

# Contents

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| <i>Author's note</i>   | <i>ix</i>   |
| <i>Acronyms and abbreviations</i>  | <i>xi</i>   |
| <i>Map</i>   | <i>xiii</i> |
| Introduction: Early warnings   | 1           |
| <br><i>Part 1: Wall</i>  |             |
| 1. Protests: Solidarity from Hong Kong to Tiananmen                                    | 15          |
| 2. Over the wall: China's first email and the rise of the online censor                | 23          |
| 3. Nailing the jello: Chinese democracy and the Great Firewall                         | 35          |
| 4. Enemy at the gates: How fear of Falun Gong boosted the Firewall                     | 45          |
| 5. Searching for an opening: Google, Yahoo and Silicon Valley's moral failing in China | 61          |
| <br><i>Part 2: Shield</i>  |             |
| 6. Along came a spider: Lu Wei reins in the Chinese internet                           | 71          |
| 7. Peak traffic: Getting the Dalai Lama online   | 83          |
| 8. Filtered: The Firewall catches up with Da Cankao                                    | 89          |
| 9. Jumping the wall: FreeGate, UltraSurf, and Falun Gong's fight against the censors   | 95          |
| 10. Called to account: Silicon Valley's reckoning on Capitol Hill                      | 115         |

### *Part 3: Sword*

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 11. Uyghurs online: Ilham Tohti and the birth of the Uyghur internet   | 131 |
| 12. Shutdown: How to take 20 million people offline                    | 143 |
| 13. Ghosts in the machine: Chinese hackers expand the Firewall's reach | 159 |
| 14. NoGuGe: The ignominious end of Google China                        | 165 |
| 15. The social network: Weibo and the last free-speech platform        | 175 |
| 16. Gorillas in the mist: Exposing China's hackers to the world        | 185 |

### *Part 4: War*

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 17. Caught: The death of the Uyghur internet  | 195 |
| 18. Key opinion leader: How Chinese trolls go after dissidents overseas                         | 203 |
| 19. Root and stem: The internet is more vulnerable than you think                               | 217 |
| 20. The censor at the UN: China's undermining of global internet freedoms                       | 227 |
| 21. Sovereignty: When Xi Jinping came for the internet  | 239 |
| 22. Friends in Moscow: The Great Firewall goes west   | 247 |
| 23. Plane crash: China helps Russia bring Telegram to heel                                      | 259 |
| 24. One app to rule them all: How WeChat opened up new frontiers of surveillance and censorship | 275 |
| 25. Buttocks: Uganda's internet blackouts follow Beijing's lead                                 | 285 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Epilogue: Silicon Valley won't save you | 307 |
|---|-----|

|                         |     |
|-------------------------|-----|
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | 319 |
|-------------------------|-----|

|              |     |
|--------------|-----|
| <i>Notes</i> | 321 |
|--------------|-----|

|                              |     |
|------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Selected bibliography</i> | 369 |
|------------------------------|-----|

|              |     |
|--------------|-----|
| <i>Index</i> | 374 |
|--------------|-----|