

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

Business Withdrawals

Internet Restrictions

Circumvention

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

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

Russia reinstates Twitter

slowdown, says Meta, Google are 'instigators of war'

Reuters

EUROPE

3 minute read



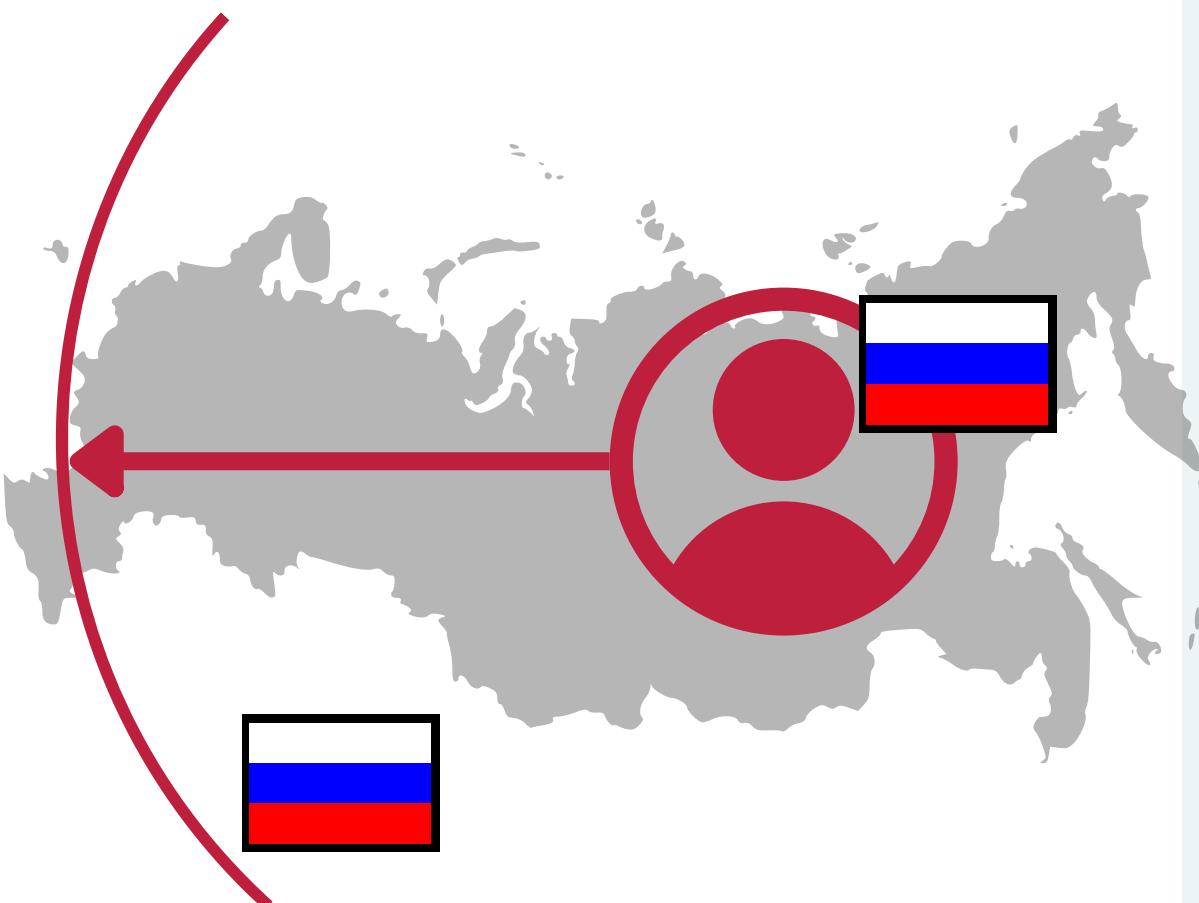
New blocks emerge in Russia amid war in Ukraine: An OONI network measurement analysis

