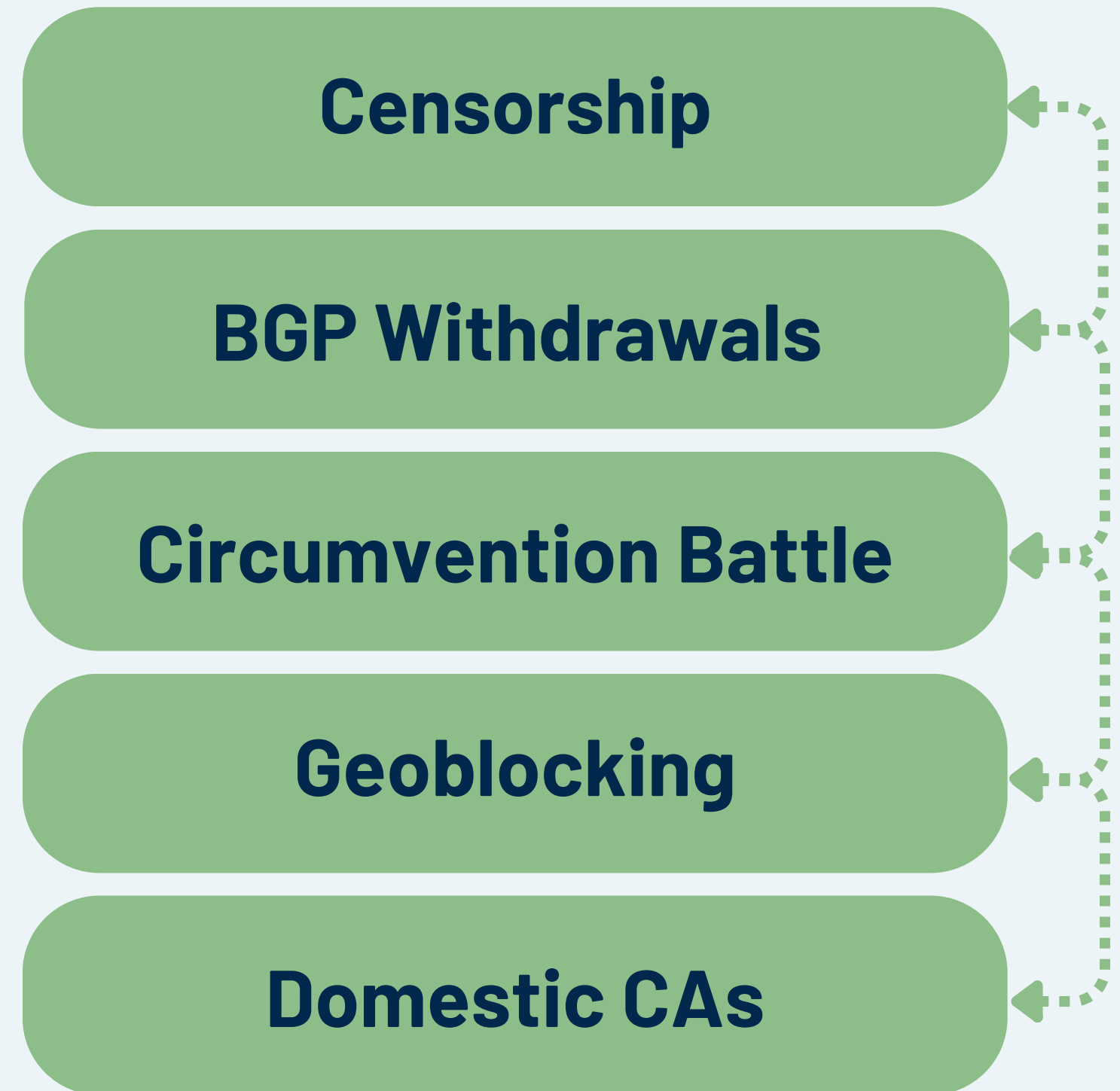
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Challenges:

1. Synthesis of multi-perspective data



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2. New measurement techniques and diverse VPs

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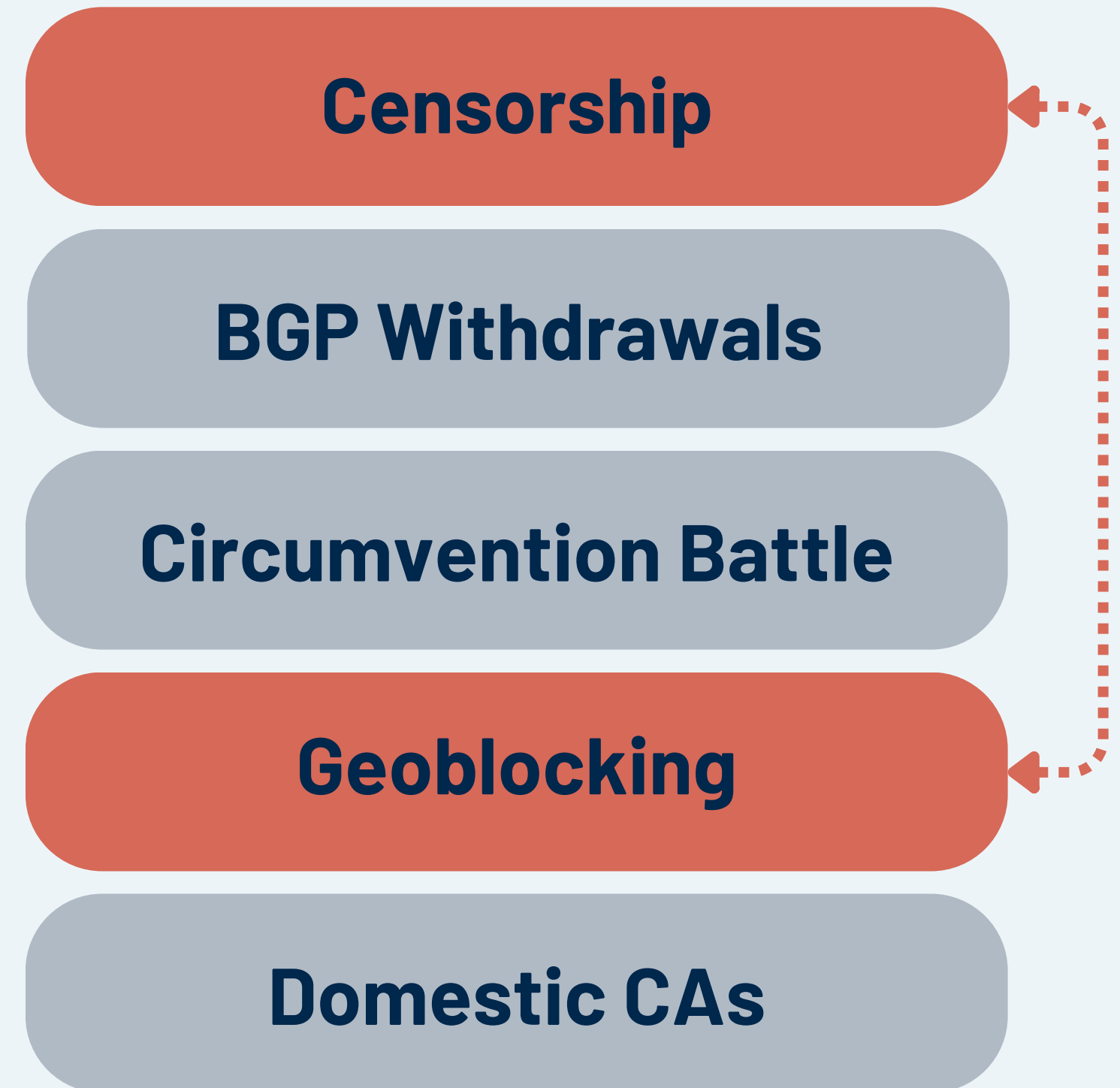
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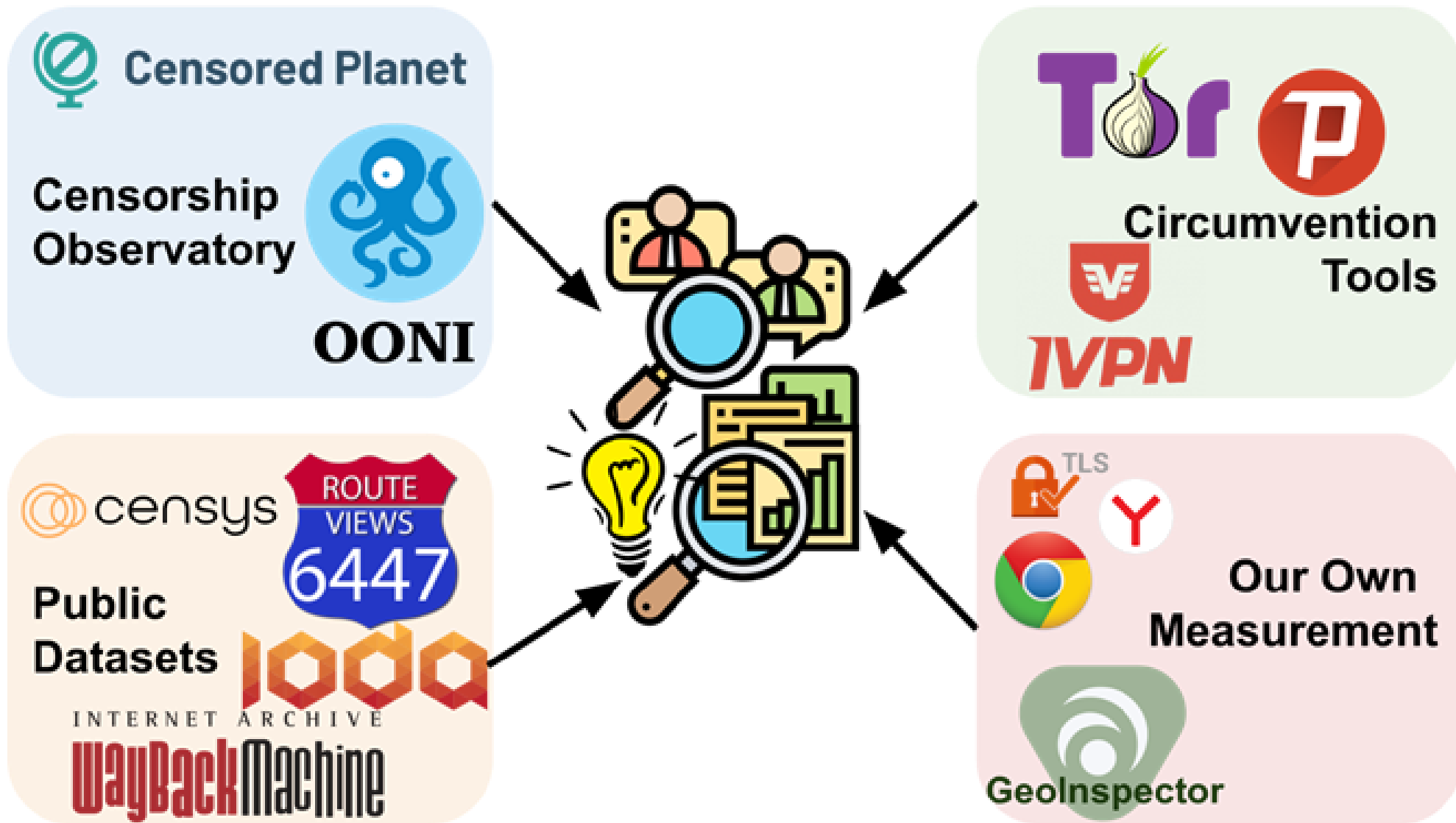
Goal: Systematic study of network restrictions following invasion

