

# NOTES

Frequently cited texts include:

*In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*: The eight English volumes of Ren Zhengfei's interview transcripts, published by Huawei and available at <https://www.huawei.com/en/media-center/company-facts>.

*On the Record: Huawei Executives Speak to the Public*: The five English volumes of other Huawei executives' interview transcripts, published by Huawei and available at <https://www.huawei.com/jp/facts/interview-library/hear-from-the-top-executives-of-huawei>.

*Huawei People* [华为为人]: The Chinese edition of Huawei's main internal newspaper. Issues from the years 1993 to 2024 are available at <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/newspaper/channel?pageType=1>.

*Huawei People*, English edition: Issues from the years 2001 to 2024 are available at <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/newspaper/periodicals?pageType=4&lang=en>.

*US v. Meng*, BCSC: Meng Wanzhou's extradition hearing filings, found in court file 27761 for case *United States v. Meng*, 2020 BCSC 785, at the Vancouver Registry of the Supreme Court of British Columbia.

Interviews with individuals who did not wish to be identified are undated to help

ensure anonymity. On first reference in each chapter, Chinese works are cited in English translation alongside their original Chinese titles and thereafter cited in English translation alone. In the case of nonfunctioning URLs, some are cached at archive.org or archive.ph.

## Epigraph

1. Admiral William A. Owens, foreword to *The Huawei Story*, by Tian Tao with Wu Chunbo (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2015).

## Introduction

1. Details of Meng's detention come from *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
2. *South China Morning Post*, "Judge Releases Video of Huawei's Meng Wanzhou Being Searched at Airport before Arrest," streamed on August 22, 2019, YouTube video, 1:49, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eTrUmg3x5xc>.
3. Statement of Meng Wanzhou taken by Cst. Winston Yep, Affidavit of Donna Chan, 0948-0973, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
4. Maggie Miller, "Huawei Threat 'No. 1 Concern' Moving Forward, Trump National Security Adviser Says," *The Hill*, November 16, 2020, <https://thehill.com/policy/cybersecurity/526165-huawei-threat-no-1-concern-moving-forward-trump-national-security/>.
5. Ren Zhengfei, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with the *Financial Times*," Huawei (website), June 24, 2019, archived April 29, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230429201256/https://www.huawei.com/br/facts/voices-of-huawei/ren-zhengfeis-interview-with-the-financial-times>.

## Part I

1. Ren Zhengfei, "Views on China's Rural Phone Network and Switching Industry" [对中国农话网与交换机产业的一点看法], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 8, July 20, 1994.

## Chapter 1: The Bookseller

1. Ren Moxun's birth name was Ren Musheng. His writings were largely published under the name Ren Moxun. It was common in his generation to have

- more than one name for use in different situations. His son Ren Zhengfei referred to him as Ren Moxun in the essay “My Father and Mother” [我的父亲母亲], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2002), 217.
2. Ren Moxun, “In the Early Days of the Anti-Japanese War, the Seven-Seven Bookstore in Rongxian County Was the Distribution Office of the Life Bookstore, Spreading Progressive Ideas to Inspire Young People to Push Forward” [抗战初期融县七七书店即生活书店分销处传播进步思想启引青年前进方向], in *Selected Collection of Duyun’s Literary and Historical Materials* [都匀文史资料选辑], vol. 5 (Duyun: Duyun Municipal Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference [中国人民政治协商会议贵州省都匀市委员会], 1986), 19–27. Other details of the bookstore are drawn from this essay.
  3. Rongxian (融县) was renamed the Rongshui Miao Ethnic Minority Autonomous County (融水苗族自治县) in 1965.
  4. Description based on jacket photos from Ren Moxun, *Basic Knowledge of Modern Mandarin for Middle School Students* [中学生现代汉语基本知识] (Guiyang: Guizhou People’s Publishing House [贵州人民出版社], 2002).
  5. Ren, “My Father and Mother,” 217. Ren writes that his father had to leave university in Beijing and return home a year before graduation due to the death of his parents.
  6. Ren Zhengfei has five younger sisters and one younger brother, according to Li Hongwen, *Ren Zhengfei & Huawei: A Business and Life Biography* (London: LID, 2017), chap. 1.
  7. State Council Information Office [国务院新闻办公室], “50 Years of Human Rights Development in China” [中国人权发展50年], State Council of the People’s Republic of China (website), February 2000, [http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2000/content\\_60013.htm](http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2000/content_60013.htm).
  8. Ren, “In the Early Days,” 20.
  9. Wei Kaizhang [韦凯章], “Guangxi Rongxian County Seven-Seven Bookstore” [广西融县七七书店], in *History of Bookstore Work* [书店工作史料 四], vol. 4 (Beijing: Xinhua Bookstore Headquarters [新华书店总店], 1990), 118–20.
  10. Ren, “In the Early Days,” 24.
  11. Ren, 23.
  12. Ren, 25.
  13. Jodi L. Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: Local Resistance to Qing Expansion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 4.
  14. Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou*, 61.

15. Tom Mackenzie (@TomMackenzieTV), “#Huawei founder Ren Zhengfei handed me these pix during our interview—Ren (at back) with mother + 6 siblings circa 1950,” Twitter, May 27, 2019, 2:53 a.m., <https://twitter.com/TomMackenzieTV/status/1132902521981276161>.
16. Ren, “My Father and Mother,” 217. Ren writes that his mother had limited formal education and had self-studied. His mother taught middle school math, according to Meng Wanzhou, “Grandma, Can You Hear?” [奶奶, 你能听见吗?], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 115, March 28, 2001.
17. “Mr. Ren Zhengfei,” Huawei (website), archived February 17, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230217161008/https://www.huawei.com/us/executives/board-of-directors/ren-zhengfei>.
18. He Qinan [贺其难], “A Comfort in Old Age” [晚年的欣慰], *Qiannan Daily* [黔南日报], August 19, 2018. He recalled working with Ren Moxun at a school lit by kerosene lamps in Guizhou’s Rongjiang County around the year 1947.
19. “Ren Zhengfei Accepts Interview with Sony CEO: Only by Tolerating Opposition Can Talent Emerge” [任正非接受索尼CEO采访: 容忍反对才会人才辈出], *Entrepreneur Daily* [企业家日报], February 19, 2019.
20. Details of Ren Moxun’s arrival in Zhenning from Ren Moxun, “The First Minority Middle School in My Province” [我省第一所民族中学], in *Selected Collection of Duyun’s Literary and Historical Materials* [都匀文史资料选辑], vol. 2 (Duyun: Duyun Municipal Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference [中国人民政治协商会议贵州省都匀市委员会], 1983), 216–23.
21. Ren Yijun [任以均], “Zhenning Minority Middle School’s Experience in Resolving Language Barriers and Improving Teaching Outcomes” [镇宁民族中学解决语言隔阂提高教学效果的经验], *Chinese Language* [中国语文], no. 5 (May 1955): 28–30. This appears to be a piece written by Ren Moxun under a pen name. The preface of Ren’s *Basic Knowledge* cites his article about the school in this issue of the journal as impressing officials at China’s Ministry of Education.
22. Wang Fangli [王芳礼], “Remembering Two or Three Things about Principal Ren Moxun” [回忆任摩逊校长二三事], in *Love in the Silver City: Remembering Ren Moxun’s Days at Zhenning Minority Middle School* [爱在银城: 忆任摩逊在镇宁民族中学的日子], comp. Wu Aimin and Chen Guoping [吴爱民、陈国平] (Guiyang: Guizhou Publishing Group [贵州出版集团], 2018), 105.
23. Ren, “The First Minority Middle School,” 217.
24. Ren, 217. Ren Moxun does not mention the specific reason for the death threat

against him, beyond writing that there was “collusion between class enemies outside the school and individual reactionary teachers and students inside the school.”

25. Details of the rallies, including allegations against US soldiers, from Ren Moxun, “The First Minority Middle School,” 218.
26. Ren Moxun, preface to *Basic Knowledge of Modern Mandarin for Middle School Students* [中学生现代汉语基本知识] (Guiyang: Guizhou People’s Publishing House [贵州人民出版社], 2002); and Ren, “Zhenning Minority Middle School’s Experience,” 28–30.
27. Ren, *Basic Knowledge*, photo insert.
28. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with Le Point,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 4 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 54.
29. Ren Moxun, “Experience from Establishing Duyun Teachers’ Specialty School” [创办都匀师范专科学校的经过], in *Selected Collection of Duyun’s Literary and Historical Materials* [都匀文史资料选辑], vol. 3 (Duyun: Duyun Municipal Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference [中国人民政治协商会议贵州省都匀市委员会], 1984), 125.
30. Qiannan Bouyei and Miao Autonomous Prefecture History Gazetteer Compilation Committee [黔南布依族苗族自治州史志编纂委员会], *Qiannan Bouyei Ethnic Group 1 Major Events* [黔南布依族苗族自治州志 第一卷 大事记] (Guiyang: Guizhou People’s Publishing House [贵州人民出版社], 2005), 124. According to this source, one commune production team said that each person’s daily quota had been lowered to 2.6 liang (两) of grain a day, and that “other canteens in the district also could not guarantee basic food needs.”
31. Li Shiquan [李仕铨], “Remembering Qiannan Prefecture’s First Ethnic Group Teachers’ School” [记黔南州第一所民族师范学校], in *Selected Collection of Duyun’s Literary and Historical Materials* [都匀文史资料选辑], vol. 6 (Duyun: Duyun Municipal Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference [中国人民政治协商会议贵州省都匀市委员会], 1987), 246–47.
32. Qiannan Bouyei and Miao Autonomous Prefecture History Gazetteer Compilation Committee, *Qiannan Bouyei Ethnic Group 1 Major Events*, 124. The authors mention, in particular, the East Wind Commune, where 8,860 people developed swelling sickness due to grain rations being too low, with 3,234 of them “cured in time.”
33. Cao Shuji [曹树基], “Death and Its Causes in China from 1959 to 1961” [1959–1961年中国的人口死亡及其成因], *Chinese Journal of Population Science* [中国人口科学], no. 1, 2005, <https://www.yhew.net/famine/Research/r060628a.html>.

34. Ren, "Experience from Establishing Duyun Teachers' Specialty School," 127.
35. Ren, "My Father and Mother," 218–20.
36. "Mr. Ren Zhengfei."
37. Shi Xian [施希安] et al., comps., *History of the Chongqing Institute of Architecture and Engineering* [重庆建筑工程学院校史] (Chongqing: Chongqing University Press [重庆大学出版社], 1992), 127.
38. "Building a Closer Relationship, Spurring Ideological Reformation, Teachers and Students Labor Together at the Beijing Foreign Studies University and Chongqing Institute of Architecture and Engineering" [密切了相互关系 促进了思想改造 北京外语学院 重庆建工学院师生共同劳动], *Guangming Daily* [光明日报], March 9, 1964.
39. Shi et al., *History of the Chongqing Institute*, 98–99.
40. Shi et al., 175.
41. Shi et al., 175.
42. "Going Down in Infamy: About the Traitor Luo Guangbin's Suicide to Evade Punishment" [遗臭万岁：关于叛徒罗广斌的畏罪自杀], *8·18 Battle Report* [8·18战报], May 18, 1967, in *A New Collection of Red Guard Publications, Part III: A Comprehensive Compilation of Red Guard Tabloids from the Provinces*, ed. Song Yongyi, vol. 4 of 52 (Oakton, VA: Center for Chinese Research Materials, 2005), 1193.
43. From 1966 to 1968 during the Cultural Revolution, Chongqing was a center of deadly battles between rebel groups, known as the Violent Struggle, or Wudou (武斗).
44. Guobin Yang, *The Red Guard Generation and Political Activism in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 40.
45. Chris Buckley, "Chaos of Cultural Revolution Echoes at a Lonely Cemetery, 50 Years Later," *New York Times*, April 4, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/05/world/asia/china-cultural-revolution-chongqing.html>.
46. Ren, "My Father and Mother," 222.
47. Ren, 217.
48. Wang Jin [王锦], "Friends of the Provincial Political Consultative Committee Visited Our County" [省政协之友社来我县考察], *Pujiang News* [浦江要闻], April 21, 2023, [http://www.pj.gov.cn/art/2023/4/21/art\\_1229224385\\_59114553.html](http://www.pj.gov.cn/art/2023/4/21/art_1229224385_59114553.html).
49. Pujiang Fabu (Zhejiang Province Pujiang County People's Government News Office verified Weibo account) [浦江发布(浙江省浦江县人民政府新闻办公室官方微博)], "Ren Ancestral Home to Be Restored to Original Appearance" [任

- 氏祖居将恢复原貌], Weibo, November 29, 2020, <https://m.weibo.cn/status/4576916465520972>.
50. Ren, "My Father and Mother," 218.
  51. Ren, 220.
  52. Ren Moxun, "A Few Words from the Perspective of Educational Development" [从教育发展角度说几句话], in *Selected Collection of Duyun's Literary and Historical Materials* [都匀文史资料选辑], 6:3.
  53. Feng Jugao [冯举高], "The Teacher's Teachings Were Actually Quite Straightforward" [师道其实很质朴], *Qiannan Daily* [黔南日报], August 5, 2018.
  54. Ren, "My Father and Mother," 220.
  55. Ren, 220.
  56. Ren, 221.
  57. US Consulate Guangzhou, "Huawei Says 3Com Plans Still Uncertain," WikiLeaks Cable: 08GUANGZHOU171\_a, March 21, 2008, [https://search.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08GUANGZHOU171\\_a.html](https://search.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08GUANGZHOU171_a.html).
  58. Ren, "My Father and Mother," 222.
  59. Huawei Public Relations Team, "Responses to Additional Questions from *The Wall Street Journal*," in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 138.
  60. Ren Zhengfei, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with *The Wall Street Journal*," in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, 7:115.