Maria Xynou, Arturo Filastò, 2022-03-07

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

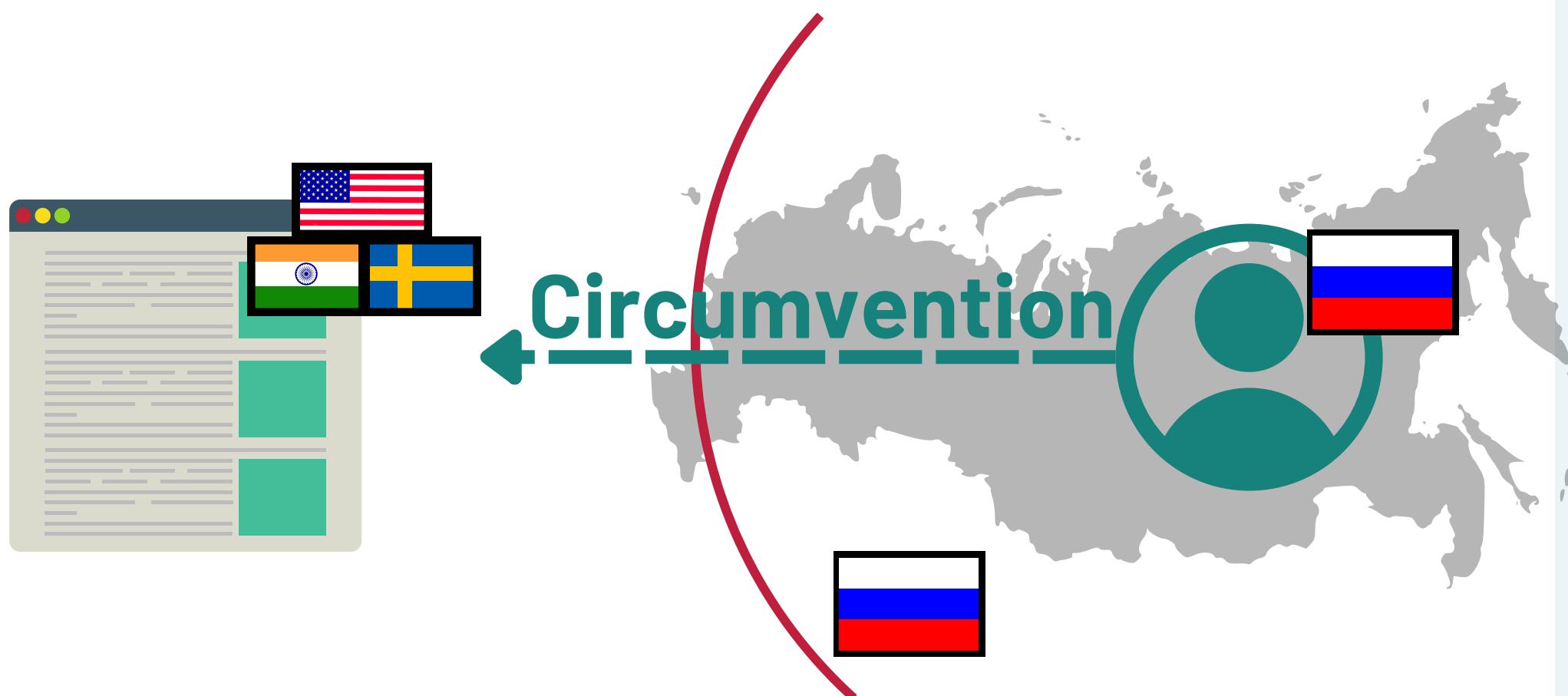
Circumvention Battle

Geoblocking

Domestic CAs

Foreign Actions

Dangers to Internet Freedom



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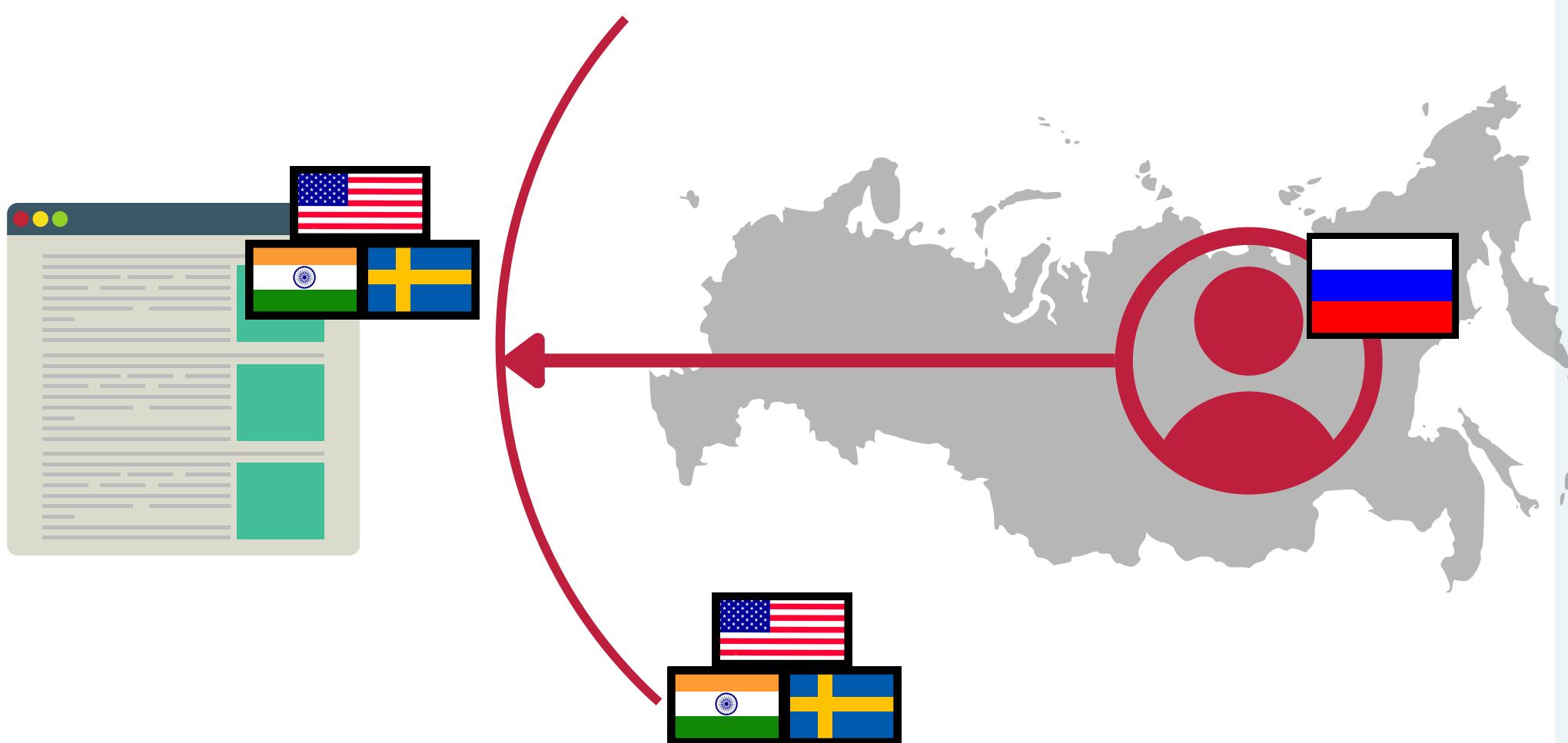
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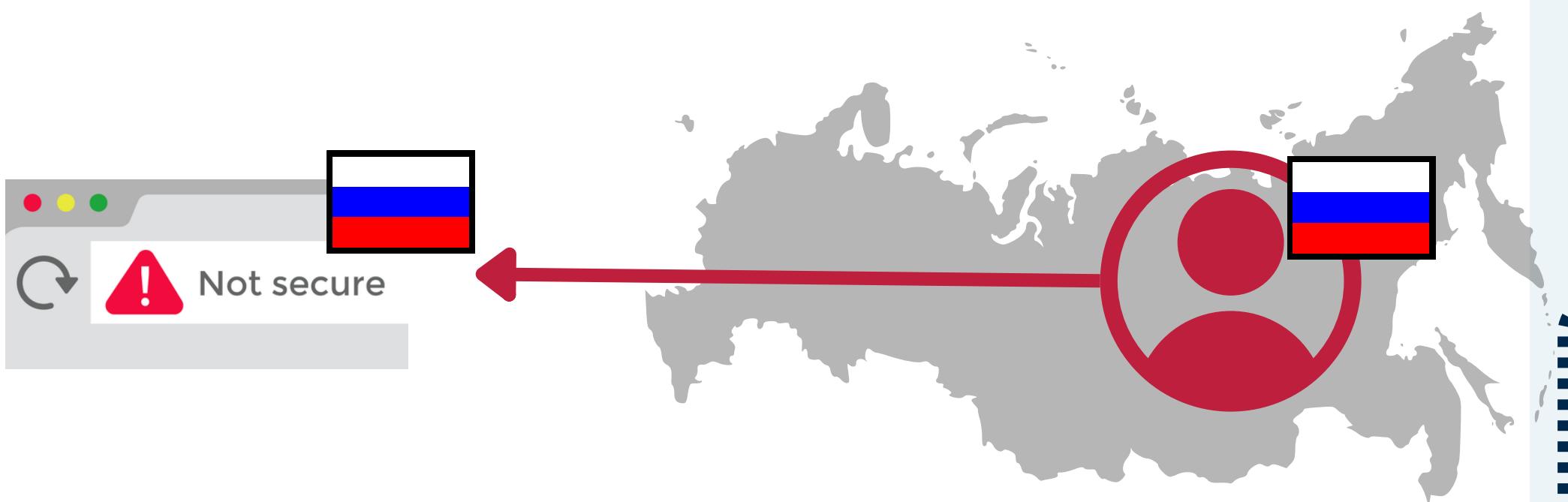
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Russia
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Dangerous to

**Increased isolation, control over
messaging, and information
unavailability**

Our Study

Goal: Systematic study of network restrictions following invasion

Censorship

BGP Withdrawals

Circumvention Battle

Geoblocking

Domestic CAs

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Challenges:

1. Synthesis of multi-perspective data

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Challenges:

1. Synthesis of multi-perspective data
2. New measurement techniques and diverse VPs

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

Censorship

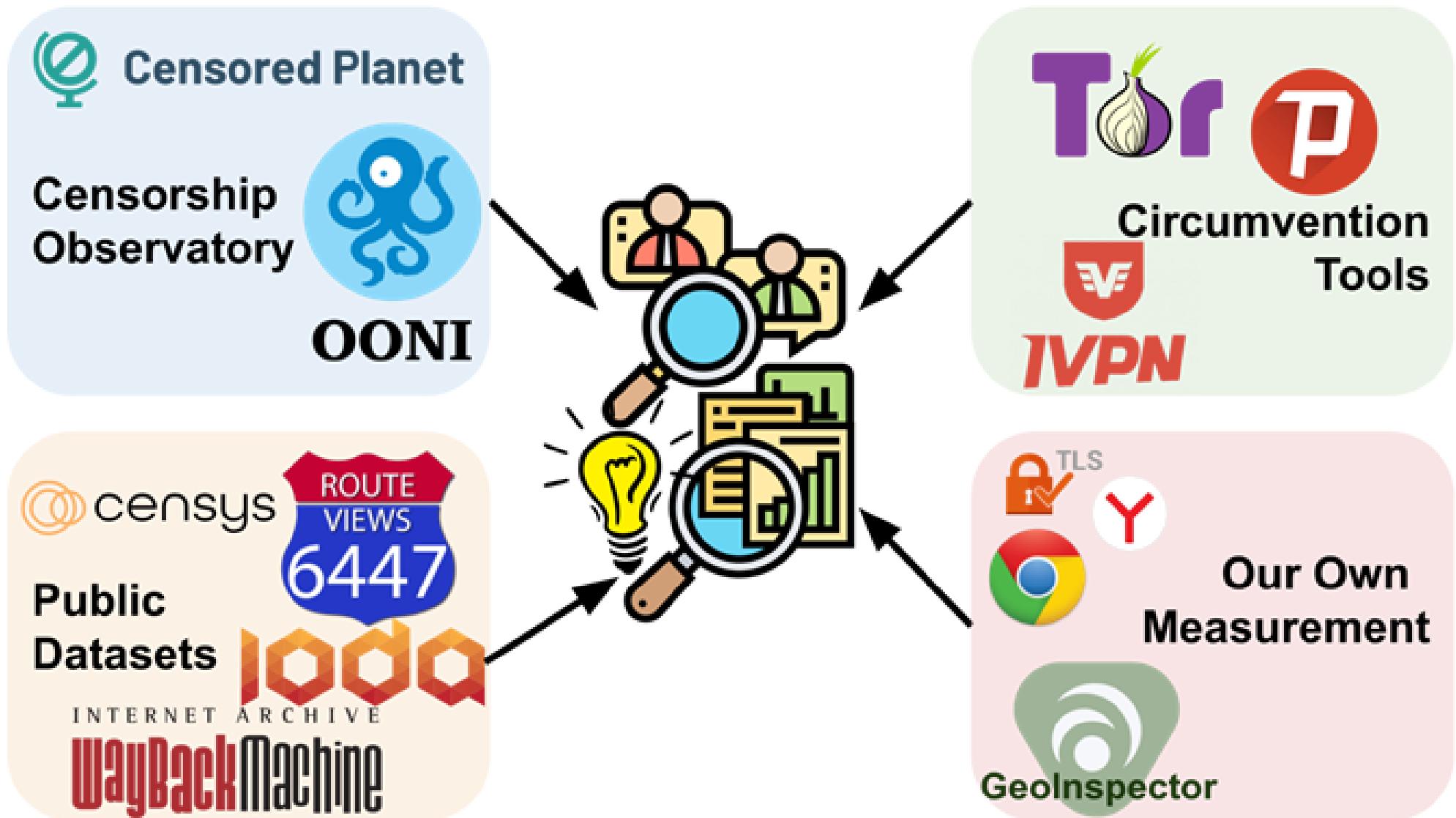
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New measurement tools for:

- Measuring geoblocking (GeoInspector)
- Crawling domestic TLS certificates

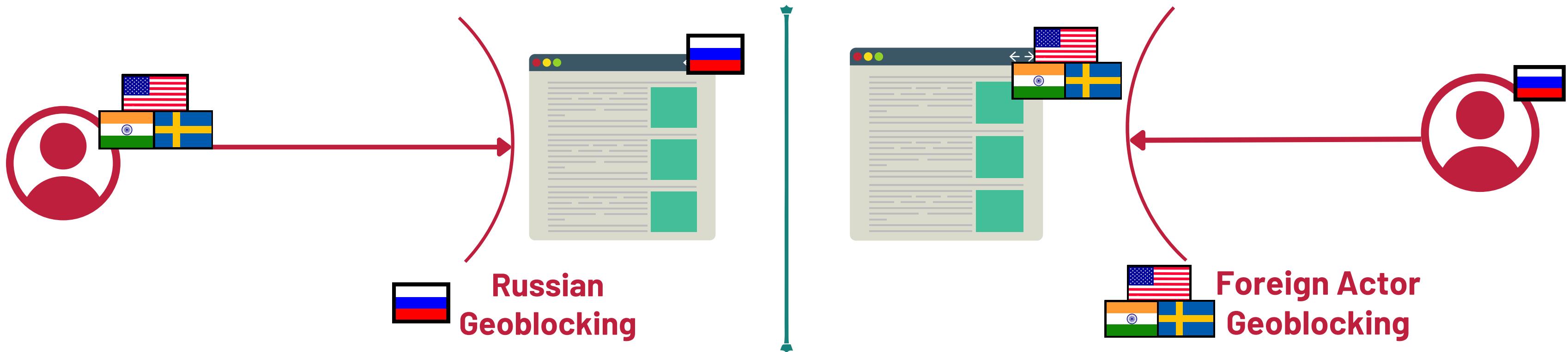
Distributed measurements from:

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

Data from 9 data sources:

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

Measuring Geoblocking



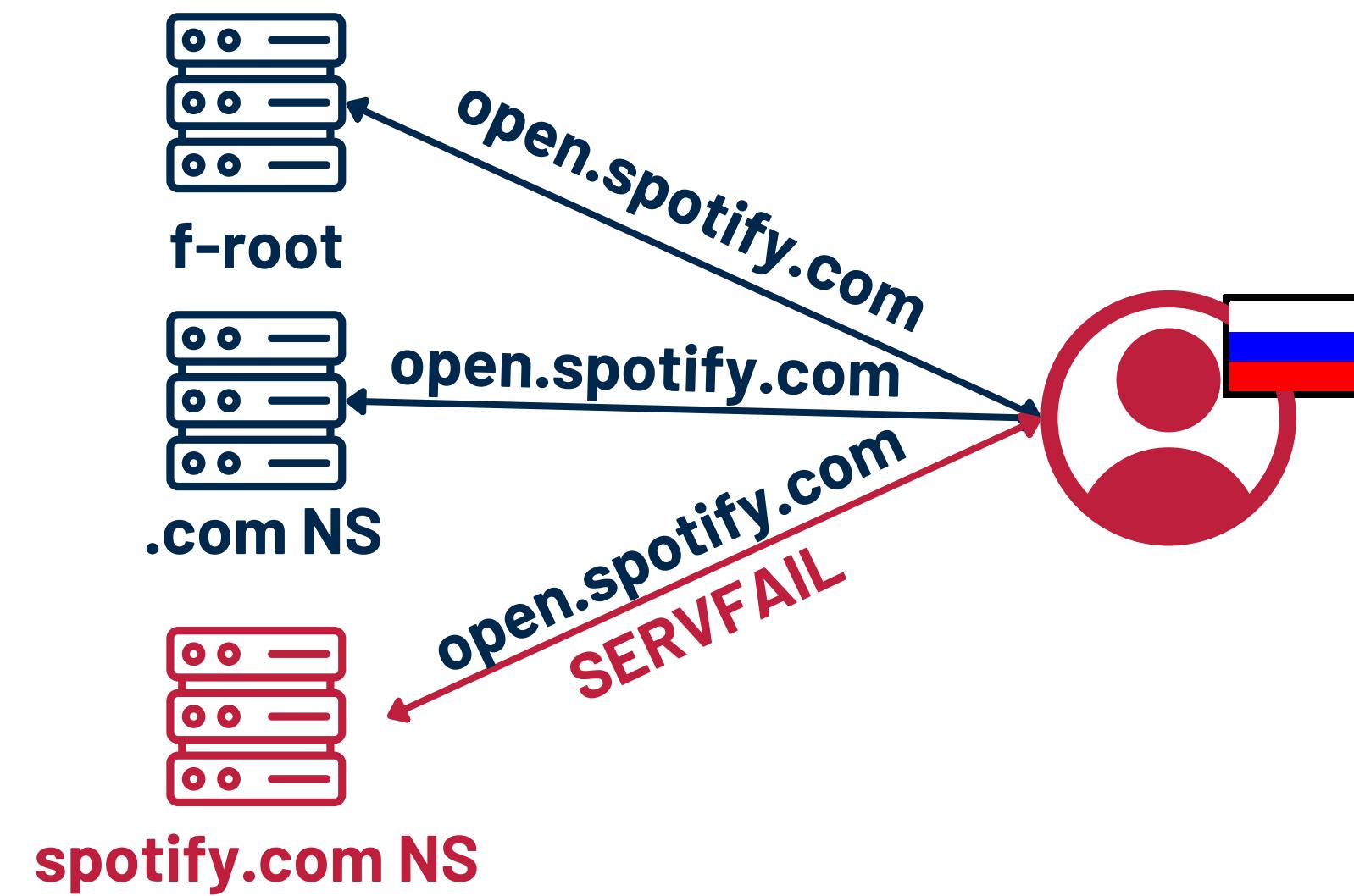
Geolnspector

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



- Geolnspector**
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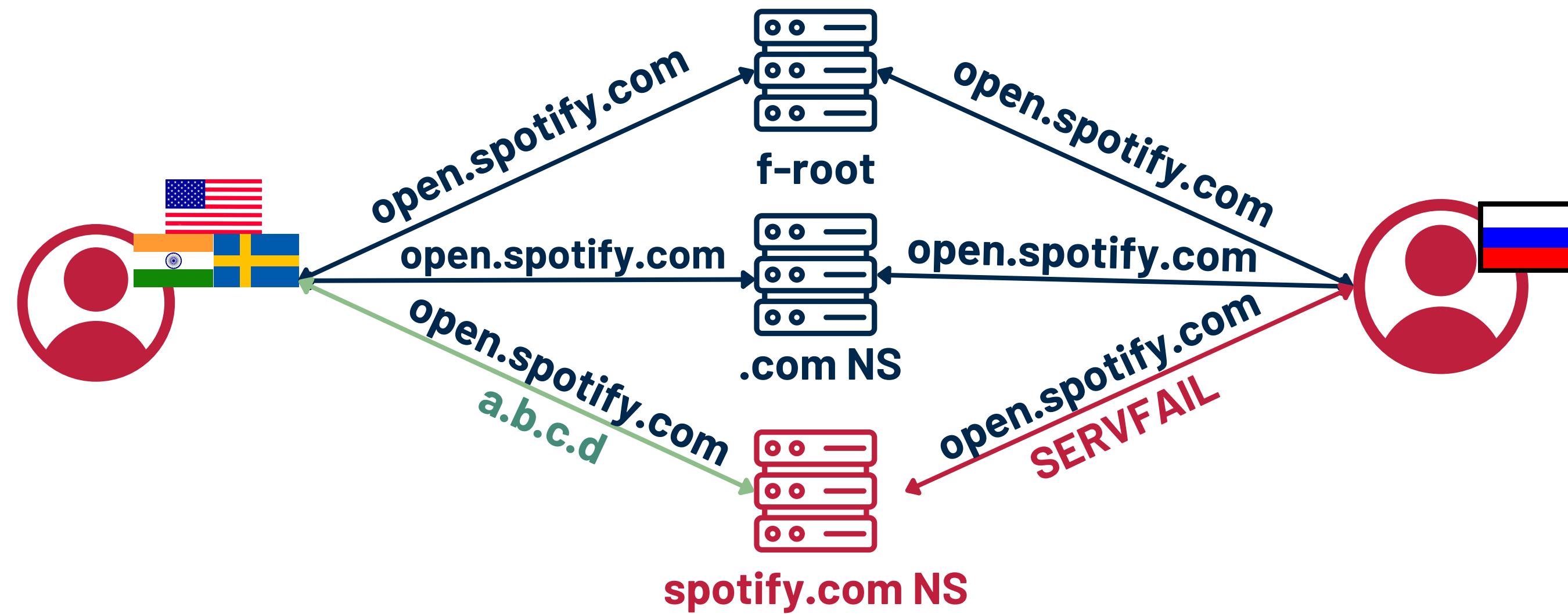




