

Mesh Messaging for Large-Scale Protests: Cryptography Alone Won't Save Us

David Inyangson*, Sarah Radway*,
Tushar Jois, Nelly Fazio, James Mickens

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March 26, 2025



The City College
of New York



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HARVARD
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**Equal contribution.*



Large-scale protests



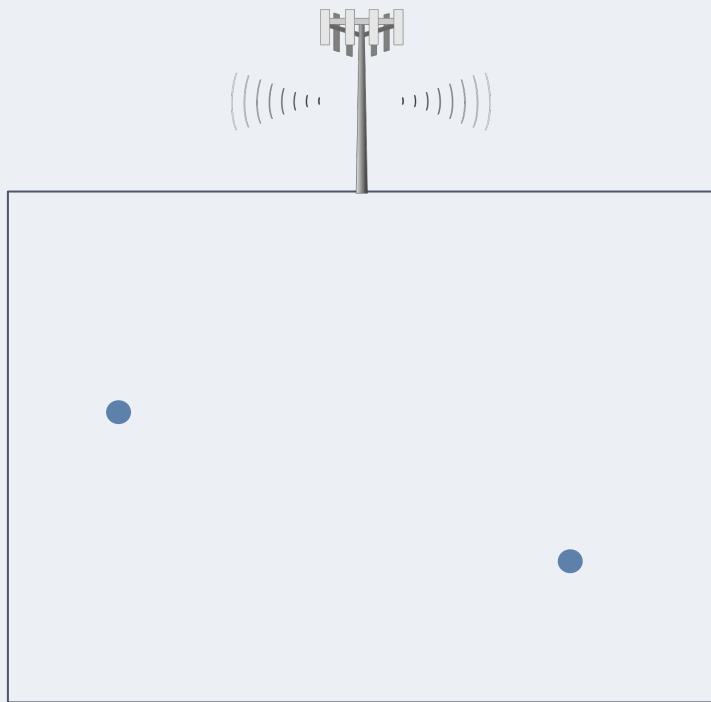


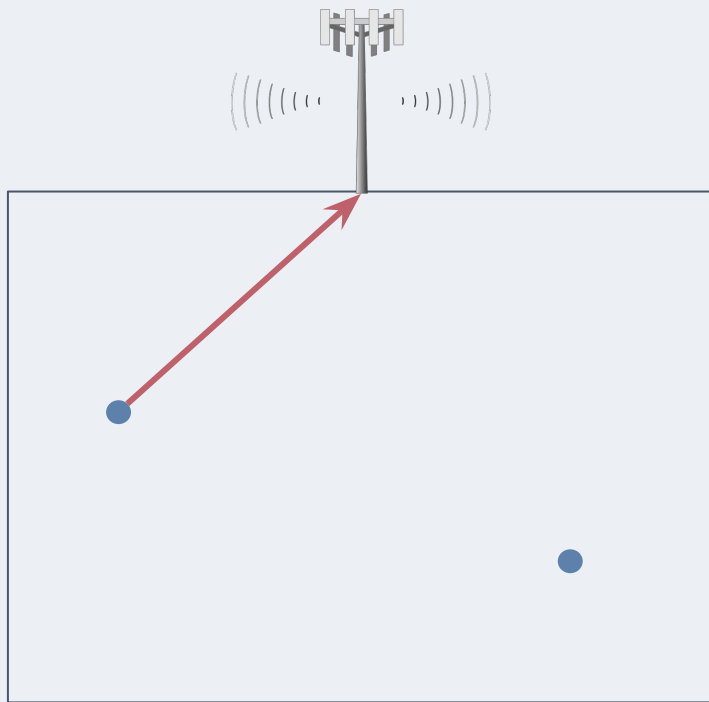
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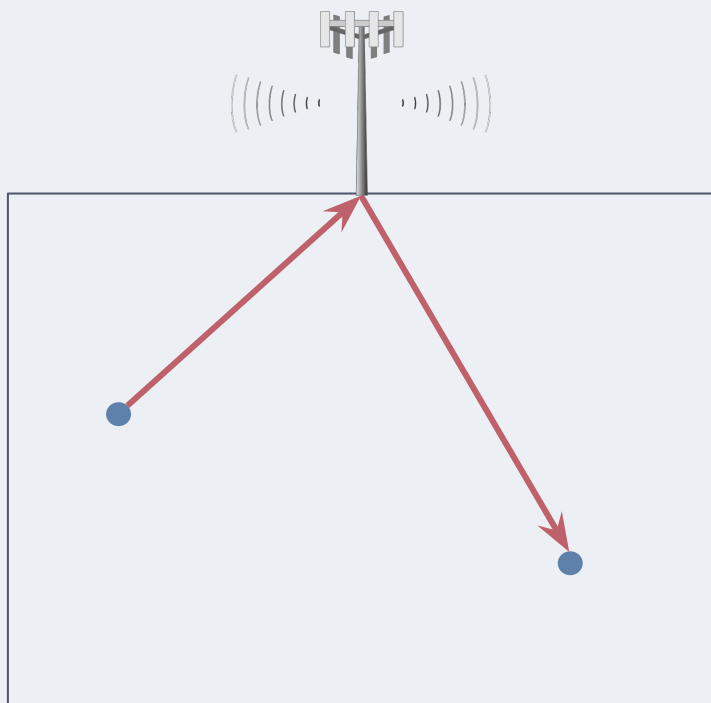
Communication is key!

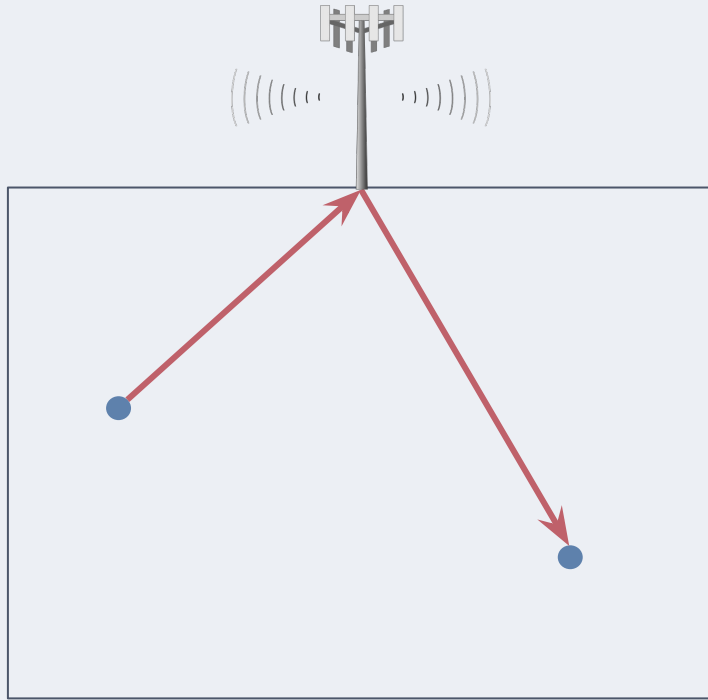




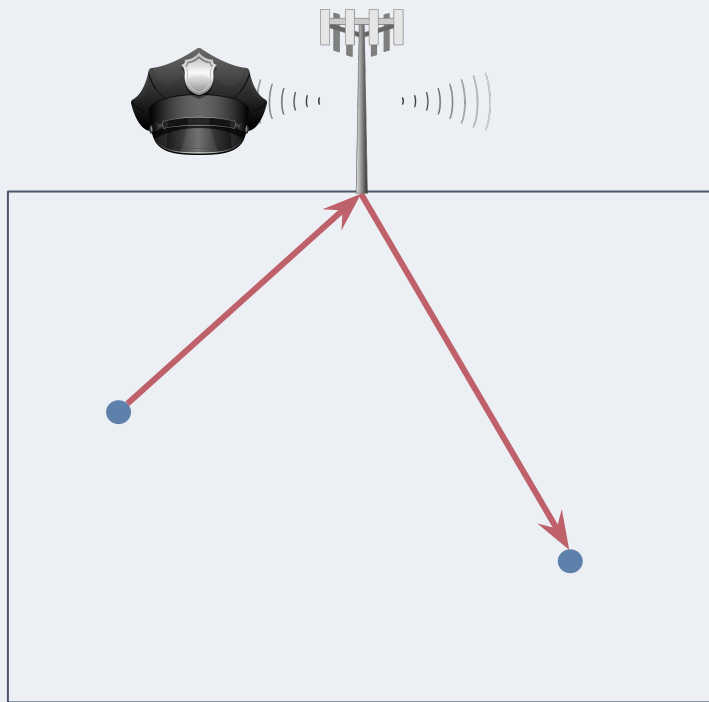




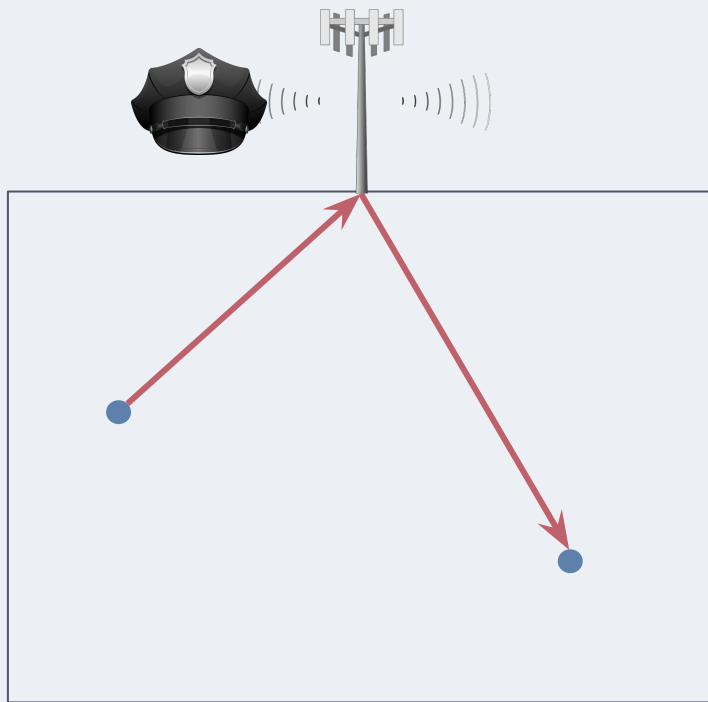




Centralized infrastructure



Centralized infrastructure



Centralized infrastructure

Intercepting communication

The Intercept

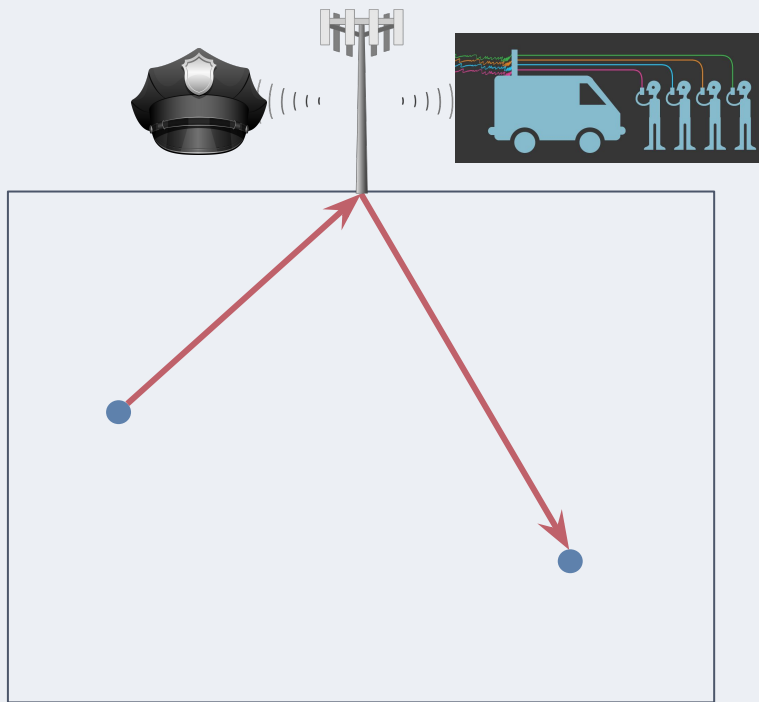
HACKED DOCUMENTS: HOW IRAN CAN TRACK AND CONTROL PROTESTERS' PHONES

The documents provide an inside look at an Iranian government program that lets authorities monitor and manipulate people's phones.

The Marshall Project

The High-Tech Tools Police Can Use to Surveil Protesters

STINGRAY TRACKING DEVICES: WHO'S GOT THEM?



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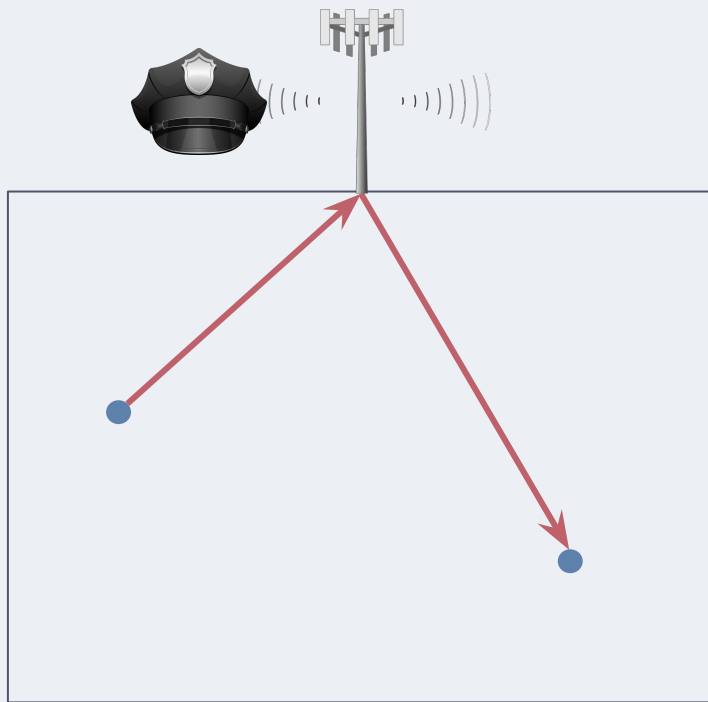
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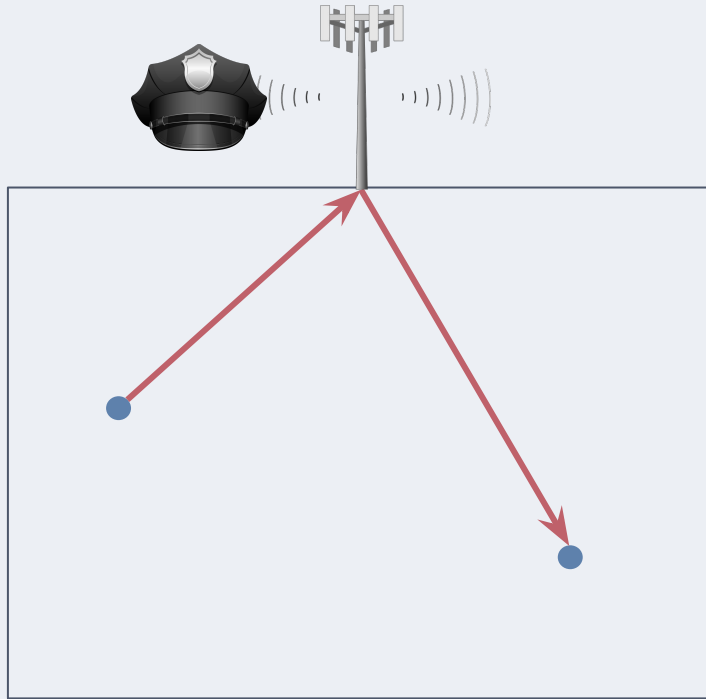
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Iran's Internet Shutdown Hides a Deadly Crackdown

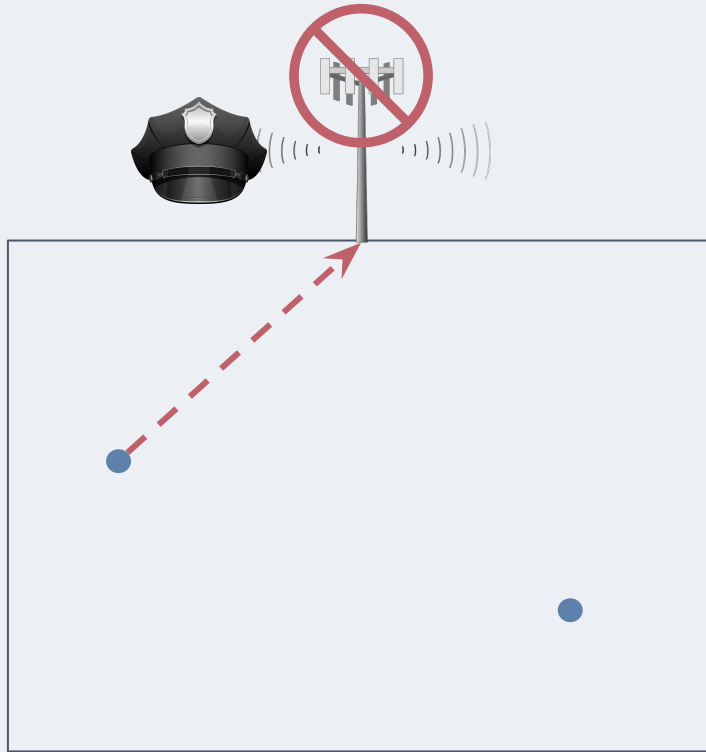
Amid protests against the killing of Mahsa Amini, authorities have cut off mobile internet, WhatsApp, and Instagram. The death toll continues to rise.