Challenges:

1. Synthesis of multi-perspective data
2. New measurement techniques and diverse VPs
3. Differentiating restriction types



Our Study



New measurement tools for:

- Measuring geoblocking (GeoInspector)
- Crawling domestic TLS certificates

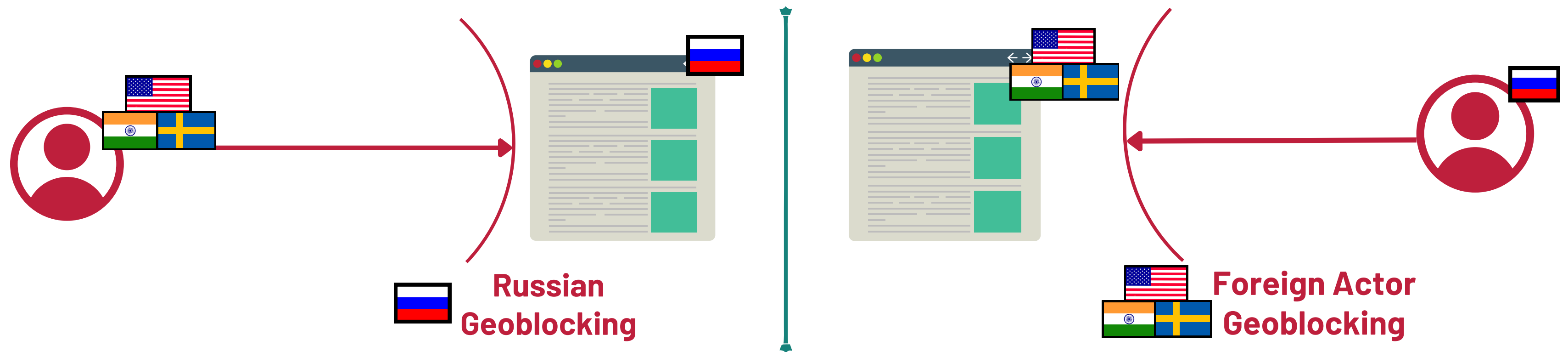
Distributed measurements from:

- 4 VPs in Russia (residential and datacenter)
- 15 VPs in other countries

Data from 9 data sources:

- Censorship Data (Censored Planet, OONI)
- BGP withdrawals (Routeviews, IODA)
- Historical data (Censys, Internet Archive)
- Circumvention Tools (Tor, Psiphon, IVPN)

Measuring Geoblocking



Geolnspector

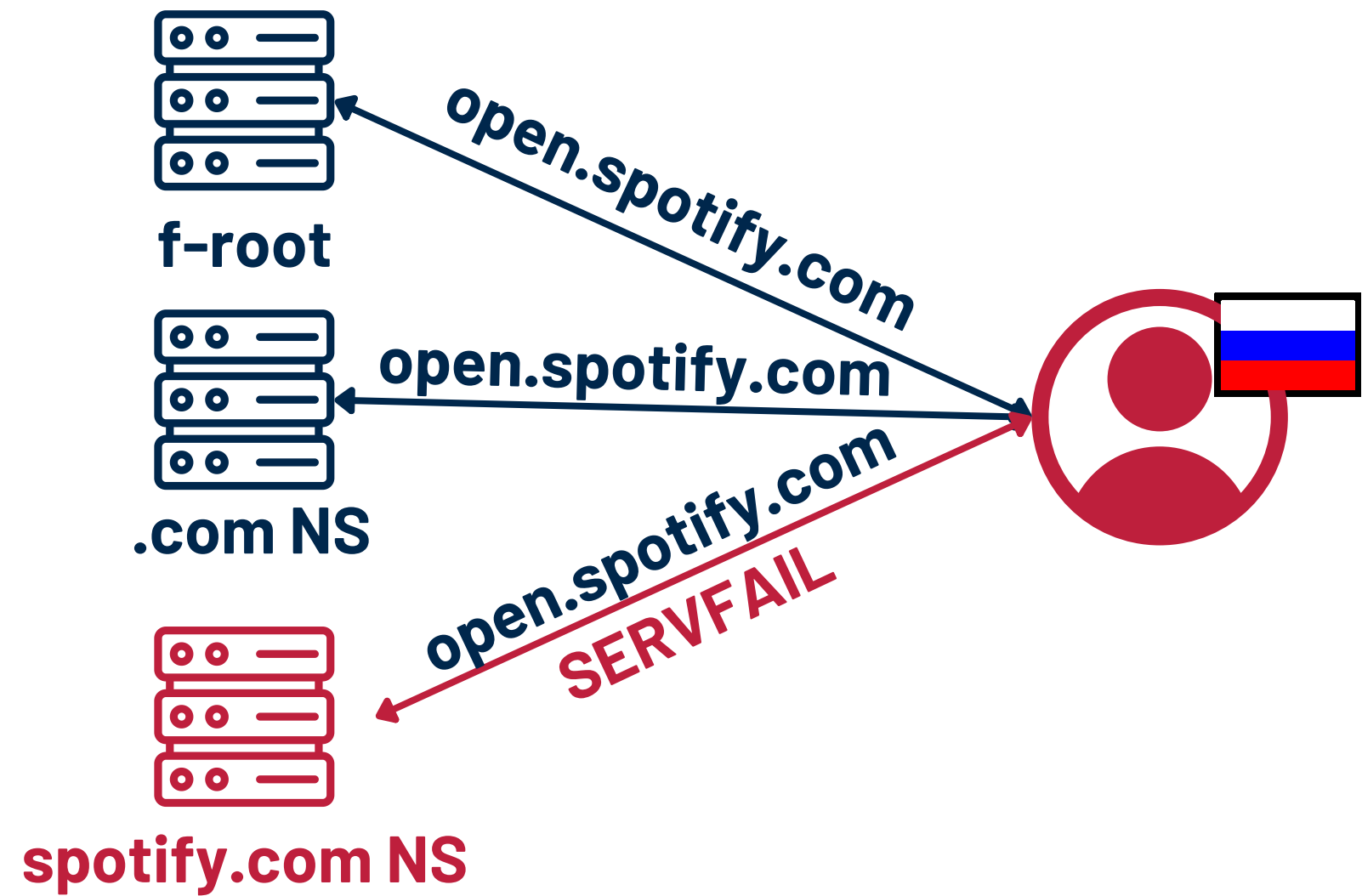
1. DNS Geoblocking
2. TCP & HTTP(S) Geoblocking



Geolnspector

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Measuring Geoblocking

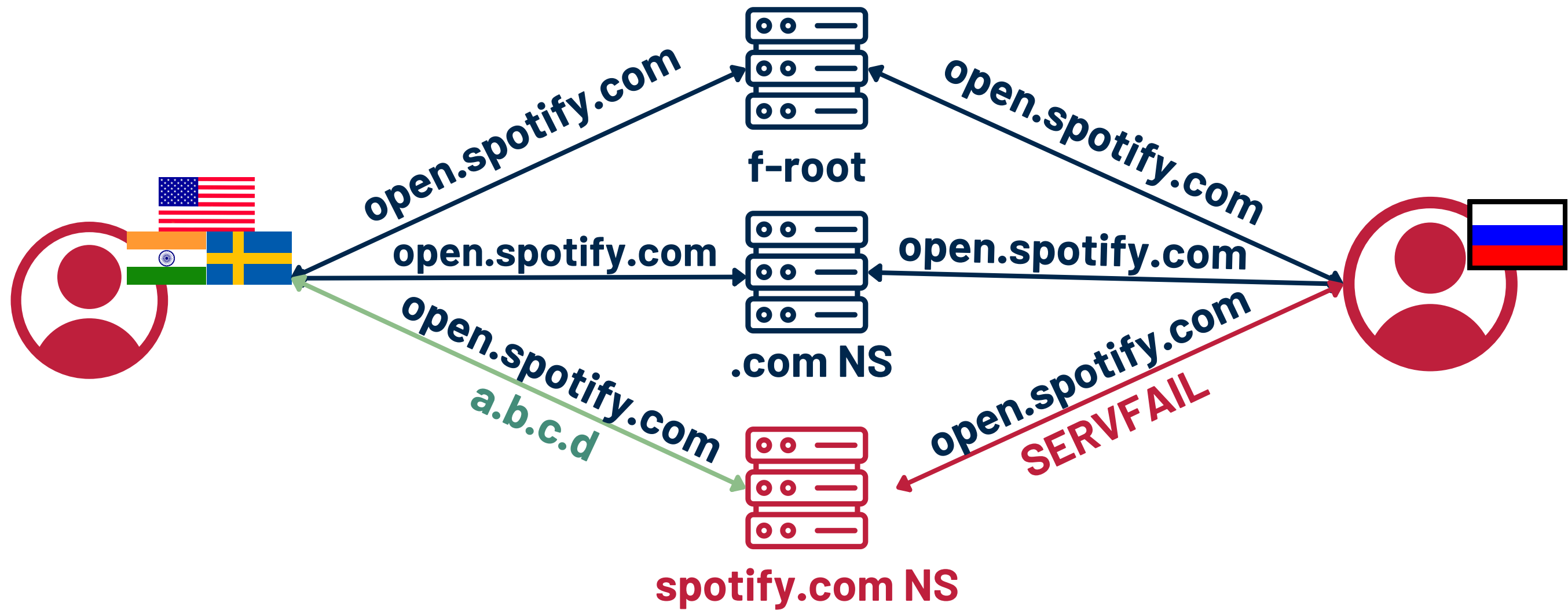




Geolnspector

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Measuring Geoblocking





Geolnspector

1. DNS Geoblocking
2. **TCP & HTTP(S)
Geoblocking**

Measuring Geoblocking



Due to the new external restrictions related to our major payment providers our Premium Service is no longer available for purchase in Russia.