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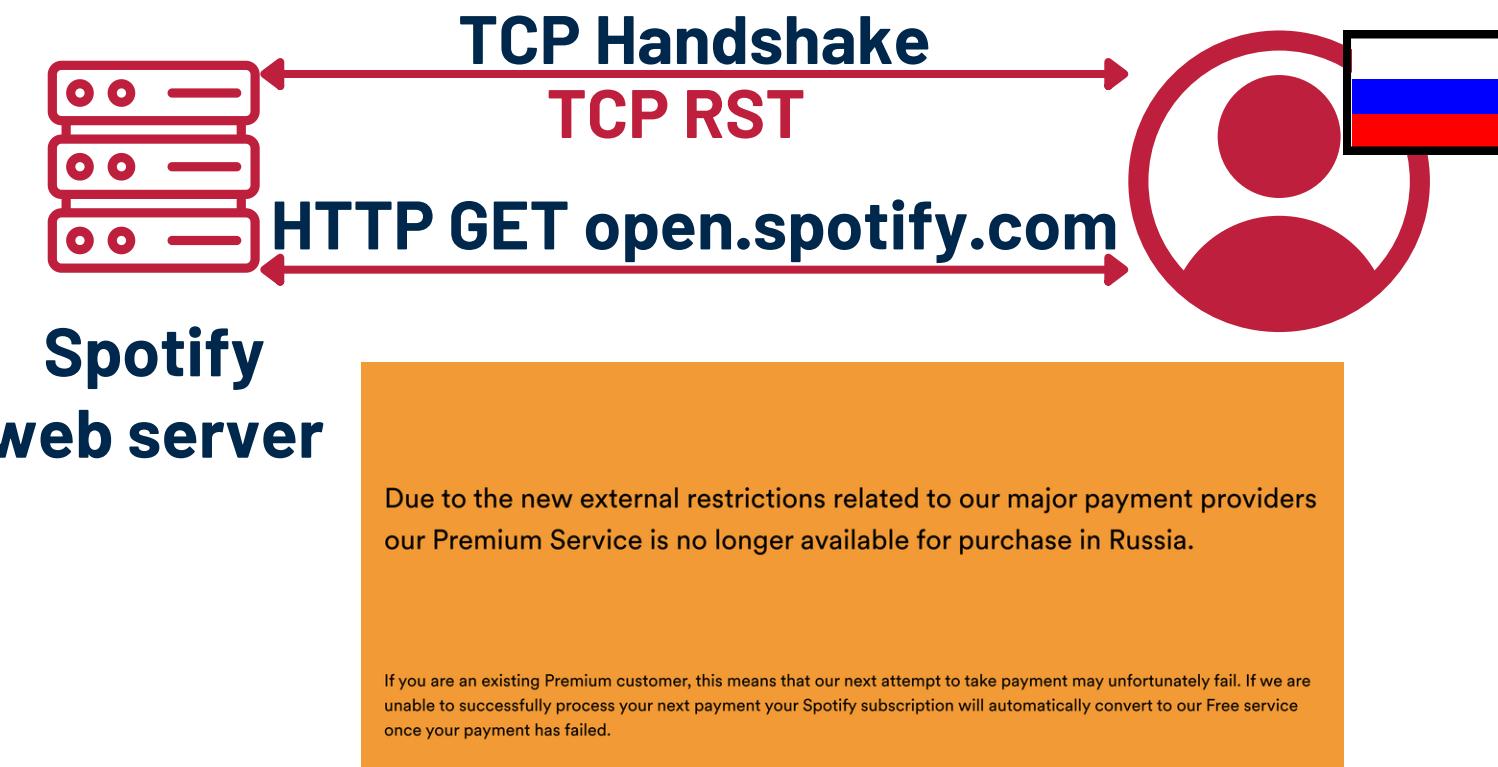




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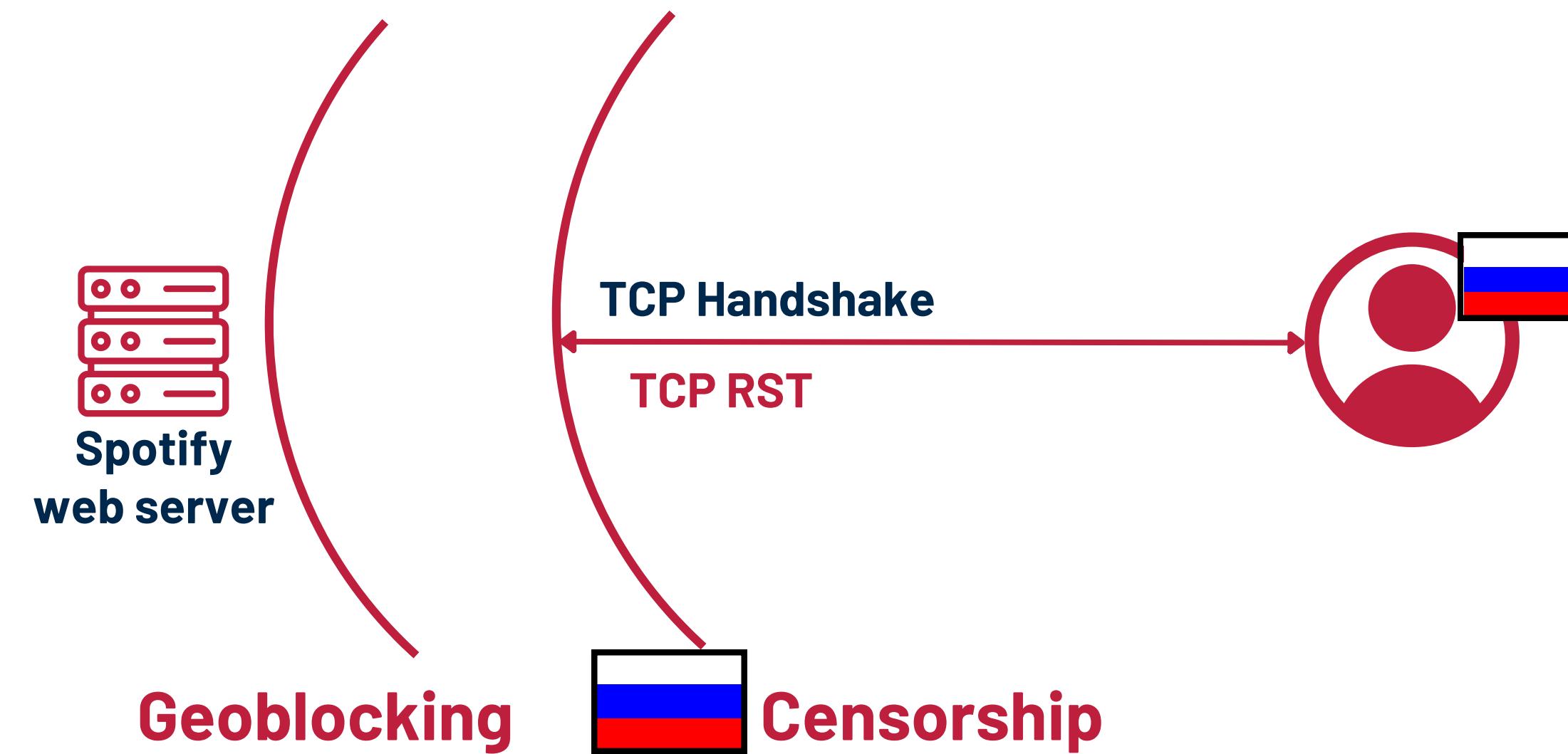


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Measuring Geoblocking

**How to differentiate
censorship &
geoblocking?**

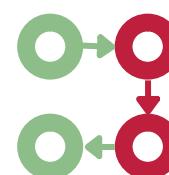




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CenTrace

TCP and HTTP(S)
traceroutes

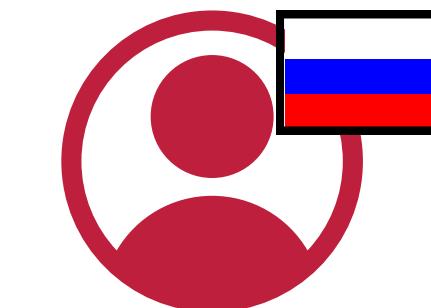


Spotify
web server

Geoblocking



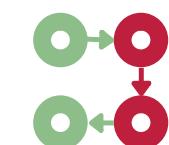
Censorship



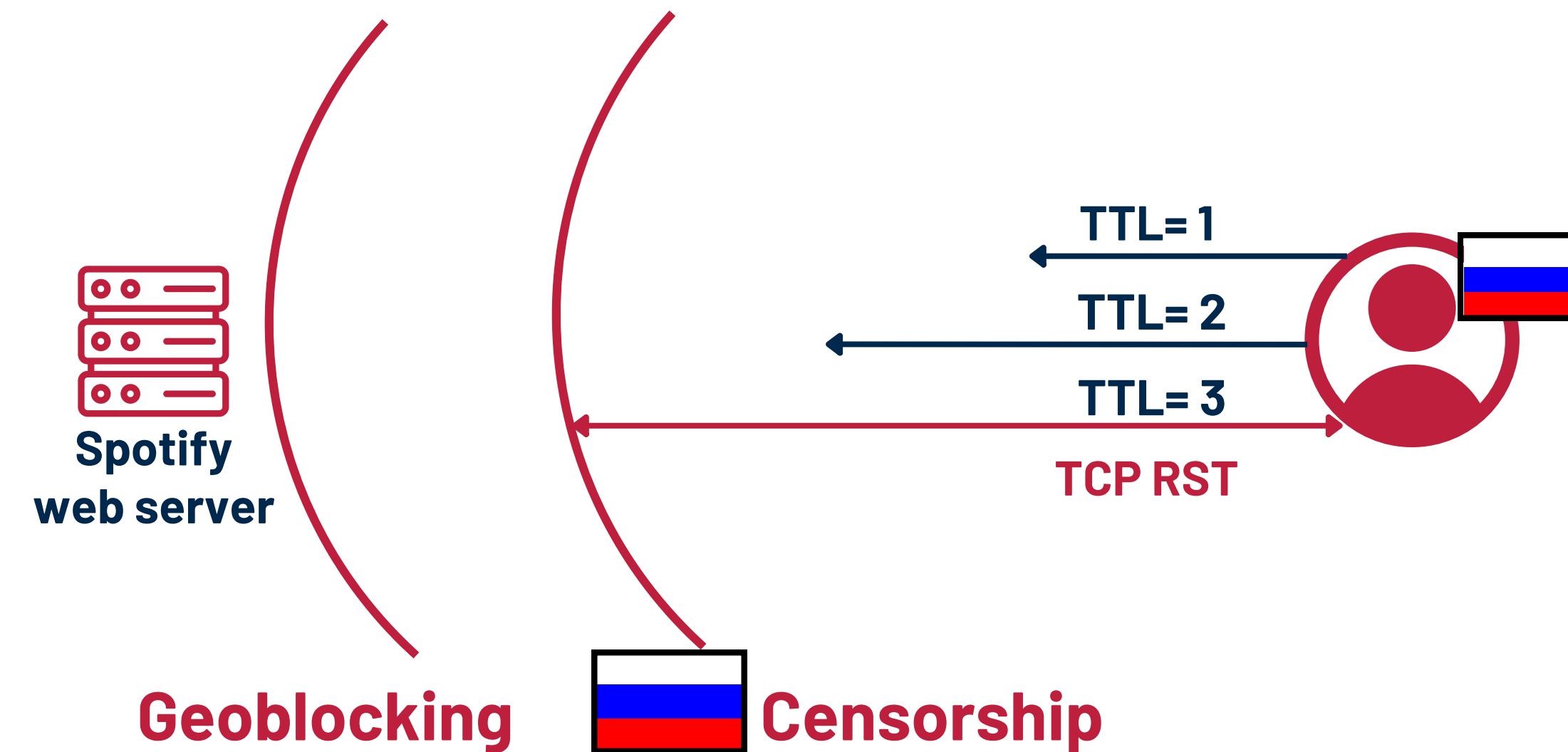


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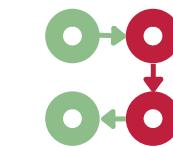