Myanmar shuts down internet and data communications

Observers say blockage might herald crackdown on freedom as popular anger rises

'No timeline' for restoring internet to Tigray: Ethiopia minister

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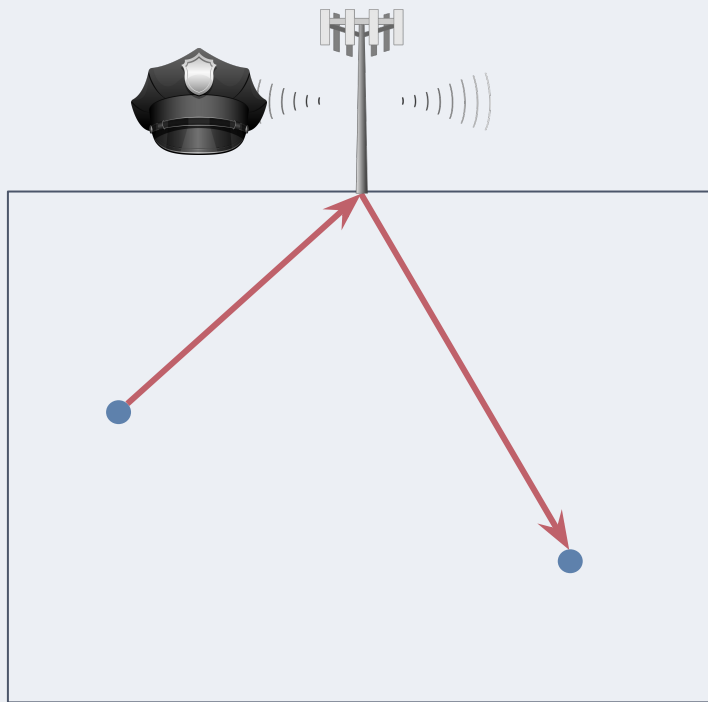
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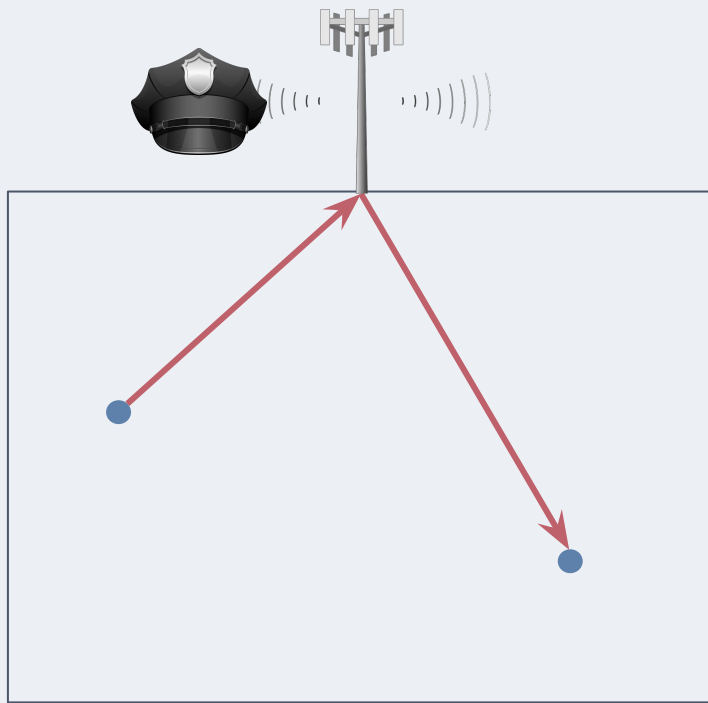
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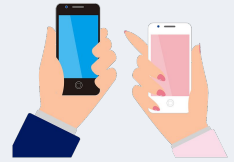


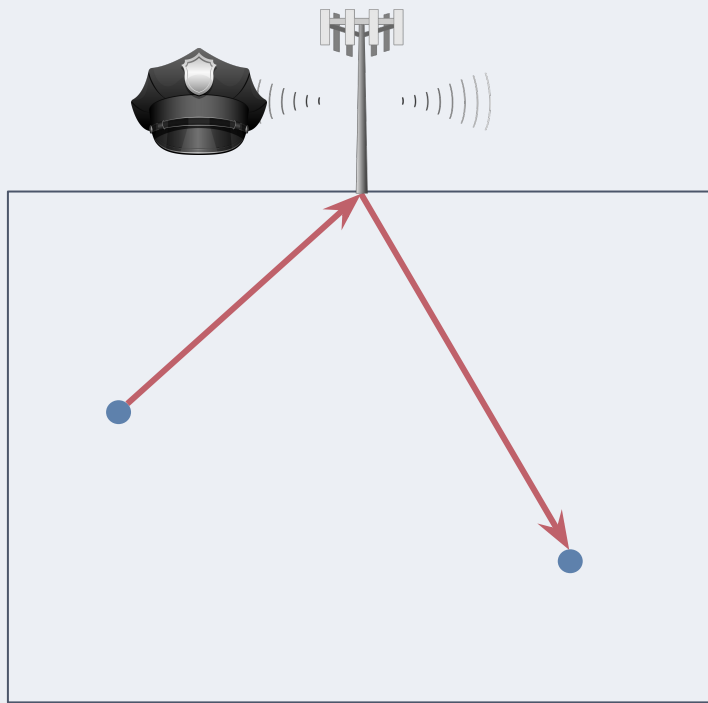
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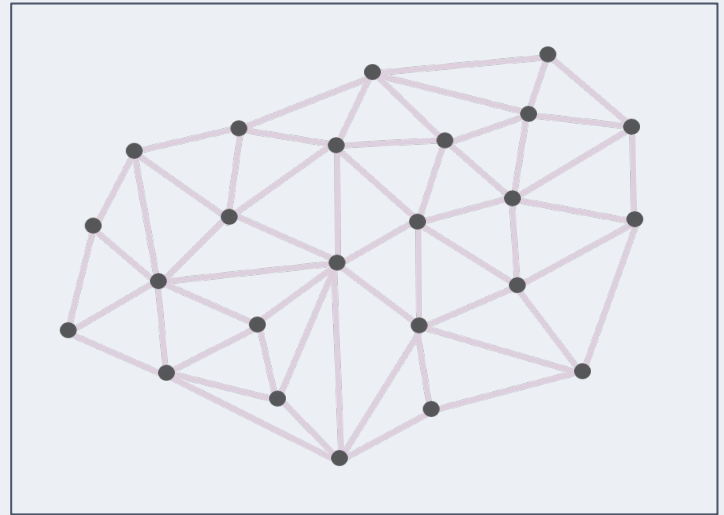
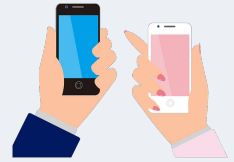
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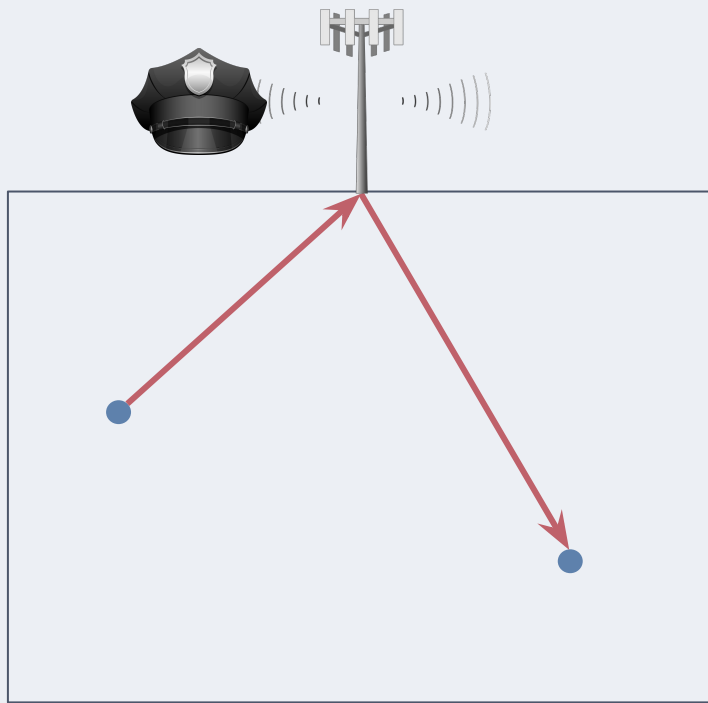




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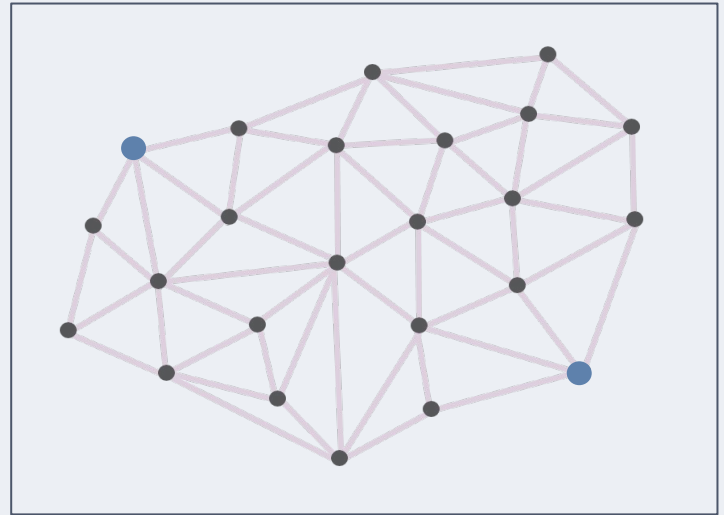
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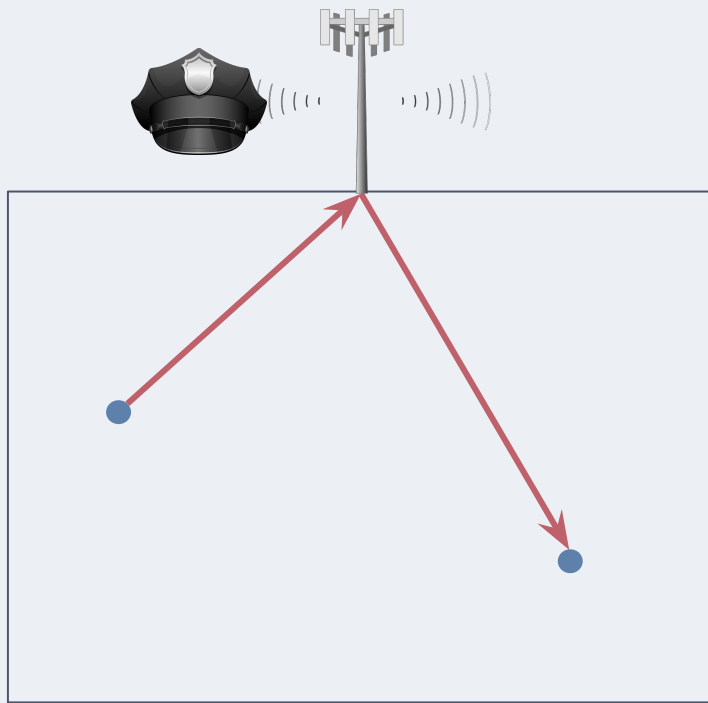




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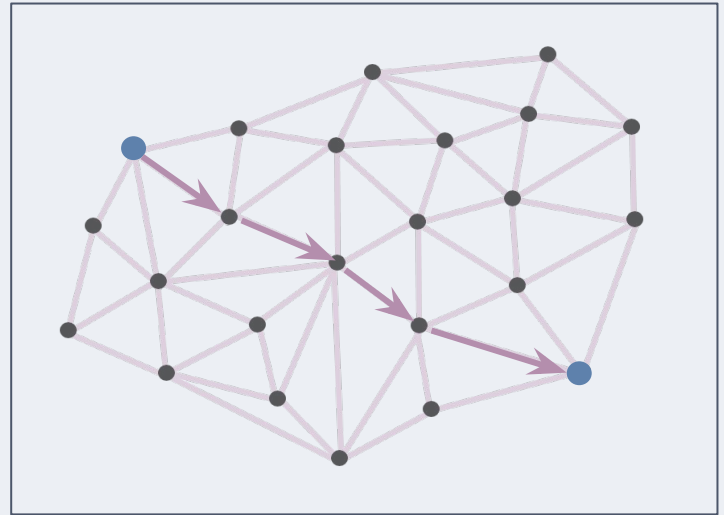
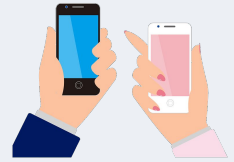
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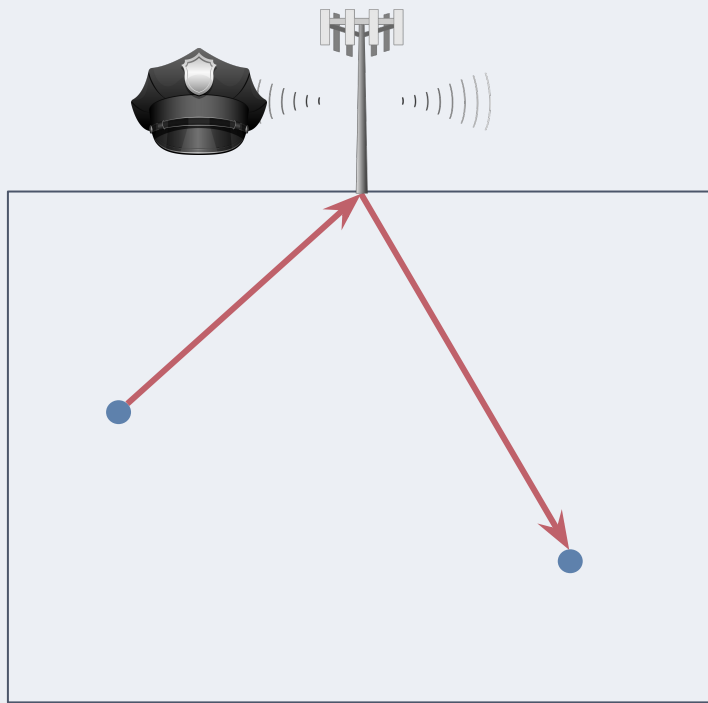




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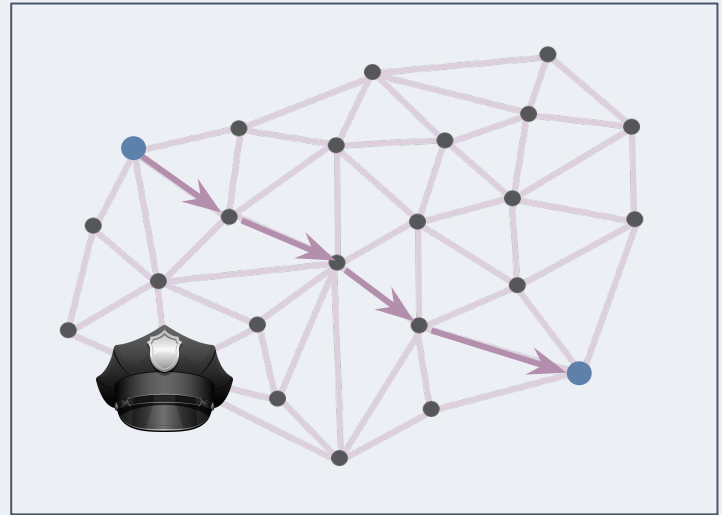
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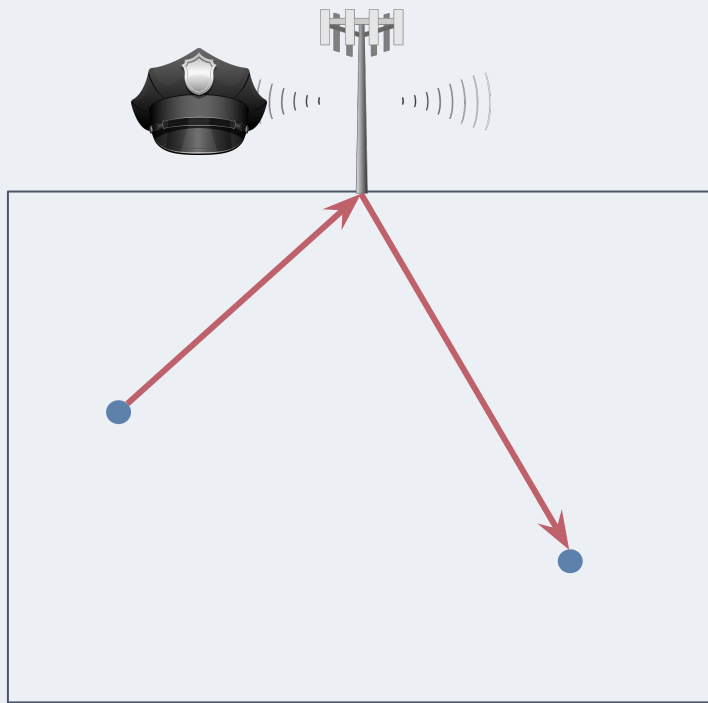