If you are an existing Premium customer, this means that our next attempt to take payment may unfortunately fail. If we are unable to successfully process your next payment your Spotify subscription will automatically convert to our Free service once your payment has failed.



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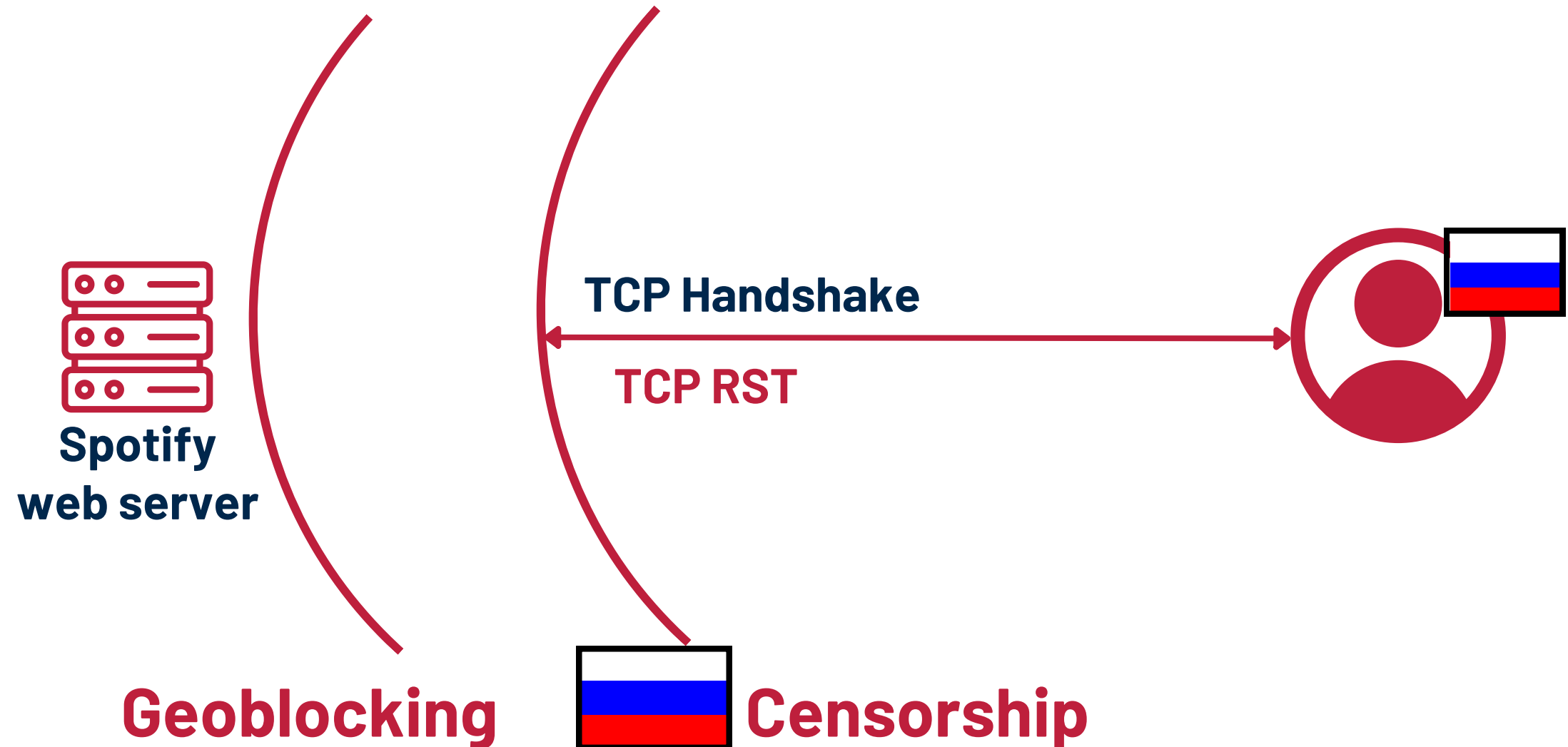


Geolnspector

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Measuring Geoblocking

How to differentiate censorship & geoblocking?



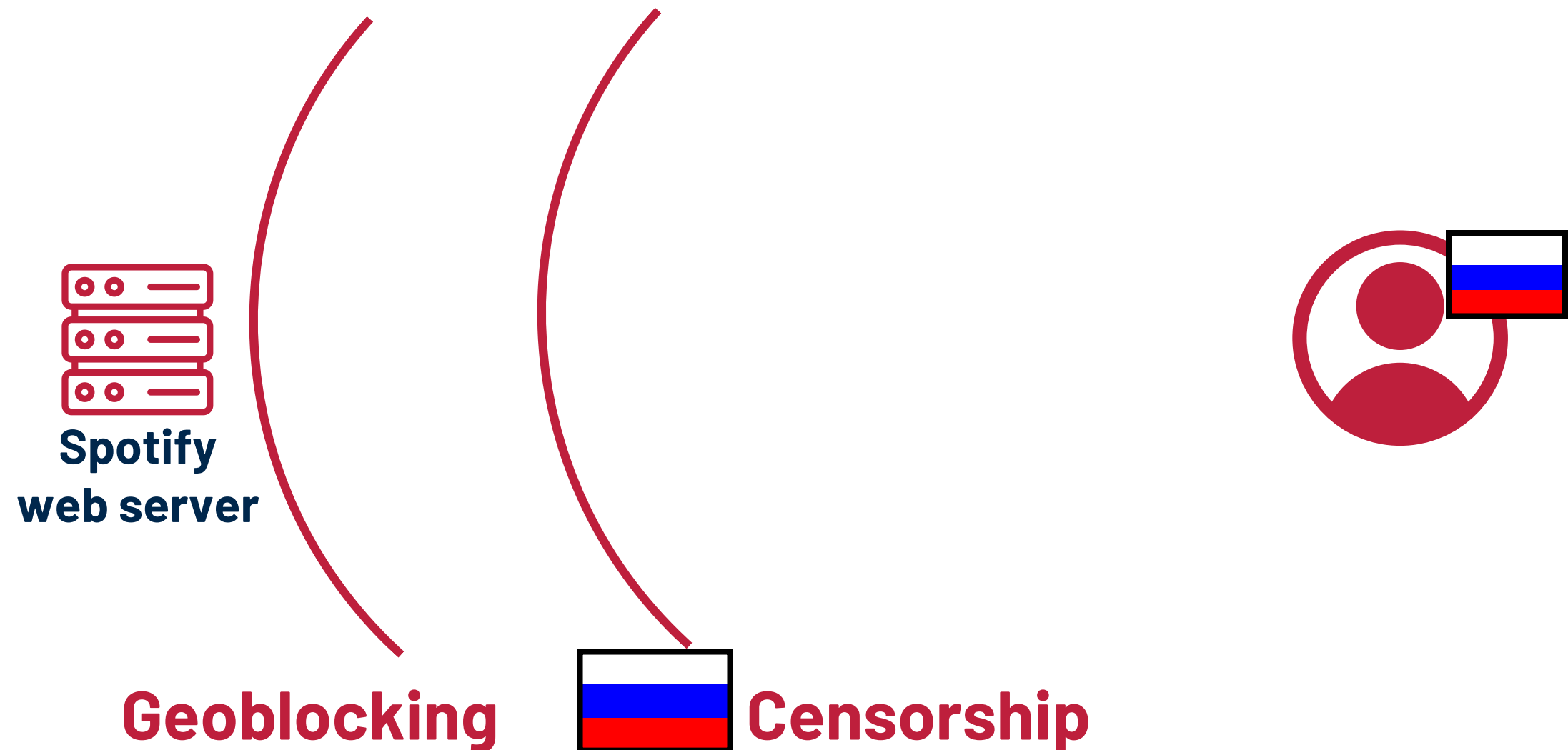
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CenTrace

TCP and HTTP(S)
traceroutes

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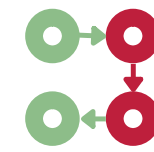