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Measurements in May, 2022:

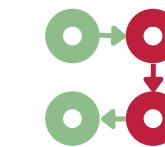
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2. **8,763 popular domains** from 4 Russian VPs



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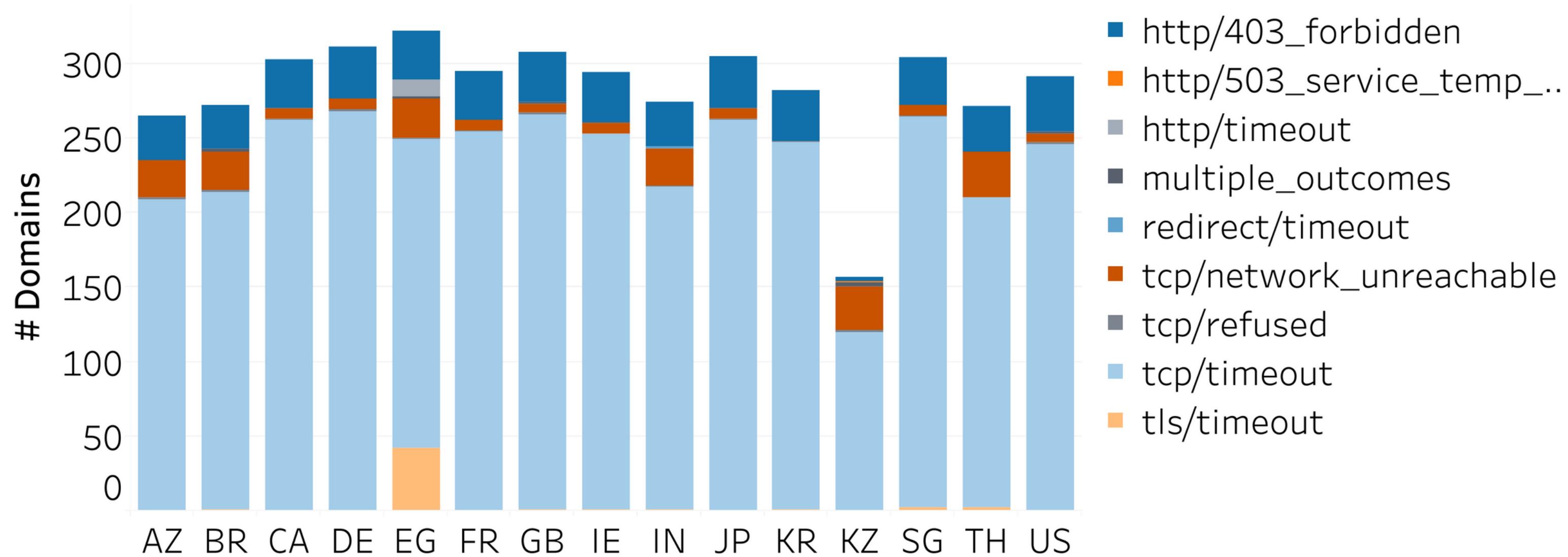
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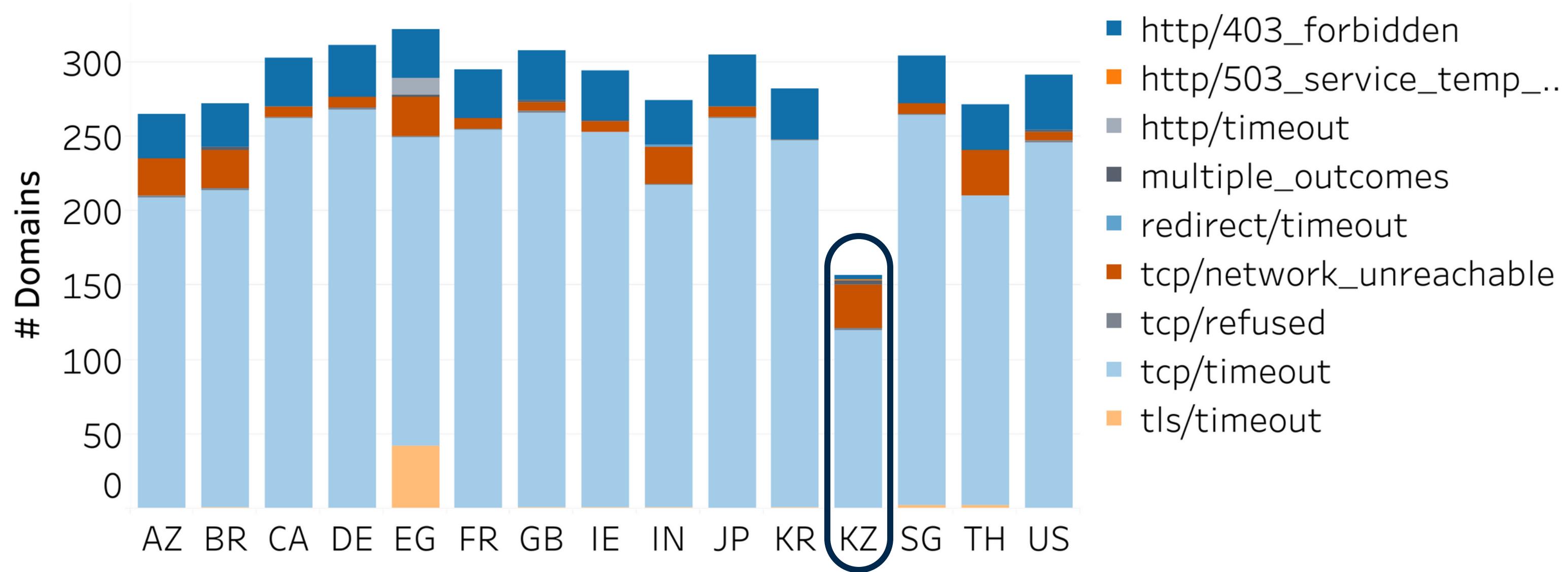
Significant geofencing by RU .gov domains