## Chapter 2: The Factory in the Cave

1. Jodi L. Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: Local Resistance to Qing Expansion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 14–15.
2. Tong Heling [童鹤龄], "Demystifying 011, Part 5 and 6" [揭秘011(五六)], *Anshun Daily* [安顺日报], January 3, 2020.
3. Yang Wanshu [杨万树], "My Time at Panzhihua and Base 011" [我在攀枝花和011基地], in *Farewell to the Nameless Lake: The Whereabouts of the Fifth Graduating Class of Peking University 3* [告别未名湖 北大老五届行迹 3] (Beijing: Jiuzhou Publishing House [九州出版社], 2015), 375.
4. Guizhou Provincial Chronicle Compilation Committee [贵州省地方志编纂委员会], "Chapter 1: Base 011" [第一章 011基地], in *Guizhou Provincial Chronicle Mechanical and Electronic Industry Chronicle* [贵州省志 机械电子工业志] (Guiyang: Guizhou People's Publishing House [贵州人民出版社], 1988), 105.
5. James G. Hershberg and Chen Jian, "Reading and Warning the Likely Enemy:

- China's Signals to the United States about Vietnam in 1965," *International History Review* 27, no. 1 (March 2005), 58, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40110654>.
6. Dan Lanshan [单兰山], "I Was Xiaoping's Photographer" [我给小平当摄影师], *Guangan Daily* [广安日报], October 9, 2018, <http://cpc.people.com.cn/BIG5/n1/2018/1009/c69113-30329870.html>.
  7. Guizhou Provincial Chronicle Compilation Committee, "Chapter 1: Base 011," 105.
  8. Liu Lin [刘琳], "Aviation Industry Corporation of China Shenyang Aircraft Corporation: Good People and Good Horses Build the Third Line" [航空工业沈阳: 好人好马建三线], *China Aviation News* [中国航空报], September 10, 2021, <http://www.cannews.com.cn/2021/09/10/99332149.html>.
  9. Tong Heling [童鹤龄], "Demystifying 011, Part 8 and 9" [揭秘0一一(八九)], *Anshun Daily* [安顺日报], January 17, 2020.
  10. Du Linjie [杜林杰], "Past Events of Guizhou 011" [贵州011往事], *New West* [新西部], June 2019, <http://www.xxbcm.com/info/1013/58765.htm>.
  11. Ren Zhengfei, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with *The Wall Street Journal*," in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, 7:115.
  12. Liu, "Aviation Industry Corporation of China Shenyang Aircraft Corporation."
  13. James Lewis, interview by the author, 2022. After working at the Commerce Department, Lewis went on to be a director at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.
  14. Fan Zhiyong, "Declaration of Fan Zhiyong," January 30, 2020, in Comments of Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd. and Huawei Technologies USA Inc., Exhibit MM at 3, filed February 3, 2020, PS Docket No. 19-351, <https://www.fcc.gov/ecfs/document/102030067606114/2>.
  15. See Huawei Public Relations Team, "Responses to Additional Questions from *The Wall Street Journal*," in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 138–39; and Wuhan Statistics Bureau [武汉市统计局], "Introduction to the State Construction Third Bureau Second Company" [中建三局二公司简介], in *Wuhan Statistics Yearbook 1996* [武汉统计年鉴 1996] (Wuhan: China Statistics Press [中国统计出版社], 1996), 436. According to local government reference books, the Second Company of the State Construction Commission's Third Bureau was founded in Chongqing in 1954, and it carried out construction projects in Guizhou and Yunnan Provinces before being moved to Wuhan in 1970.
  16. See Yu Likun [于立坤], *Ren Zhengfei* [任正非传] (Beijing: Beijing United Press [北京联合出版社], 2020), 19; Sun Like [孙力科], *Biography of Ren Zhengfei* [任正



- 非传] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Press [浙江人民出版社], 2017), 16; and Lin Chaohua [林超华], *Famous and Silent: Biography of Ren Zhengfei* [声名显赫又沉默如谜：任正非传] (Wuhan: Huazhong University of Science and Technology Press [华中科技大学出版社], 2016), 21. Ren's first marriage to Meng Jun is often briefly mentioned in domestic biographies of Ren, with some mentioning that she was the daughter of Sichuan's vice-governor. A person with knowledge of the matter confirmed to the author that these reports are correct.
17. He Shu [何蜀], *Fighting for Chairman Mao* [为毛主席而战] (Hong Kong: SDX Joint Publishing [三联书店], 2010), 77 of 395, Google Play Books.
  18. Huang Changguo [黄昌国], "Memories of Being a Royalist in Chongqing and Bombarding the Central Cultural Revolution Group during the Cultural Revolution" [文革中我在重庆当保皇派和炮打中央文革的回忆], *China News Digest* [华夏文摘增], March 20, 2007, [www.cnd.org/cr/ZK07/cr397.gb.html](http://www.cnd.org/cr/ZK07/cr397.gb.html).
  19. Ren Zhengfei, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with Chinese Media," in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 60–61.
  20. Ren, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with Chinese Media," 60.
  21. He, *Fighting for Chairman Mao*, 110 of 395, Google Play Books; and Huang, "Memories of Being a Royalist."
  22. Ren, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with Chinese Media," 60.
  23. Photos of Meng Dongbo from Wuxi New Fourth Army History Research Association [无锡市新四军历史研究会], "Meng Dongbo" [孟东波], in *Selected Edition of Wuxi People of the New Fourth Army*, vol. 2 of 2, rev. ed. [新四军无锡籍人物选编修订本下] (Beijing: Chinese Communist Party History Publishing House [中共党史出版社], 2015), 412; and Sichuan Province Area Annals Editing Committee [四川省地方志编纂委员会], eds., *Annals of Sichuan Province: Annals of Foreign Affairs* [四川省志：外事志] (Chengdu: Bashu Publishing House [巴楚书社], 2000), photo insert.
  24. Details of Meng Dongbo's early life from Meng Dongbo, "My Enlightening Teacher Chen Zhenbai" [我的启蒙恩师陈枕白], in *Chen Zhenbai Commemorative Collection* [陈枕白纪念文集] (Beijing: China Literature Publishing House [中国文学出版社], 2003), 43–45.
  25. Wuxi New Fourth Army History Research Association, "Meng Dongbo," 414.
  26. Meng Dongbo was Sichuan Province's director of metallurgical industry (冶金工业厅长) from September 1958 to October 1965, according to Sichuan Province Area Annals Editing Committee [四川省地方志编纂委员会], eds., *Annals of Sichuan Province: Annals of Metallurgy* [四川省志：冶金工业志] (Chengdu:

- Sichuan Science and Technology Publishing House [四川科学技术出版社, 1992], 308.
27. Meng Dongbo, “The Sun Shines on the Main Path, Sichuan’s Iron and Steel Situation Is Good” [总路线阳光普照 四川钢铁形式好], *Metallurgical News* [冶金报], January 4, 1960; and Zhang Rulan [张如兰], “Memories of the ‘Big Steel Push’ Campaign” [大办钢铁运动的回忆], in *A True Record of Key Events in Contemporary Sichuan 1* [当代四川要事实录 1] (Sichuan: Sichuan People’s Publishing House [四川人民出版社, 2005], 89. In “The Sun Shines,” published by a state-run journal, Meng Dongbo writes that Sichuan had exceeded its iron and steel quotas for the year. In Zhang’s oral history, he says that Meng, his colleague, was assigned to investigate the efficacy of the primitive kilns, and that even though they all knew the kilns were ineffective, they were obliged to implement them.
  28. Sichuan Province Area Annals Editing Committee [四川省地方志编纂委员会], eds., *Annals of Sichuan Province: Annals of Government Affairs*, vol. 1 of 2 [四川省志 : 政务志(上册)] (Beijing: Annals Publishing House [方志出版社, 2000], 343.
  29. “Cultural Troops of the Province and City Fiercely Struggle against Li Jingquan” [省市文艺大军猛批狠斗李井泉], *Wen Gong Bao* [文攻报], November 17, 1967.
  30. Song Yuwu, *Biographical Dictionary of the People’s Republic of China* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013), 172–73.
  31. “Cultural Troops of the Province.”
  32. “Li Jingquan’s ‘Spiritual Life’” [李井泉的‘精神生活’], *Wen Gong Bao* [文攻报], November 17, 1967.
  33. “Beat Down Li Jingquan and Liberate the Southwest: Excerpts from Big-Character Posters” [打到李井泉解放大西南：大字报摘登], *8-15 Battle Report* [8·15 战报], January 21, 1967.
  34. “Comrade Meng Dongbo Passes Away” [孟东波同志逝世], *Sichuan Daily* [四川日报], December 9, 2001.
  35. “Deceased Persons: Meng Dongbo” [逝世人物 : 孟东波], in *Sichuan Yearbook 2002* [四川年鉴 2002], ed. Li Hongren [李洪仁] (Chengdu: Sichuan Yearbook Publishing House [四川年鉴出版社, 2002], 458.
  36. Chengdu Local Annals Compilation Committee [成都市地方志编纂委员会], comp., *Chengdu City Annals Major Events* [成都市志大事记] (Beijing: Annals Publishing House [方志出版社, 2010], 758.
  37. He, *Fighting for Chairman Mao*, 112 of 395, Google Play Books; and “A Single

Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire,” 8.15 *Battle News*, January 1, 1967, in *A New Collection of Red Guard Publications, Part III: A Comprehensive Compilation of Red Guard Tabloids from the Provinces*, ed. Song Yongyi, vol. 4 of 52 (Oakton, VA: Center for Chinese Research Materials, 2005), 1555.

38. Ren Zhengfei, “My Father and Mother” [我的父亲母亲], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2002), 221.
39. Liu, “Aviation Industry Corporation of China Shenyang Aircraft Corporation.”
40. Yang, “My Time at Panzhihua,” 375–77.
41. Ren Zhengfei, “An Insight, an Idea with Ren Zhengfei,” interview by Linda Yueh, Huawei (website), 2015, [https://www.huawei.com/en/executives/articles/hw\\_412440](https://www.huawei.com/en/executives/articles/hw_412440).
42. Ren, “An Insight, an Idea with Ren Zhengfei.”
43. This was a division of China’s People’s Liberation Army that carried out construction projects between 1966 and 1983, during a period when few or no private construction companies were operating. In May 1973, the State Council ordered the PLA Engineering Corps’ 22nd Detachment (later also called Troop 00229), which had been based in Xi’an, to move to Liaoyang to take on the chemical fiber factory construction project. See Annals of China Construction Eighth Engineering Bureau Editorial Department, comp., *Annals of China Construction Eighth Engineering Bureau* [中国建筑第八工程局志] (Jinan: Shandong Youyi Publishing House [山东友谊出版社], 1998), 45–46.  
 Papers published by Ren in May and June 1978 give his affiliation as “Liaoning Liaoyang Troop 303 Detachment 57.” See Liaoyang Liaoning Troop 303 Detachment 57 and Ren Zhengfei [辽宁辽阳三0三部队57分队、任正非], “A Float-Type Standard Pressure Generator (Part 2) Air Pressure Balance” [浮子式标准压力发生器(下)空气压力天平], *Chemical Automation and Instrumentation* [化工自动化及仪表], June 30, 1978, 27–32.  
 In publications between October 1978 and 1981, his affiliation is given as Troop 00229. See Ge Tai [戈泰], “Ren Zhengfei” [任正非], *Civil Engineering Corps* [基建工程兵], October 18, 1978, as cited in Comments of Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd. and Huawei Technologies USA Inc., Exhibit A at 43, filed February 3, 2020, PS Docket No. 19-351, <https://www.fcc.gov/ecfs/document/102030067606114/2>; and Yan Jingli [阎景立], Xu Lesheng [许乐胜], and Ren Zhengfei [任正非], “Real-Time Calibration of an Automatic Manometry System” [自动测压系统的实时校准], *Industrial Instrumentation and Automation Equipment* [工业仪表与自动化装置], March 2, 1981.
44. Ren, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with *The Wall Street Journal*,” 132.

45. "Du Pont Discloses New Yarn Details," *New York Times*, October 28, 1938.
46. Han Fugui [韩福贵], "I Was the Translator for the French Prime Minister's Visit to Liaoyang Petrochemical" [我为法国总理访问辽化当翻译], in *Endeavoring Liaoyang Petrochemical People: Historical Materials of Liaoyang Petrochemical* [奋进的辽化人：辽阳石化史资料] (Shenyang: Liaoyang City People's Consultative Conference [政协辽阳市委员会], 2016), 350.
47. Ren, "My Father and Mother," 218–19.
48. Han, "I Was the Translator," 350.
49. "Liao-Yang Petrochemical Complex," Association de Retraités de Technip (website), <http://www.artchnip.org/medias/files/liao-yang-complex.pdf>.
50. Ren Zhengfei, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with UK Documentary Producer," Huawei (website), archived April 26, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230426163437/https://www.huawei.com/nl/facts/voices-of-huawei/ren-zhengfei-interview-with-uk-documentary-producer>.
51. Ren Zhengfei, "Ren Zhengfei's International Media Roundtable," in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 3.
52. Qi Yushun [戚玉顺], "Raising the Entire Province's Power to Build Liaoyang Petrochemical" [举全省之力建设辽化], in *Endeavoring Liaoyang Petrochemical People: Historical Materials of Liaoyang Petrochemical*, 2.
53. Qi, "Raising the Entire Province's Power," 3.
54. "Two Proactives Are Much Better Than One: An Investigation into the Liaoyang Petrochemical Fiber Main Factory Construction" [有两个积极性比只有一个积极性好得多：辽阳石油化学纤维总厂建设工程的调查], *People's Daily* [人民日报], September 7, 1976.
55. Ren Zhengfei, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with BBC StoryWorks," in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 5 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 67.
56. Han, "I Was the Translator," 354.
57. Ren, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with BBC StoryWorks," 68.
58. Chinese People's Liberation Army Construction Corps Troop 303 Detachment 57 [中国人民解放军建字303部队57分队], "Summary of Trial Production of Air Pressure Balance" [空气压力天平试制小结], *Refining and Chemical Automation* [炼油化工自动化], no. 4 (1977): 23–30.
59. Ge, "Ren Zhengfei."
60. Ge, "Ren Zhengfei."

## Chapter 3: A New Start

1. Ren Moxun, "A Few Words from the Perspective of Educational Development" [从教育发展角度说几句话], in *Selected Collection of Duyun's Literary and Historical Materials* [都匀文史资料选辑], vol. 6 (Duyun: Duyun Municipal Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [中国人民政治协商会议贵州省都匀市委员会], 1987), 3.
2. Ren Zhengfei, "My Father and Mother" [我的父亲母亲], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2002), 221–22.
3. Wang Rongqi [王荣齐], "Duyun No. 1 Middle School" [都匀一中], in *Selected Collection of Duyun's Literary and Historical Materials* [都匀文史资料选辑], 6:109.
4. Wang, "Duyun No. 1 Middle School," 108.
5. Ren, "My Father and Mother," 223.
6. Guizhou Province Duyun City Annals Compilation Committee [贵州省都匀市史志编纂委员会], *Duyun City Annals Part 2* [都匀市志 下] (Guiyang: Guizhou People's Publishing House [贵州人民出版社], 1999), 753.
7. Guizhou Province Duyun City Annals Compilation Committee, *Duyun City Annals*, 973.
8. Guizhou Province Duyun City Annals Compilation Committee, 981–82.
9. Ren Moxun, "On the Inherent Rules of Moral Education" [论德育的内在规律], *Guizhou Education* [贵州教育] 23, no. 3 (1983) [总第23期, 1983第3期]: 10.
10. Ren, "On the Inherent Rules of Moral Education," 10–11.
11. Meng Wanzhou, "Grandma, Can You Hear?" [奶奶, 你能听见吗?], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 115, March 28, 2001.
12. Meng, "Grandma, Can You Hear?"
13. Meng Wanzhou [晚舟], "Kite" [风筝], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1997), 117.
14. "New Management System Yields Good Results in Sichuan Province," Xinhua General Overseas News Service, August 21, 1980.
15. "Sichuan Deputies Discuss Hua Guofeng's Speech," Xinhua General Overseas News Service, September 10, 1980.
16. "Zairian President Mobutu Visits People's Commune in Chengdu," Xinhua General Overseas News Service, March 29, 1980.
17. "Milliken Hosts Banquet," Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service, November 12, 1982, in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: China*, FBIS-CHI-82-220, November 15, 1982, B3.