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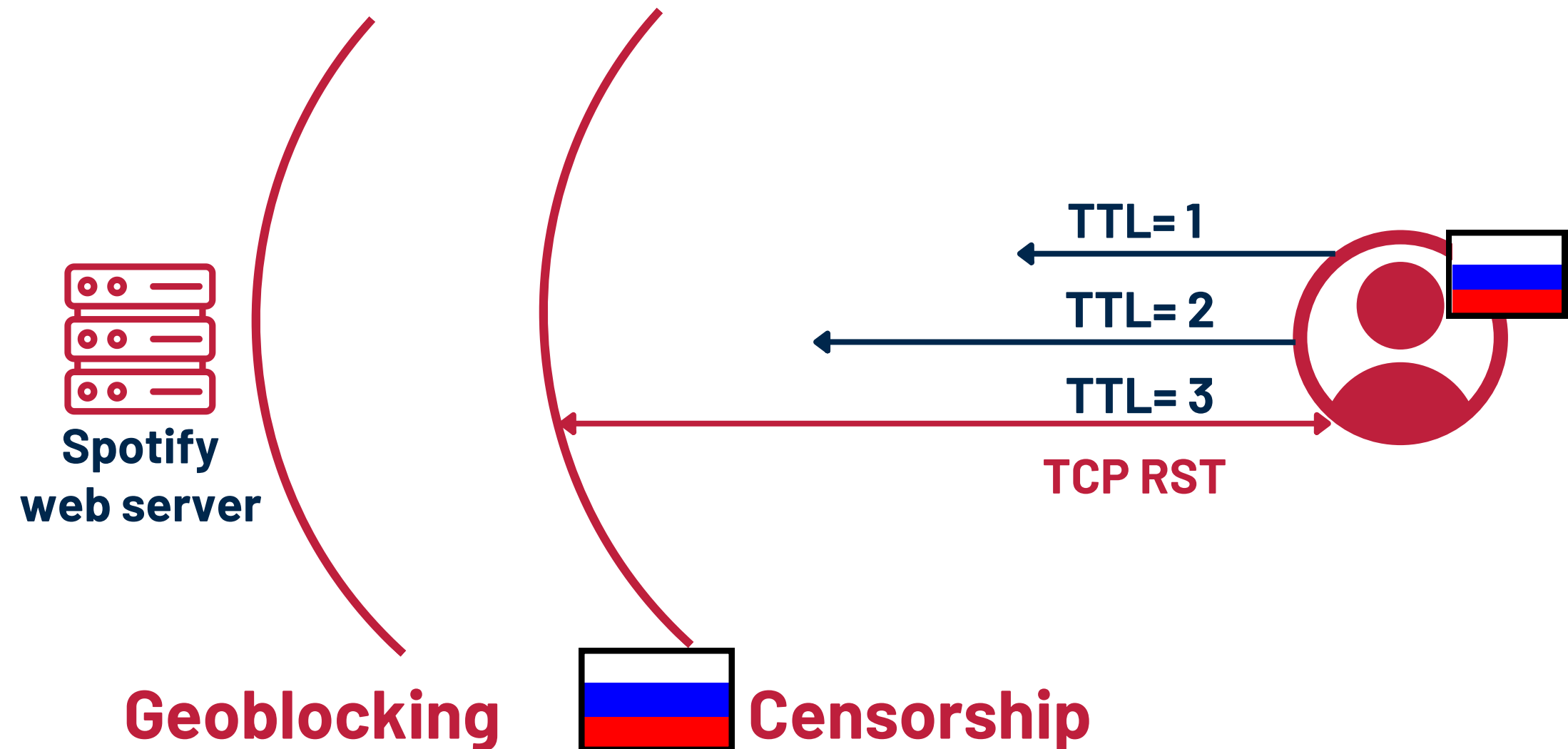
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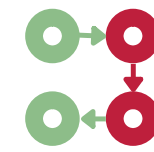




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Measurements in May, 2022:

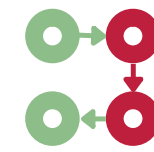
1. **623 Russian government domains** from 15 geodiverse VPs
2. **8,763 popular domains** from 4 Russian VPs



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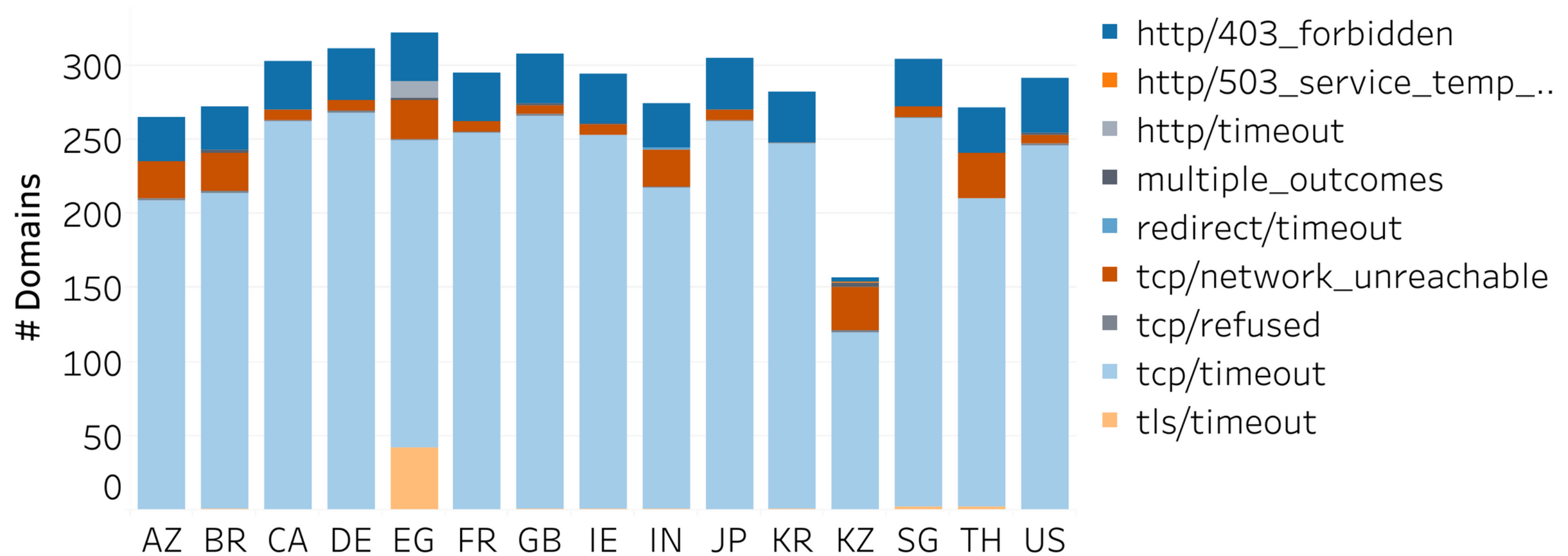
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What did we find?

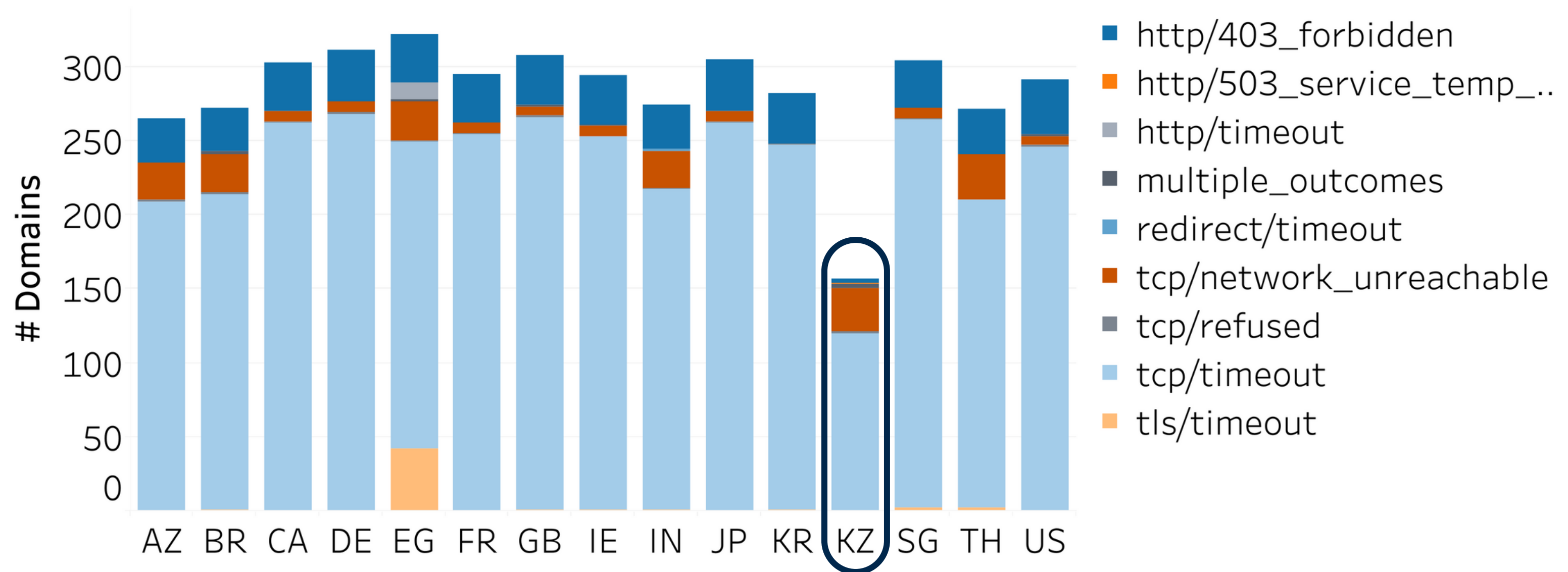
Significant geofencing by RU .gov domains

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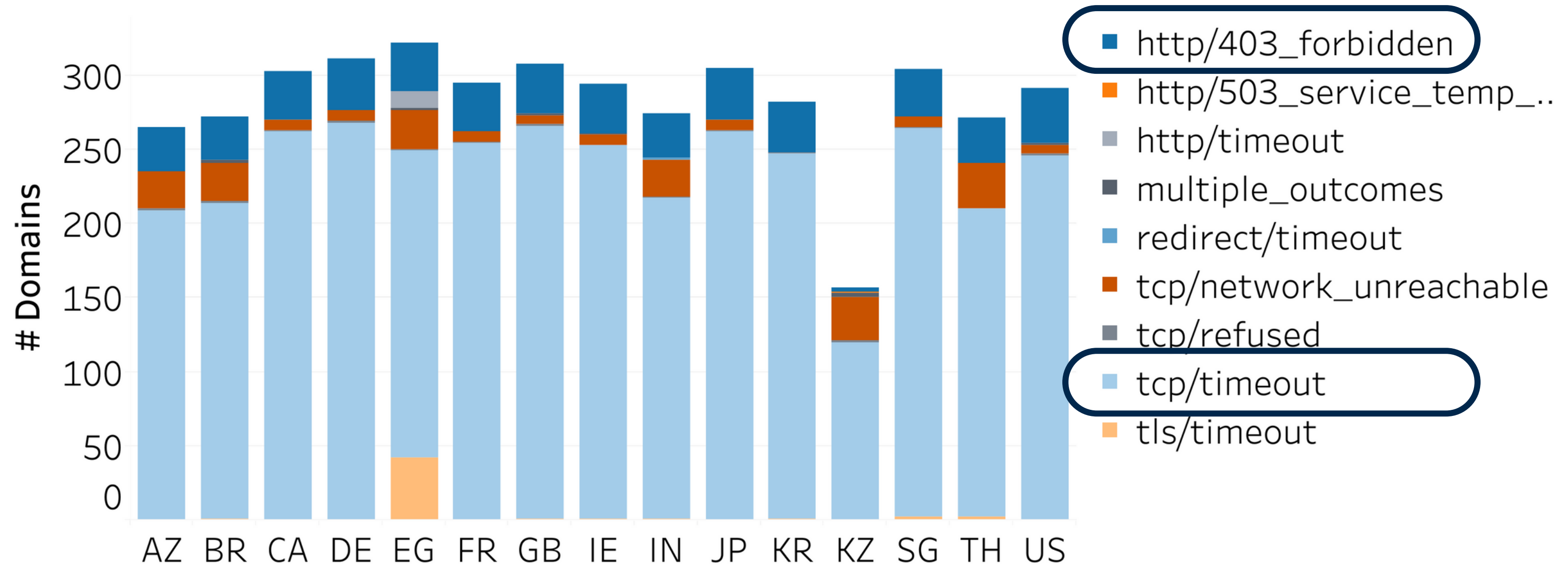
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- Interestingly, another 20% accessible from only RU and KZ
- TCP Timeouts and HTTP blockpages common