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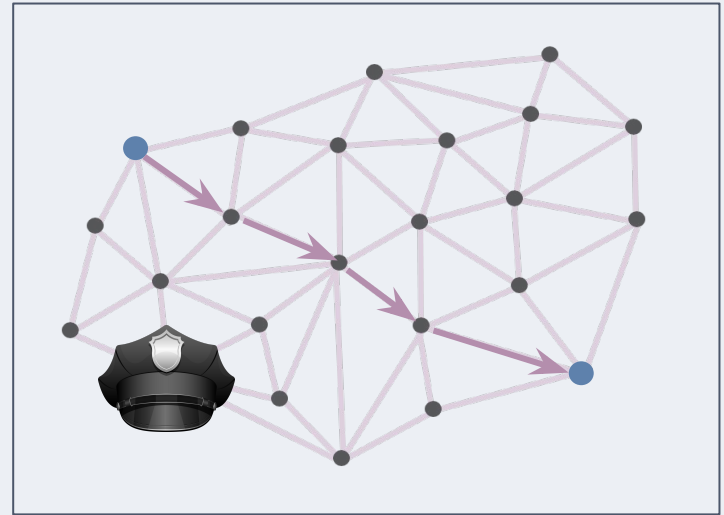
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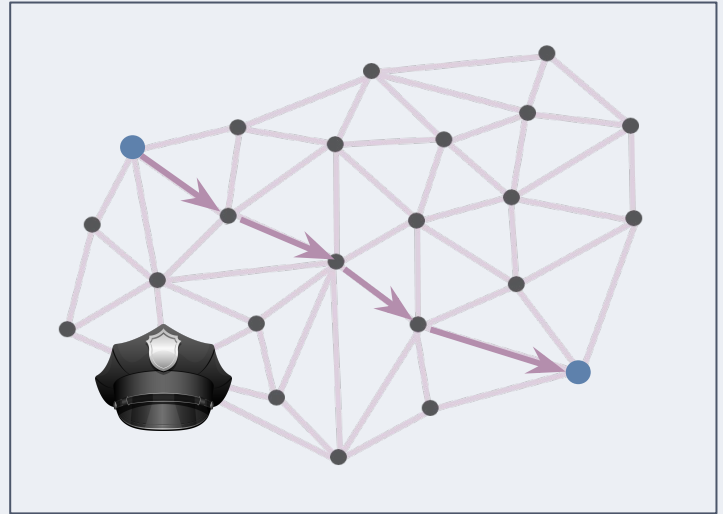
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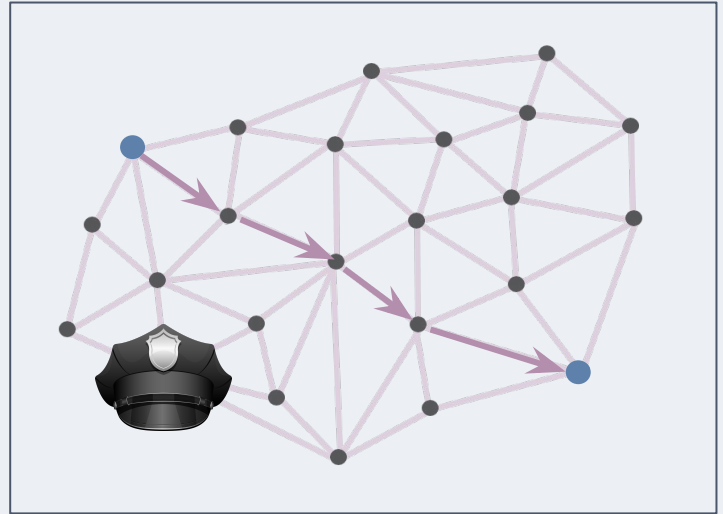
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Strong Anonymity for Mesh Messaging

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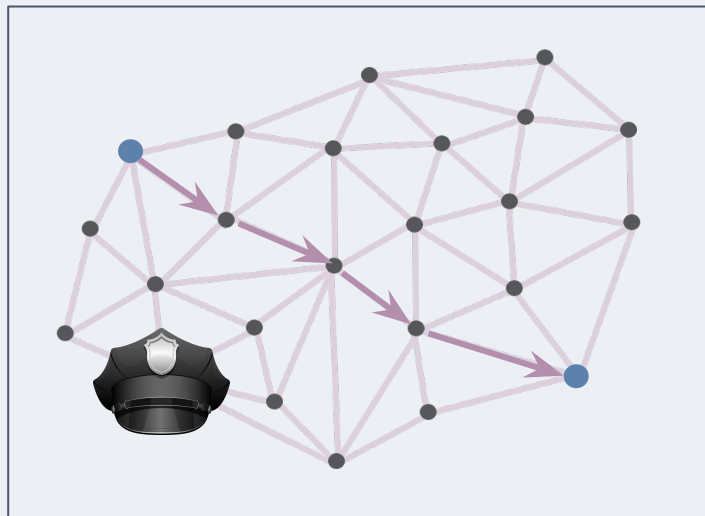
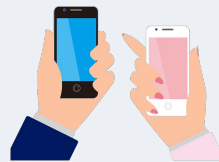
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Enhanced anonymity

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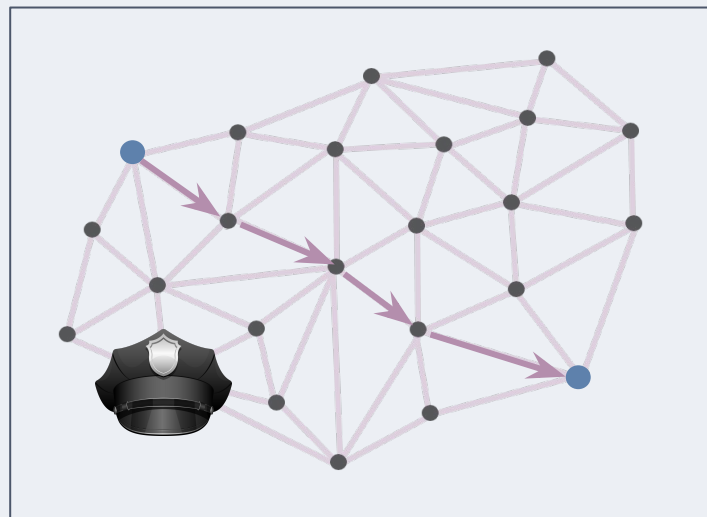
Proceedings on Privacy Enhancing Technologies ; 2022 (3):247–267

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Moby: A Blackout-Resistant Anonymity Network for Mobile Devices

DDoS resistance

Smartphone
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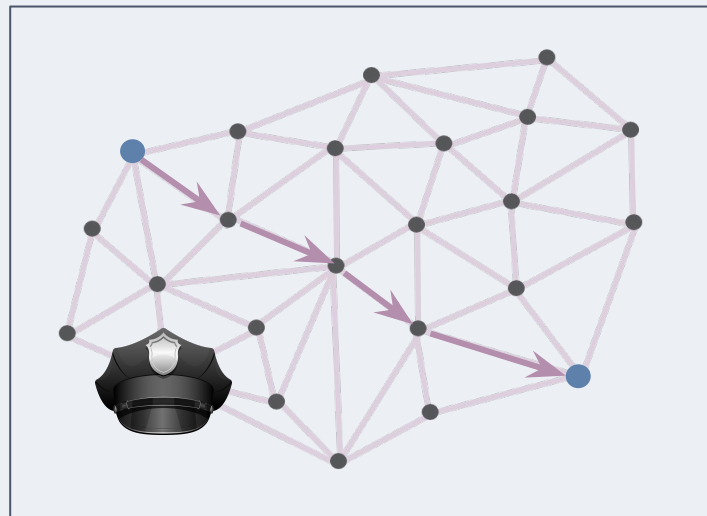
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Stronger guarantees

Smartphone mesh messaging



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Stronger guarantees



Not widely deployed



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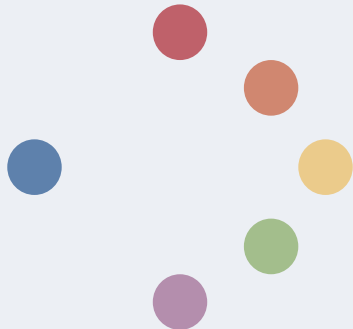
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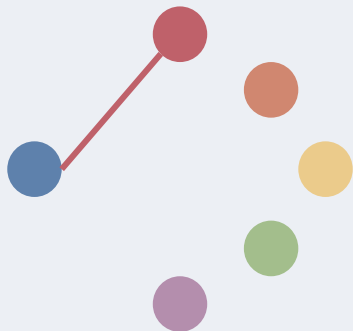
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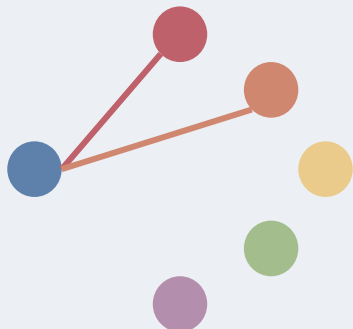
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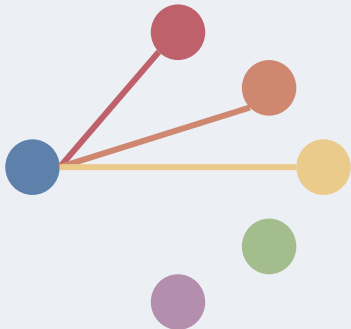
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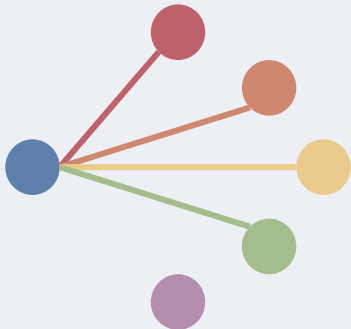
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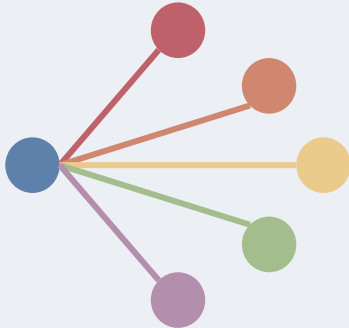
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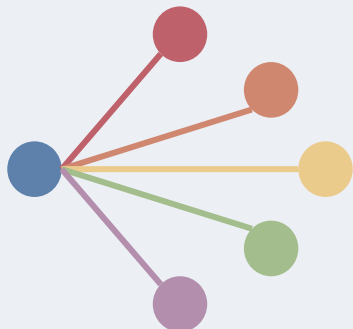
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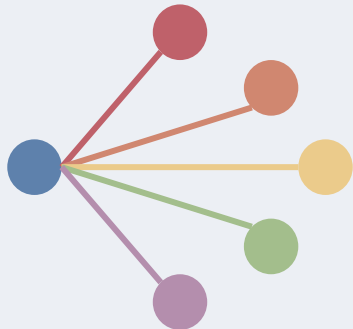
Royal Holloway, University of London
jorge.blasco@rhul.ac.uk

Lenka Mareková

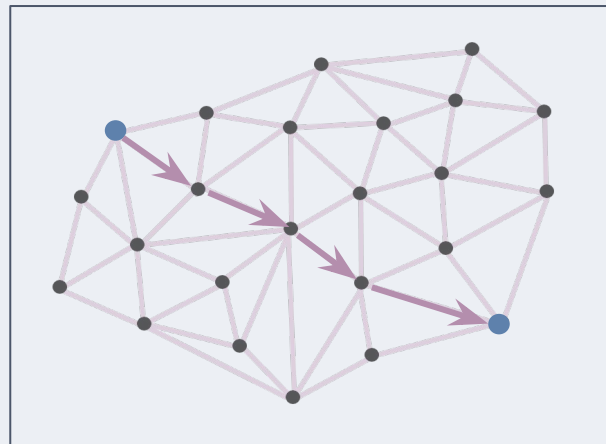
Royal Holloway, University of London
lenka.marekova.2018@rhul.ac.uk

- Protesters work in groups!
- We need efficient group messaging in a mesh

Traditional group messaging:



Linear



Mesh infrastructure

Collective Information Security in Large-Scale Urban Protests: the Case of Hong Kong

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Rikke Bjerg Jensen

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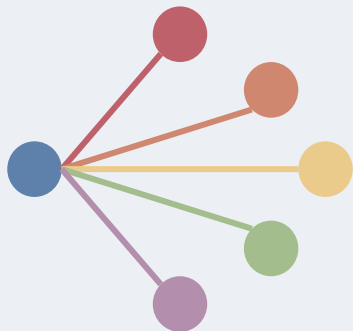
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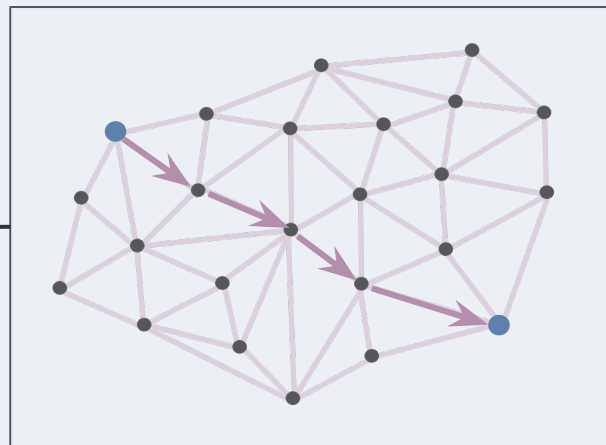
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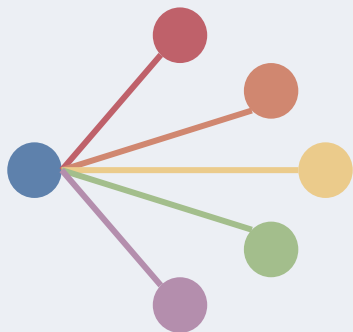
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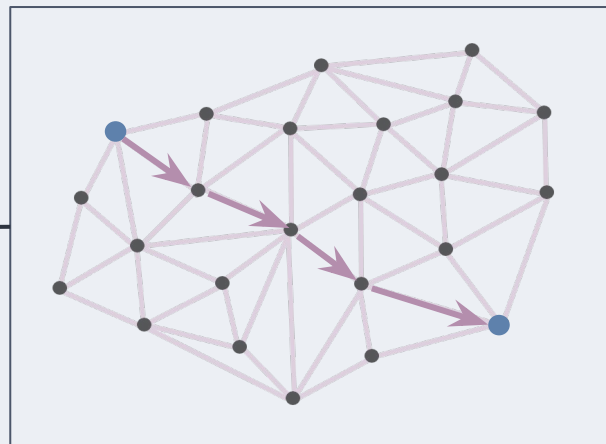
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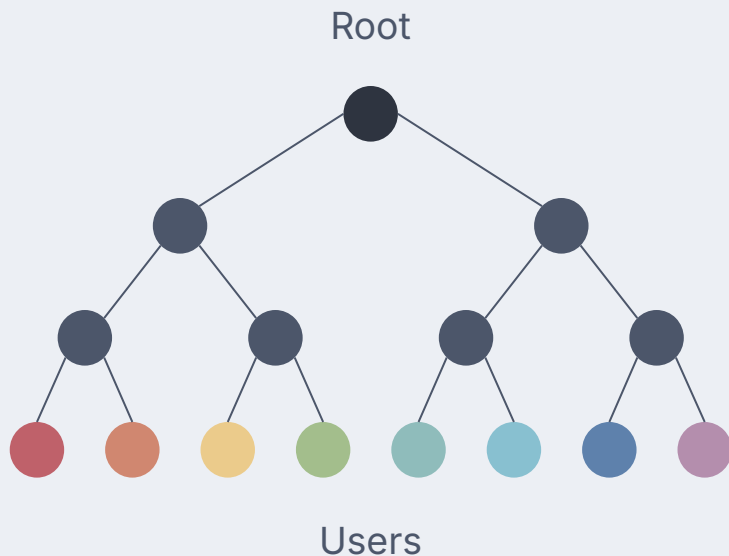
Continuous group key agreement (CGKA)

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Adapted from **TreeKEM** and friends (MLS)