18. Sichuan Province Area Annals Editing Committee [四川省地方志编纂委员会], eds., *Annals of Sichuan Province: Annals of Foreign Affairs* [四川省志 : 外事志] (Chengdu: Bashu Publishing House [巴楚书社], 2000), 225.
19. Sichuan Province Area Annals Editing Committee, *Annals of Sichuan Province: Annals of Foreign Affairs*, photo insert.
20. Zhao Ziyang, *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhao Ziyang* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 134–36.
21. Scott Kennedy, “The Stone Group: State Client or Market Pathbreaker?,” *China Quarterly*, no. 152 (December 1997): 751, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/655558>.
22. Xinhua News Service [新华社], “Ren Zhengfei Produces an Air Pressure Balance” [任正非制成空气压力天平], *Guangming Daily* [光明日报], October 13, 1977.
23. Ren Zhengfei, *A Floating-Ball Precision Pressure Generator—Air Pressure Balance* [浮球式标准压力发生器] (Beijing: China Construction Industry Press [中国建筑工业出版社], 1979).
24. Ren, *A Floating-Ball Precision Pressure Generator*, preface.
25. Ren, “My Father and Mother,” 222.
26. Deng Xiaoping, “Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the National Conference on Science,” March 18, 1978, China through a Lens transcript, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/dengxiaoping/103390.htm>.
27. VideoChinaTV, “The First National Science Conference Was Held in Beijing in March 1978,” streamed on April 5, 2021, YouTube video, 3:59, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EiITVCIsVdI>.
28. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with German Broadcaster ARD,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 121–23.
29. Ren, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with German Broadcaster ARD,” 123–24.
30. Zhang Peifang [张佩芳], “Interesting Things about Comrade Xu Guotai” [战友许国泰那些有意思的事], Bingwang Literary Creation Center [兵网文学创作中心], February 24, 2022, archived March 29, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230329013934/www.tdbzy.com/index.php/zhangyouyuanchuang/497792.html>.
31. Ge Tai [戈泰], “Ren Zhengfei” [任正非], *Civil Engineering Corps* [基建工程兵], October 18, 1978, as cited in Comments of Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd. and Huawei Technologies USA Inc., Exhibit A at 43, filed February 3, 2020, PS Docket No. 19-351, <https://www.fcc.gov/ecfs/document/102030067606114/2>.
32. Xu Guotai [许国泰], “The Inventor of the Precision Pressure Generator Ren

- Zhengfei Joins the Party” [标准压力发生器第研制者 任正非入党], *PLA Engineering Corps* [基建工程兵], February 14, 1979.
33. Ren Zhengfei, “A Spring River Flows Eastward” [一江春水向东流], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 243, January 7, 2012.
  34. It’s unclear when Ren himself made the move to Jinan. Some of his troop, the 22nd Detachment (二十二支队), which was also called Troop 00229 (00229部队), moved as early as November 1978, while others stayed at the Liaoyang factory until April 1979, according to Editorial Department of Annals of China Construction Eighth Engineering Bureau [中国建筑第八工程局志编辑部], comp., *Annals of China Construction Eighth Engineering Bureau* [中国建筑第八工程局志] (Jinan: Shandong Youyi Publishing House [山东友谊出版社], 1998), 46.
  35. Editorial Department of Annals of China Construction Eighth Engineering Bureau [中国建筑第八工程局志编辑部], comp., *Annals of China Construction Eighth Engineering Bureau*, 46.
  36. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with *The Wall Street Journal*,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 113.
  37. Xu, “The Inventor.”
  38. Meng, “Grandma, Can You Hear?”; and Ren, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with *The Wall Street Journal*,” 99.
  39. Meng, “Grandma, Can You Hear?”
  40. Ren Zhengfei (Jinan 00229 Troop Research Institute) [任正非 (济南00229部队科研所)], “What Is the Performance of the Floating Standard Pressure Generator (Air Pressure Balance) and Which Factories Produce It?” [浮球标准压力发生器 (空气压力天平) 工作性能及何厂生产?], *Petrochemical Automation* [石化化工自动化], no. 4 (1979): 72.
  41. Zhu Yifang and Wang Yanbin [朱义芳、王彦斌], “A Story from the Past of Ren Zhengfei and Yangzhong” [任正非与扬中的一段往事], Yangzhong City Converged Media Center [扬中市融媒体中心], December 22, 2021, <https://www.yzxw.com/Mobile/wz.php?Id=266876>.
  42. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s International Media Roundtable,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 6–7.
  43. Ren, “My Father and Mother,” 223; and “Decision of the State Council and the Central Military Commission on the Cancellation of the Infrastructure Engineering Corps” [国务院、中央军委关于撤销基建工程兵的决定], in Editorial

Department of Annals of China Construction Eighth Engineering Bureau [中国建筑第八工程局志编辑部], comp., *Annals of China Construction Eighth Engineering Bureau*, 579.

44. Meng, “Grandma, Can You Hear?”
45. Meng, “Grandma, Can You Hear?”
46. Wang, “Duyun No. 1 Middle School,” 109.
47. Ren Moxun [任摩逊] to Chen Qixian [陈启铤], letter, October 5, 1981, displayed at the Ren ancestral home in Rendiancun, Zhejiang Province.
48. Feng Jugao [冯举高], “The Teacher’s Teachings Were Actually Quite Straightforward” [师道其实很质朴], *Qiannan Daily* [黔南日报], August 5, 2018.

#### Chapter 4: The Special Economic Zone

1. “The Spirit of Reform and Opening Up Has Never Faded: Shenzhen in the Eyes of Three Generations of Entrepreneurs” [改革开放的精神从未褪色：三代企业家眼中的深圳], Xinhua News Agency [新华社], May 23, 2018, [http://m.xinhuanet.com/gd/2018-05/23/c\\_1122872345.htm](http://m.xinhuanet.com/gd/2018-05/23/c_1122872345.htm).
2. Juan Du, *The Shenzhen Experiment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), 22.
3. Antony Gar-On Yeh, “Development of the Special Economic Zone in Shenzhen, the People’s Republic of China,” *Ekistics* 52, no. 311 (March/April 1985): 156.
4. Called “the Second Line Border,” this fence had nine entry and exit checkpoints. See Du, *The Shenzhen Experiment*, 38.
5. There are varying accounts of when he moved to Shenzhen. A Huawei slide deck presented to *Wall Street Journal* reporters on November 4, 2019, says that Ren moved to Shenzhen in 1982. In an interview, Ren told German broadcaster ARD that he came to Shenzhen in 1984 (Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with German Broadcaster ARD,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 3 [Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019], 127). In Meng Wanzhou’s essay “Kite” (see note 13), she says that her parents moved to Shenzhen to heed the party’s call when she was eleven, which would have been between 1982 and 1984, depending on whether she was giving her age in the traditional Chinese way or the Western way.
6. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with *The Wall Street Journal*,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, 7:116–17.
7. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with the BBC,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, 1:119.



8. Du, *The Shenzhen Experiment*, 174.
9. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with French Media: I Have Never Been a Low-Key Person, or I Would Not Have Been Able to Mobilize Hundreds of Thousands of Huawei Staff” [任正非接受法国媒体采访实录：我一贯不是你一个低调的人， 否则不可能鼓动起十几万华为人为], Huxiu.com [虎嗅网], December 2, 2013, [https://www.aecf-france.org/actu\\_membre\\_31.htm](https://www.aecf-france.org/actu_membre_31.htm).
10. Wen Chaoli [文朝利], ed., *Shenzhen Quotations* [深圳语录] (Shenzhen: Haitian Publishing House [海天出版社], 2010), 38–40.
11. “Ren Zhengfei Accepts an Interview with Foreign Media for the First Time, Calls Himself ‘A Homebody’” [任正非首度接受外媒采访 自称‘宅男’], CCTV, December 1, 2013, <http://jingji.cntv.cn/2013/12/01/ARTI1385903284128558.shtml>.
12. Red Flag Editorial Board and Shenzhen SEZ Policy Research Office [红旗杂志社、深圳经济特区政策研究室], eds., *New Look of Shenzhen Special Economic Zone* [深圳特区新貌] (Hong Kong: Economic Information Agency [香港经济报道社], 1985), 23.
13. Meng Wanzhou [晚舟], “Kite” [风筝], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1997), 117.
14. “Interview 6: Chen Zhufang” [访谈6：陈珠芳], in *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2021), 149–51.
15. Ren Zhengfei, “An Insight, an Idea with Ren Zhengfei,” interview by Linda Yueh, Huawei (website), 2015, [https://www.huawei.com/en/executives/articles/hw\\_412440](https://www.huawei.com/en/executives/articles/hw_412440).
16. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with BBC StoryWorks,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 5 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 70.
17. Ren, “An Insight, an Idea with Ren Zhengfei.”
18. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with Chinese Media,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, 3:61.
19. “Divorce on Upswing in China,” *United Press International*, February 4, 1985.
20. Ren, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with BBC StoryWorks,” 70.
21. Li Dong [李栋], “48 Non-Governmental Technology Companies Have Registered in Shenzhen” [深圳市已有48家民间科技技术业申报注册], *Special Zone Economy* [特区经济], no. 3 (1987): 13.
22. Yin Hanfan [鄞汉藩], “Shenzhen City’s Non-Governmental Technology Companies” [深圳市的民间科技企业], *Special District Technology* [特区科技], no. 3 (1987): 6–7.

23. Details are drawn from a description and photograph of the early building in “Walking the Huawei Road Again” [重走华为路], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 251, September 5, 2012; and from the recollections of Huawei executive Jiang Xisheng, as told to Ryo Takeuchi in *100 Faces of Huawei*, season 1, episode 3, “Who’s Controlling Huawei from the Past to Future?,” directed by Ryo Takeuchi, streamed by Hezhimeng on March 27, 2021, YouTube video, 30:57, <https://youtu.be/F5NUXSddk3g?si=uYWssVdgbBQWG1kj>.
24. Jiang Xisheng in “Who’s Controlling Huawei,” 25:35.
25. Zhang Jianguo [张建国], “Huawei’s First Human Resources Vice President Explains: Two or Three Things about Huawei’s Human Resources Management” [华为首任主管人力资源副总裁讲述：华为人力资源管理二三事], in *Insight: China Stone Management Review* [洞察：华夏基石管理评论], vol. 51 (Beijing: China Fortune Press [中国财富出版社], 2019), 120–26.
26. The five names and the titles of Zhang, Wu, and Chen are from Norman Pearlstine et al., “The Man behind Huawei,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 2019, <https://www.latimes.com/projects/la-fi-tn-huawei-5g-trade-war>. Mei’s title comes from “Daring to Lead the Nine Regions: Several Stories of Liaoning Entrepreneurs in Shenzhen” [敢领九州风流：几位辽宁企业家在深圳的故事], *China Entrepreneur* [中国企业家], 1996, 4. Shen’s title comes from Jin Shengmo [金胜谟], *Experience in Business Management* [经营管理实践] (Beijing: Beijing Institute of Technology Press [北京理工大学出版社], 1993), 137.
27. Ministry of Personnel Department of Experts [国家人事部专家司], ed., *List of Experts, Scholars, and Technicians of the People’s Republic of China Receiving Special Government Allowances, 1992*, vol. 1 [中华人民共和国享受政府特殊津贴专家、学者、技术人员名录 1992年卷 第1分册] (Beijing: China International Broadcasting Press, 1995), 1099.
28. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with UK Documentary Producer,” Huawei (website), archived April 26, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230426163437/https://www.huawei.com/nl/facts/voices-of-huawei/ren-zhengfeis-interview-with-uk-documentary-producer>.
29. “Daring to Lead the Nine Regions.”
30. “South Sea Oil Shenzhen Three Rivers Electronics Company [深圳石油深圳三江电子公司],” in *Shenzhen Special Economic Zone Yearbook 1989* [深圳经济特区年鉴1989], ed. Shenzhen Special Economic Zone Yearbook Editing Committee [深圳经济特区年鉴编辑委员会] (Guangzhou: Guangdong People’s Press [广东人民出版社], 1989), 624.
31. China Securities Co. Ltd. [中信建投证券股份有限公司], “Shenzhen Fanhai

- Sanjiang Electronics Co. Ltd. Initial Public Offering Prospectus” [深圳市泛海三江电子股份有限公司 首次公开发行股票 招股说明书], May 9, 2017, 1-1-48, [http://pdf.dcfw.com/pdf/H2\\_AN201707140719364576\\_1.pdf](http://pdf.dcfw.com/pdf/H2_AN201707140719364576_1.pdf).
32. Tian Tao, preface to *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2021).
  33. “Interview 1: Jiang Xisheng” [访谈1: 江西生], in Tian, *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], 5.
  34. South Sea Oil Shenzhen Three Rivers Electronics Company [深圳石油深圳三江电子公司],” in *Shenzhen Special Economic Zone Yearbook 1989* [深圳经济特区年鉴1989], 624; Guangdong Yearbook Editing Committee [广东年鉴编辑委员会], comp., *Guangdong Yearbook 1989* [广东年鉴 1989] (Guangzhou: Guangdong People’s Press [广东人民出版社], 1989), 569; and Meng Fansen and Wu Debi [孟繁森、吴德壁主], comps., *National New Products Overview 1988–1989* [国家级新产品总览 1988–1989] (Beijing: Yuhang Press, 1990), 270–71.
  35. “Interview 6: Chen Zhufang,” in Tian, *Huawei Interviews*, 150.
  36. Paul French, “From One-Time Chinese Capital to Coronavirus Epicenter, Wuhan Has a Long History that the West Had Forgotten,” CNN, February 23, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/02/22/asia/wuhan-history-hnk-intl/index.html>.
  37. Founded in 1953 in Wuhan, the Huazhong Institute of Technology (HIT) was renamed the Huazhong University of Science and Technology (HUST) in 2000. See “History,” Huazhong University of Science and Technology (website), <http://english.hust.edu.cn/ABOUT/History.htm>.
  38. Interviews by the author with alumni.
  39. Huazhong University of Science and Technology [华中科技大学], “Huazhong University Stories: How Was the ‘Statue of Chairman Mao’ Created?” [华中大故事: “毛爷爷像”是如何诞生的?], *Paper*, November 29, 2019, [https://m.thepaper.cn/baijiahao\\_5101017?sdkver=e06426d6&clientprefetch=1](https://m.thepaper.cn/baijiahao_5101017?sdkver=e06426d6&clientprefetch=1).
  40. Wang Jionghua [王炯华], *A Critical Biography of Zhu Jiusi* [朱九思评传] (Wuhan: Huazhong University of Science and Technology [华中科技大学出版社], 2011), 90–92.
  41. Wang, *A Critical Biography*, 143.
  42. Wang, 129.
  43. “Interview 6: Chen Zhufang,” in Tian, *Huawei Interviews*, 149–51. Chen recalled the trip taking place in 1983 or 1984.
  44. “Interview 6: Chen Zhufang,” in Tian, *Huawei Interviews*; Zhou Xi and Xiao Debao [周细、肖德宝], “Long-Distance Telephone Exchange System Controlled by a Z-80 Microcomputer” [Z-80微型机控制的长途电话交换台系统],