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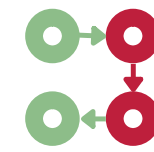
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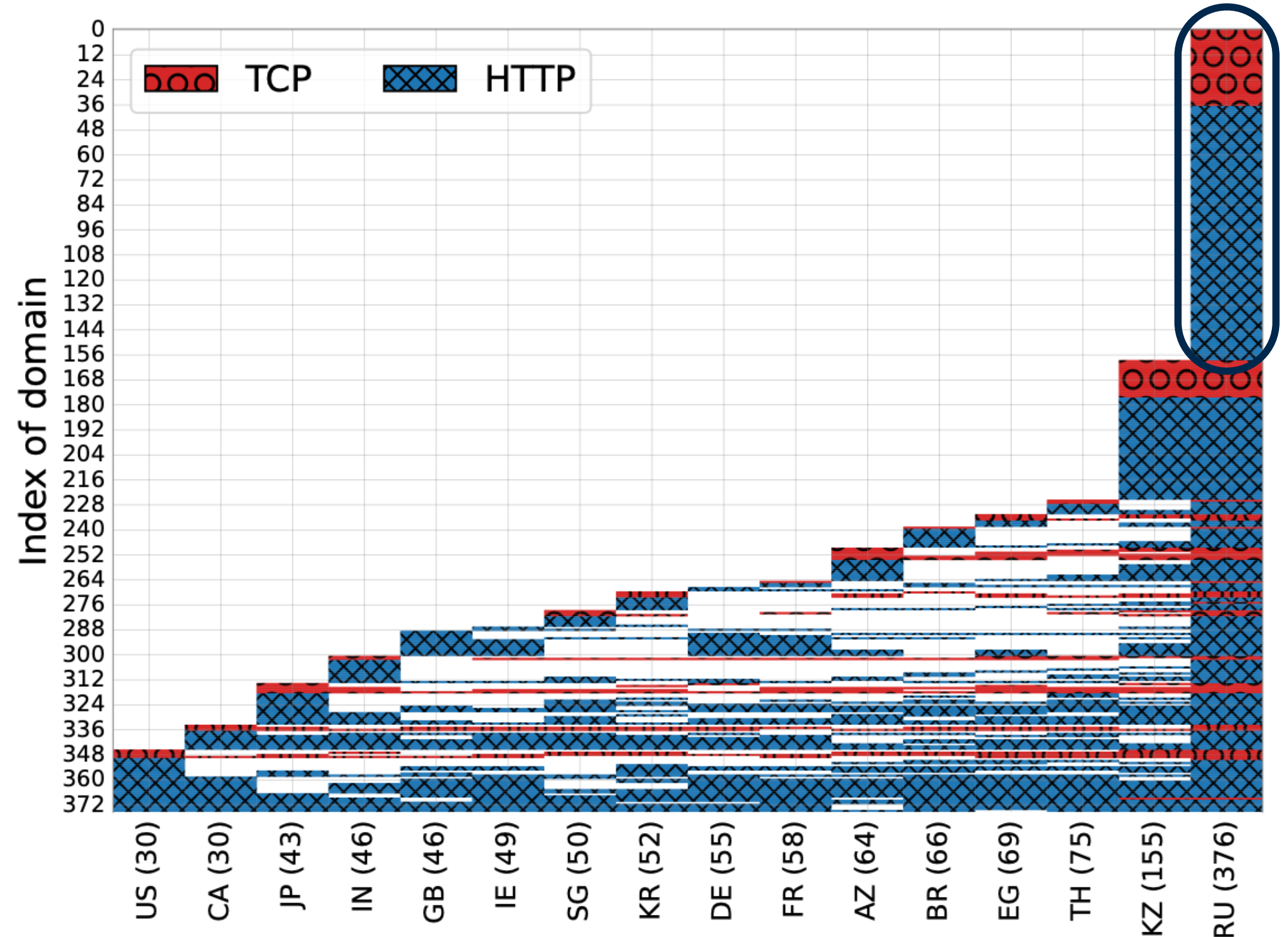
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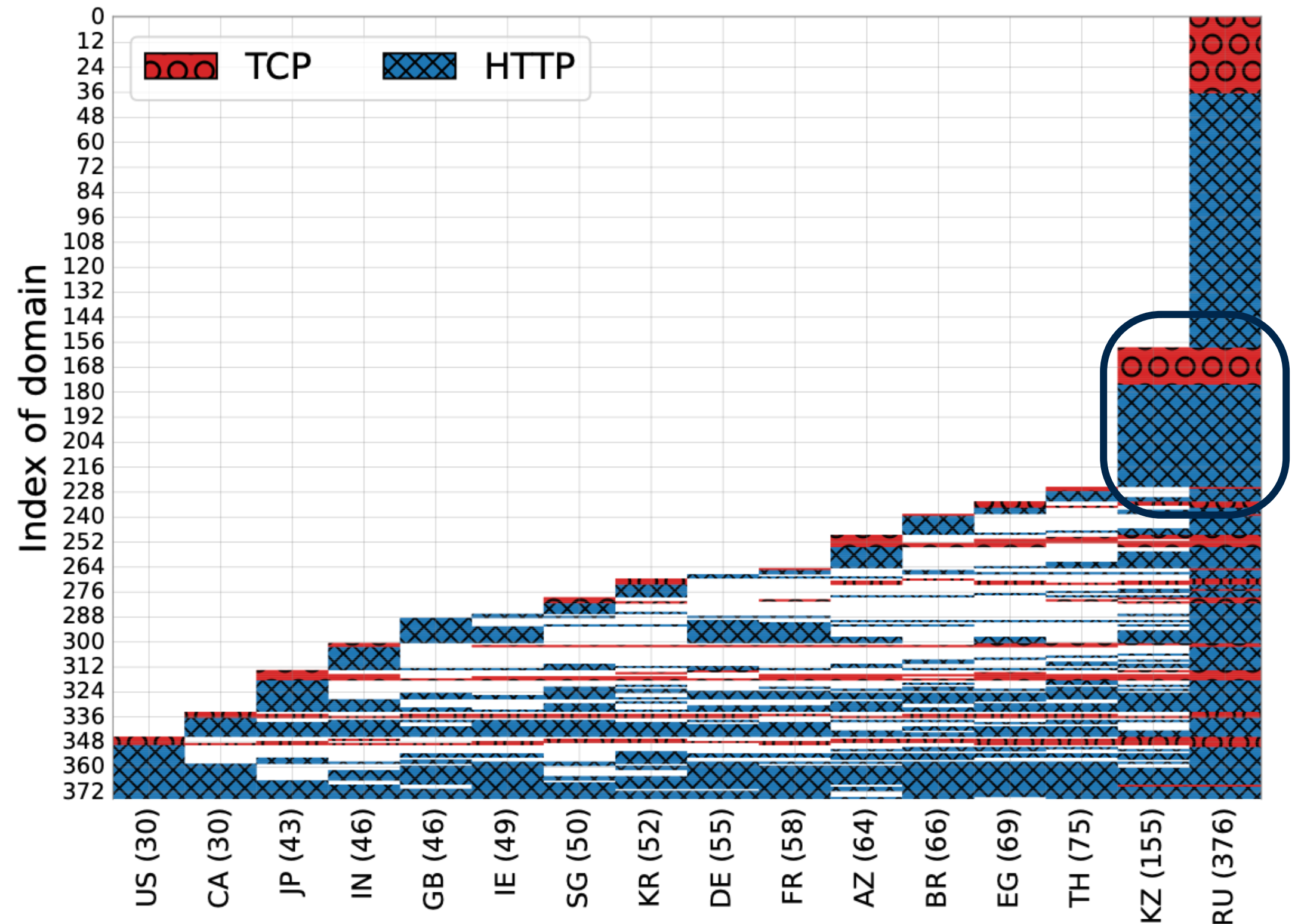
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- **159 domains not available only in RU**
- Another 67 are unavailable in RU and KZ
- A majority of domains served HTTP blockpages (including CDN pages)
- Government, Education, Shopping, News (e.g. *pbs.org*)