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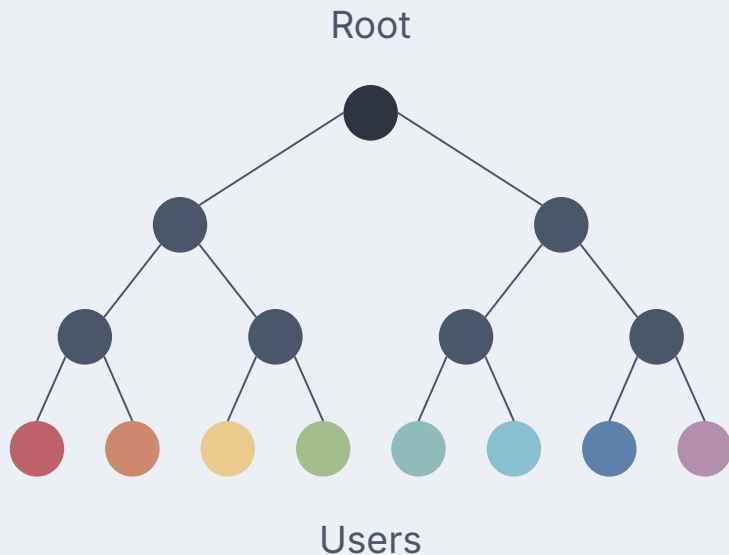
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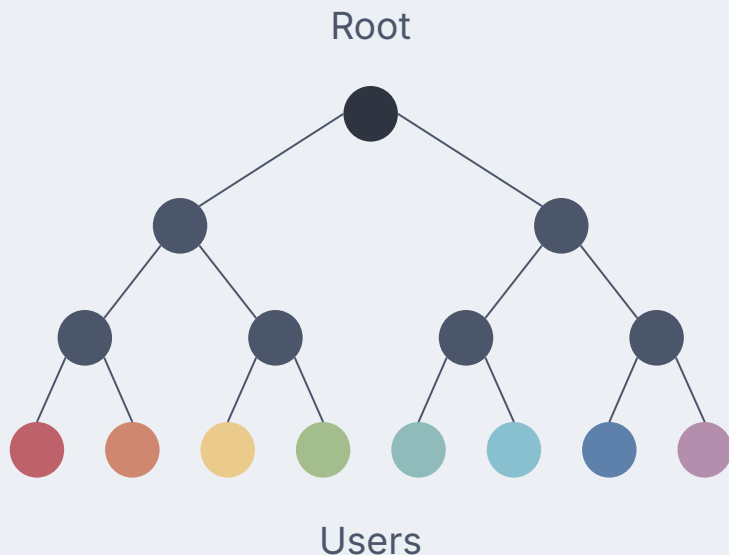
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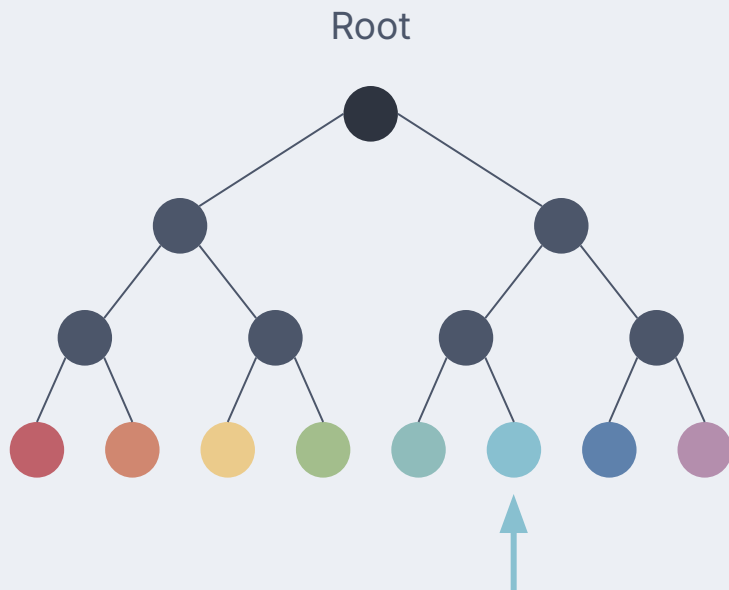
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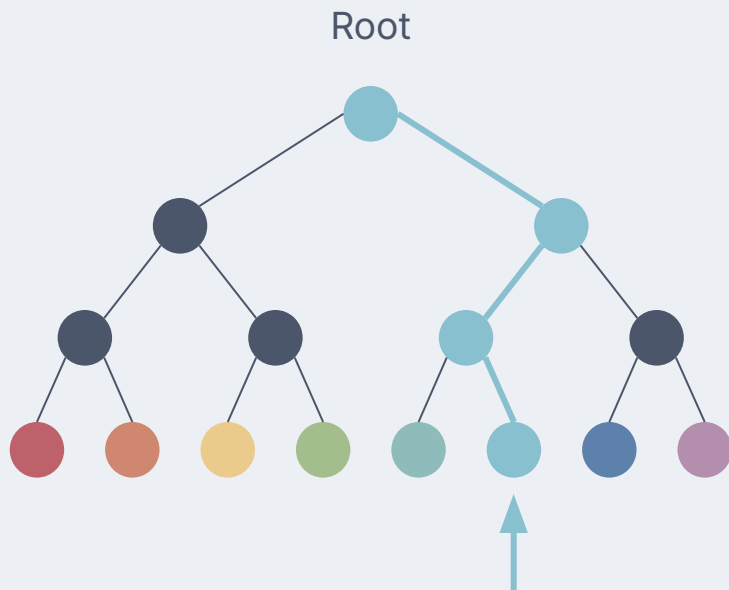
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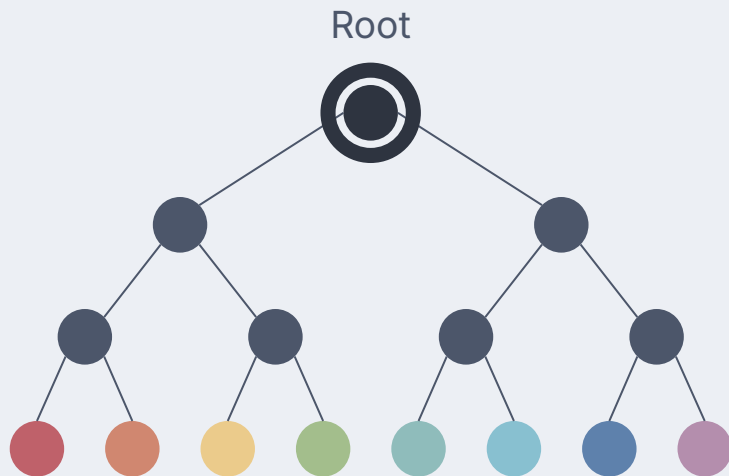
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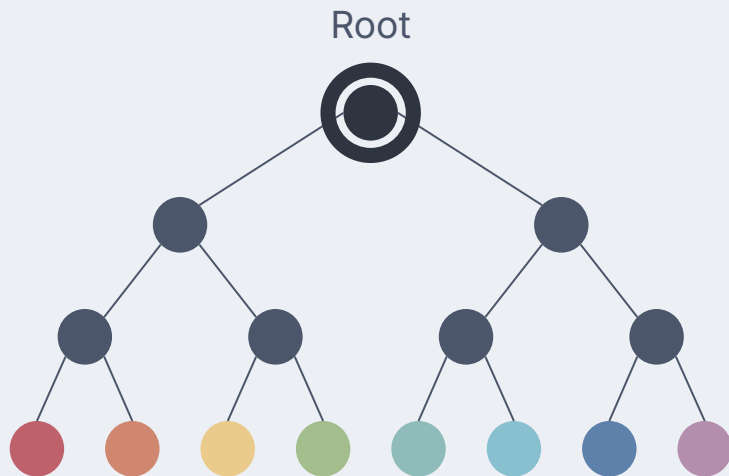
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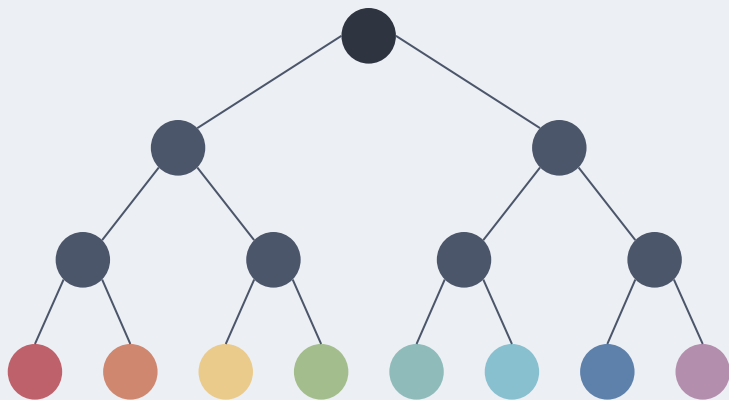


- Each node in the tree (users and intermediaries) has a (pk, sk) pair
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 - Conserves mesh bandwidth

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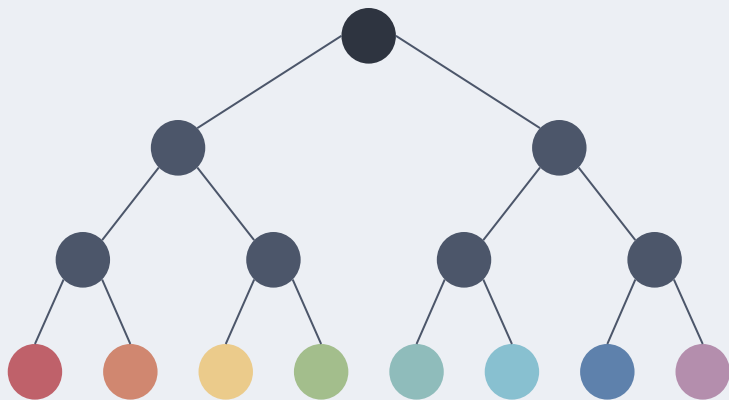
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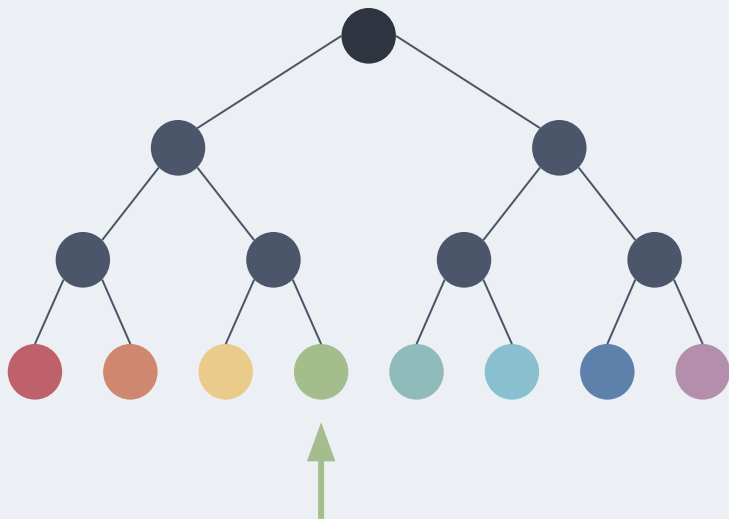
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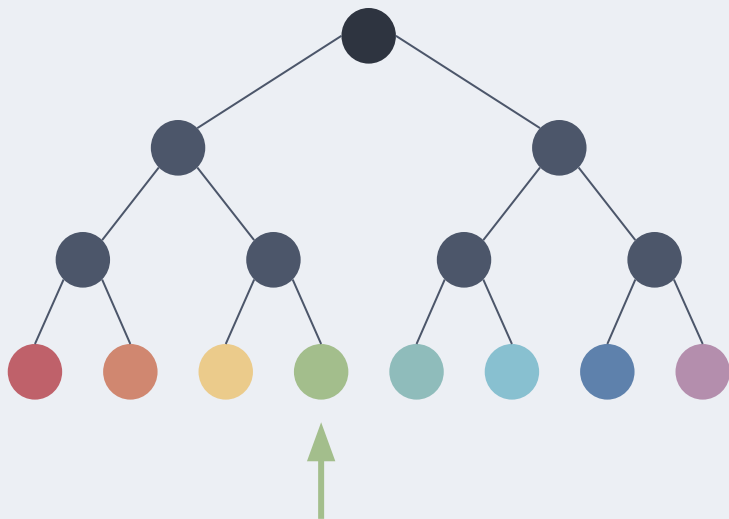
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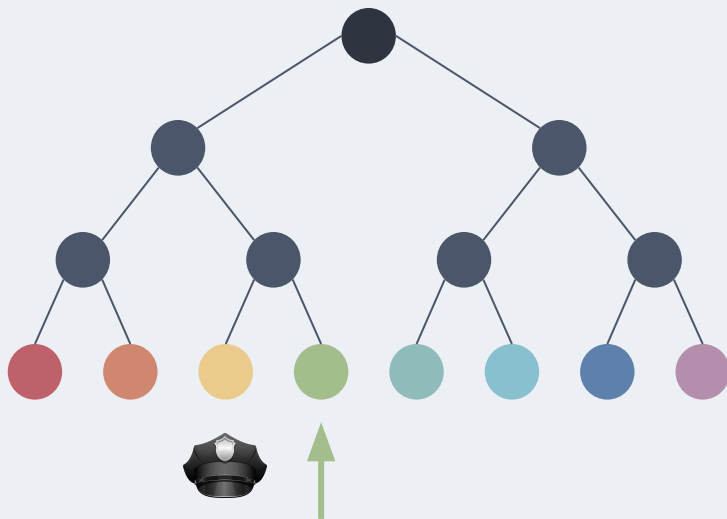
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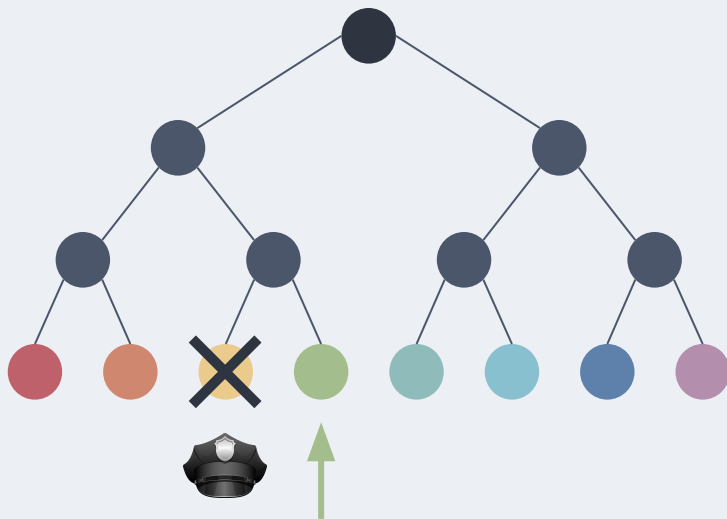
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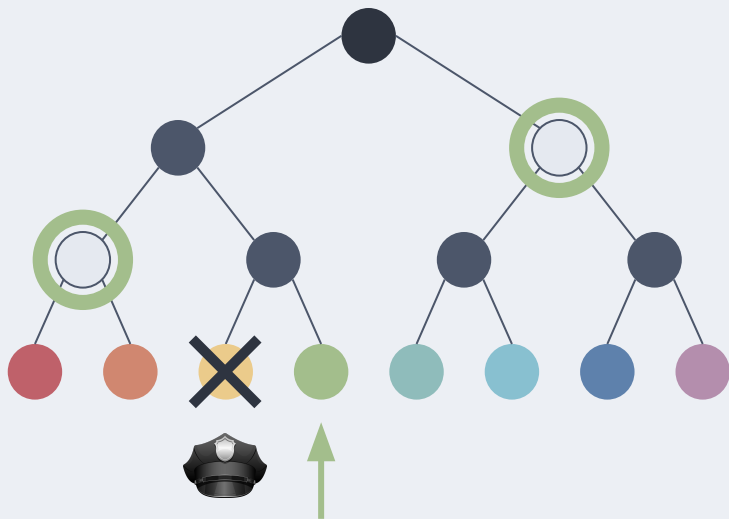
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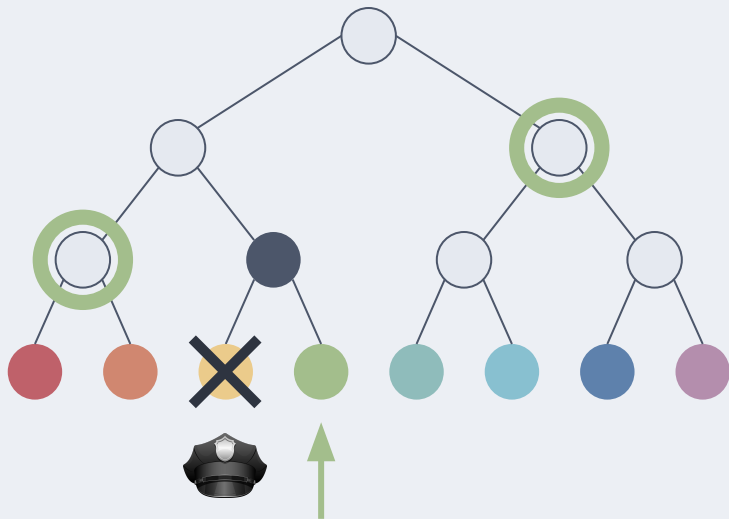
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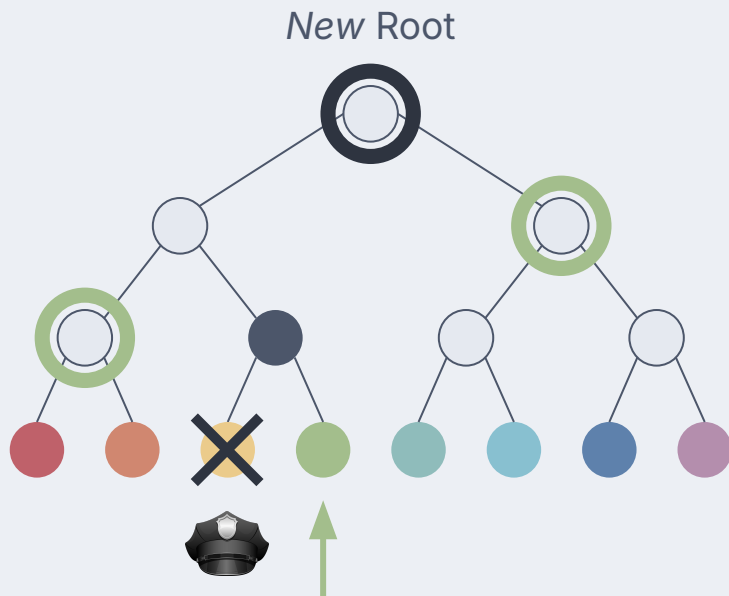
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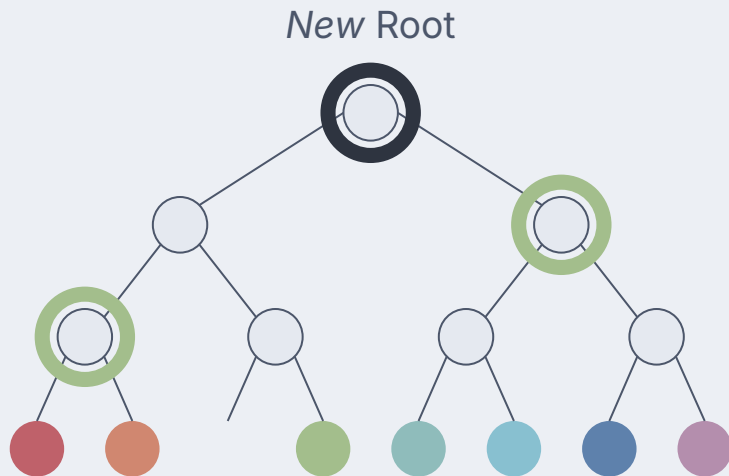
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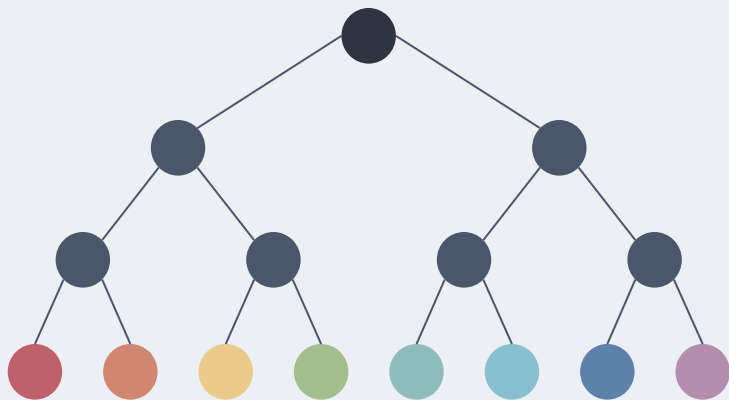
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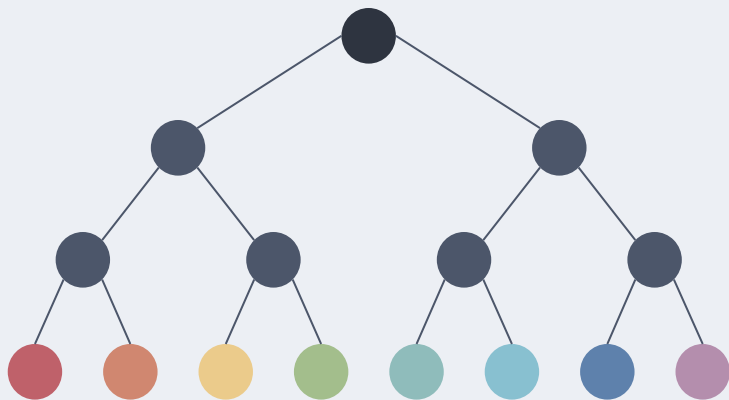
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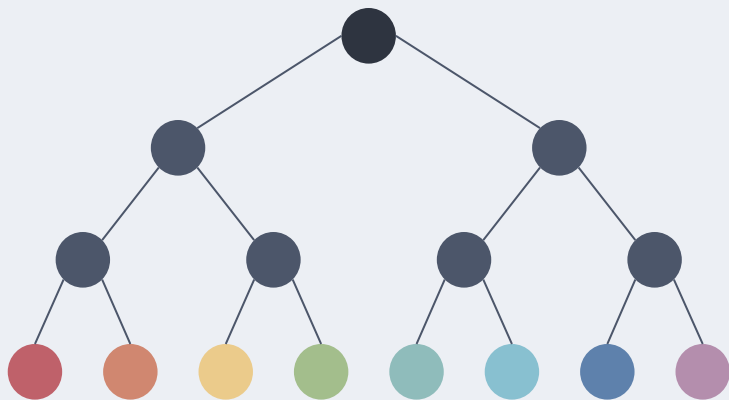
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- Support for **concurrent state operations** on the CGKA tree