- Journal of Huazhong Institute of Technology* [华中工学院学报] 12, no. 3 (June 1984): 59–62; and Huazhong University of Science and Technology, School of Computer Science and Technology [华中科技大学计算机科学与技术学院], eds., *Thirty Years of Unity and Progress: Special Collection of the 30th Anniversary Celebration of the School of Computer Science and Technology* [团结奋进三十年：计算机科学与技术学院三十年院庆专集] (Wuhan: Huazhong University of Science and Technology, School of Computer Science and Technology, 2003), 198.
45. “Interview 6: Chen Zhufang,” in Tian, *Huawei Interviews*, 150.
  46. *100 Faces of Huawei*, season 1, episode 1, “Huawei International Employees Reveal the Real Reasons for America’s Sanctions of Huawei,” directed by Ryo Takeuchi, streamed by Hezhimeng on March 5, 2021, YouTube video, 31:27, <https://youtu.be/O4spoHp4HhY?si=mt2iemhzS7Mx75HS>. Guo Ping mentions his hometown in an interview that is part of this episode. Descriptions of his appearance in Huawei’s early years are drawn from photographs shown here.
  47. Guo Ping, “Meet Your Better Self at the Great Turning Point of History: Notes on Huawei Rotating Chairman Guo Ping’s Meeting with New Employees” [在历史大转折中遇见更好的自己：华为轮值董事长郭平与新员工座谈纪要], Huawei People (verified account) on Xinsheng Forum [心声社区的 华为人为 (官方账号)], August 11, 2021, archived April 27, 2023, at Archive.today, <https://archive.ph/P7xQI>.
  48. Guo Ping, “Don’t Miss the Opportunity in a Crisis: Notes on Huawei Rotating Chairman Guo Ping’s Meeting with New Employees” [不要浪费一场危机的机会：华为轮值董事长郭平与新员工座谈纪要], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 350, September 2020.
  49. Guo Ping, “Hotpot with Guo Ping Episode 1: No Special Recipe,” interview by Jeffrey Towson, Huawei (verified channel), streamed on January 13, 2020, YouTube video, 4:40, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5XLt1H-mSlc>.
  50. It’s unclear exactly when Zhuhai stopped supplying Huawei with the BH-01, and if development of Huawei’s rival switch, the BH-03, began before or after. What may be the earliest mention of the BH-03 appears in a government yearbook profile of the Shenzhen branch of the China Post and Telecommunications Equipment Corporation (中国邮电器材总公司深圳公司). According to that profile, in 1989, the company began a partnership with Huawei to make the BH-03. See *China Transportation and Communications Yearbook 1990* [中国交通年鉴 1990] (Beijing: China Transportation and Communications Yearbook Press [中国交通年鉴社], 1990), 440.

Huawei shipped its first BH-03 units at the end of 1991, according to Chen Kangning [陈康宁], “Telling the Story of Huawei’s People: In 1991, We Were in Haoye Village” [讲述华为人的故事 : 1991年我们在蚝业村], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 179, August 28, 2006.

A photograph of the BH-03 can be found in Zhang Lihua [张利华], *Research and Development of Huawei*, 3rd ed. [华为研发 第3版] (Beijing: Mechanical Industry Press [机械工业出版社], 2017), 15.

51. “Interview 3: Jiang Xisheng’s Second Interview” [访谈3 : 江西生第二次访谈], in Tian, *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], 55.
52. Ren Zhengfei, “Let the Life of Youth Radiate Brilliance: Minutes of Ren Zhengfei’s Speech at the Internet Product Line Striving Conference” [让青春的生命放射光芒 : 任总在网络产品线奋斗大会上的讲话纪要], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 10 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2010), 13.
53. Ren, “Let the Life of Youth Radiate Brilliance,” 13. In the speech, Ren said that he received this advice from Zhou Liangshu (周良叔), an official at the Ministry of Petroleum’s Bureau of Geophysical Prospecting (石油部物探局), calling the bureau “our partner at the time.” Curiously, this appears to be the only known mention that Huawei executives have made about a partnership with the Ministry of Petroleum, and it’s unclear what the partnership entailed.
54. Ren, 13.
55. Meng’s high school, the Affiliated High School of Shenzhen University (深圳大学附属中学), was founded in 1986 as Huaming School (华明学校), set up by South Sea Oil. (See “Affiliated High School of Shenzhen University: School Introduction” [深圳大学附属中学 : 学校介绍], Shenzhen Government Online, [http://www.sz.gov.cn/school/ssxx/szdxsfssxx/content/post\\_9558836.html](http://www.sz.gov.cn/school/ssxx/szdxsfssxx/content/post_9558836.html).) According to a post by the school, Meng graduated from the high school in 1990. (See Affiliated High School of Shenzhen University [深大附中], “She’s Returned, She’s Returned, the Affiliated High School of Shenzhen University’s Outstanding Alumna Meng Wanzhou Has Really Returned This Time!” [回来了, 回来了, 深大附中的杰出校友孟晚舟这一次是真的回来了!], *Tencent News* [腾讯网], September 25, 2021, <https://new.qq.com/rain/a/20210925A08XDG00>.)
56. Qiu Huihui [丘慧慧], “Ren Zhengfei’s Daughter Meng Wanzhou’s First Time Revealing the Secrets of the Family and the Truth of Huawei” [任正非之女孟晚舟首度解密家族和华为真相], *21st Century Business Herald* [21世纪经济报], January 22, 2013, [tech.sina.com.cn/t/2013-01-22/00408000729.shtml](http://tech.sina.com.cn/t/2013-01-22/00408000729.shtml).
57. Qiu, “Ren Zhengfei’s Daughter.”

58. “Interview 1: Jiang Xisheng” [访谈1: 江西生], in Tian, *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], 1.
59. The official was Yuan Geng, head of Shenzhen’s Shekou Industrial District and a champion of freedom of speech and the press. See Wen Chaoli [文朝利], ed., *Shenzhen Quotations* [深圳语录] (Shenzhen: Haitian Publishing House [海天出版社], 2010), 114–15.
60. Allison Liu Jernow, “Don’t Force Us to Lie: The Struggle of Chinese Journalists in the Reform Era,” *Occasional Papers/Reprints Series in Contemporary Asian Studies*, no. 2 (1994): 8, <https://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1120&context=mscas>.
61. Reuters, “Police Guard Joins in Protest,” *Independent*, May 23, 1989.
62. “Shenzhen Party Members Demand Deng’s Retirement,” *Hong Kong Ming Pao*, May 19, 1989, in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: China*, FBIS-CHI-89-096, May 19, 1989, 39.
63. Fan Cheuk-wan, “Shenzhen Party Members Call on Deng to Resign,” *Hongkong Standard*, May 20, 1989, in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: China*, FBIS-CHI-89-098, May 23, 1989, 72. According to the article, Luo told *The Hongkong Standard* that all party members at the university decided to send the telex “because they considered it an ‘abnormal phenomenon’ to have a ‘supreme helmsman’ overriding the legitimate power structure of the party.”
64. Wan Runnan [万润南], *The Seas and Clouds of Business: The Story of Stone Group* [商海云帆: 四通故事] (Tianyu Press [天语出版社], 2013), section 18-07.
65. Scott Kennedy, “The Stone Group: State Client or Market Pathbreaker?,” *China Quarterly*, no. 152 (December 1997): 746–77, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/655558>.
66. Shenzhen Innovation and Development Institute (verified account) [“深圳创新发展研究院” 公众号], “Farewell to the Great Founder of Shenzhen University, Mister Luo Zhengqi for Eternity!” [送别伟大的深圳大学开创者, 罗征启先生千古], Sohu, April 12, 2022, [https://www.sohu.com/a/537398345\\_390121](https://www.sohu.com/a/537398345_390121).
67. “Shenzhen University Head Fired for Riot Support,” *Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service*, July 25, 1989, in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: China*, FBIS-CHI-89-142, July 26, 1989, 32.
68. Daniel Kwan, “Former University Official in Guangdong ‘Isolated,’” *South China Morning Post*, May 2, 1990, in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: China*, FBIS-CHI-90-085, May 2, 1990, 77.
69. Cheung Po-Ling, “Guangdong Investigators to Hunt Student Leaders,” *Hong-kong Standard*, August 1, 1989, in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: China*, FBIS-CHI-89-146, August 1, 1989, 56.

70. William Plummer, interview by the author.
71. Ren Zhengfei, “To New Employees” [致新员工], preface to *First Time Shaking Hands* [第一次握手] (Beijing: China Youth Publishing House [中国青年出版社], 1998).
72. Ren, “To New Employees.”
73. Ren Zhengfei, “From the Kingdom of Necessity to the Kingdom of Freedom” [要从必然王国, 走向自由王国], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 66, April 6, 1998.

## Chapter 5: A Homegrown Switch

1. Ren’s threat to jump out a fifth-floor conference room window if they didn’t succeed in building the C&C08 switch has become a legendary part of Huawei’s story in China. It is cited in numerous domestic accounts of the company’s history, with one of the earlier mentions found in Si Hui [司辉], *Huawei’s R&D and Innovation: New Edition* [华为的研发与创新: 最新版] (Shenzhen: Haitian Publishing House [海天出版社], 2012), 232. This meeting is reported to have taken place on April 19, 1993, according to Yang Shaolong, *The Huawei Way: Lessons from an International Tech Giant on Driving Growth by Focusing on Never-Ending Innovation* (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2017).
2. The HJD48, which could connect up to forty-eight telephones, is often viewed as the first of Huawei’s switches to be truly developed in-house. Guo Ping led the project. See Guo Ping [郭平], “Huawei’s Road to Success in the Eyes of Huawei People: From Accidental Success to Inevitable Success” [华为人们眼中的华为之路: 从偶然性成功到必然性成功], *Caijing* [财经网], June 19, 2014, finance.sina.com.cn/leadership/20140619/195919465412.shtml.

An early Huawei report on the HJD48 mentioned that it had a password-billing feature for hotels, and that it was also suitable for use by police, border guards, and the wujing (paramilitary police). See “HJD48 Program-Controlled User Switch” [HJD48型程控用户交换机], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 4, September 27, 1993.

3. Li Yinan [李一男], “The Spirit of the New Machine” [新机器的灵魂], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1996), 130.
4. “Interview 6: Chen Zhufang” [访谈6: 陈珠芳], in *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2021), 150.
5. Ren Zhengfei, “Minutes of the Work Report to Mr. Ren by the Eastern and Southern Africa Management Department” [东南非多国管理部向任总汇报工

- 作纪要], Xinsheng Forum, November 15, 2012, <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/detail?uuid=916313487663906842>.
6. For a profile of Zheng Baoyong, who was Wu's boss at Huawei, see Wu Jianguo and Ji Yongqing [吴建国、冀勇庆], *Huawei's World* [华为的世界] (Beijing: CITIC Press [中信出版社], 2006), 119–23.
  7. “Song Jian, State Councillor and Director of the State Science and Technology Commission, Inspects Huawei” [国务委员、国家科委主任宋健视察华为], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 18, June 18, 1995.
  8. Chen Kangning [陈康宁], “Telling the Story of Huawei's People: In 1991, We Were in Haoye Village” [讲述华为人的故事：1991年我们在蚝业村], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 179, August 28, 2006.
  9. Chen, “Telling the Story of Huawei's People.”
  10. Chen, “Telling the Story of Huawei's People.”
  11. Zhang Jianguo [张建国], “Huawei's First Human Resources Vice President Explains: Two or Three Things about Huawei's Human Resources Management” [华为首任主管人力资源副总裁讲述：华为人力资源管理二三事], in *Insight: China Stone Management Review* [洞察：华夏基石管理评论], vol. 51 (Beijing: China Fortune Press [中国财富出版社], 2019), 122.
  12. Zheng Aizhu [郑爱珠], “The Weight of Responsibility” [责任的重量], in *Our Golden Armor Is Battered by a Hundred Battles in the Yellow Sands* [黄沙百战穿金甲], ed. Yin Zhifeng (Hong Kong: SDX Joint Publishing [三联书店], 2017), 149. This book of essays by Huawei employees is available in English translation as *Visionaries*, in the Huawei Stories series, but the English translation of this passage may be confusing; it says Zheng's fifteen thousand yuan in stock was “the original startup capital for Huawei.” The Chinese version reflects that she was not calling it the company's initial capital but her and her husband's “initial stock at Huawei” (这就是我们在华为的原始股).
  13. Details in this paragraph are drawn from Qiu Shuming, Lan Zhenqiang, and Peng Haibin [丘淑明、蓝镇强、彭海斌], “The Joint-Stock Cooperative System Is a Good Method to Improve and Develop My Country's Collective Ownership Economy” [股份合作制是完善和发展我国集体所有制经济的好形式], *Special Zone Economy* [特区经济], no. 4 (1992): 23–24. The article says that the authors are employees of the Shenzhen City Bureau of Industry and Commerce.
  14. “Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Urban Collectively Owned Enterprises” [中华人民共和国城镇集体所有制企业条例], *State Council Gazette*, supplement, April 28, 2011, [https://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2011/content\\_1860730.htm](https://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2011/content_1860730.htm).