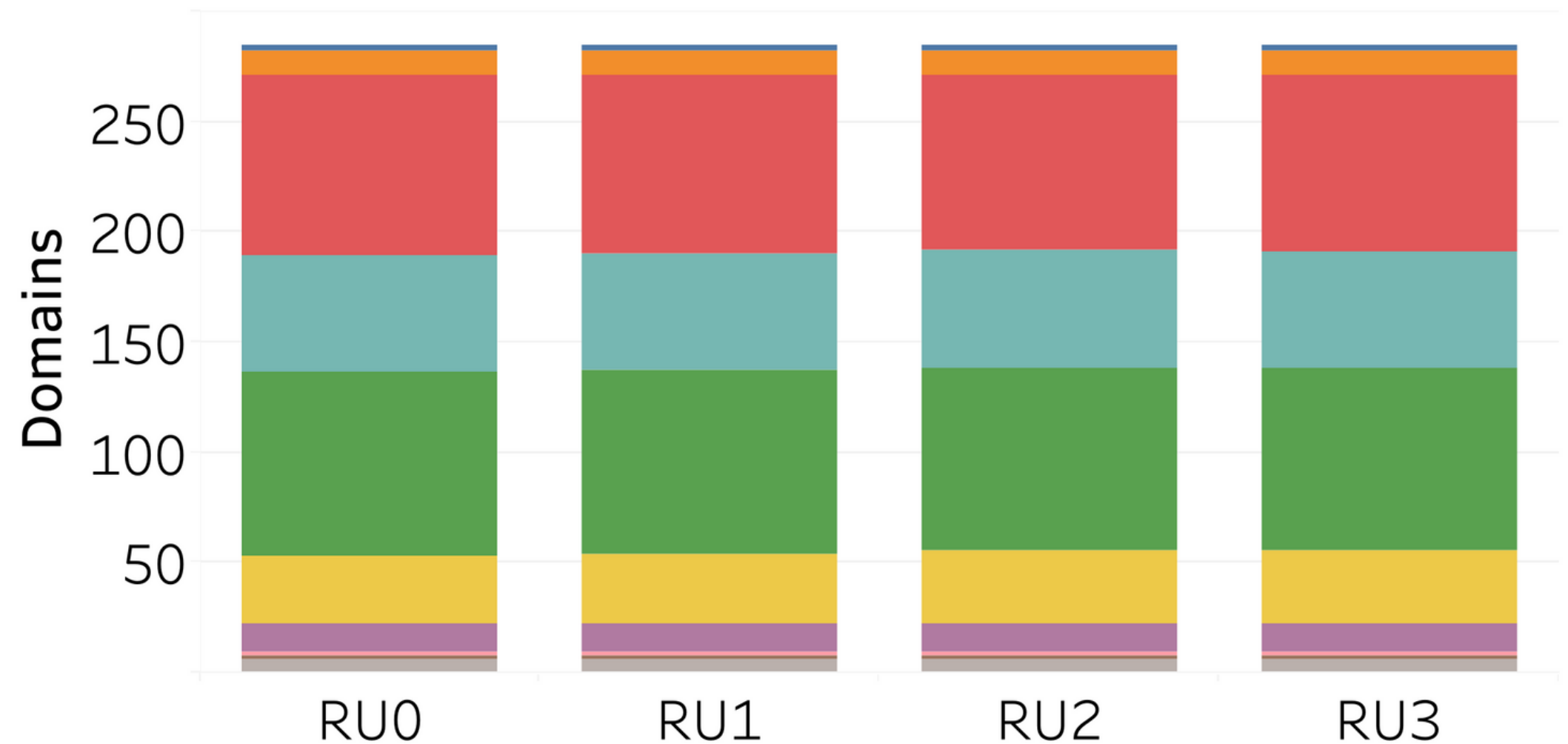
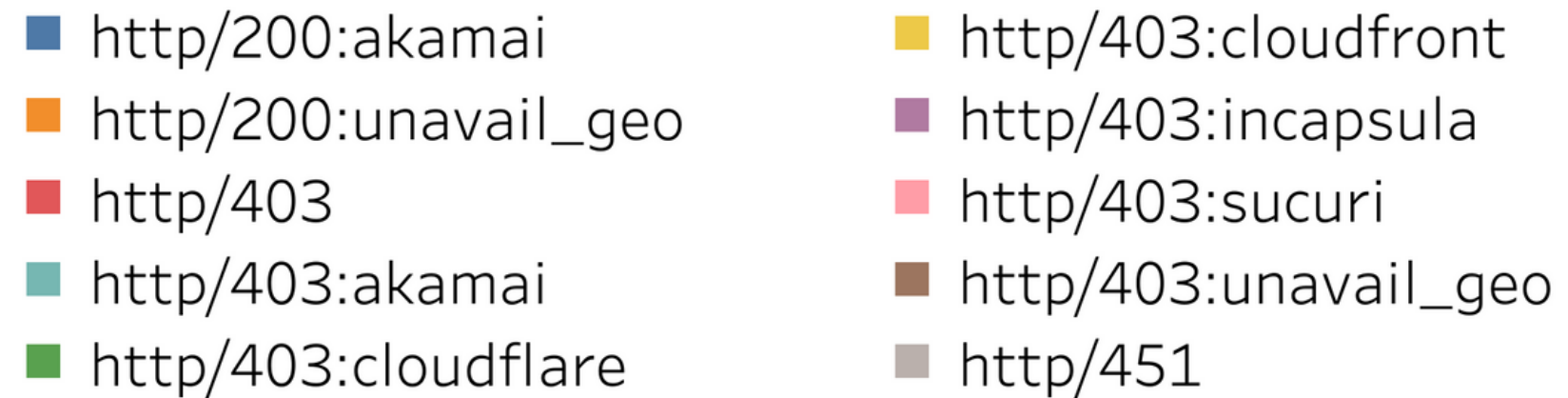
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403 ERROR

The request could not be satisfied.

The Amazon CloudFront distribution is configured to block access from your country, the app or website owner.

If you provide content to customers through CloudFront, you can find steps to troubles

Generated by cloudfront (CloudFront)

Request ID: xoP6ldX31B3uDa2mZidFBRw4LG-n-4doMXoXK0QKAsE_A0PCSYJteA==

- 1.
- 2.

TP(S)
es

Me

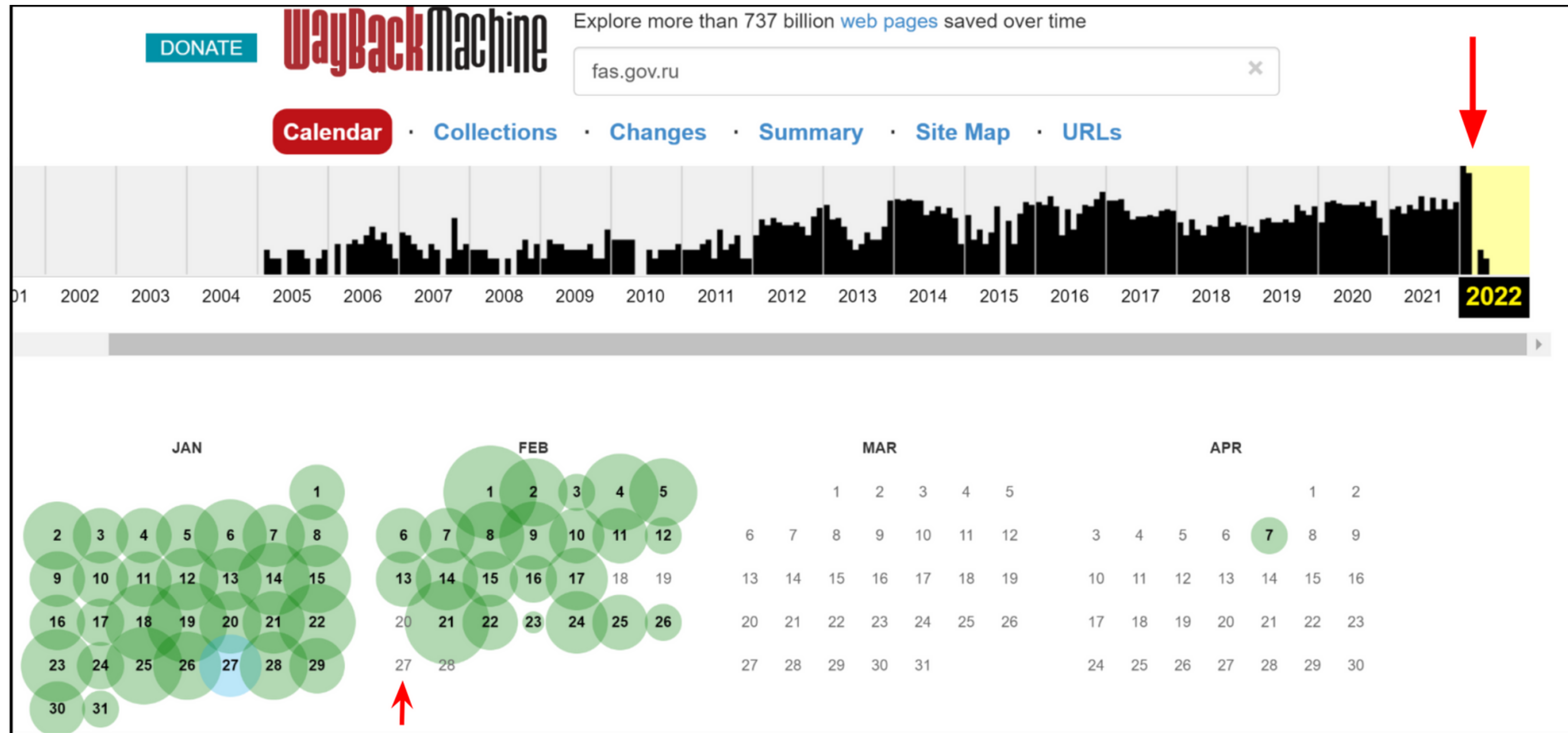
- 1
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Wh

Is there a connection between the invasion and the geoblocking?