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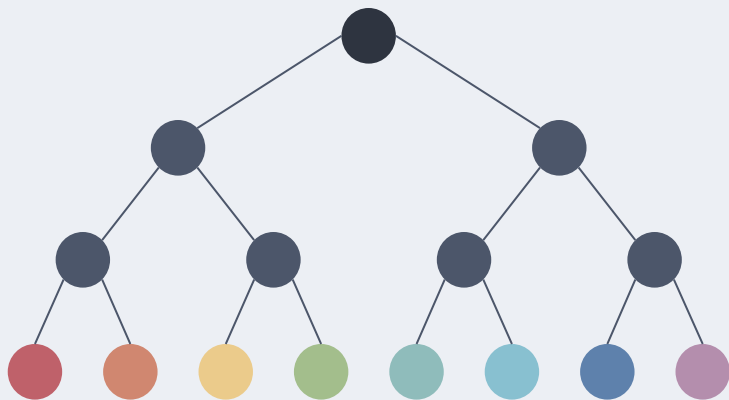
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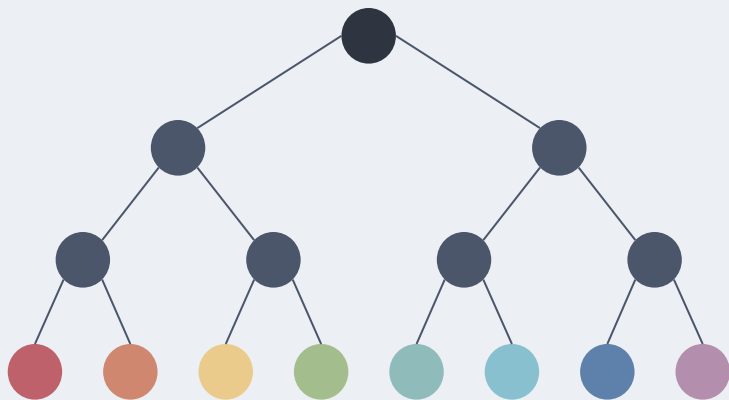
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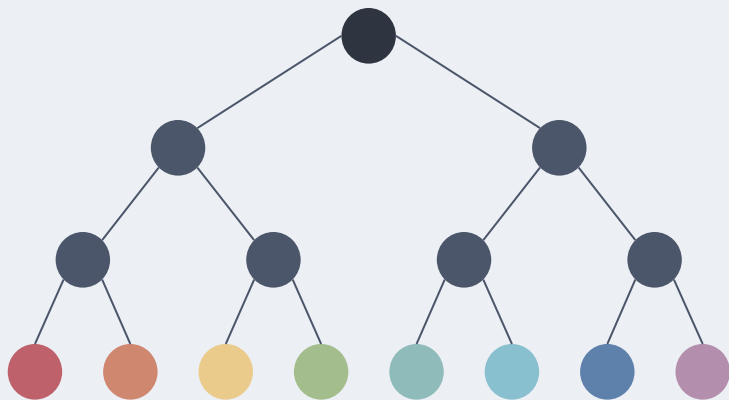


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Amigo

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Amigo

Read our paper for details!

Ideal world crypto



~~Ideal world crypto~~



Real world crypto



Real world crypto

*How can we be sure Amigo works
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**Representative
simulations**

Question

Question 1

How do we simulate protester movements?

Question 1

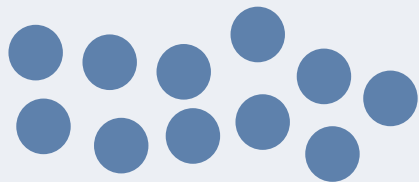
How do we simulate protester movements?

Modeling of
node dynamics
impacts mesh
behavior

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How do we simulate protester movements?

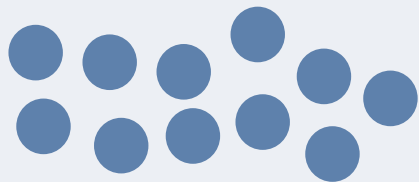
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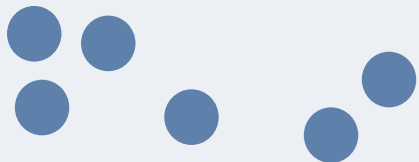
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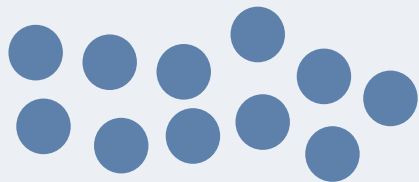
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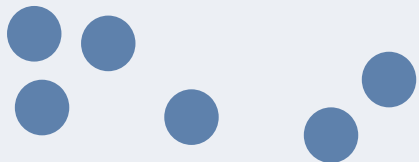
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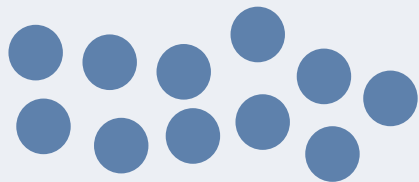
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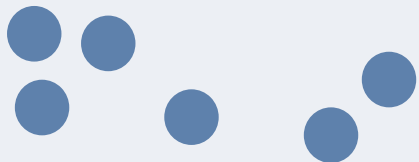
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versus



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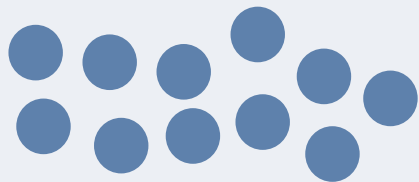
ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Hong Kongers crowdsourced a protest manual—and Myanmar's already using it

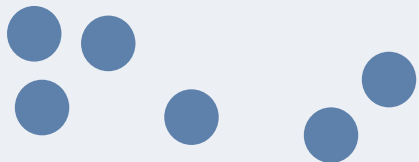
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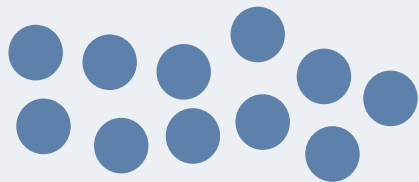
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1. assemblies with speeches,
2. gatherings with specific focus
 - a. Communal art, like preparing paper cranes or other origami
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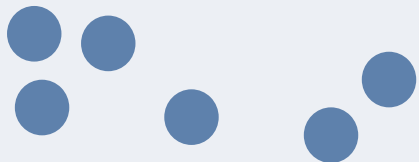
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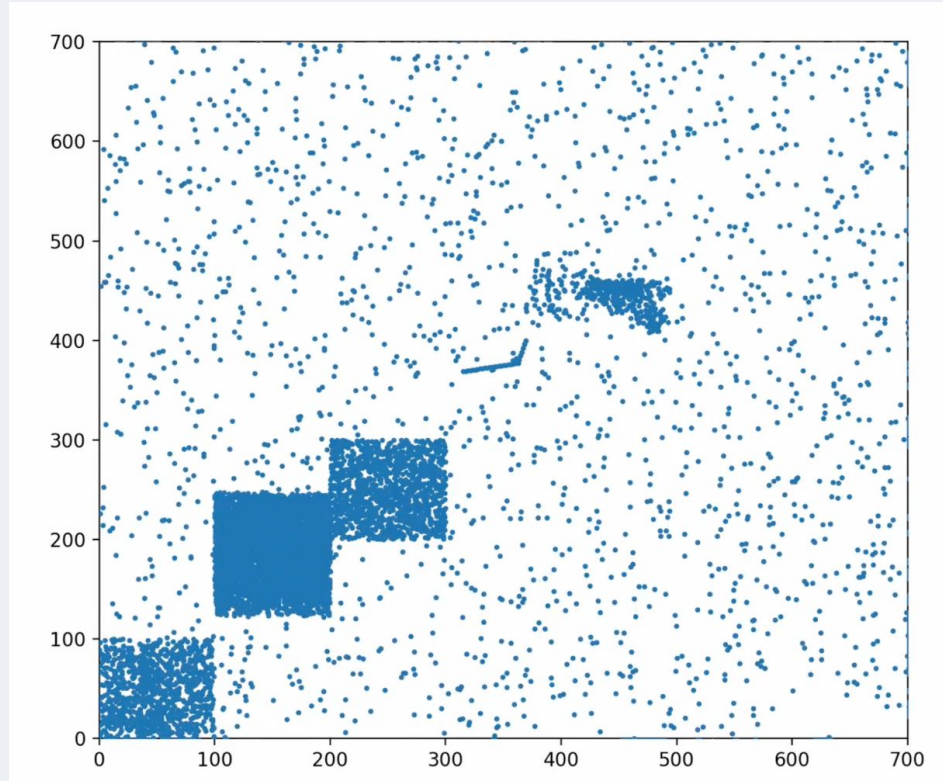
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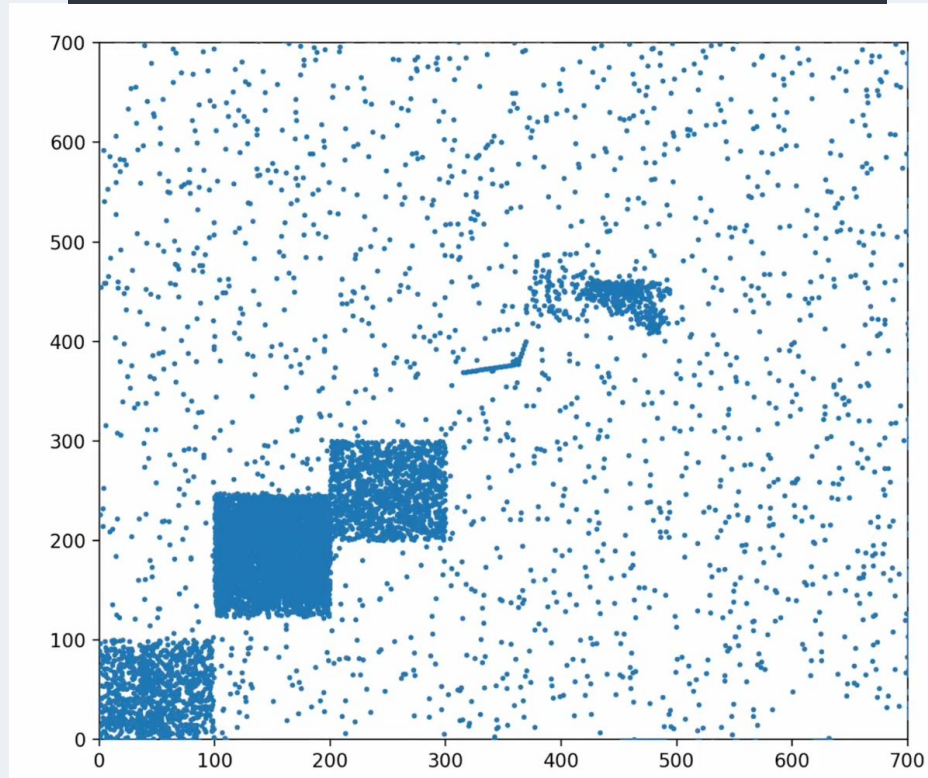
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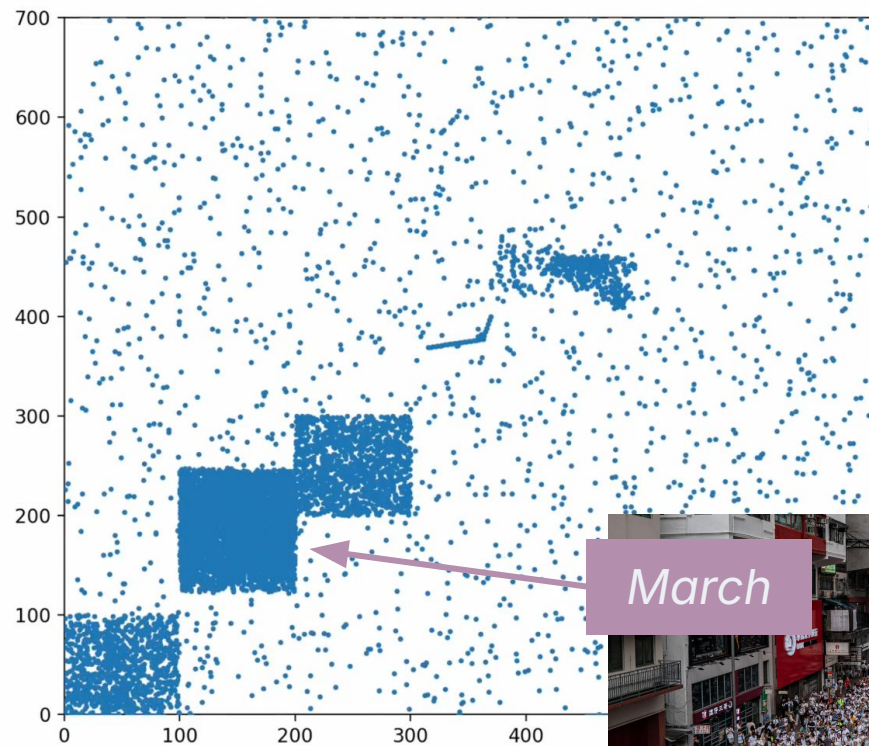
Develop
representative
mobility models
based on HK19!



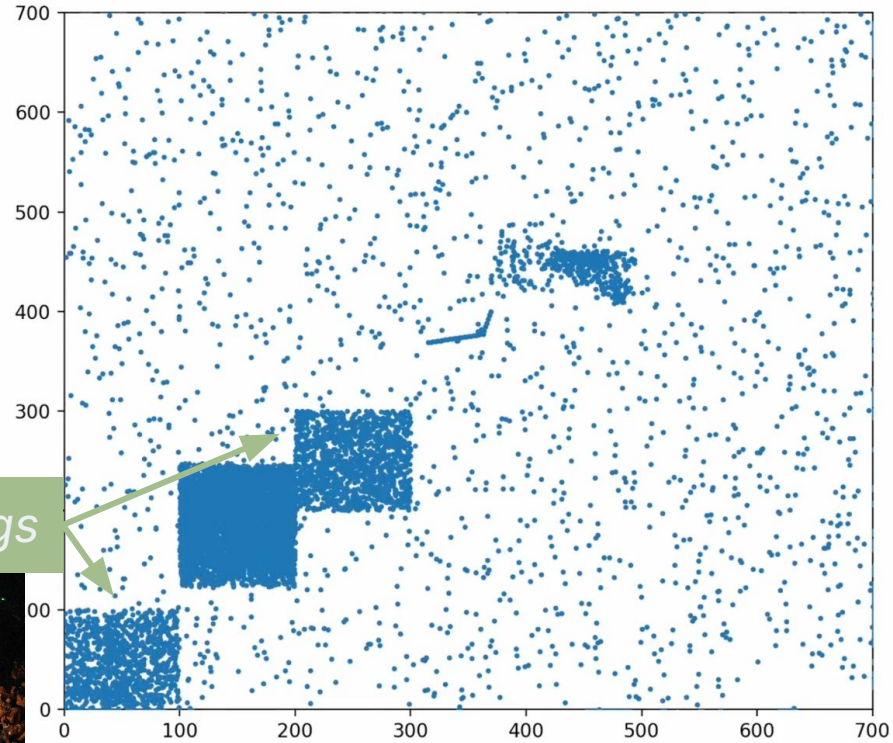
Urban protest mobility simulator



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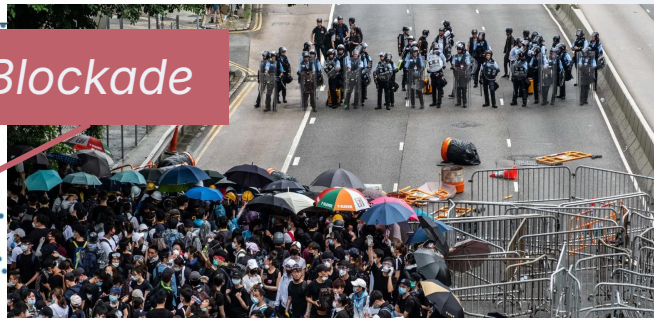
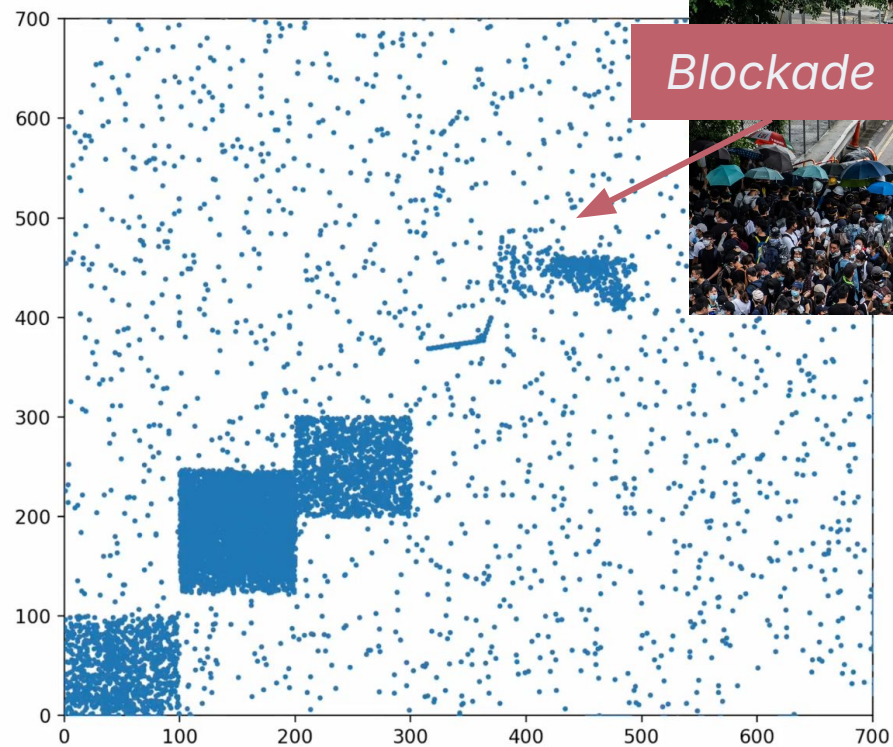
Urban protest mobility simulator