15. Wang Jun [王军], “Huawei’s Equity and Governance Structure” [华为的股权与治理结构], trans. by Zichen Wang [王子辰], in *Beyond the Trap: On Sino-US Trade Dispute*, ed. Qiang Shigong et al. (Beijing: Contemporary World Press [当代世界出版社], 2020), 8, 26, full excerpt reprinted at [https://drive.google.com/file/d/1\\_9ncG\\_yCHKeRPDEkZ5zxxnAJGEkF4\\_sG/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1_9ncG_yCHKeRPDEkZ5zxxnAJGEkF4_sG/view). Page references are to the Google file.
16. Wang, “Huawei’s Equity and Governance Structure,” 26.
17. “Regulations of the People’s Republic of China.”
18. Erik Baark, *Lightning Wires: The Telegraph and China’s Technological Modernization, 1860–1890* (London: Greenwood Press, 1997), 69.
19. Wang Yutang, Sun Zhongquan, and Yan Yongji [王玉堂、孙忠权、燕永吉], *Confidentiality Education Study Guide for Party and Government Cadres* [党政干部保密教育学习辅导] (Beijing: China Publishing Group [中国出版集团公司], 2018), 85; and Wu Jichuan [吴基传] et al., eds., *Big Leap: Thirty Years of China’s Telecommunications Industry* [大跨越：中国电信业三十春秋] (Beijing: People’s Publishing House [人民出版社], 2008), 20.
20. Eric Harwit, *China’s Telecommunications Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 33; and interviews with anonymous interviewees by the author.
21. Shenzhen Post and Telecommunications Gazetteer Editing Committee [深圳市邮电志编纂委员会], *Shenzhen Post and Telecommunications Gazetteer* [深圳市邮电志] (Shenzhen: Haitian Publishing House [海天出版社], 2001), 203.
22. Shenzhen Post and Telecommunications Gazetteer Editing Committee, *Shenzhen Post and Telecommunications Gazetteer*, 191–93.
23. Ken Zita, *Modernising China’s Telecommunications: Implications for International Firms* (London: Economist Intelligence Unit, 1987), 2–4.
24. Robert D. Atkinson, “Who Lost Lucent?: The Decline of America’s Telecom Equipment Industry,” *American Affairs* 4, no. 3 (Fall 2020): 99–135, <https://americanaffairsjournal.org/2020/08/who-lost-lucent-the-decline-of-americas-telecom-equipment-industry>.
25. Guy Saint-Jacques, interview by the author, 2023.
26. Ren Zhengfei, “The Situation before Us and Our Task at Hand: Speech at the Marketing Department’s Work Training Meeting, December 26, 1995” [目前我们的形势和任务：任正非在1995年总结大会上的讲话，1995年12月26日], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1996), 1.
27. Hao Chunmin with Pei Zhengli [郝春民于沛整理], *High Technology Lifts the New Shenzhen: An Autobiography from Someone with Personal Experience of the*

- Shenzhen Tech Structural Reform* [科技托起心深圳：一名深圳科技体制改革亲历者的自述] (Beijing: China Science and Technology Publishing House [中国科学技术出版社], 2014), 62–63.
28. Cao Yian [曹贻安], “Miscellaneous Notes on Working at Huawei” [华为打拼杂记], *Blue Blood Research* [蓝血研究], May 11, 2021, <https://finance.sina.cn/chanjing/gsxw/2021-05-11/detail-ikmyaawc4597139.d.html?from=wap>.
  29. Ren Zhengfei, “Let the Life of Youth Radiate Brilliance: Minutes of Ren Zhengfei’s Speech at the Internet Product Line Striving Conference” [让青春的生命放射光芒：任总在网络产品线奋斗大会上的讲话纪要], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 10 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2010), 14.
  30. Hao with Pei, *High Technology Lifts the New Shenzhen*, 66.
  31. “Mobeco Founding Meeting Takes Place” [莫贝克创立大会召开], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 1, May 11, 1993.
  32. Li Yuzhuo [李玉琢], *Straight Down the Path: My Business Ideals* [一路直行：我的企业理想] (Beijing: Contemporary China Publishing House [当代中国出版社], 2014), 97.
  33. “The Naming of the C&C08” [C&C08命名记], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 7, June 7, 1994.
  34. Li, “Spirit of the New Machine,” 131.
  35. Li Youwei, *Collected Writings of Li Youwei*, vol. 1 of 2 [厉有为文集(上)] (Shenzhen: Haitian Publishing House [海天出版社], 2010), 150. In June 1993, Shenzhen mayor Li Youwei said in a speech that Huawei’s switches had more than eighty suppliers in the Pearl River Delta.
  36. “Articles of Incorporation of Ran Boss Technologies Ltd., Inc.,” California Business Search, March 9, 1993, <https://bizfileonline.sos.ca.gov/api/report/GetImageByNum/021255241189079145048149172231063251026051004143>.
  37. Ren Zhengfei, “Notes on a Trip to America” [赴美考察散记], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1996), 120–24.
  38. Zhang Lihua [张利华], *Research and Development of Huawei*, 3rd ed. [华为研发第3版] (Beijing: Mechanical Industry Press [机械工业出版社], 2017), 160.
  39. “Ran Boss Company Registered” [兰博公司注册], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 1, May 11, 1993.
  40. Kathrin Hille, “Ren Zhengfei: Huawei’s General Musters for a Fight,” *Financial Times*, December 14, 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/19791f96-ff00-11e8-aebf-99e208d3e521>.
  41. Ren, “Notes on a Trip to America,” 123.

42. Yan Jingli [阎景立], “Ran Boss Report” [兰博报导], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 13, March 10, 1995.
43. Tony Kwong, interview by the author.
44. Ren, “Notes on a Trip to America,” 123.
45. “U.S. Ambassador Li Daoyu Visits Huawei” [驻美大使李道豫参观华为公司], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 20, August 25, 1995.
46. Sun Yuanyuan [孙媛媛], “We Used Huawei’s First Program-Controlled Switch” [我们用了华为首台程控式交换机], *Jinhua Daily* [金华日报], December 26, 2018.
47. Li, “Spirit of the New Machine,” 131.
48. “Record of the Report to Minister of Posts and Telecommunications Wu Jichuan” [向邮电部长吴基传汇报], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 5, January 28, 1994.
49. Huawei Party Committee [华为公司党委] and Huawei Human Resources Committee [华为公司人力资源委员会], “Heaven Rewards the Diligent” [天道酬勤], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 9 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2006), 4.

## Chapter 6: A Shared Interest

1. Details about this meeting come from “High-Tech Products Are the Development Direction of the Special District’s Companies—Notes from General Secretary Jiang Zemin’s Meeting with Companies in Shenzhen” [高技术产业是特区企业的发展方向——江泽民总书记在深圳与企业座谈小记], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 8, July 20, 1994. The article says that the meeting took place on June 19, 1994, and that the other seven companies at the meeting were the Shenzhen Petrochemical Group, the Overseas Chinese Town Group, the Shenzhen Construction Group, the China Merchants Shekou Industrial Zone Holdings Co., the SEG Group, Konka Electronics, and Ren’s former employer, South Sea Oil.
2. Keith M. Rockwell, “Kantor: China Must Change to Earn WTO Admission,” *Journal of Commerce*, June 6, 1994, [https://www.joc.com/article/kantor-china-must-change-earn-wto-admission\\_19940607.html](https://www.joc.com/article/kantor-china-must-change-earn-wto-admission_19940607.html).
3. “President Jiang Zemin Visits Survivors of Factory Collapse,” Associated Press, June 19, 1994.
4. “High-Tech Products Are the Development Direction of the Special District’s Companies.”
5. Ren recounted part of his conversation with Jiang in Ren Zhengfei, “Views on

- China's Rural Phone Network and Switching Industry" [对中国农话网与交换机产业的一点看法], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 8, July 20, 1994.
6. "High-Tech Products Are the Development Direction of the Special District's Companies."
  7. Jiang's remarks and the text of the oath are reported in Yan Zi [燕子], "Breaking the Cocoon" [破茧], *Special Zone Literature* [特区文学], no. 4 (1995), 136. This profile of Huawei appears to have been written with the company's cooperation, as it features interviews with Ren's senior aides, Zheng Baoyong and Li Yinan.
  8. Ren Zhengfei, "Views on China's Rural Phone Network" [对中国农话网与交换机产业的一点看法], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 8, July 20, 1994.
  9. Ren, "Views on China's Rural Phone Network."
  10. Li Youwei [历有为], "Guangdong Province Shenzhen City People's Government Letter of Congratulations" [广东省深圳市人民政府贺信], *SEZs and Hong Kong-Macao Economy* [特区与港澳经济], no. 7, 1996. Dated November 14, 1994, this letter is addressed to China Merchants Bank's Shenzhen headquarters, Huawei Technologies Co., and the Hubei Province Jingzhou District Telecom Bureau, the first customer to purchase switches from Huawei using domestic buyer's credit. See also "Practical Research on Domestic Buyer's Credit Operations" [国内买方信贷操作实务研究], *SEZs and Hong Kong-Macao Economy* [特区与港澳经济], no. 7, 1996.
  11. "C&C08 Thousand-Line Digital Switch Passes Production Appraisal Meeting" [C&C08万门数字交换机通过生产定型鉴定会], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 15, April 10, 1995.
  12. Lucent executive Frank D'Amelio considered the C&C08's layout and design to be nearly identical to AT&T's 5E, according to Jonathan Pelson, *Wireless Wars: China's Dangerous Domination of 5G and How We're Fighting Back* (Dallas: BenBella Books, 2021), 91.
  13. Sun Yafang, "I Am Spiritually Similar to Ren Zhengfei" [我在心灵上接近任正非], *Modern Enterprise Culture* [现代企业文化(上旬)], May 5, 2017.
  14. Guangdong Science and Technology Committee [广东省科学技术委员会], "Chapter 4: Private Technology Companies" [第四章: 民营科技企业], *Guangdong Technology Yearbook 1994* [广东科技年鉴 1994] (Guangzhou: Guangdong Technology Press [广东科技出版社], 1996), 69.
  15. Liu Bingnan [刘炳安], "The Recent Situation of the Establishment of Mobeco Telecom Company" [莫贝克电信公司筹建近况], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 3, July 21, 1993.

16. “Articles of Association of Shenzhen Mobeco Communication Industry Co. Ltd.” [深圳莫贝克通讯实业股份有限公司章程], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 9, August 20, 1994. It’s unclear how much technology Huawei ended up transferring to Mobeco, and the company declined to comment on this question. From available records, it appears that Huawei transferred its power supply technology to Mobeco (later sold off as Avansys Power) and possibly some low-end switching technology while retaining its advanced switching IP.
17. “Electronics Ministry Vice-Minister Zhang Jinqiang Inspects the Company” [电子部副部长张今强视察公司], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 13, March 10, 1995.
18. Li Yuzhuo [李玉琢], *Straight Down the Path: My Business Ideals* [一路直行：我的企业理想] (Beijing: Contemporary China Publishing House [当代中国出版社], 2014), 124.
19. Li, *Straight Down the Path*, 126.
20. Zhang Yunhui [张运辉] and Zhao Guobi [赵国璧], *Who Will Abandon You, Huawei* [华为你将被谁抛弃] (Beijing: Intellectual Property Press [知识产权出版社], 2013), 34.
21. Ren Zhengfei, “My Father and Mother” [我的父亲母亲], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2002), 223.
22. Zhang Yanyan [张燕燕], “Reflections after Reading ‘My Father and Mother’” [“我的父亲母亲”读后感], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 115, March 28, 2001.
23. Ren, “My Father and Mother,” 223.
24. Ren Zhengfei, “Our Struggle Is Subjectively for the Happiness of Ourselves and Our Families, Objectively for the Country and Society: Mr. Ren’s Speech for Presenting Awards to Family Members at the Sales and Service Systems Struggle Conference on January 16, 2009” [我们的奋斗主观上为了自己和家人的幸福、客观上为了国家和社会：任总在2009年1月16日销服体系奋斗大会上为家属颁奖的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 209, March 3, 2009.
25. Norman Pearlstine et al., “The Man behind Huawei,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 2019, <https://www.latimes.com/projects/la-fi-tn-huawei-5g-trade-war/>; and Tan Dawn, “Huawei Saga: What We Know and Don’t about the Highly Secretive Firm, Low-Profile Family,” *Straits Times*, December 9, 2018.
26. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with Chinese Media,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 61.
27. Ren, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with Chinese Media,” 61.
28. Ren Moxun, *Basic Knowledge of Modern Mandarin for Middle School Students*

[中学生现代汉语基本知识] (Guiyang: Guizhou People's Publishing House [贵州人民出版社], 2002).

29. Ren, "My Father and Mother," 223.
30. Ren, 216.
31. Ren, 218.
32. "Vice-Premier Zhu Rongji Inspects Huawei" [朱容基副总理视察华为], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 30, June 18, 1996.
33. Li Youwei [厉有为], "Secretary Li Youwei's Speech at the Signing Ceremony" [厉有为书记在签字仪式上的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 31, July 18, 1996.
34. "Vice-Premier Zhu Rongji Inspects Huawei."
35. Zhou Xuejun [周学军], "Shenzhen City Party Secretary Zhang Gaoli Inspects Huawei" [深圳市委书记张高丽考察华为], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 65, March 26, 1998.
36. The program was called "the 909 Project." See "The 909 Example" [909案例], *China Science and Technology Information* [中国科技信息], no. 22, 2001.
37. "Premier Li Peng Inspects Huawei" [李鹏总理视察华为公司], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 27, April 10, 1996.
38. Ren Zhengfei, "Notes on a Trip to America" [赴美考察散记], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1996), 120–24.
39. "Electronics Ministry Vice Minister Zhang Jinqiang Inspects the Company."
40. "President of the People's Bank of China Dai Xianglong Visits Huawei" [中国人民银行行长戴相龙参观考察华为], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 48, April 10, 1997.
41. "Shenzhen Establishes a High-Tech Industry Investment Service Co., Mr. Ren Was Invited to Speak as a Representative of High-Tech Enterprises" [深圳成立高新技术产业投资服务有限公司 任总应邀作为高新技术企业代表讲话], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 12, January 20, 1995. This first venture-capital company was called the Shenzhen High-Tech Industrial Investment Services Co.
42. "Vice-Chairman Tian Juyun Inspects Huawei" [田纪云副委员长视察华为公司], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 39, December 20, 1996.
43. Zhang Guobao [张国宝], "Zhang Guobao: Nokia's Decline Was Unfortunately Predicted by Me" [张国宝：诺基亚衰落不幸被我言中], *Sina Finance* [新浪财经], December 25, 2013, <http://finance.sina.com.cn/hy/20131225/114017746578.shtml>.
44. Quotes from Ren's exchange with Li Peng appear in "Premier Li Peng Inspects Huawei."