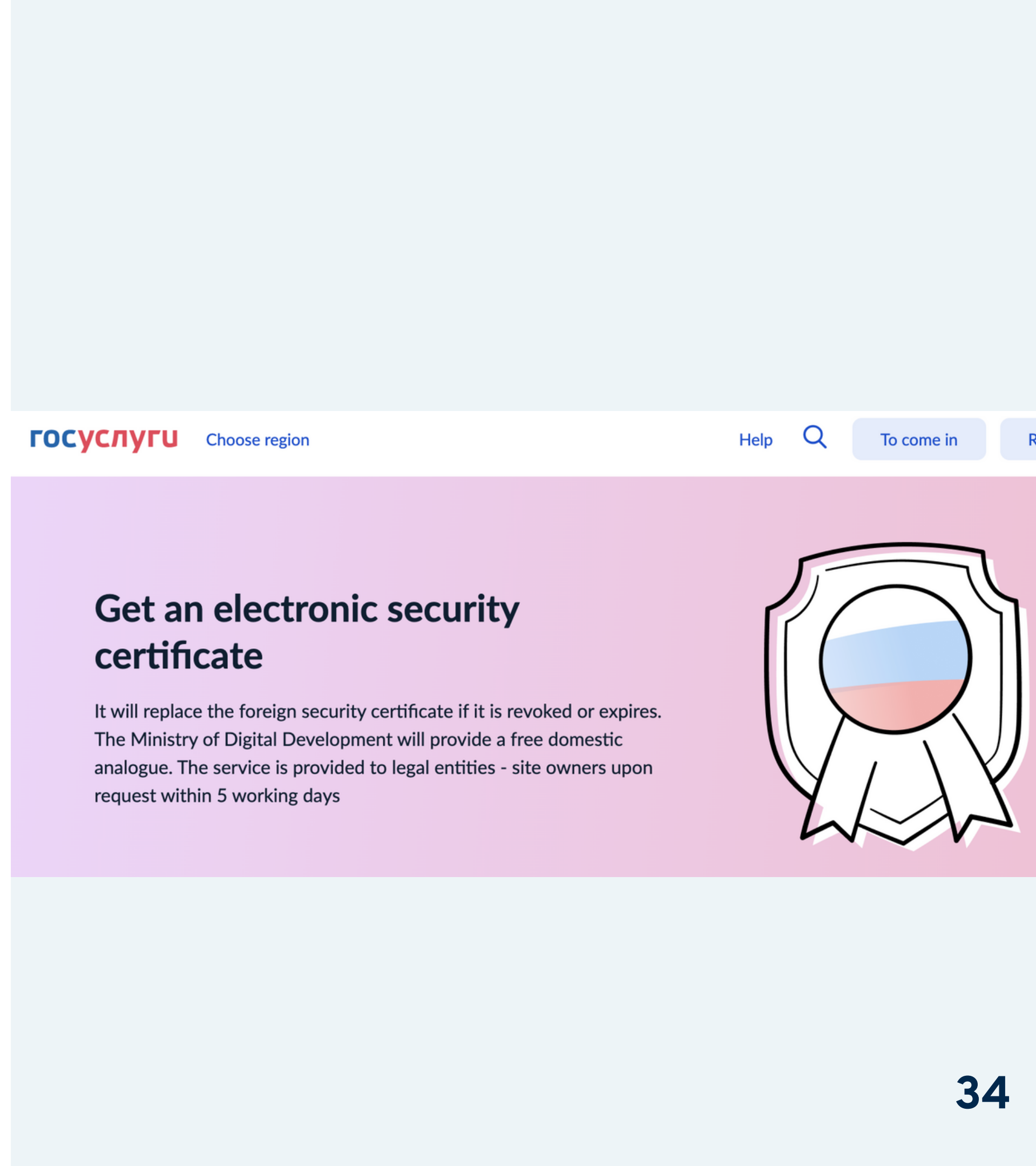
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Is there a connection between the invasion and the geoblocking?



Russia's Domestic Certificate Authority


- Due to sanctions, CAs stopped issuing certificates to RU TLDs (.ru, .by, .su, .рф)
- **Reaction:** Ministry of Digital Development provided a **free domestic certificate (CN=Russian Trusted Root CA)** to replace foreign expired or revoked certificates



The screenshot shows the top navigation bar of the Gosuslugi website with the logo 'ГОСУСЛУГИ' and a 'Choose region' dropdown. On the right, there are links for 'Help', a search icon, and a 'To come in' button. Below the navigation is a large purple banner with the following text:

Get an electronic security certificate

It will replace the foreign security certificate if it is revoked or expires. The Ministry of Digital Development will provide a free domestic analogue. The service is provided to legal entities - site owners upon request within 5 working days



The illustration shows a shield-shaped certificate with a ribbon at the bottom. The shield is divided into three horizontal bands of white, blue, and red, representing the Russian flag.



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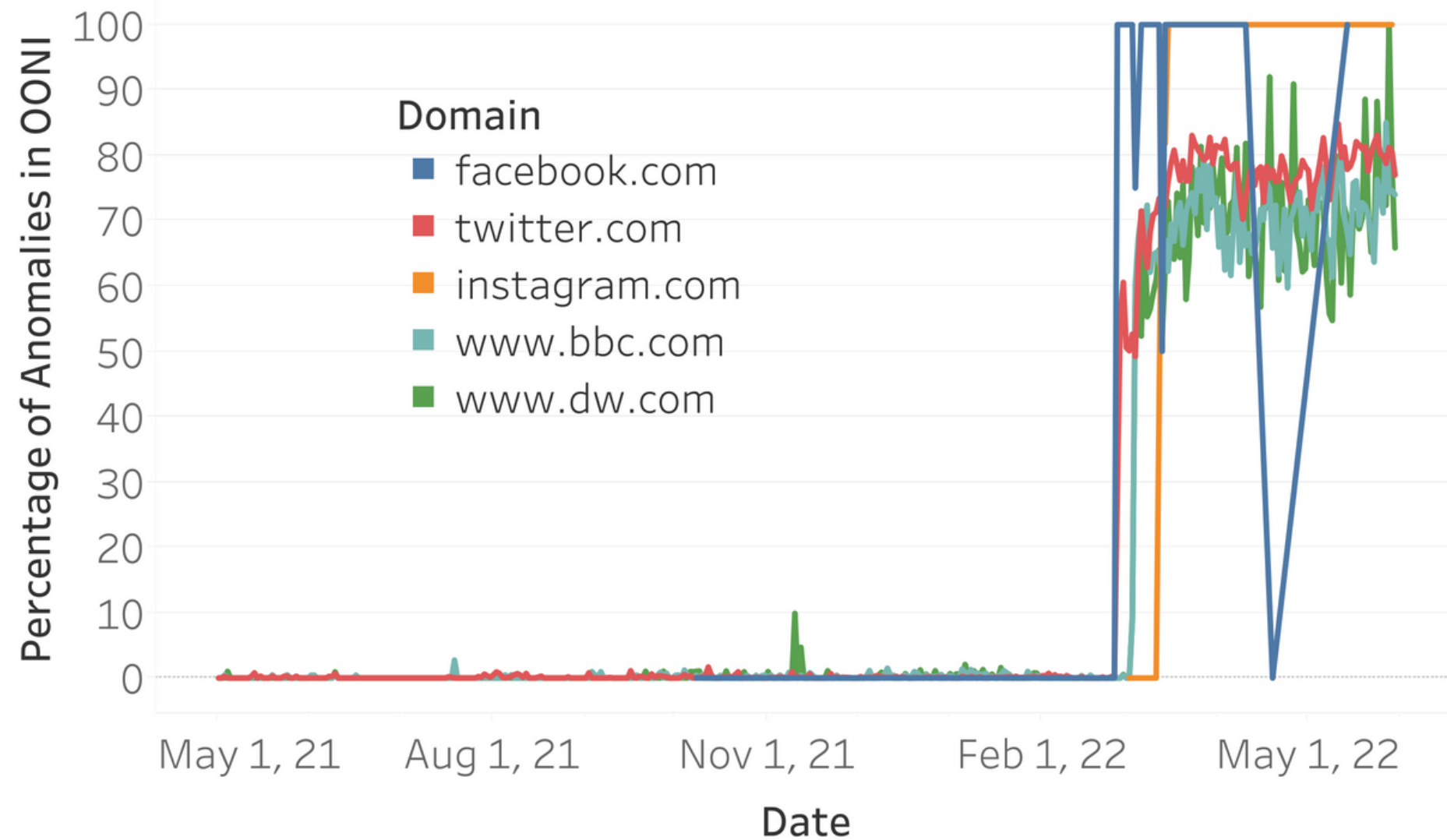
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- 3,722 domains signed in May '22, crawled using Yandex and Chrome browsers
- 114 (3%) domains presented the new Russian certificate in Yandex
- 46 domains had a recently expired certificate originally issued by a trusted CA

Website Censorship



BGP Withdrawals

ars TECHNICA

BGP —

Some Twitter traffic briefly f through Russian ISP, thanks mishap

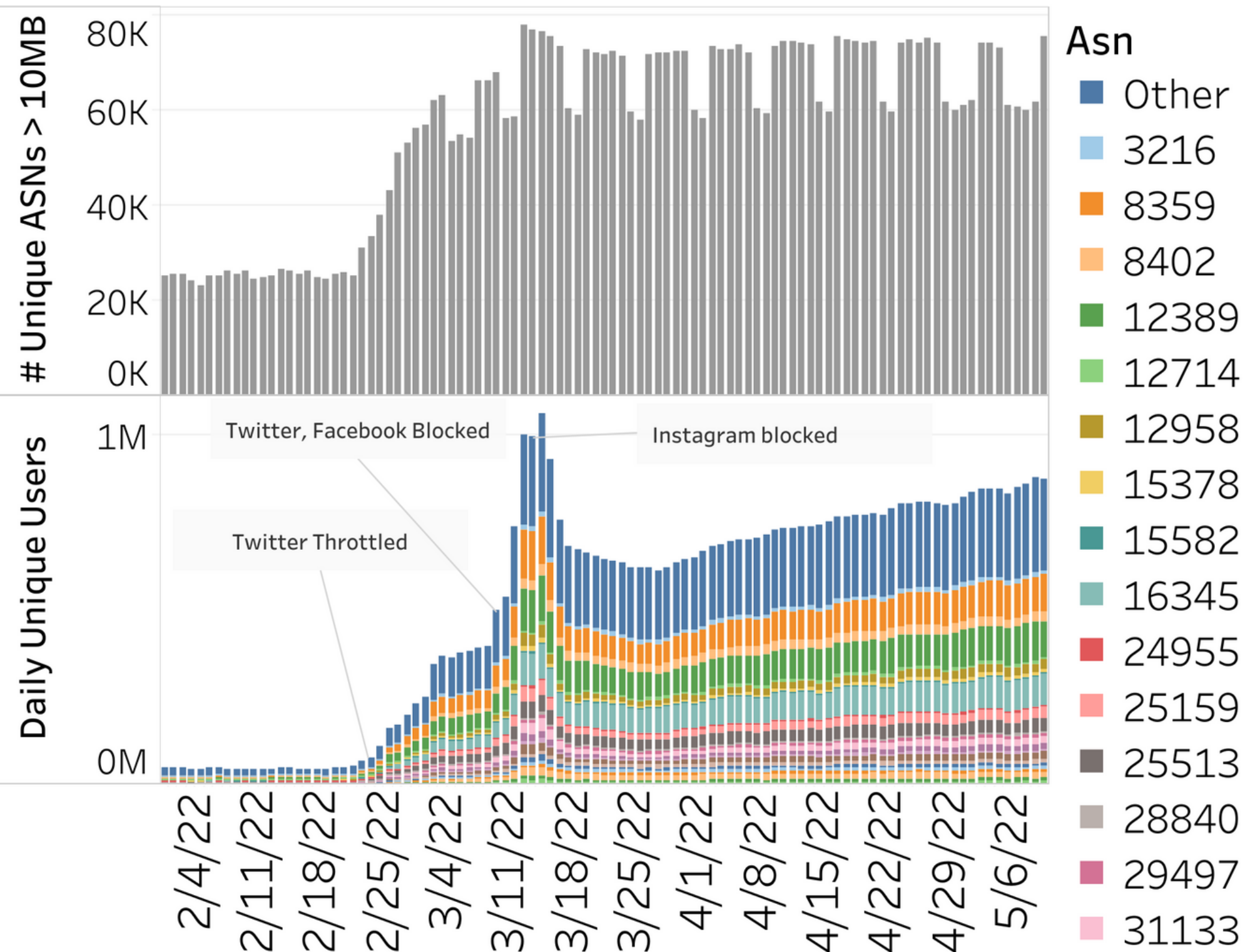
Potential Victim: AS13414 Twitter Inc.