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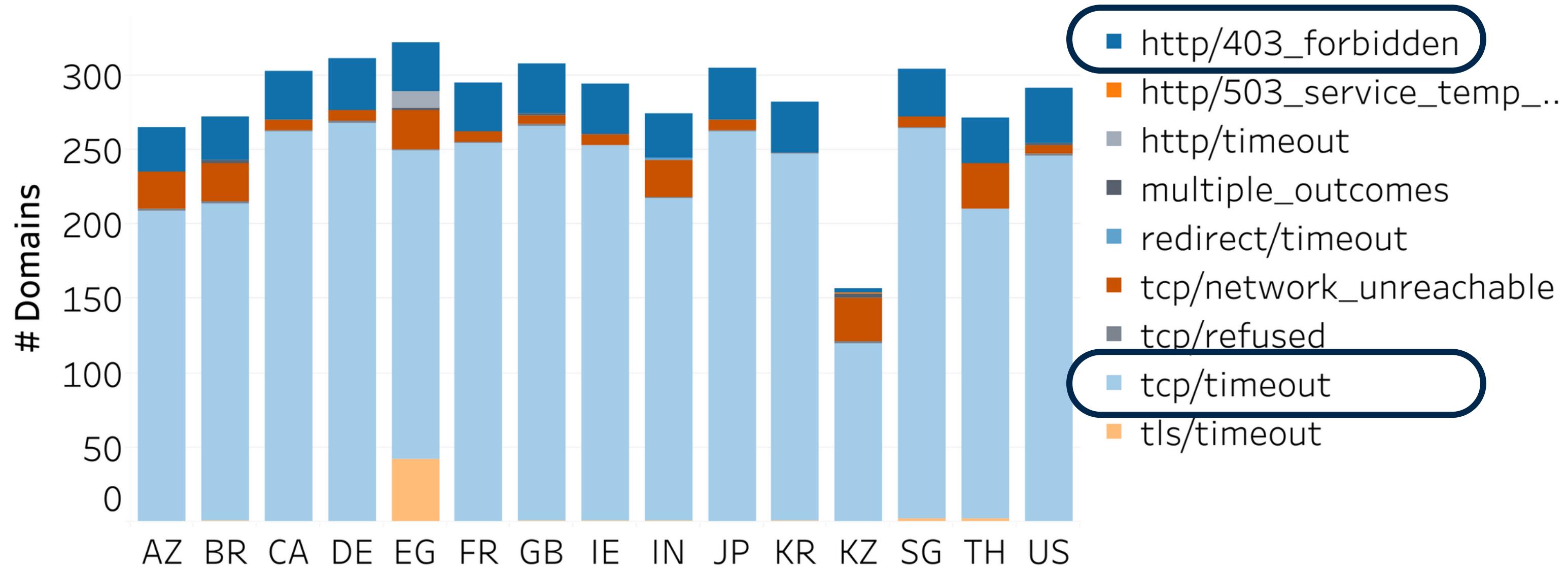
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- Interestingly, another 20% accessible from only RU and KZ
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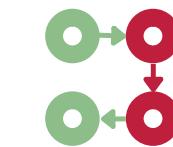
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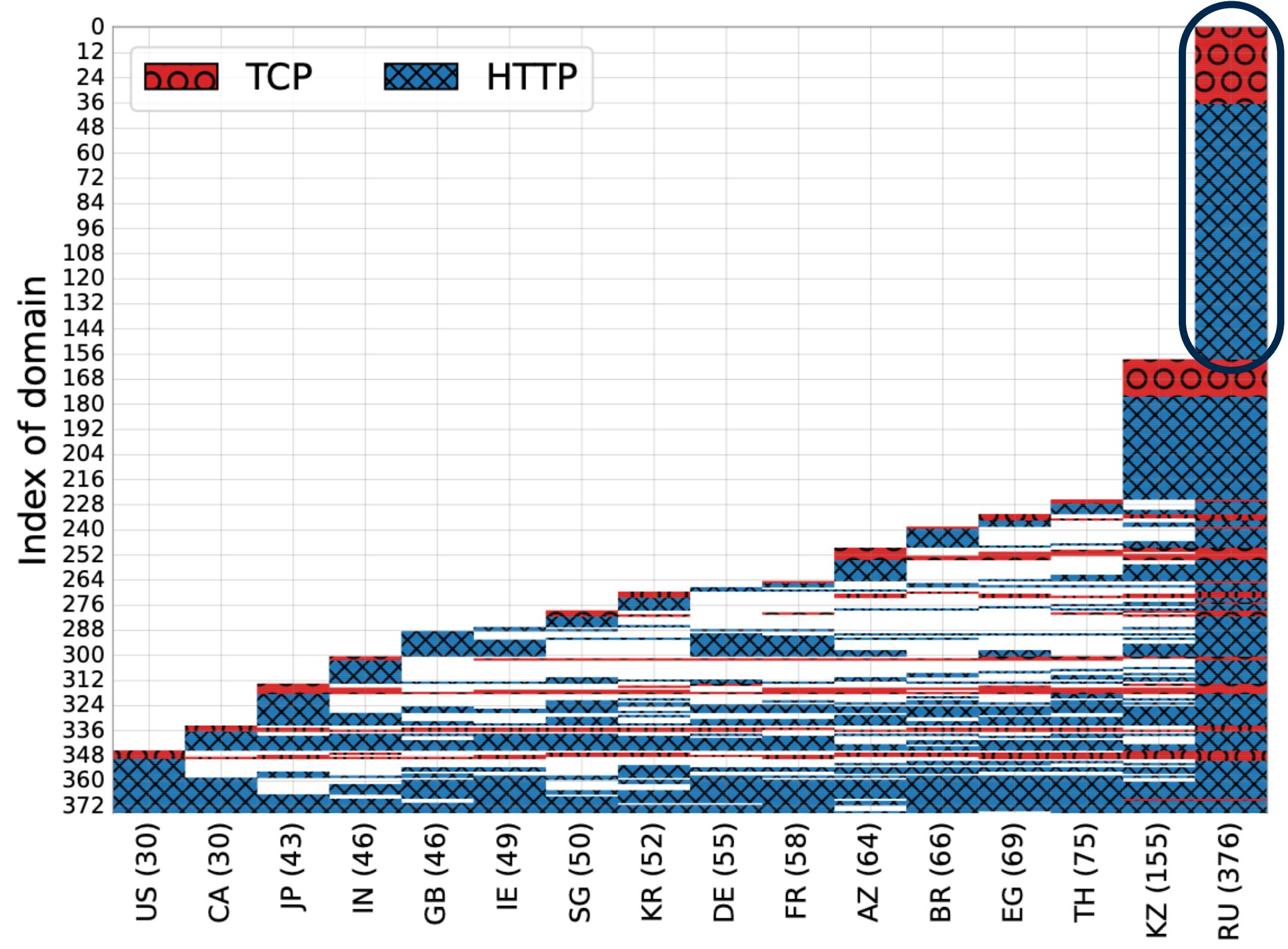
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Significant geoblocking of RU and KZ users by popular domains

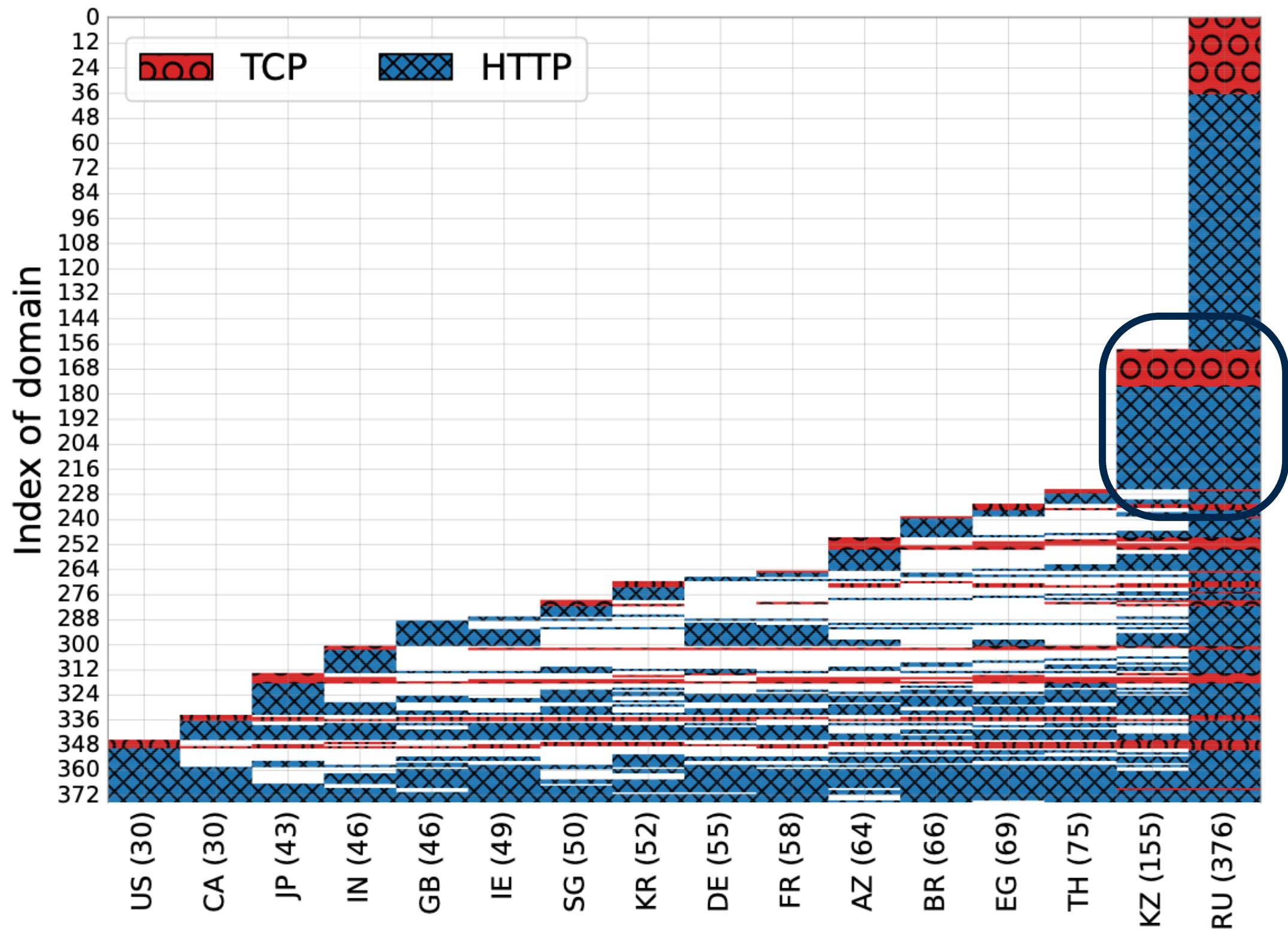
Significant geoblocking of RU and KZ users by popular domains

- **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)