Gatherings



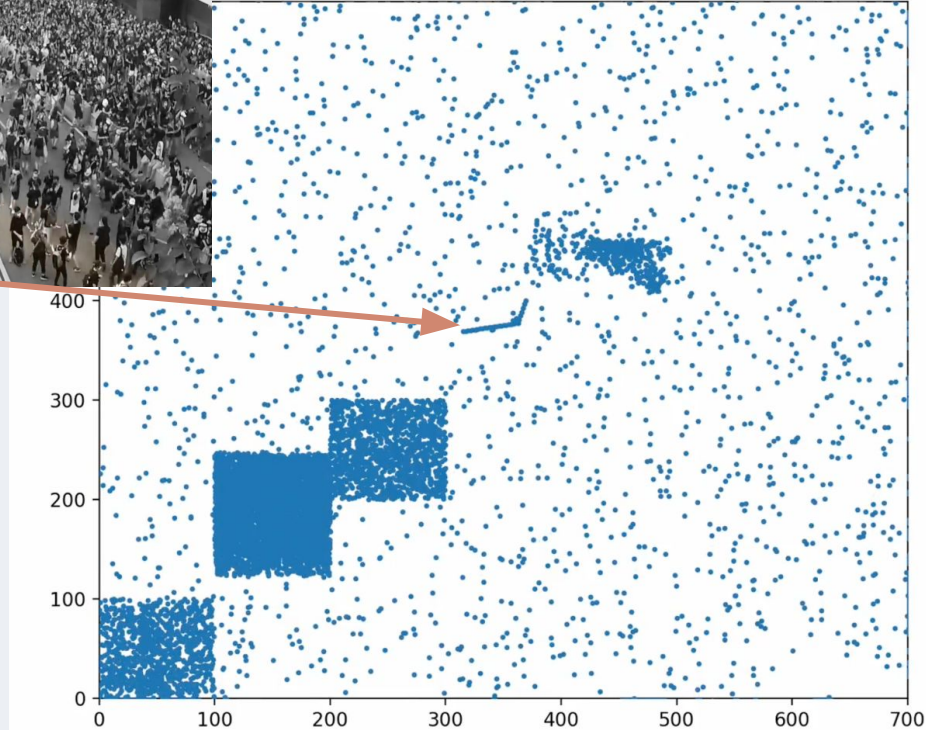
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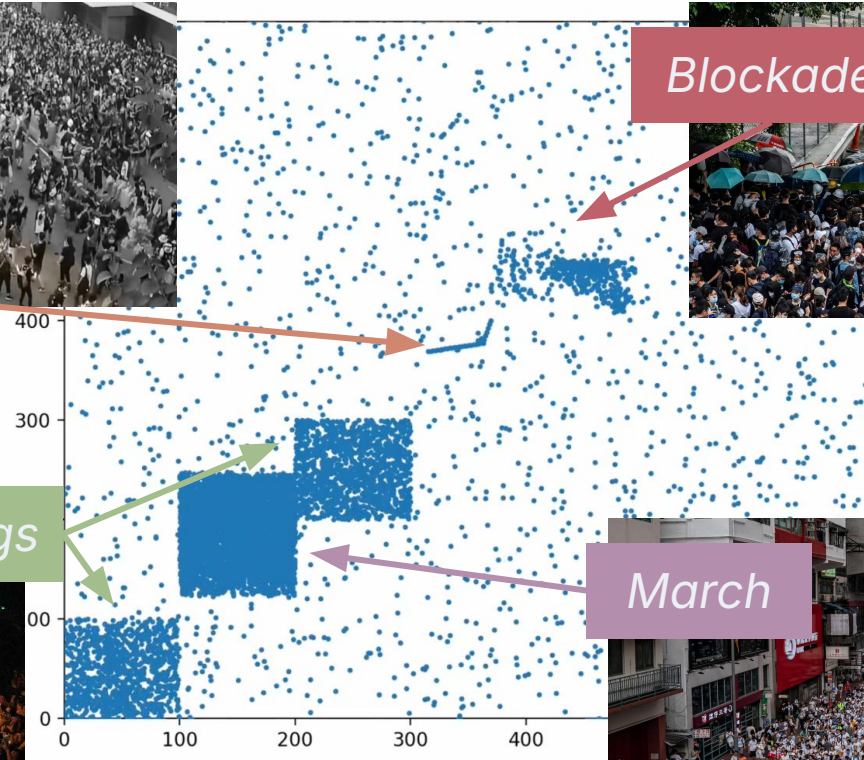
Urban protest mobility simulator



Human chain



Blockade



Gatherings

March



Question 2

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How do we simulate mesh communication?

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OSI reference model:

Question 2

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OSI reference model:

7. **Application** layer
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Discrete-event simulator

Question 2

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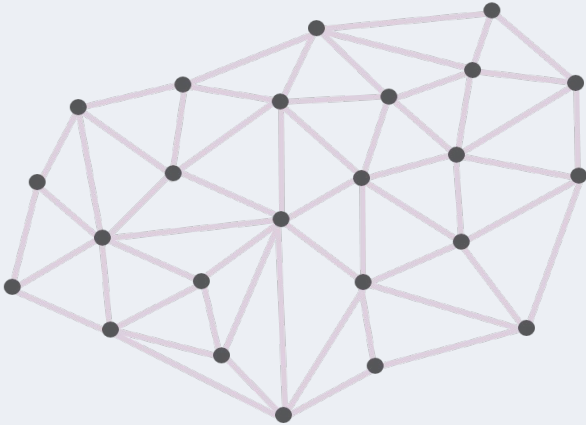
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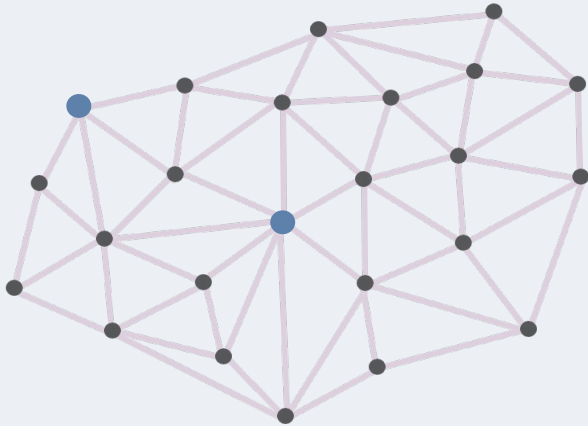
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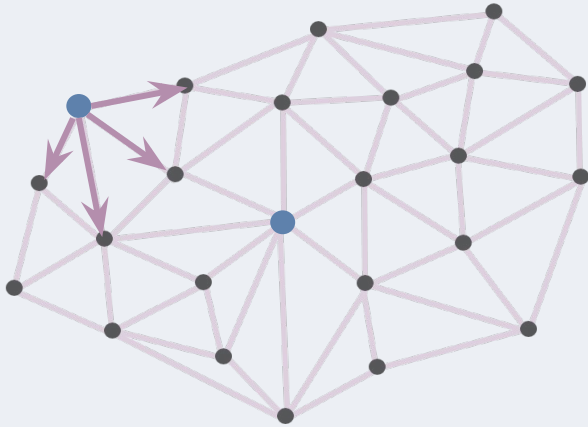
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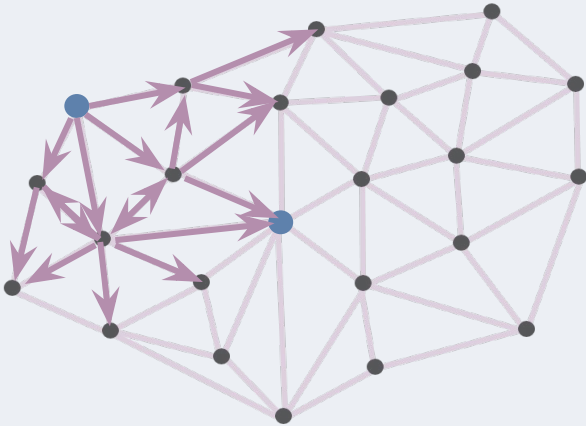
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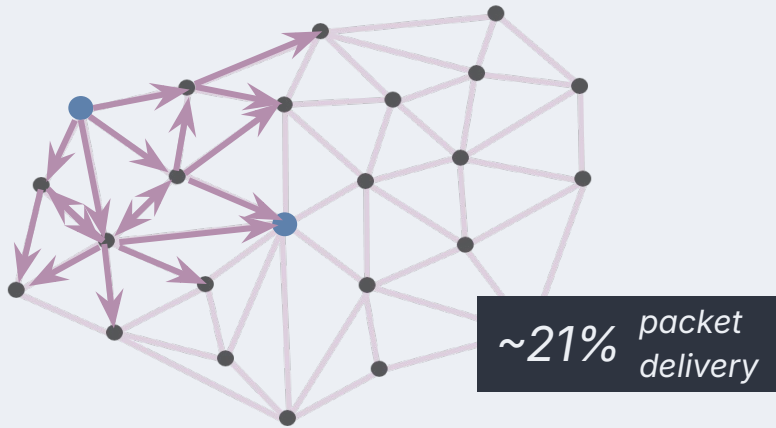
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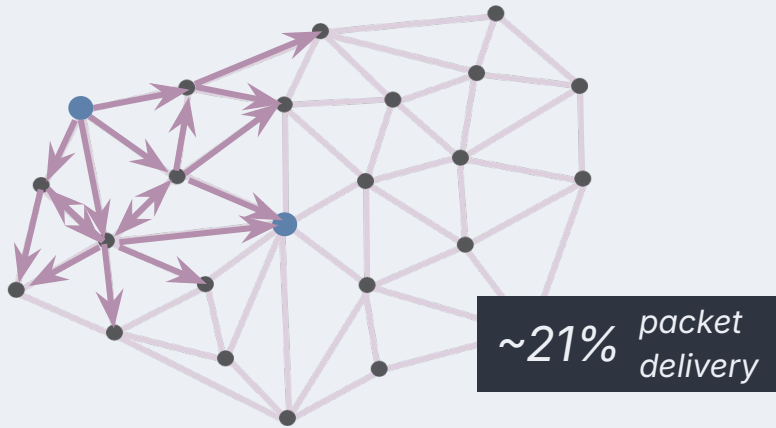
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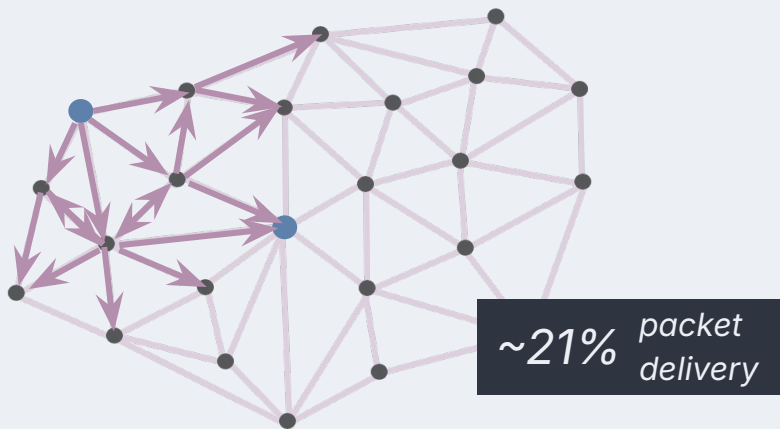