Potential Attacker: AS8342 JSC RTComm.RU

Event type: origin hijack (moas)

Largest (sub)prefix: 104.244.42.0/24

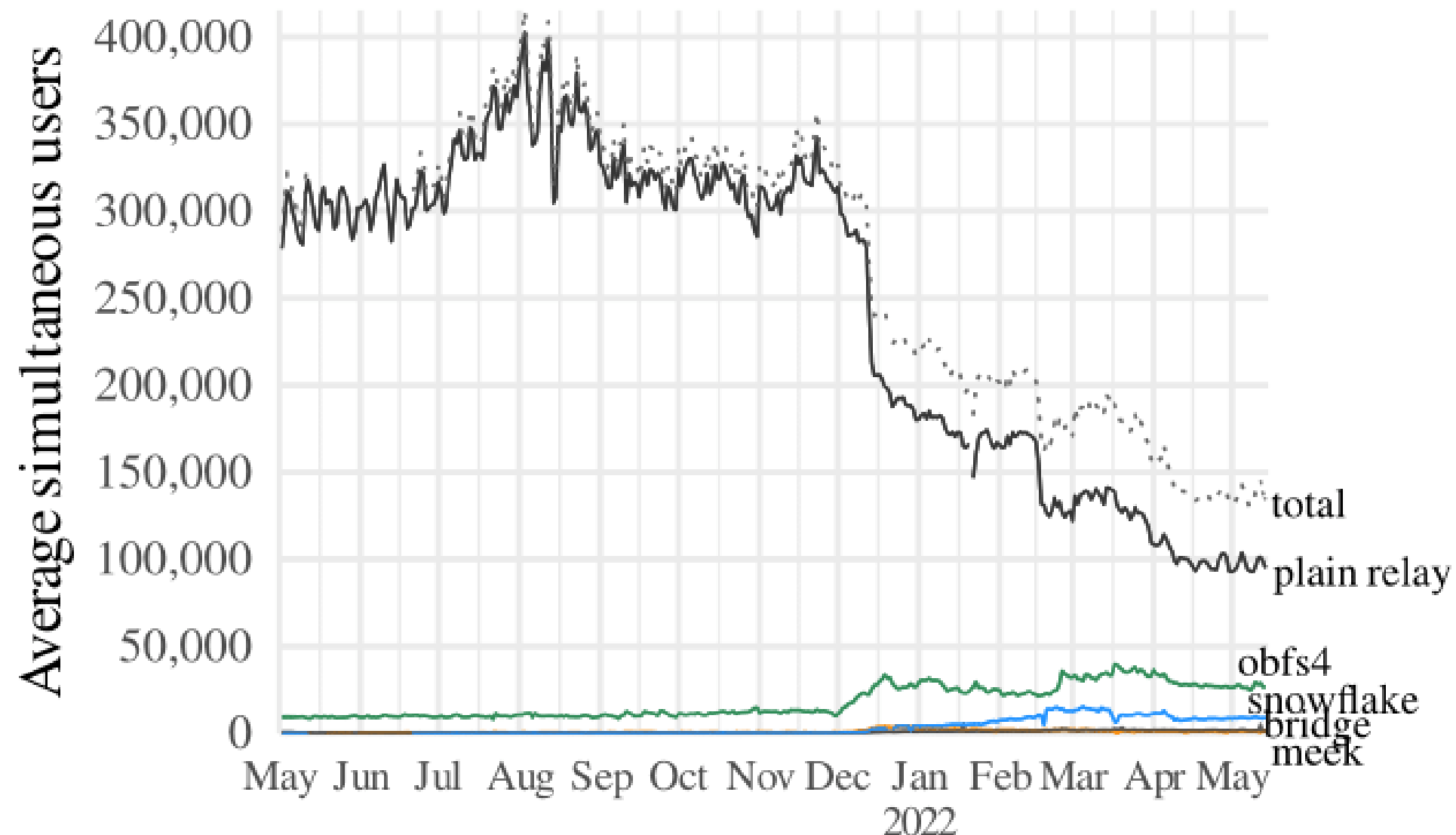
Russia and the Circumvention Community



Psiphon

- **Throttled Twitter** -> Psiphon use **rapidly escalated** as Russia began throttling access to Twitter
- **Blocked Instagram** -> **Psiphon usage peaked** at over 1.1M daily unique users
- Increase was observed in all major ASNs
- Observed changes in Psiphon protocols used at **the same time across many ASNs** -> **centralized censorship of circumvention**

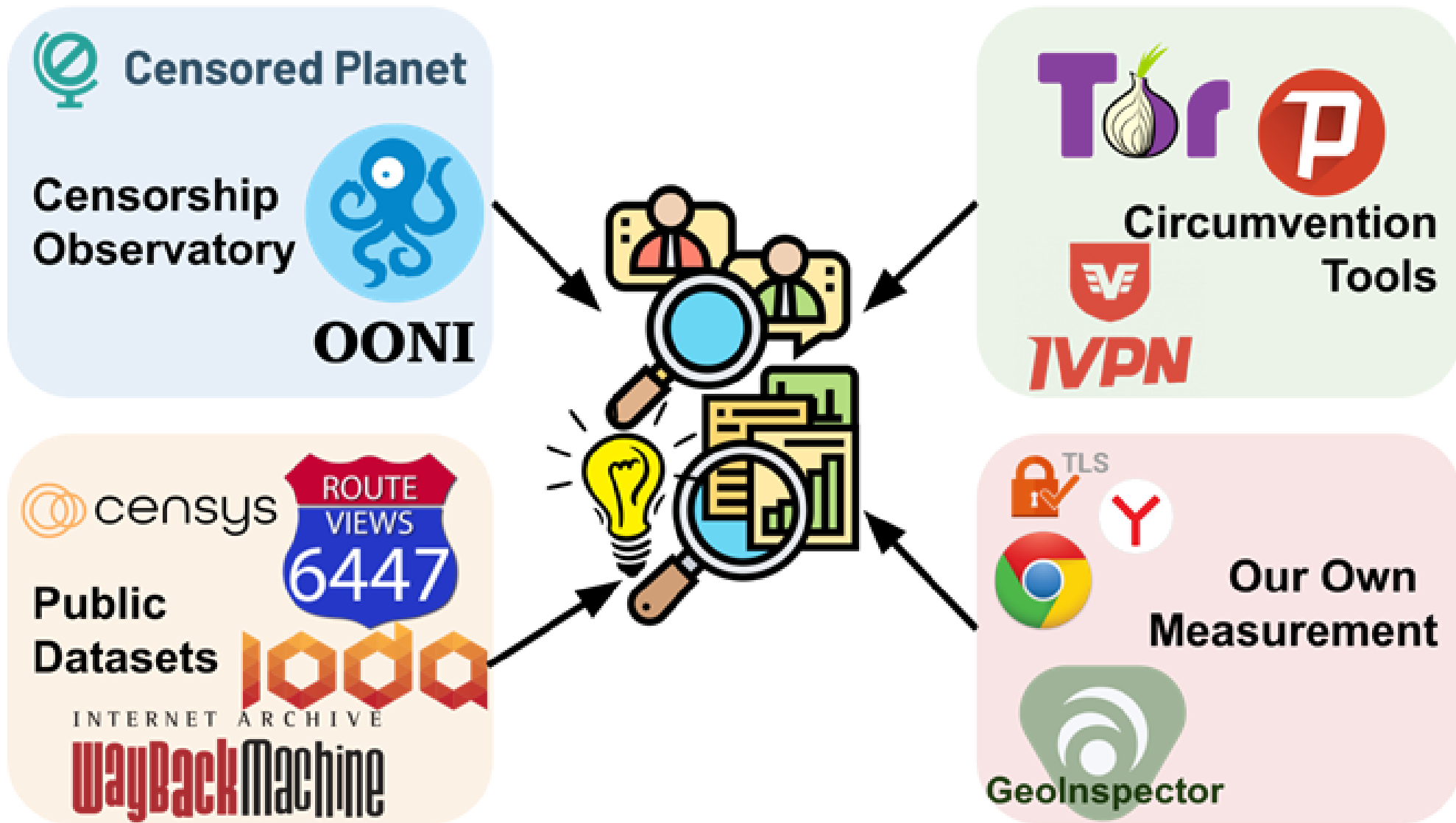
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Tor

- In Dec 2021, **Tor network was blocked** in many ISPs in Russia
- Comprehensive blocking of Tor caused users to use obfuscation protocols. 15 “default” **obfs4 bridges were blocked.**
- Non-default obfs4 bridges progressively discovered and IP address blocked
- **meek and snowflake bridges** briefly blocked
- The **torproject.org website** was blocked from Dec 2021, until July 2022

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A cautionary tale for Internet freedom:

- Highlights how nation-state censors *and* private Internet services may **isolate specific regions** from the support of the rest of the world.
- Encourages **multi-perspective study** on Internet freedom **beyond nation-state censorship** - private actors increasingly contribute to Internet splintering