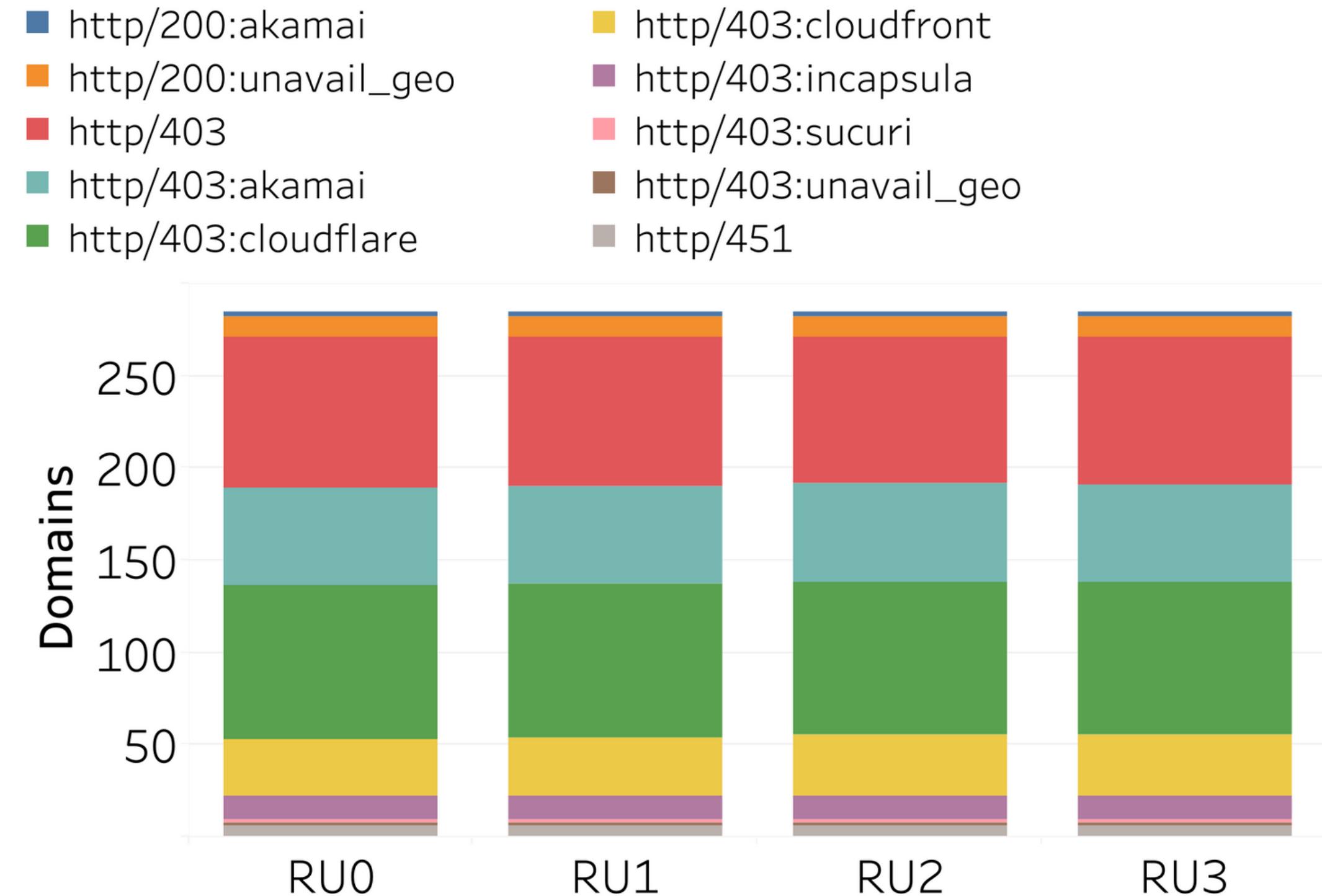
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403 ERROR

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-4doMXoXKOQKAsE_AOPCSYJteA==



Geolnspector

1.
2.



CenTrace

TP(S)
es

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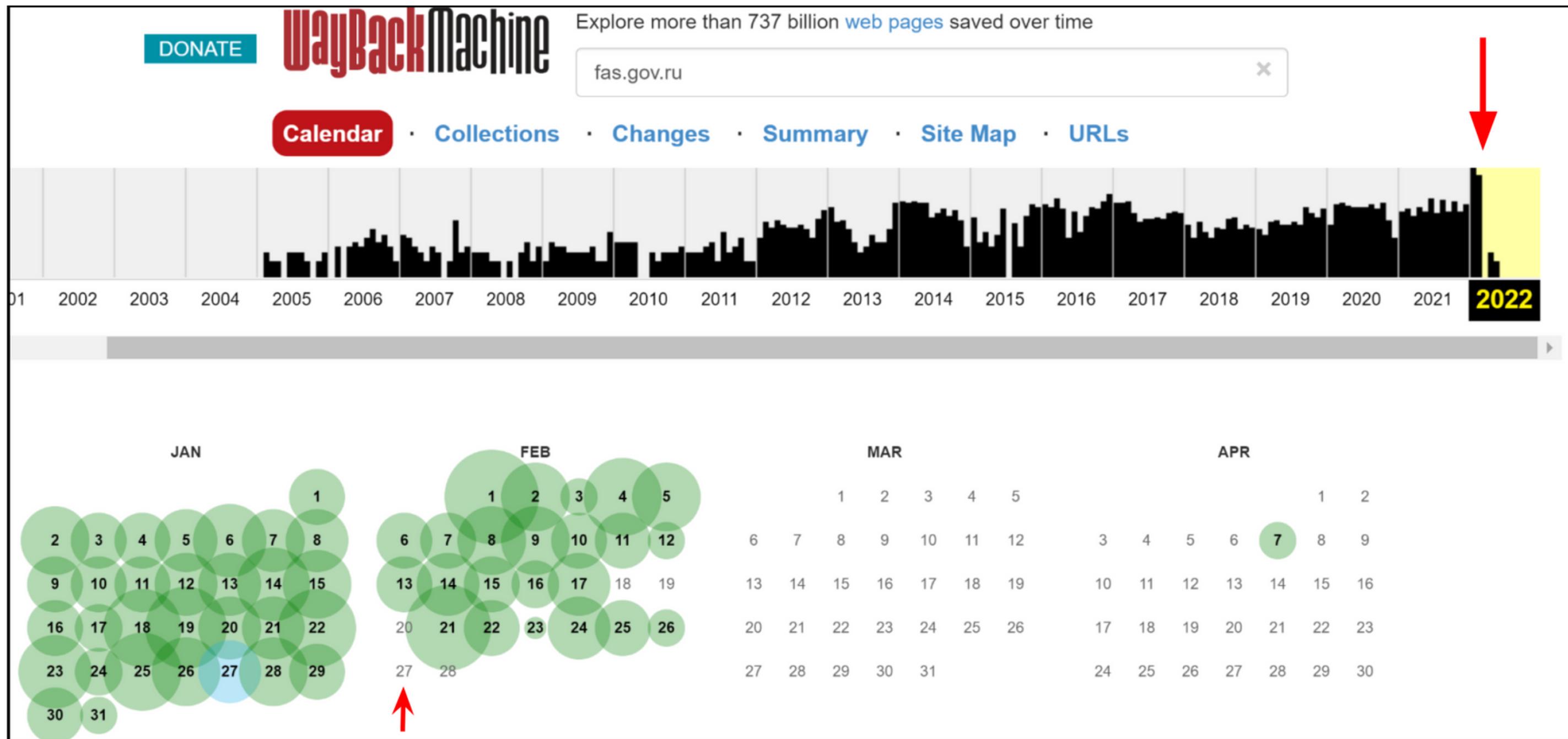
1
2

Wh

Significant geoblocking of the most popular domains

Is there a connection between the invasion and the geoblocking?

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Russia's Domestic Certificate Authority

- Due to sanctions, CAs stopped issuing certificates to RU TLDs (.ru,.by,.su,.pф)
- **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 a web page from the Russian Government Services portal ([госуслуги](#)). The top navigation bar includes links for 'Help' (Помощь), a search icon, 'To come in' (Вход), and a language switcher. The main content area has a pink background and features a large graphic of the Russian flag (blue, white, red) inside a shield-like frame. The text reads: 'Get an electronic security certificate'. Below it, smaller text states: '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'.

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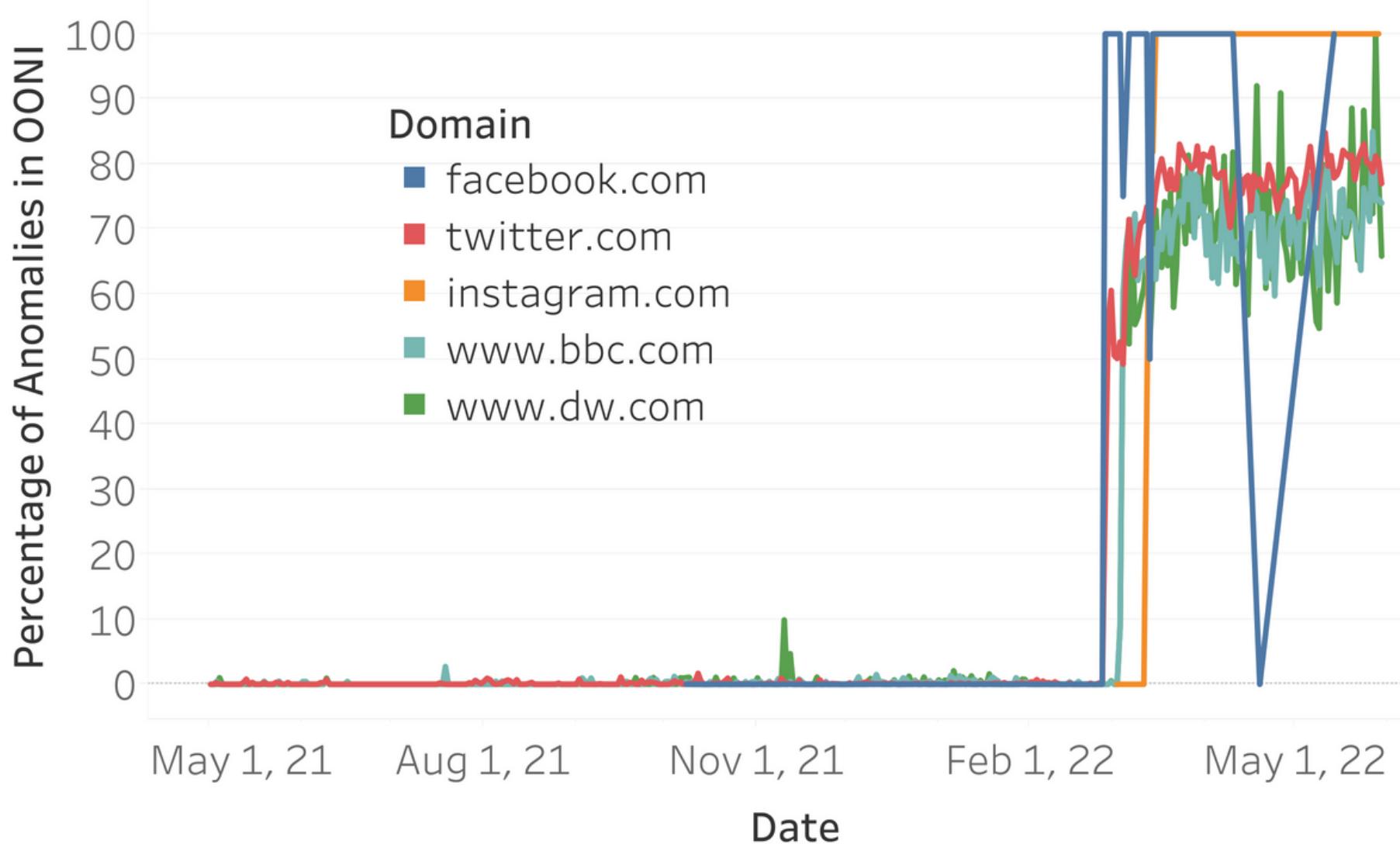
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- 3,722 domains signed in May '22, crawled using Yandex and Chrome browsers
- 114 (3%) domains presented the new Russian certificate in Yandex
- 46 domains had a recently expired certificate originally issued by a trusted CA