## Chapter 7: Pack of Wolves

1. Sun Yafang, “I Am Spiritually Similar to Ren Zhengfei” [我在心灵上接近任正非], *Modern Enterprise Culture* [现代企业文化(上旬)], May 5, 2017.
2. Marketing Department [市场部], “For Tomorrow (Attachment: Resignation Letter)” [为了明天(附: 辞职信)], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 25, February 8, 1996.
3. Ren Zhengfei, “The Situation before Us and Our Task at Hand: Speech at the Marketing Department’s Work Training Meeting, December 26, 1995” [目前我们的形势和任务: 任正非在1995年总结大会上的讲话, 1995年12月26日], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1996), 2.
4. Ren Zhengfei, “Chairman Ren’s Speech at the Marketing Department’s Ceremony for Collective Resignation from Full-Time Employment” [任总在市场部全体正职集体辞职仪式上的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 25, February 8, 1996.
5. “A Shocking, Tear-Filled Event: The Marketing Department Ends Its Training Session and Holds a Collective Resignation Ceremony” [一个惊天地、泣鬼神的壮举—市场部结束整训并举行集体辞职仪式], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 25, February 8, 1996.
6. Xu Zhijun, “Goodbye, Fierce Zhang Fei” [别了, 猛张飞], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 42, January 30, 1997.
7. Ren Zhengfei, “Success Is Not a Reliable Guide for the Future—Ren Zhengfei’s Speech at the Company’s Marketing Conference, January 17, 2011” [成功不是未来前进的可靠向导—任正非在公司市场大会上的讲话2011年1月17日], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 380, May 17, 2011.
8. Ren Zhengfei, “Stand Up, Heroes: Speech at the Inauguration Ceremony of Senior and Intermediate Cadres of the Marketing Headquarters” [英雄好汉站出来: 在市场总部高、中级干部就职仪式上的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 15, April 10, 1995.
9. Zhang Jianguo [张建国], “Huawei’s First Human Resources Vice President Explains: Two or Three Things about Huawei’s Human Resources Management” [华为首任主管人力资源副总裁讲述: 华为人力资源管理二三事], in *Insight: China Stone Management Review* [洞察: 华夏基石管理评论], vol. 51 (Beijing: China Fortune Press [中国财富出版社], 2019), 122.
10. Chen Kangning [陈康宁], “A Representative Office of One Person: Huawei’s Hefei Rep Office in 1990” [一个人的办事处: 1990年的华为合肥办事处], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 151, April 27, 2004.
11. Zhang, “Huawei’s First Human Resources Vice President Explains,” 122.

12. Ren Zhengfei, "Establishing an Organization and Mechanism Adapted to the Survival and Development of the Enterprise: A Dialogue between Mr. Ren and HAY Experts about the Area of R&D at the Qualification Assessment Meeting" [建立一个适应企业生存发展的组织和机制 : 任总与HAY专家在任职资格考核会上关于研发部分的对话], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 4 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1998), 29.
13. Song Tun [宋瞰], *I Was at Huawei for 16 Years: Turning Around Is Also a Kind of Nirvana* [我在华为16年 : 转身也是一种涅槃] (Beijing: Posts & Telecom Press [人民邮电出版社], 2014), chap. 1.
14. Steven Mufson, "Mao's Land of Diligence Discovers Joys of the 2-Day Weekend," *Washington Post*, May 7, 1995, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/05/07/maos-land-of-diligence-discovers-joys-of-the-2-day-weekend/58c178a0-2a34-4b04-9f0c-34e2f3d72f96>.
15. Karen Cooper, "China to Flex Its Telecoms Muscle," *Evening Standard*, September 19, 1995.
16. "China Develops Advanced Telephone Exchange System: Report," Dow Jones International News, June 29, 1995.
17. "Zhongxing Produces New Telephone Switching System," AsiaInfo Daily News Service, December 6, 1995.
18. "Wu Jiangxing: I'm Only Half a Hero" [邬江兴:我也就算是半个英雄], *Xinhuanet* [新华网], December 3, 2013, [https://www.cae.cn/cae/html/main/col36/2013-12/06/20131206164049265903539\\_1.html](https://www.cae.cn/cae/html/main/col36/2013-12/06/20131206164049265903539_1.html).
19. "Domestic Switching Systems Enter Beijing's Telephone Web," Xinhua English, January 2, 1997.
20. "Huawei Obtains Huge Buyers Credit," Xinhua English, July 24, 1998.
21. "China Company—Xi'an Datang Telecom Stands Out for Its Innovations," Economist Intelligence Unit, March 3, 2000.
22. Hao Chunmin with Pei Zhengli [郝春民于沛整理], *High Technology Lifts the New Shenzhen: An Autobiography from Someone with Personal Experience of the Shenzhen Tech Structural Reform* [科技托起心深圳 : 一名深圳科技体制改革亲历者的自述] (Beijing: China Science and Technology Publishing House [中国科学技术出版社], 2014), 64–65.
23. Qin Shuo [秦朔], "Shout Success and They Will Always Be There: An Overview of Eight Great Guangdong Private Entrepreneurs" [叫成功永远在 : 广东八大民企风云人物扫描], *South Reviews* [南风窗], no. 10, 1998, 9.
24. Ren, "The Situation before Us and Our Task at Hand," 2.
25. Ren, 3–4.



26. “Interview 7: Chen Zhufang’s Second Interview” [访谈7：陈珠芳第二次访谈], in *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2021), 191.
27. Duncan Clark, interview with the author, 2022.
28. Office of Public Affairs, “Ericsson Agrees to Pay Over \$1 Billion to Resolve FCPA Case,” press release, US Department of Justice, December 6, 2019, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/ericsson-agrees-pay-over-1-billion-resolve-fcpa-case>.
29. Li Jingxian [李景贤], “Close Up with a Strange Man: Ren Zhengfei” [走进奇人任正非], *Beiguang People* [北广人物], no. 3, 2017, 12.
30. Li Zibin [李子彬], *I Was Mayor of Shenzhen* [我在深圳当市长] (Beijing: CITIC Press [中信出版社], 2020), 93–94. Li writes that after Ren invited him to dinner, Li offered to bring Ren along the next day to a meeting with former AIG chairman Maurice Greenberg. Greenberg hadn’t heard of Huawei but was impressed by Ren and later went to visit.
31. “Interview 1: Jiang Xisheng” [访谈1：江西生], in Tian, *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], 2.
32. Ken Hu, “Ken Hu’s Speech at VivaTech 2019,” in *On the Record: Huawei Executives Speak to the Public*, vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 214.
33. Xu, “Goodbye, Fierce Zhang Fei.”
34. Shulu Ren, “The Virtuous Cycle of Architecture: The Source of Huawei’s Competitiveness,” *Nikken Journal*, no. 23 (Summer 2015): 13, [https://www.nikken.co.jp/ja/about/p4iusj0000001e0y-att/NJ23\\_WEB.pdf](https://www.nikken.co.jp/ja/about/p4iusj0000001e0y-att/NJ23_WEB.pdf); “Mr. Ren Shulu (Steven Ren),” Huawei.com, <https://www.huawei.com/en/executives/supervisory-board/ren-shulu>.
35. Cao Zhen, “Huawei Denies Family Successor Report,” *Shenzhen Daily*, October 29, 2010, [http://www.szdaily.com/content/2010-10/29/content\\_5039593.htm](http://www.szdaily.com/content/2010-10/29/content_5039593.htm).
36. The Chengdu Radio Engineering Institute was later renamed the University of Electronic Science and Technology.
37. “Sun Yafang Reached the Top of the *Fortune China* Women’s List, Her Classmate Says She Was Very Active Back Then” [孙亚芳登顶财富中国女强人榜 同学称当年很活跃], *Chengdu Daily* [成都日报], November 17, 2011, [finance.sina.com.cn/leadership/crz/20111117/110710834419.shtml](http://finance.sina.com.cn/leadership/crz/20111117/110710834419.shtml).
38. University of Electronic Science and Technology Gazetteer Editing Committee [电子科技大学志编纂委员会], *University of Electronic Science and Technology Gazetteer (1956–2015)*, vol. 1 of 2 [电子科技大学志 (1956–2015) 上卷] (Chengdu: University of Electronic Science and Technology Press [电子科技大学出版社], 2016), 17.

39. According to her bio in Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., *Building a Better Connected World: Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd. 2015 Annual Report* (Shenzhen: Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., 2016), 108, [https://www.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/annual-report/annualreport2015\\_en.pdf](https://www.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/annual-report/annualreport2015_en.pdf).
40. State Council Economic, Technological, and Social Development Research Center [国务院经济技术社会发展研究中心], “Liaoyuan Radio Factory (State-Run Factory 760)” [燎原无线电厂(国营第七六〇厂)], *China’s Large and Medium-Sized Industrial Enterprises: Electronics Industry Volume* [中国大中型工业企业 电子工业卷] (Beijing: China Urban Economic and Social Publishing House [中国城市经济社会出版社], 1989), 291.
41. Li Zhenggen, Guo Shuwu, and Zhang Xu [李振根、郭书武、张旭], “Seeking the Traces of the Past Glory” [享尽荣华何觅影], *Pingyuan Evening News* [平原晚报], March 23, 2011.
42. Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., *Building a Better Connected World*, 108.
43. “Special Report on the Meeting on Rural Telephony: It’s a Great Pleasure to Have Friends from Afar: The Fifth Seminar on Rural Communications Technology and Markets Is Held at Huawei” [农话会专题报道：有朋自远方来 不亦乐乎：第五期农村通信技术与市场研讨会在华为公司召开], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 4, September 27, 1993.
44. “Training of Market Personnel Successfully Completed” [市场人员培训工作顺利结束], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 6, March 22, 1994.
45. Dai Zhihui [戴智慧], “Liaoning Provincial Management Bureau Cooperates with Huawei on Power Supply” [辽宁省管局与华为进行电源合作], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 11, December 25, 1994.
46. “Interview 11: Cao Yi’an” [访谈11：曹贻安], in Tian, *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], 349.
47. Yang Shengping [汤圣平], *Out of Huawei* [走出华为] (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press [中国社会科学出版社], 2004), chap. 6.
48. Ren Zhengfei, “Speech at the Secretaries’ Symposium” [在秘书座谈会上的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 44, February 26, 1997.
49. Sun, “I Am Spiritually Similar to Ren Zhengfei.”

## Chapter 8: Farewell to the Paramount Leader

1. Li Ning [李宁], “Unending Reminiscence and Deep Commemoration—Written on the Passing of the Esteemed and Beloved Deng Xiaoping” [无限的追思深深

- 的缅怀—写在敬爱的邓小平逝世的日子里], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 45, February 28, 1997.
2. Li, “Unending Reminiscence and Deep Commemoration.”
  3. “Eternal Glory to Deng Xiaoping, a Great Man of a Generation—Commemorating Xiaoping’s Unfinished Mission to Build the Nation into an Economic Power” [一代伟人邓小平永垂不朽——缅怀小平遗志, 把祖国建设成经济强国], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 45, February 28, 1997.
  4. Meng Wanzhou [晚舟], “Everlasting Affection” [悠悠情思], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 45, February 28, 1997.
  5. Steven Mufson, “Deng’s Successor to Lead Memorial Rites Tuesday,” *Washington Post*, February 21, 1997, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/asia/feb/20/deng.htm>.
  6. Zhao Jinsong [赵劲松], “The Noble Spirit Will Last, the Heroic Spirit Will Stay” [浩气长存, 英灵永留], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 45, February 28, 1997.
  7. Yan Jingli [阎景立], “Remembering Mister Deng Xiaoping” [怀念邓小平先生], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 45, February 28, 1997.
  8. Li, “Unending Reminiscence and Deep Commemoration.”
  9. Meng, “Everlasting Affection.”
  10. “Eternal Glory to Deng Xiaoping.”
  11. Meng, “Everlasting Affection.”
  12. Zhang Jianguo [张建国], “Huawei’s First Human Resources Vice President Explains: Two or Three Things about Huawei’s Human Resources Management” [华为首任主管人力资源副总裁讲述 : 华为人力资源管理二三事], in *Insight: China Stone Management Review* [洞察 : 华夏基石管理评论], vol. 51 (Beijing: China Fortune Press [中国财富出版社], 2019), 122–23. Zhang wrote that the salary for a Huawei engineer was only three hundred yuan a month at the time, while the salary across the border was ten thousand Hong Kong dollars a month. But the engineers did eventually earn more than their Hong Kong counterparts. Li Yinan mentions being given a similar pitch when he was recruited to Huawei. See Li Yinan [李一男], “Speech after the First Phone Call on GSM” [在GSM打通第一个电话后第讲话], in *Purgatory* [炼狱] (Shenzhen: Huawei Management Optimization Newspaper Editorial Office [华为管理优化报编辑部], 82.
  13. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with BBC StoryWorks,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 5 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 72–73. Hung Nien was set up in the British colony by China’s Ministry of Aerospace Industry.