- Conflicting messages collide at Layers 1 & 2

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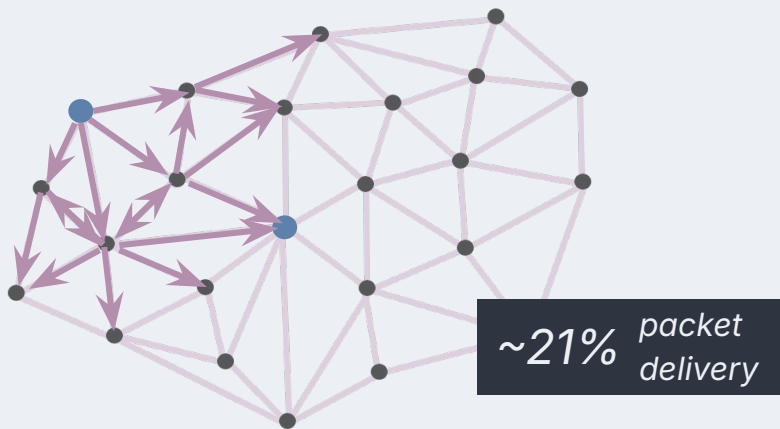
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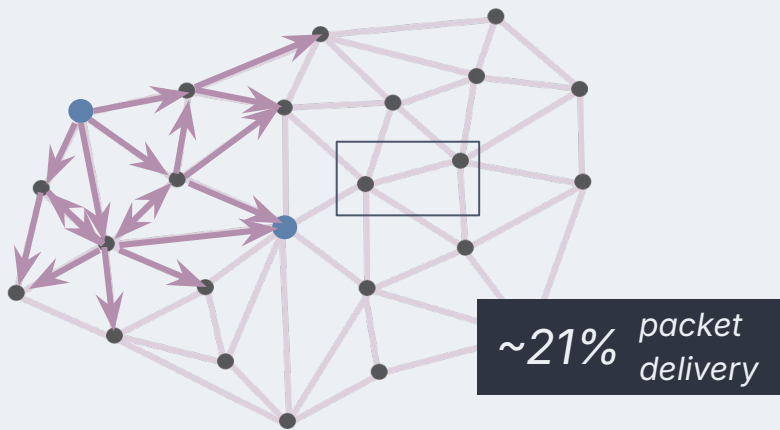
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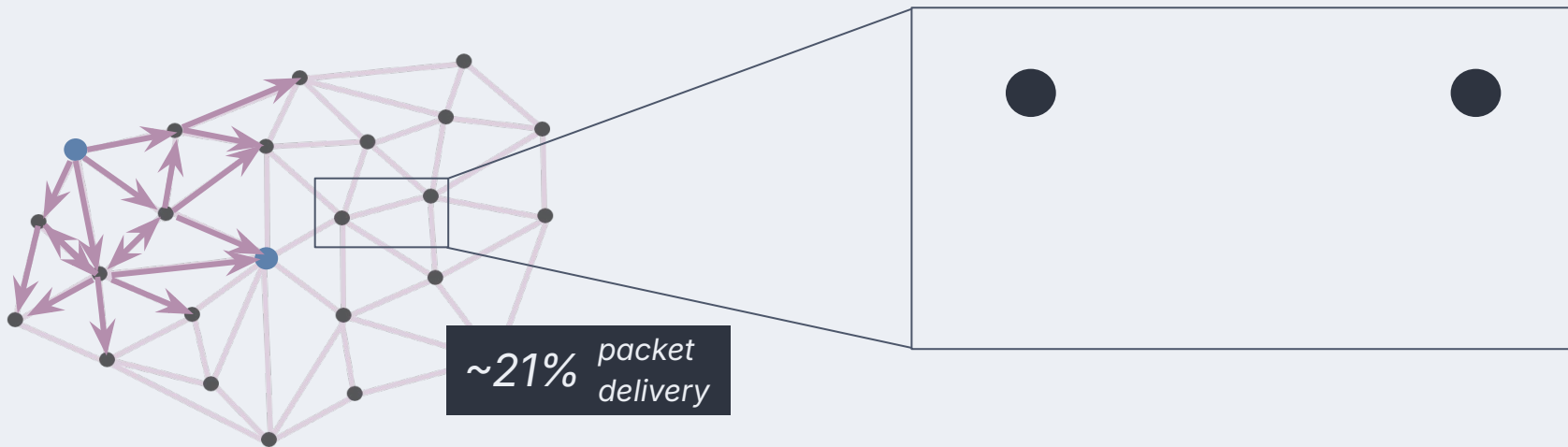
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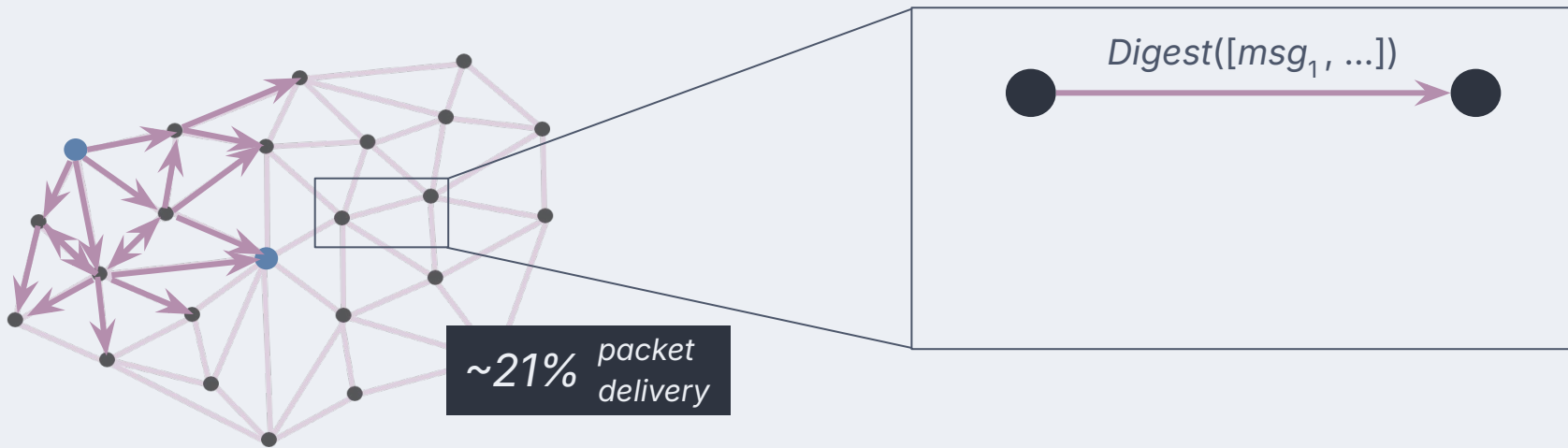
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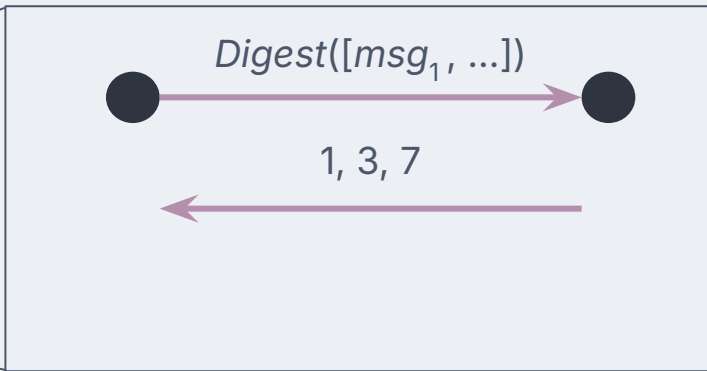
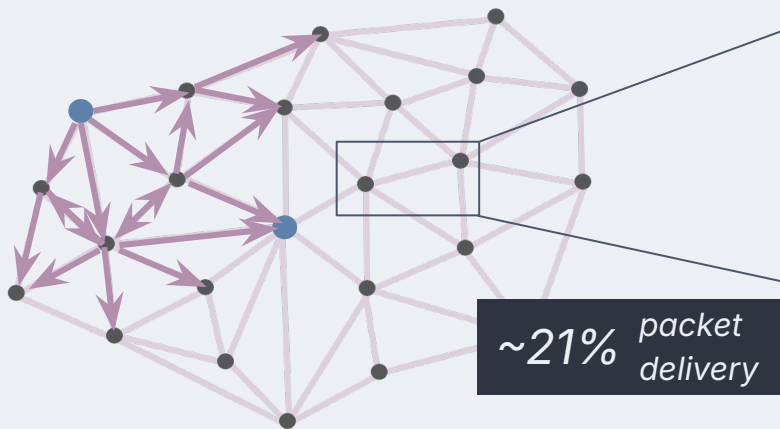
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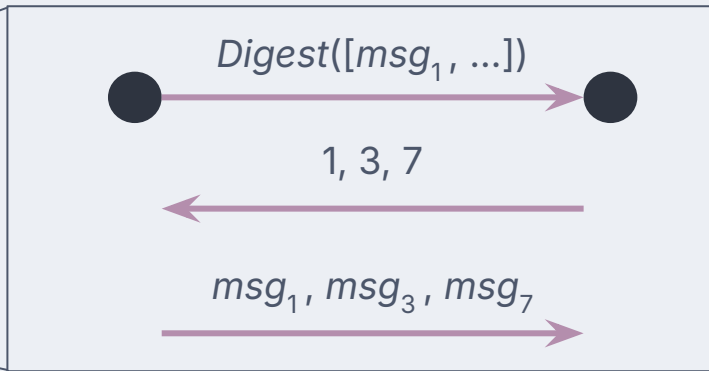
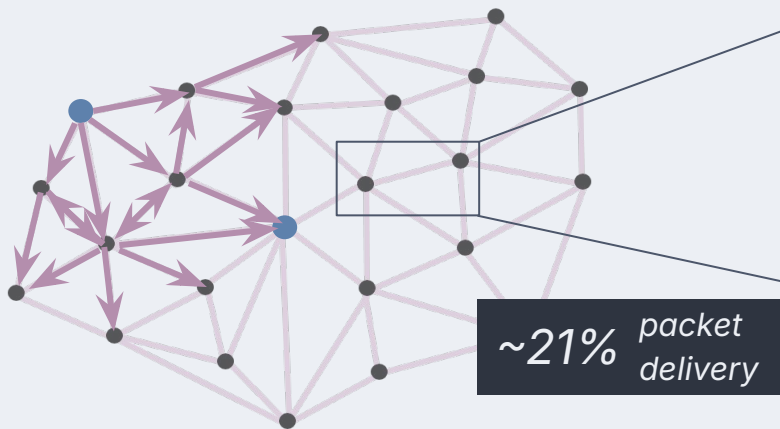
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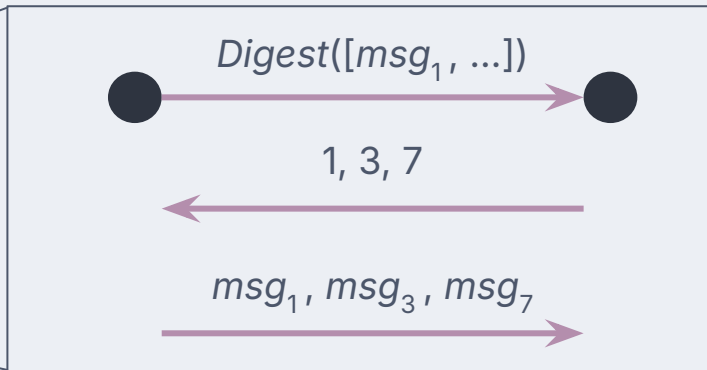
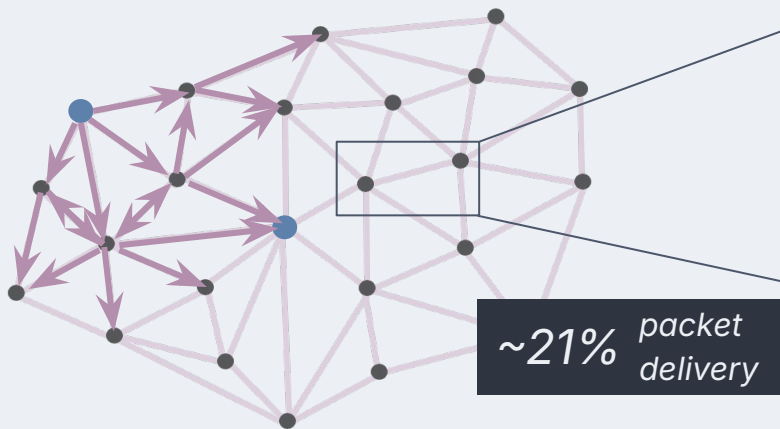
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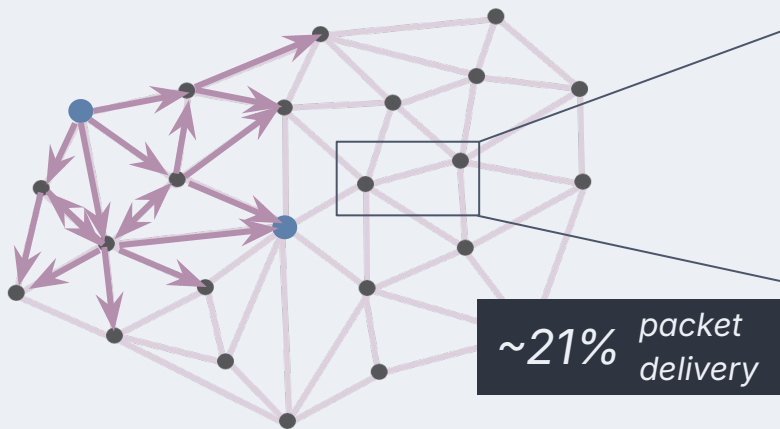
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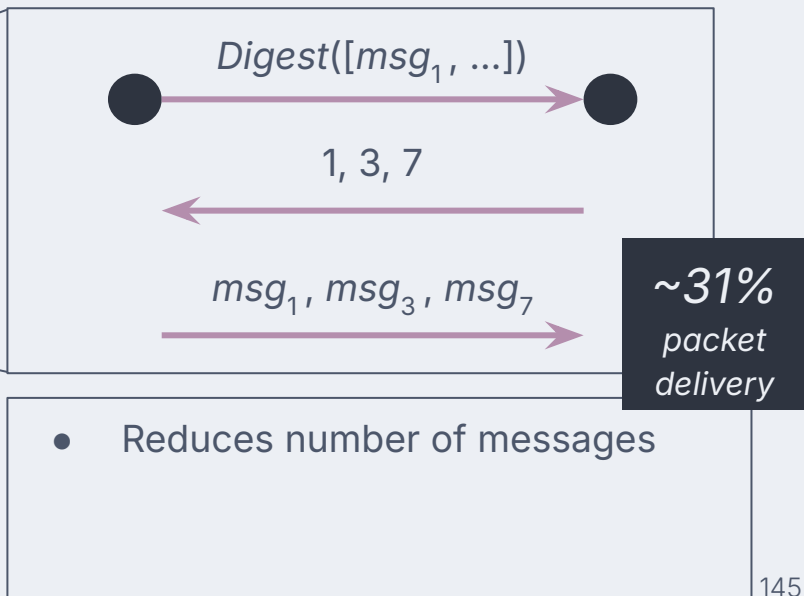
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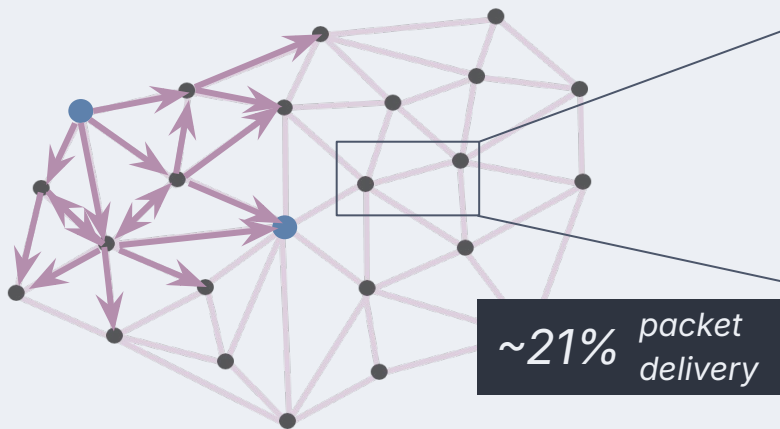