Website Censorship



BGP Withdrawals

ars TECHNICA

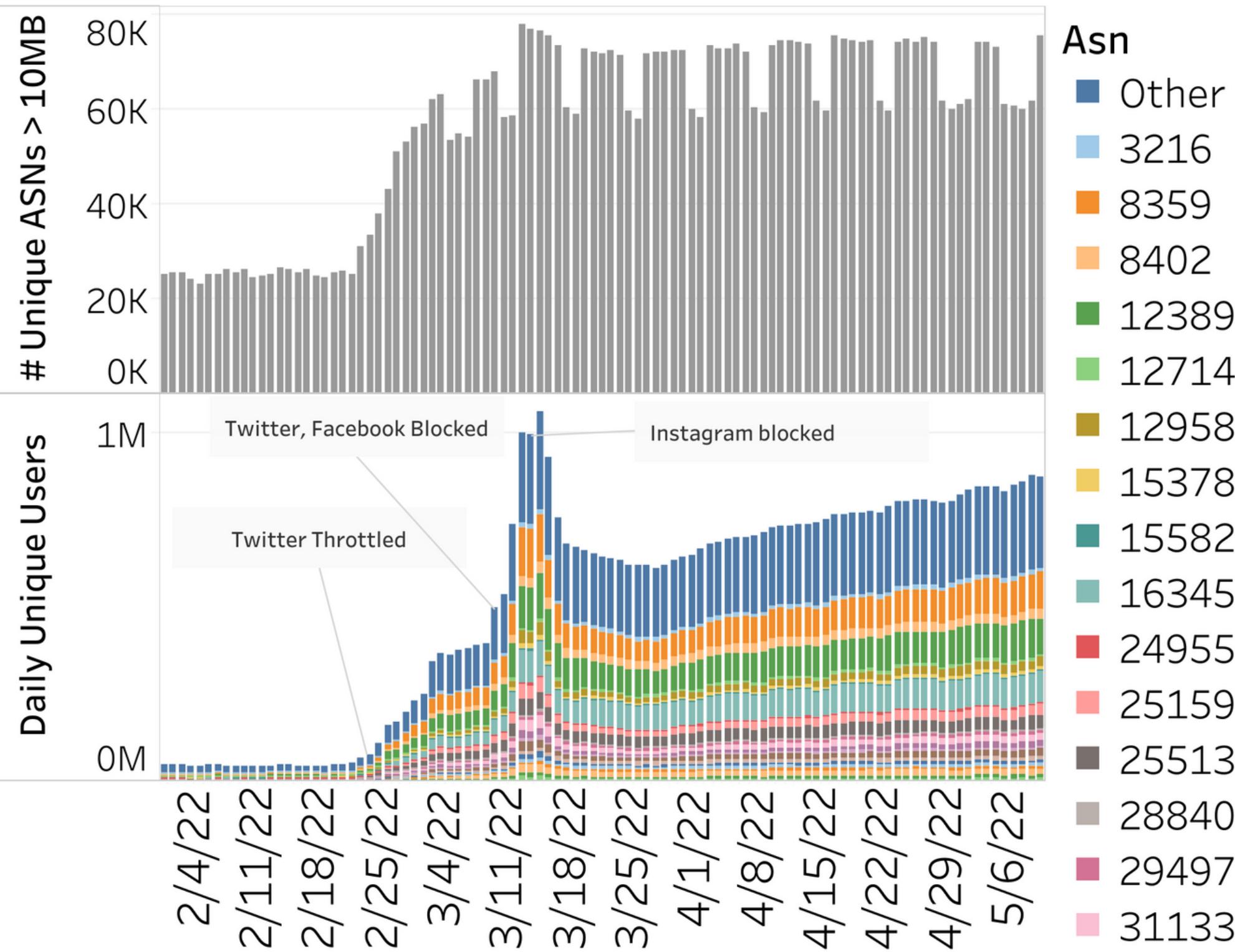
BGP —

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

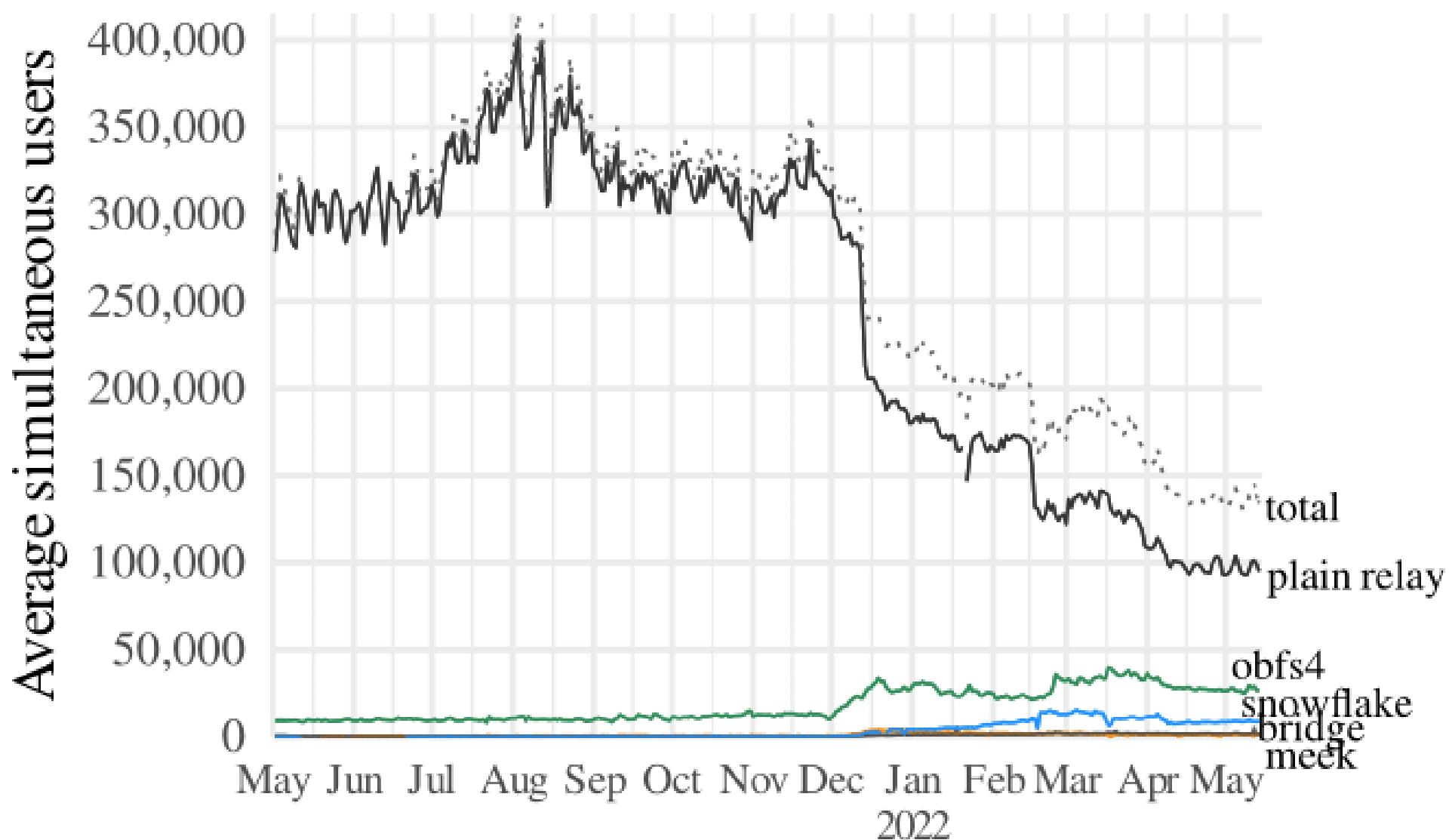
Russia and the Circumvention Community

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**

Russia and the Circumvention Community



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 obsf4 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