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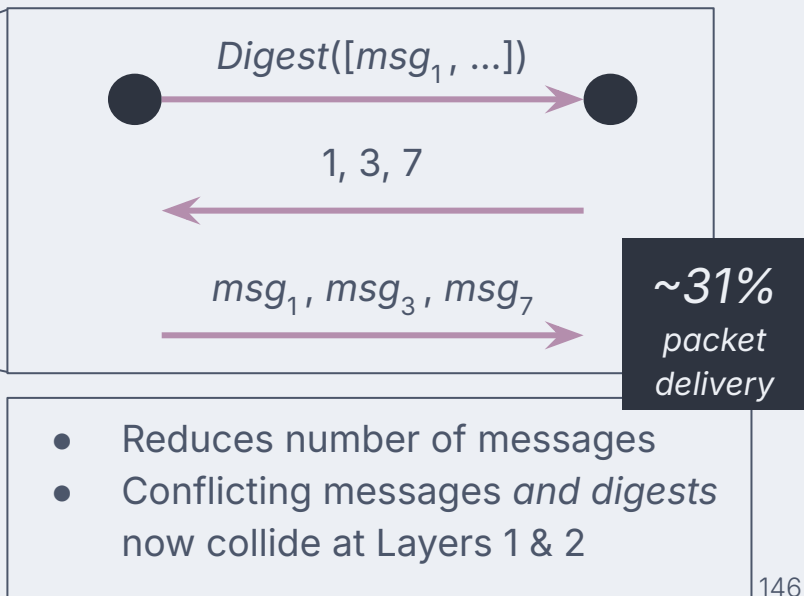
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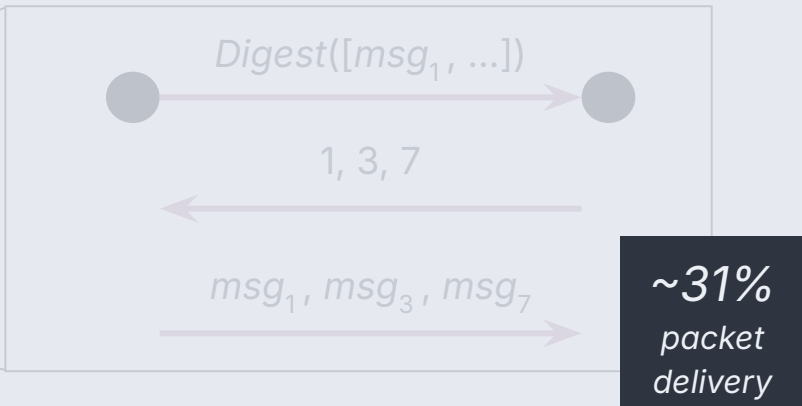
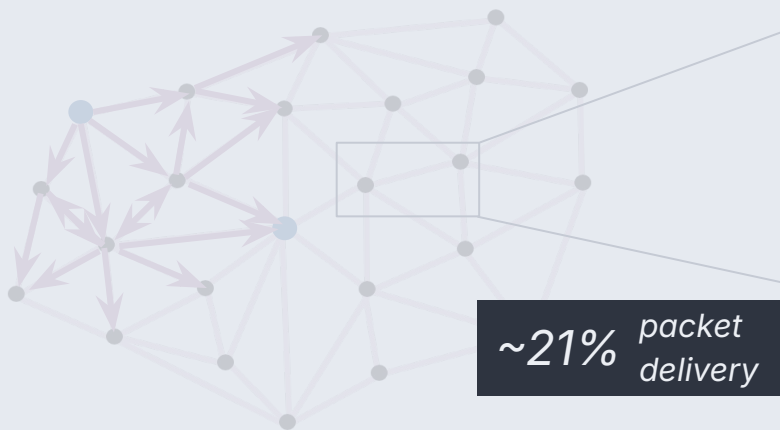
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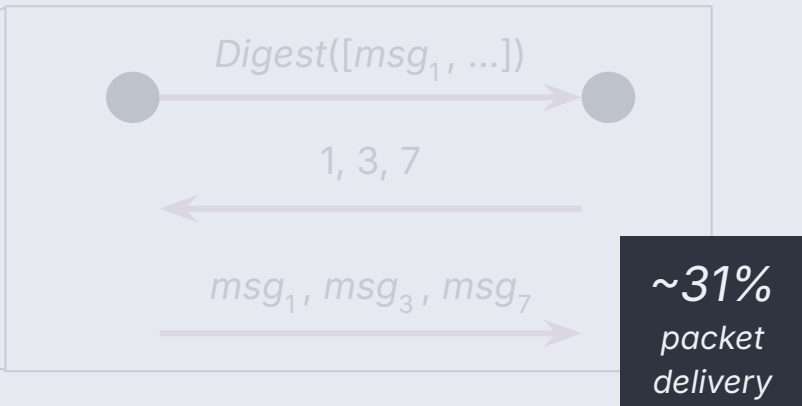
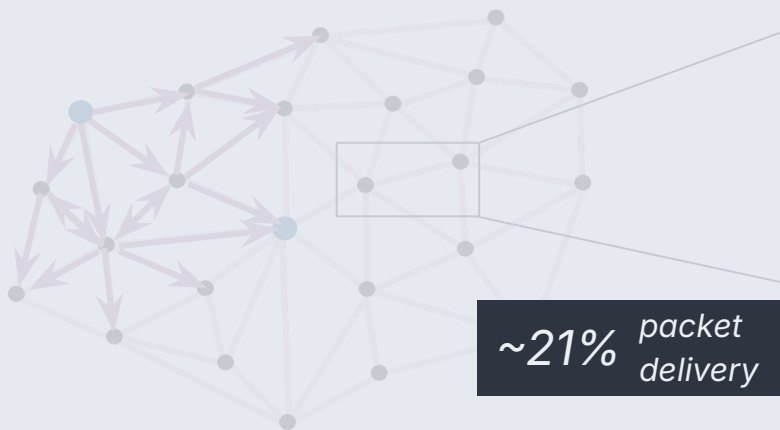
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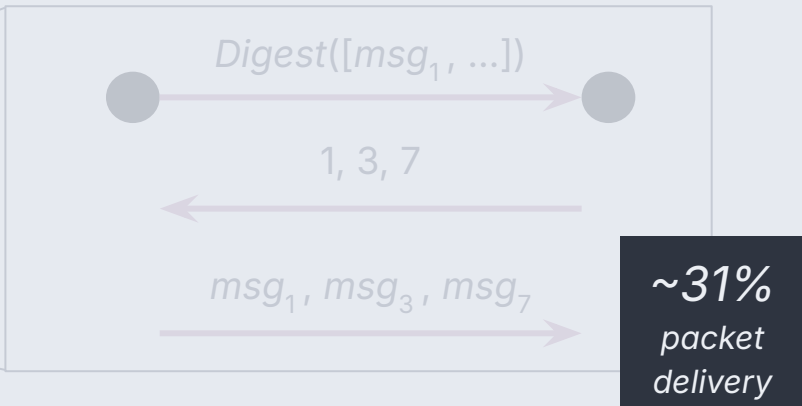
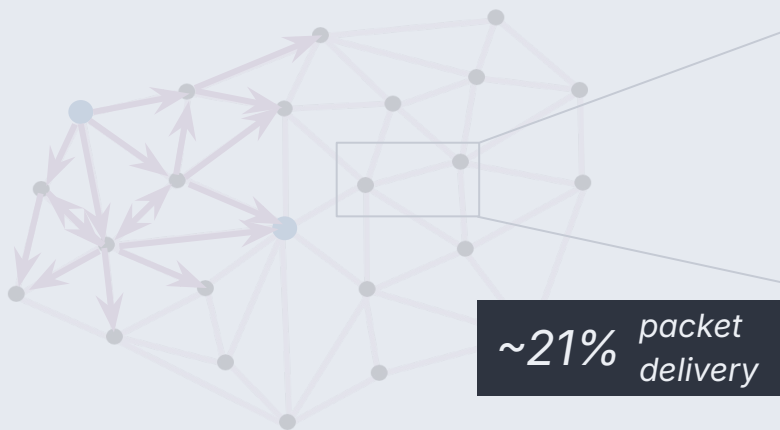
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*Alternative routing
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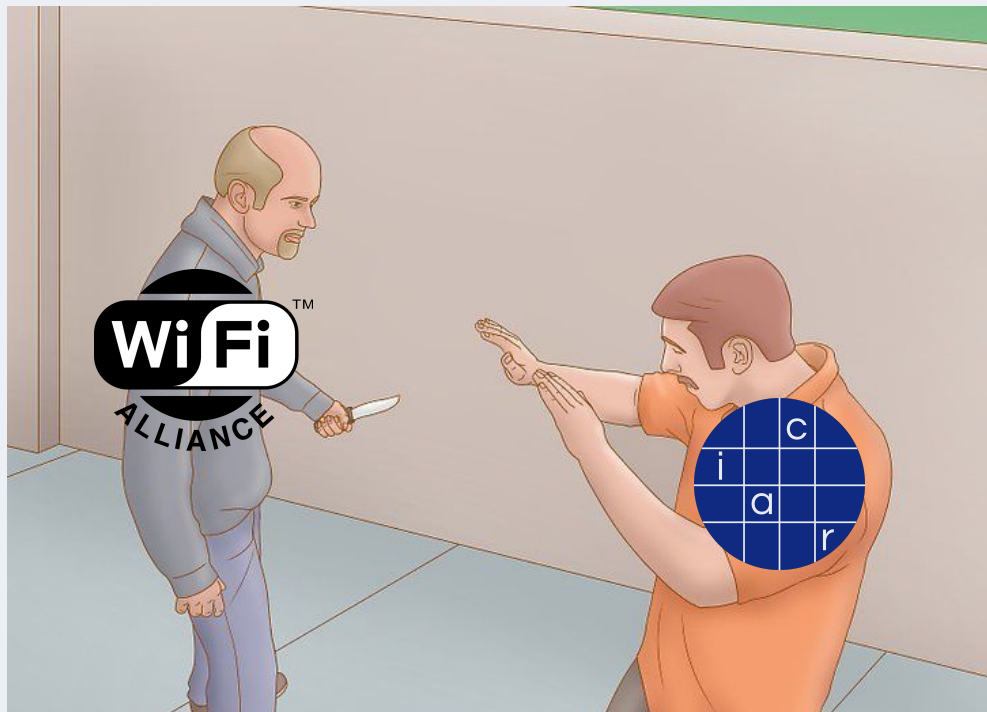
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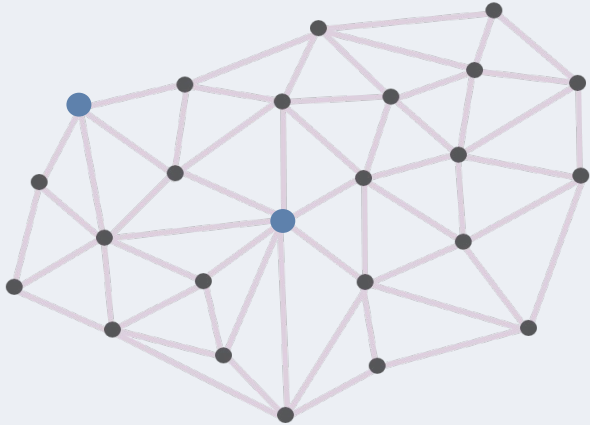
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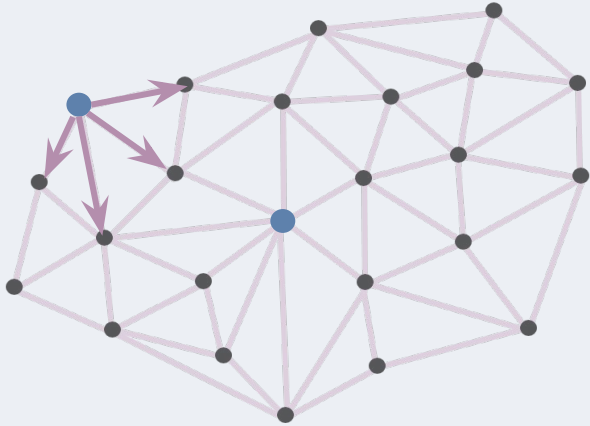
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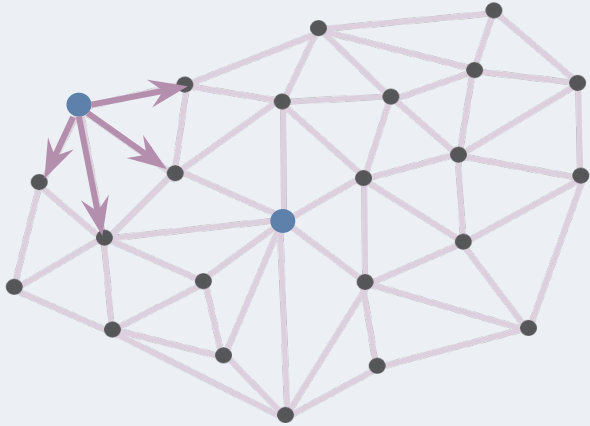
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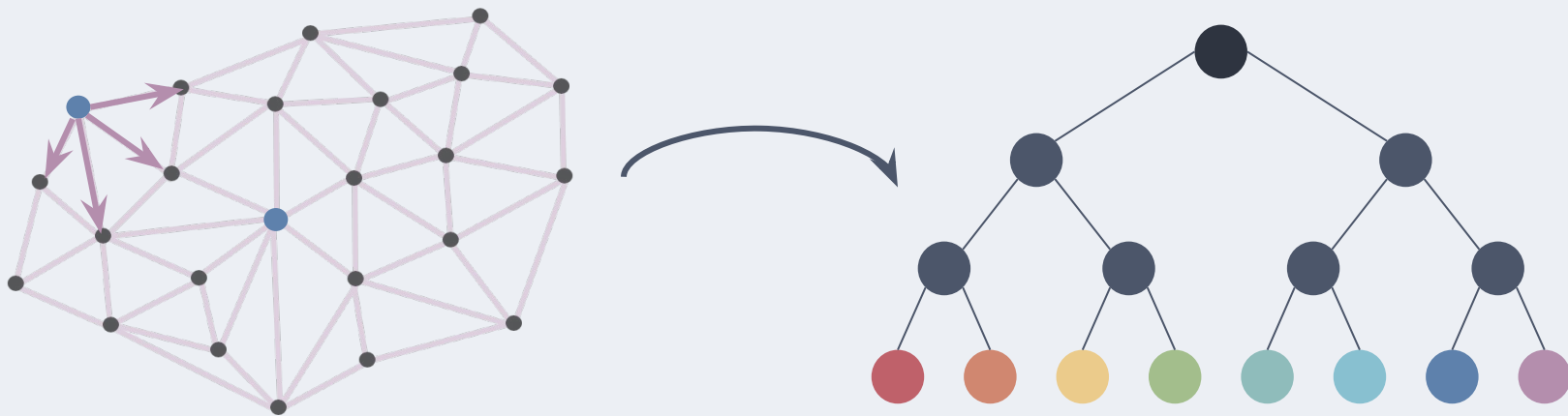
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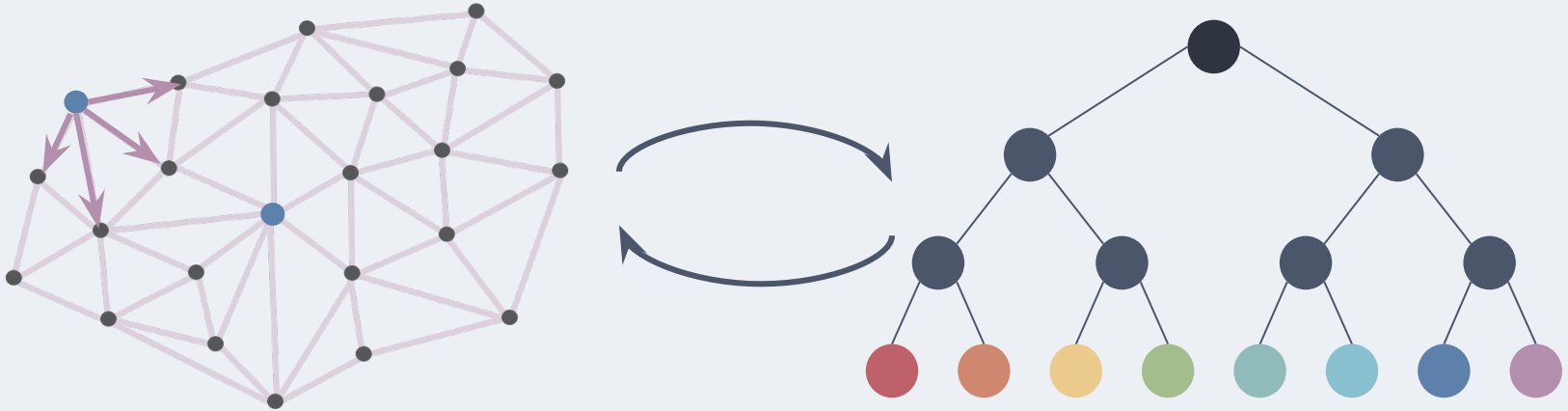
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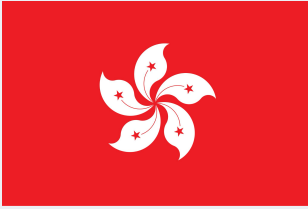
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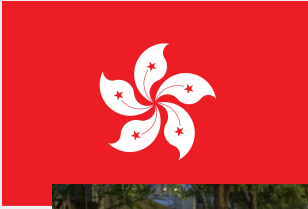
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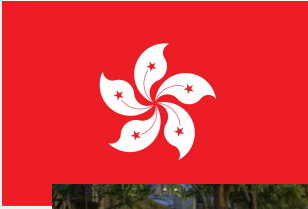
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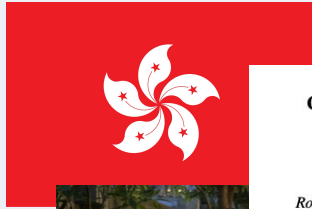
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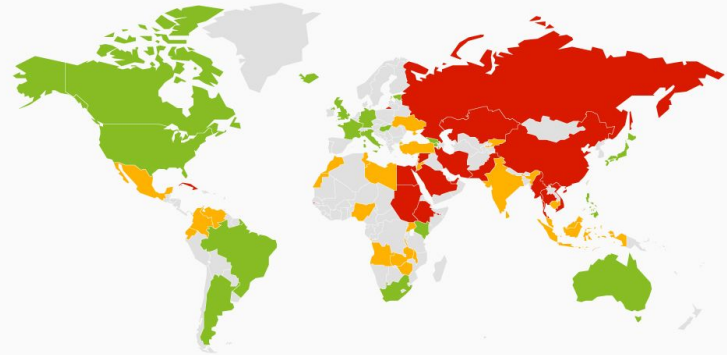
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Internet Freedom Across The World Visualized

Free Partly Free Not Free

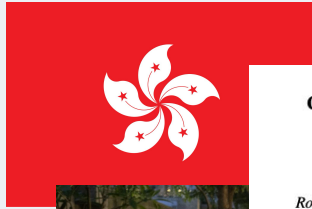


@StatistaCharts Source: Freedom House

statista

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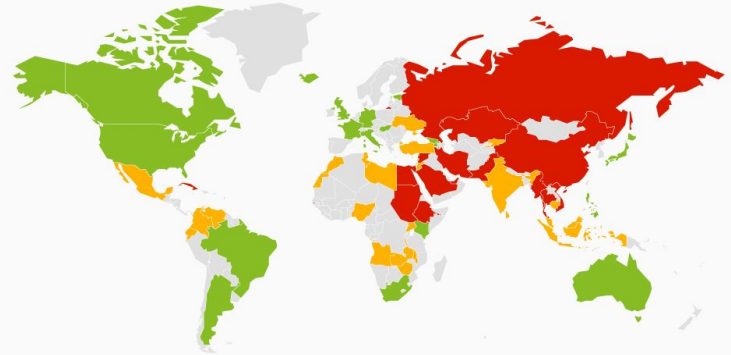
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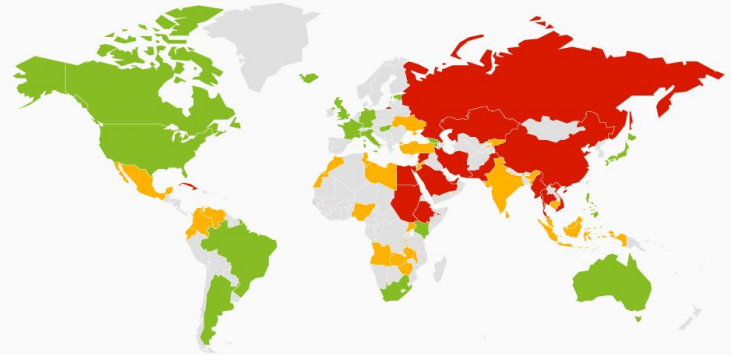
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The takeaway? For mesh messaging in large-scale protests...

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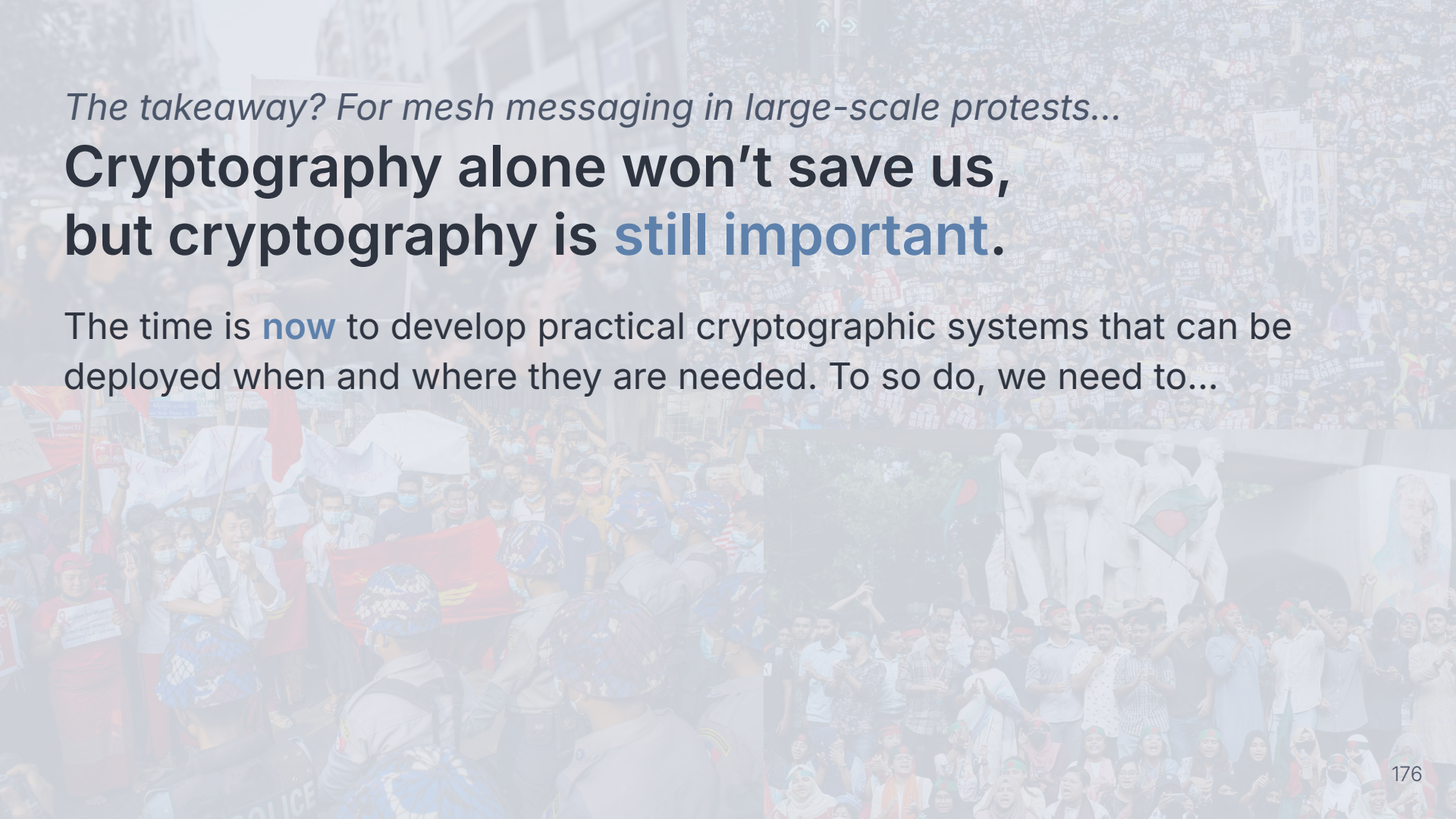
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- Start a broader conversation on how academics can achieve **tangible impact** on sensitive populations



Tushar Jois

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💻 <https://tjo.is>

🦋 [@tjo.is](https://tjo.is)



Amigo: Secure Group Mesh Messaging in Realistic Protest Settings

David Inyangson*, Sarah Radway*, **Tushar M. Jois**, Nelly Fazio, James Mickens
Cryptology ePrint Archive, Paper 2024/1872

<https://ia.cr/2024/1872>

**Equal contribution.*