14. “Hong Kong Huawei Holds Launch Party” [香港华为举行开业庆典], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 21, October 18, 1995.
15. Zhou Gengsheng [周更生], “Returning from Setting Up the Switches in Hong Kong” [香港开局归来], in *Purgatory*, 51.
16. Kevin Platt, “China’s Trusted Adviser is Billionaire Tycoon,” *Christian Science Monitor*, February 3, 1997.
17. Simon Murray, interview by the author.
18. Gong Hao [龚昊], “C&C08 in Hong Kong’s Telecommunications Network” [香港电信网中的C&C08], in *Huawei Technologies Report Selected Papers*, vol. 1 [华为技术报精选 第一辑] (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Report Publishing Department [华为技术报编辑部], 1999), 392.
19. Yun Wen, *The Huawei Model: The Rise of China’s Technology Giant* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020).
20. Gong, “C&C08 in Hong Kong’s Telecommunications Network,” 192.
21. Gengsheng, “Returning from Setting Up the Switches in Hong Kong.”
22. “The Speech of the Director of the Emergency Communications Department of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications Qiu Zhenbang at the Evaluation Meeting for Videoconferencing Technology” [中国邮电电信总局应急通信处邱振邦处长在会议电视技术鉴定会上的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 60, November 12, 1997.
23. Chen Qing [陈青], “Notes on a Trip to the United States” [访美纪行], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 39, December 20, 1996.
24. “Domestic Videoconferencing System Set Up for the First Time On-Site” [国产会议电视系统首次实地开通], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 44, February 26, 1997.
25. Huawei Company [华为公司], “ViewPoint Provides Comprehensive Solution Project for Remote Image Monitoring” [ViewPoint为远程图像监控提供全面解决方案], *World Telecommunications* [世界电信], no. 5, 1998, 26.
26. “Central Military Commission Vice-Chairman Liu Huaqing Inspects Huawei” [中央军委副主席刘华清视察华为公司], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 38, December 13, 1996.
27. Zhou Xuejun and Chen Lian [周学军、陈连], “Huawei ViewPoint Videoconferencing System Passes Appraisal” [华为ViewPoint会议电视系统通过鉴定], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 59, October 21, 1997.
28. Ren Zhengfei, “The Situation before Us and Our Task at Hand: Speech at the Marketing Department’s Work Training Meeting December 26, 1995” [目前我们的形势和任务:任正非在1995年总结大会上的讲话 1995年12月26日], in *Hua-*

- wei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1996), 2.
29. Ren Zhengfei, "Calling for Heroes: Speech at the Conference on Exemplary Deeds of the Company's Research System" [呼唤英雄：在公司研究试验系统先进事迹汇报大会上的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 54, June 26, 1997.
  30. "The Handover and Related Ceremonies," in *Hong Kong Yearbook*, ed. Bob Howlett (Hong Kong: Information Services Department, 1997), <https://www.yearbook.gov.hk/1997/ch2/e2a.htm>; and ProtocolOnline, "Hong Kong Handover Ceremony—1997," streamed on January 11, 2008, YouTube video, 10:02, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dVZzRYOX6\\_g&t=322s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dVZzRYOX6_g&t=322s).
  31. Acton Institute, "The Handover of Hong Kong: The Hong Konger," streamed on July 2, 2022, YouTube video, 5:15, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8duHnOkcn04>.
  32. Asieh Namdar and Pei Jian, "Hong Kong Handover to Receive Tremendous Television Coverage," CNN, June 29, 1997.
  33. Zhou and Chen, "Huawei ViewPiont Videoconferencing System Passes Appraisal."
  34. Details in this paragraph come from Meng Wanzhou [晚舟], "Kite" [风筝], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1997), 117.
  35. Cathy Meng, "Tolerance Ensures Brilliance," *Huawei People* (English), no. 247, October 31, 2013.
  36. Meng, "Kite," 118.
  37. Qiu Huihui [丘慧慧], "Ren Zhengfei's Daughter Meng Wanzhou's First Time Revealing the Secrets of the Family and the Truth of Huawei" [任正非之女孟晚舟首度解密家族和华为真相], *21st Century Business Herald* [21世纪经济报], January 22, 2013, [tech.sina.com.cn/t/2013-01-22/00408000729.shtml](http://tech.sina.com.cn/t/2013-01-22/00408000729.shtml).
  38. Meng, "Kite," 118.
  39. "Interview 3: Jiang Xisheng's Second Interview" [访谈3：江西生第二次访谈], in *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2021), 59. Jiang said the five investors started exiting in 1997, but the process was not complete until 1999 or 2000.
  40. Meng Wanzhou [晚舟], "Who Is a Hero" [谁是英雄], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 49, April 23, 1997. Her essay lists the names of the war heroes. Their biographical sketches are drawn from various sources.

## Part II

1. “When Disaster Strikes, How Should We Face It?” [大难发生时, 我们该如何面对?], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 377, March 31, 2011.

## Chapter 9: Iron Army

1. AP Archive, “Iraq: US Launches Series of Military Strikes on Baghdad,” streamed on July 21, 2015, YouTube Video, 4:19, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I3\\_frkT2Gj4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I3_frkT2Gj4).
2. Qiao Xiaoping [乔小平], “Baghdad Battlefield Report” [巴格达战地纪实], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 83, February 8, 1999.
3. Susanne M. Schafer, “Cohen, Shelton Describe Bomb Damage,” *Washington Post*, December 17, 1998, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/iraq/stories/apmilitary121798.htm>.
4. Qiao, “Baghdad Battlefield Report.”
5. Bruce Gilley, “Huawei’s Fixed Line to Beijing,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, December 28, 2000.
6. Yi Mingjun [易明军], “Crossing the Battlefield” [穿越战地], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 148, January 15, 2004.
7. William Lazonick and Edward March, “The Rise and Demise of Lucent Technologies” (paper, Business History Conference, St. Louis, MO, March 31–April 2, 2011), <https://thebhc.org/sites/default/files/lazonickandmarch.pdf>.
8. Matthew M. Aid, *The Secret Sentry: The Untold History of the National Security Agency* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009), loc. 4656 of 9625, Kindle.
9. “Russia, China Cement New Strategic Partnership,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 26, 1996.
10. Shen Qingjian [沈庆鉴], “Review of Huawei’s International Economic and Technological Cooperation” [华为公司开展国际经济技术合作的回顾], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 229, November 8, 2010.
11. Ren Zhengfei, “Miscellaneous Notes on Attending an Exhibition in Russia” [赴俄参展杂记], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 32, August 28, 1996.
12. Shen, “Review of Huawei’s International Economic and Technological Cooperation.”
13. Andrei Kirilov and Vladimir Fedoruk, “Chinese Companies Advance Its Technologies to Russian Market,” TASS, May 13, 1996.
14. Joseph Torigian, interview by the author, 2021.

15. Ge Tai [戈泰], “Ren Zhengfei” [任正非], *Civil Engineering Corps* [基建工程兵], October 18, 1978, as cited in Comments of Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd. and Huawei Technologies USA Inc., Exhibit A at 43, filed February 3, 2020, PS Docket No. 19-351, <https://www.fcc.gov/ecfs/document/102030067606114/2>.
16. Ren, “Miscellaneous Notes on Attending an Exhibition in Russia.”
17. Ren, “Miscellaneous Notes on Attending an Exhibition in Russia.”
18. Ren Zhengfei, “Crossing the Dividing Line between Asia and Europe” [走过亚欧分界线], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 50, May 8, 1997.
19. Ren, “Miscellaneous Notes on Attending an Exhibition in Russia.”
20. Shen, “Review of Huawei’s International Economic and Technological Cooperation.”
21. Cathy Meng, “Tolerance Ensures Brilliance,” *Huawei People* (English), no. 247, October 31, 2013.
22. Shen, “Review of Huawei’s International Economic and Technological Cooperation.”
23. Ren, “Crossing the Dividing Line between Asia and Europe.”
24. Ren, “Crossing the Dividing Line between Asia and Europe.”
25. “Summary of Mr. Ren’s Symposium with the 2012 Lab” [任总与2012实验室座谈纪要], Xincheng Community [心声社区], August 31, 2012, archived November 25, 2021, at Archive.today, <https://archive.is/hOnLo>.
26. De notre envoyée spéciale en Chine, “Bal des debs: Une fille du ciel dans la Ville lumière,” *Paris Match*, November 13, 2018, <https://www.parismatch.com/People/Bal-des-debs-Une-fille-du-ciel-dans-la-Ville-lumiere-1586623>.
27. Li Jingxian [李景贤], “Close Up with a Strange Man: Ren Zhengfei” [走进奇人任正非], *Beiguang People* [北广人物], no. 3, 2017, 11.
28. Wu Jianguo [吴建国] and Ji Yongqing [冀勇庆], *Huawei’s World* [华为的世界] (Beijing: CITIC Press [中信出版社], 2006), 83–84.
29. Annabel Yao (@AnnabelBallerina), Instagram photo, February 7, 2013. On Instagram, Annabel Yao posted a now-deleted childhood photo of herself in a blue frock, tagging it “#8yearsold #oxford #england #OHS #uniform.” Oxford High School, or OHS, is a prestigious private girls’ school in England for students age four and older.
30. Toutiao Entertainment [头条娱乐], “Annabel Yao’s Debut Documentary: Rule-Breaking Princess” [姚安娜出道纪录 《破格公主》], streamed on April 20, 2021, YouTube video, 17:29, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gIs684aRpWs>.
31. Wu and Ji, *Huawei’s World*, xii.
32. Catherine Chen, “Catherine Chen’s Interview with the CBC,” in *On the Record*:

- Huawei Executives Speak to the Public*, vol. 2 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 127.
33. Bai He [百合], “Missing the Days in India” [怀念在印度的时光], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 145, September 28, 2003.
  34. Duncan Clark, interview with the author, 2022.
  35. Ren Zhengfei, “My Father and Mother” [我的父亲母亲], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2002).
  36. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with *The Wall Street Journal*,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 132.
  37. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with UK Documentary Producer,” Huawei (website), archived April 26, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230426163437/https://www.huawei.com/nl/facts/voices-of-huawei/ren-zhengfei-interview-with-uk-documentary-producer>.
  38. Ren, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with Chinese Media,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 53.
  39. Wang Rong, “Wealthy Province Invests Overseas,” *Business Weekly*, March 26, 2000.
  40. STC System Department [STC系统部], “Fulfilling the Dreams of 1.5 Billion People” [成就十五亿人的梦想], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 247, May 3, 2012.
  41. Zhou Zhanhong [周展宏], “Huawei Rotating CEO Eric Xu: The Future Will Be Focused on the Pipeline System” [华为轮值CEO徐直军：未来聚焦管道体系], *Fortune Chinese Network*, December 4, 2012, <https://tech.sina.cn/t/2012-12-04/detail-iavxeafs2413983.d.html?from=wap>.
  42. Song Yu, “Living the Frontier Spirit in Africa,” in *Pioneers*, Huawei Stories, ed. Tian Tao and Yin Zhifeng (London: LID Publishing, 2017), chap. 8.
  43. Long Feng, “Every Cloud Has a Silver Lining,” in *Pioneers*, chap. 10.
  44. Xin Yuanwei [辛苑薇], “Huawei Founder Ren Zhengfei ‘Does Not Have a Threshold’ Faithful Record of His Interview with Domestic Media” [华为创始人任正非“不设门槛”接受国内媒体采访实录], *21st Century Business Herald* [21世纪经济报], June 16, 2014, <https://m.21jingji.com/article/20140616/herald/240fd2306a25cc83e3c2233d0cc40d9c.html>.
  45. Ren Zhengfei, “Minutes of Mr. Ren’s Discussion with Employees of the Chengdu Representative Office, June 16, 2008” [任总在成都代表处与员工座谈纪要], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 321, November 30, 2008.
  46. Ren Zhengfei, “Strengthening the Construction of the After-Sales Service Organization to Embrace the Company’s Significant Development: Mister Ren’s



- Speech at the Overseas Engineering Department Training Conference” [加强售后服务组织建设迎接公司大发展：任总在海外工程部集训大会上的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 33, October 6, 1996.
47. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with BBC StoryWorks,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 5 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 80.
  48. Zhou Zhanhong [周展宏], “Huawei Rotating CEO Eric Xu: The Future Will Be Focused on the Pipeline System [华为轮值CEO徐直军：未来聚焦管道体系],” *Fortune Magazine Chinese Edition* [财富中文网], December 4, 2012, 2, <http://tech.sina.com.cn/t/2012-12-04/11337855689.shtml>.
  49. Zhan Lisheng, “Huawei Expands Global Market,” *China Daily*, June 27, 1999.
  50. Ashley Yablon, *Standing Up to China: How a Whistleblower Risked Everything for His Country* (Dallas: Brown Books Publishing Group, 2022), loc. 470 of 3153, Kindle.
  51. Hao Chunmin with Pei Zhengli [郝春民于沛整理], *High Technology Lifts the New Shenzhen: An Autobiography from Someone with Personal Experience of the Shenzhen Tech Structural Reform* [科技托起心深圳：一名深圳科技体制改革亲历者的自述] (Beijing: China Science and Technology Publishing House [中国科学技术出版社], 2014), 60.
  52. Hu Haiyan, “From Determination to Domination,” *China Daily*, updated May 18, 2011, <http://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201105/18/WS5a2e6083a3109f488237c035.html>.
  53. Interviews by the author; and Li Yuzhuo [李玉琢], *Straight Down the Path: My Business Ideals* [一路直行：我的企业理想] (Beijing: Contemporary China Publishing House [当代中国出版社], 2014), 136.
  54. Li Rui [李锐], “Li Rui’s Diaries for 1998” [李锐日记], vol. 30, 52–53.
  55. Liu Ping [刘平], “Huawei and ZTE’s ‘Spy War’” [华为和中兴的“间谍战”], *IT Time Weekly* [IT时代周刊], August 20, 2009, 70–71. This appears to be an excerpt from Liu’s memoir *Bygone Times at Huawei* [华为往事], only published online.
  56. Kevin Ponniah and Lazara Marinkovic, “The Night the US Bombed a Chinese Embassy,” BBC News, May 6, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-48134881>.
  57. Ban Xiaojing [班晓晶], “Remember This Day” [铭记这一天], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 88, May 15, 1999.
  58. “Huawei Messages the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia, Xinhua News Agency and *Guangming Daily*” [华为公司致电南联盟中国大使馆、新华通讯社、光明日报社], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 88, May 15, 1999.

59. “Huawei Messages the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia.”
60. “Today the Chinese People Said ‘No,’ Shenzhen the Window of the World Played a Themed Concert for Ten Thousand” [中国人今天说“不”深圳世界之窗奏响万人主题音乐会], *Ta Kung Pao* [大公报], May 15, 1990.
61. “Information: On May 9, 1999, Hu Jintao Delivered a Speech on the Attack on Our Embassy in Yugoslavia” [资料：1999年5月9日胡锦涛就我驻南使馆遭袭击发表讲话], *People’s Daily Online* [人民网], May 10, 1999, <https://news.sina.cn/sa/2003-05-25/detail-ikknsesi0532619.d.html>.
62. Newspaper Commentator [本报评论员], “Defend National Dignity with Practical Actions” [以实际行动捍卫民族尊严], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 88, May 15, 1999.
63. Newspaper Commentator, “Defend National Dignity with Practical Actions.”
64. Ren Zhengfei, “‘The Chinese People Say No’ Photo News” [“中国人今天说不”图片新闻], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 89, May 20, 1999.

## Chapter 10: Huawei’s Basic Law

1. Details and dialogue from the meeting are drawn from “Taking Labor as the ‘Intellectual Capital’ to Participate in the Operations of an Enterprise—Minutes of a Discussion between Comrade Li Youwei, Shenzhen Municipal Party Committee Secretary, and Young Scholars of the National People’s Congress” [把劳动作为“知本”参与企业营运——深圳市市委书记厉有为同志和人大青年学者座谈纪要], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 37, November 29, 1996.
2. Huang Weiwei et al., eds., *Out of Chaos* [走出混沌] (Beijing: Posts & Telecom Press [人民邮电出版社], 1998). Written by the professors, this is a book-length account of the drafting of the Huawei Basic Law and the philosophical and management considerations that went into it.
3. Huang Weiwei et al., *Out of Chaos*, 54.
4. Huang Weiwei et al., 63.
5. Li Yuzhuo [李玉琢], *Straight Down the Path: My Business Ideals* [一路直行：我的企业理想] (Beijing: Contemporary China Publishing House [当代中国出版社], 2014), 98–100, 119–21.
6. Details about Ren’s visit to IBM are drawn from Ren Zhengfei, “What We Have Learned from the American People” [我们向美国人民学习什么], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 63, February 20, 1998.
7. Ren, “What We Have Learned from the American People.”
8. Gary Garner, interview by the author.

9. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with BBC StoryWorks,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 5 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 81.
10. “Survival Is the Hard Truth for Enterprises: Excerpts from a Conversation between Mr. Ren and HAY Senior Consultant Vicky Wright” [活下去, 是企业的硬道理: 根据任总与HAY公司高级顾问Vicky Wright的谈话摘选], *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 6 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2000), 96.
11. Ren Zhengfei, “Be Responsible for Products Wholeheartedly, Serve Customers Wholeheartedly: Ren’s Speech at the Farewell Reception for Huawei’s Electrical R&D Personnel Going to Production and Service Training” [全心全意对产品负责, 全心全意为客户服务: 任总在欢送华为电气研发人员去生产用服锻炼酒会上的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 72, August 15, 1998.
12. “Amendment to Articles of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Revised in 1987)” [中国共产党章程部分条文修正案 (1987年修改)], Communist Party Member Network [共产党员网], December 24, 2014, <https://fuwu.12371.cn/2014/12/24/ART11419399131052717.shtml>; and “Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Adopted by the 14th National Congress on October 18, 1992)” [中国共产党章程 (1992年10月18日十四大通过)], Communist Party Member Network, December 24, 2014, [https://fuwu.12371.cn/2014/12/24/ART11419399356558735\\_all.shtml](https://fuwu.12371.cn/2014/12/24/ART11419399356558735_all.shtml).
13. Wei Yu, “Party Control in China’s Listed Firms,” *Czech Journal of Economics and Finance* 63, no. 4 (2013): 382–97, [http://journal.fsv.cuni.cz/storage/1281\\_382-397-yu.pdf](http://journal.fsv.cuni.cz/storage/1281_382-397-yu.pdf).
14. “Huawei Corporate Research System Party Branch Holds Inaugural Meeting” [华为公司研究系统党支部召开成立大会], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 57, September 10, 1997. This article mentions “Huawei Company” setting up a party branch (党支部) in May 1996, as well as setting up a subsequent party branch for the R&D department in September 1997.
15. “Huawei Corporate Research System Party Branch Holds Inaugural Meeting.”
16. “Huawei Corporate Research System Party Branch Holds Inaugural Meeting.”
17. “Huawei Corporate Research System Party Branch Holds Inaugural Meeting.”
18. “Interview 6: Chen Zhufang” [访谈6: 陈珠芳], in *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2021), 170.
19. Hubei Province Education Committee [湖北省教育委员会], ed., *Hubei Province Education System Advanced Technical Specialists List*, vol. 1 [湖北省教育系统高级专业技术人员名录第一集] (Wuhan: Wuhan University Press [武汉大学出版社], 1991), 26.

20. Chen Zhufang, “Self-Actualization and Self-Management” [自我实现与自我管理], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 210, November 18, 2003.
21. Yao Qihe [姚启和], ed., *Overview of Forty Years of Huazhong University of Science and Technology* [华中理工大学的四十年缩影] (Wuhan: Huazhong University of Science and Technology Press, 1993), 58.
22. Hubei Province Education Committee, *Hubei Province Education System Advanced Technical Specialists List*, 26.
23. “Interview 6: Chen Zhufang” [访谈6 : 陈珠芳], 152.
24. “Interview 6: Chen Zhufang” [访谈6 : 陈珠芳], 152–53.
25. Chen Zhufang, “You Don’t Work for a Lifetime, but You Have to Be a Person for a Lifetime” [人不能一辈子做事 但要一辈子做人], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 132, August 21, 2002.
26. Peng Yong [彭勇], “Good Sons and Daughters Aspire to Travel Far to Make Their Mark” [好儿女志在四方], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 113, January 18, 2001.
27. “Interview 7: Chen Zhufang’s Second Interview” [访谈7 : 陈珠芳第二次访谈], in *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2021), 187–88.
28. “Interview 7: Chen Zhufang’s Second Interview” [访谈7 : 陈珠芳第二次访谈], 197–98.
29. “Interview 7: Chen Zhufang’s Second Interview” [访谈7 : 陈珠芳第二次访谈], 176.
30. “Huawei’s Basic Law” [华为公司基本法], in Huang Weiwei et al., *Out of Chaos*, 49. A full English translation of the Basic Law appears in Appendix D of Xiaobo Wu et al., *The Management Transformation of Huawei: From Humble Beginnings to Global Leadership* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020). The original Chinese version is reprinted in *Out of Chaos*.
31. Eric Xu [徐直军], “Huawei CEO Eric Xu Describes the Secrets of Huawei’s Success: Employee Stock Ownership” [华为CEO徐直军自述华为成功的秘诀 : 员工持股制], *Fortune China* [财富中文网], December 3, 2012, <http://www.iheima.com/article-17723.html>.
32. Mike Rogers and Dutch Ruppertsberger, *Investigative Report on the US National Security Issues Posed by Chinese Telecommunications Companies Huawei and ZTE: A Report* (Washington, DC: House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 2012), 15.
33. Article 24 of the Company Law of the People’s Republic of China states that “a limited liability company shall be invested in and established by no more than

- 50 shareholders.” See “Company Law of the People’s Republic of China,” Ministry of Commerce, October 17, 2019, <http://mg.mofcom.gov.cn/article/policy/201910/20191002905610.shtml>.
34. Li, *Straight Down the Path*, 99–100. Li recalled Ren giving this shareholder breakdown in a meeting with Stone Group CEO Duan Yongji in 1995.
  35. “Shenzhen Interim Provisions on the Internal Employee Shareholding Pilot Program in State-Owned Enterprises, September 30, 1997” [深圳市国有企业内部员工持股试点暂行规定], in *Advanced Enterprise Management Manual* [企业进阶管理手册], ed. Zhou Weimin [周卫民] (Shanghai: Shanghai Finance University Press [上海财经大学出版社], 1999), 790.
  36. Xu, “Huawei CEO Eric Xu Describes the Secrets of Huawei’s Success.”
  37. Huang et al., *Out of Chaos*, 132.
  38. Demetri Sevastopulo, “Huawei Pulls Back the Curtain on Ownership Details,” *Financial Times*, February 27, 2014, <https://www.ft.com/content/469bde20-9eaf-11e3-8663-00144feab7de>.
  39. Sun Yafang’s official biography says she was promoted to Huawei chairwoman in 1999. It is unclear which month. An essay under her name published in December 1999 still referred to her as Huawei’s standing vice president, though it was possibly submitted for publication before her title change. The Harvard Business School program she attended ran from September to November 1999. See Sun Yafang [孙亚芳], “Serving Mobile Communications via Leading-Edge Core Networks” [以领先的核心网络服务移动通信], *World Telecommunications* [世界电信], no. 12, 1999.
  40. Sun Yafang, “Appreciating Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s Leadership Model: Thoughts on Participating in the Symposium between UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and Chinese Entrepreneurs” [领略安南秘书长的领袖风范——参加联合国秘书长安南与中国企业家座谈会有感], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 158, November 26, 2004.
  41. Graham Lovelace (a classmate in the program), interview by the author.
  42. Sun, “Appreciating Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s Leadership Model.”
  43. Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., *2016 Annual Report* (Shenzhen: Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., 2017), 100, [https://www.huawei.com/~/media/CORPORATE/PDF/annual-report/AnnualReport2016\\_en.pdf](https://www.huawei.com/~/media/CORPORATE/PDF/annual-report/AnnualReport2016_en.pdf).
  44. Wan Runnan, interview by the author, 2024.
  45. For instance, see Sun’s bio in Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., *Building a Better Connected World: Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd. 2015 Annual Report* (Shenzhen: Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., 2016), 108, <https://>

[www.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/annual-report/annualreport2015\\_en.pdf](http://www.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/annual-report/annualreport2015_en.pdf).

46. Director of National Intelligence Open Source Center, “Huawei Annual Report Details Directors, Supervisory Board for First Time,” October 5, 2011, 3, <https://irp.fas.org/dni/osc/huawei.pdf>.
47. James Lewis, interview by the author, 2022.

## Chapter 11: Winter

1. Fang Yuan [方圆], “Huawei, Everyone Is So Confused about You” [华为, 大家对你好困惑], *Science Times* [科学时报], August 30, 2000. According to this article, there were two anonymous letters, one in April 1999 and another in May 2000. The national audit is mentioned in a number of other accounts, including Mike Rogers and Dutch Ruppertsberger, *Investigative Report on the US National Security Issues Posed by Chinese Telecommunications Companies Huawei and ZTE: A Report* (Washington, DC: House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 2012).
2. Liu Ping [刘平], “Huawei and ZTE’s ‘Spy War’” [华为和中兴的“间谍战”], *IT Time Weekly* [IT时代周刊], August 20, 2009, 70–71.
3. Liu Yan [刘岩], “Former Shenzhen Mayor Li Zibin: Seeking Out the Central Government on Behalf of a Private Enterprise” [前深圳市市长李子彬: 为民营企业找中央], *CCTV Dialogue* [CCTV《对话》], February 23, 2010, archived March 2, 2024, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20240302152822/http://jingji.cntv.cn/program/duihua/20100223/106089.shtml>.
4. Sun’s visit and Ren’s phone call are recounted in Hao’s memoir, Hao Chunmin with Pei Zhengli [郝春民于沛整理], *High Technology Lifts the New Shenzhen: An Autobiography from Someone with Personal Experience of the Shenzhen Tech Structural Reform* [科技托起心深圳: 一名深圳科技体制改革亲历者的自述] (Beijing: China Science and Technology Publishing House [中国科学技术出版社], 2014), 73.
5. Ren Zhengfei, “A Spring River Flows Eastward” [一江春水向东流], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 243, January 7, 2012.
6. Wu made the request while visiting Huawei in November 1996, according to Zhou Xuejun and Huang Chaowen [周学军、黄朝文], “Huawei Takes the Lead in Launching a Domestic Commercial GSM System” [华为率先推出国产商用GSM系统], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 60, November 12, 1997.
7. “Vice-Premier Wu Bangguo Writes the Words ‘China Is Promising’ in Four Big

- Characters (Photograph)" [吴邦国副总理挥毫题写了“中华有为”四个大字], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 36, November 20, 1996.
8. Jie Su, "The Lion's Share of a Small Market," in *Adventurers*, Huawei Stories, ed. Tian Tao and Yin Zhifeng (London: LID Publishing, 2020), chap. 23.
  9. Ren Zhengfei, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with UK Documentary Producer," Huawei (website), archived April 26, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230426163437/https://www.huawei.com/nl/facts/voices-of-huawei/ren-zhengfeis-interview-with-uk-documentary-producer>.
  10. Ren, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with UK Documentary Producer."
  11. Allen T. Cheng, "Private Equity Firm Warburg Pincus Brings Lots of Cash and Contrarian Discipline to Its Big Asia Push, but Its Real Edge Is Brainy Locals," *Native Intelligence*, *Institutional Investor*, January 2003.
  12. "Interview 7: Chen Zhufang's Second Interview" [访谈7: 陈珠芳第二次访谈], in *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2021), 178–79.
  13. Tian Tao with Wu Chunbo, *The Huawei Story* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2015), 31.
  14. Zhang Yanyan [张燕燕], "Reflections after Reading 'My Father and Mother' " ["我的父亲母亲"读后感], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 115, March 28, 2001.
  15. "Ren Zhengfei Accepts Interview with Sony CEO: Only by Tolerating Opposition Can Talent Emerge" [任正非接受索尼CEO采访: 容忍反对才会人才辈出], *Entrepreneur Daily* [企业家日报], February 19, 2019.
  16. Ren Zhengfei, "Huawei's Winter" [华为的冬天], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 8 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2004), 212.
  17. "Emerson Purchases Huawei's Avansys Power Business, China's Leading Network Power Provider," corporate release, Exhibit 99.1 in Emerson Electric Co., Form 8-K for October 21, 2001 (filed on October 22, 2001), US Securities and Exchange Commission, [https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/32604/000095013801500161/form8k\\_102201.htm](https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/32604/000095013801500161/form8k_102201.htm).
  18. "Full Text of Clinton's Speech on China Trade Bill," *New York Times*, March 9, 2000, <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/world/asia/030900clinton-china-text.html>.
  19. White House Office of the Press Secretary, "The U.S.-China WTO Accession Deal: A Strong Deal in the Best Interests of America," March 8, 2000, Clinton White House Archives, [https://clintonwhitehouse4.archives.gov/WH/New/html/20000308\\_1.html](https://clintonwhitehouse4.archives.gov/WH/New/html/20000308_1.html).

20. Tim Duffy, "China's Huawei to Expand Presence in Mexican Telecom Mkt," Dow Jones Newswires, February 9, 2001.
21. "Huawei Global Wireless R&D Divisions," *Huawei People* (English), no. 254, December 18, 2014. Former employee Robert Read said the office was at first called "Atelier," without any outward indication that it was owned by Huawei.
22. Bruce Gilley, interview by the author.
23. Bruce Gilley, "Huawei's Fixed Line to Beijing," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, December 28, 2000–January 4, 2001, [https://web.pdx.edu/~gilleyb/Huawei\\_FEER28Dec2000.pdf](https://web.pdx.edu/~gilleyb/Huawei_FEER28Dec2000.pdf).
24. William B. Plummer, *Huidu: Inside Huawei* (pub. by the author, 2018), 210.
25. Gilley, interview.
26. Richard McGregor, "China Rich List Features New Entrepreneurs," *Financial Times*, November 10, 2000.
27. Ren, "Huawei's Winter," 212.
28. Ren, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with UK Documentary Producer"; and Jonathan Watts, "Chinese Tycoon Hit by 'Curse of the Rich List,'" *Guardian*, December 1, 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/dec/01/china.jonathanwatts>.
29. Ren Zhengfei, "My Father and Mother" [我的父亲母亲], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2002), 216. This essay went through a number of versions throughout the years, and a later incarnation posted to an official Huawei website does not mention Iran as the destination of the diplomatic trip. This version was archived March 2, 2024, at Archive.today, <https://archive.ph/OL3za>.
30. "Iranian President Praises Partnership with China," Xinhua English, January 7, 2001.
31. Xue Jianhui [薛建辉], "Middle East Travels" [中东之旅], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 6 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2000), 80–82.
32. Xue, "Middle East Travels," 80–82.
33. Ren, "My Father and Mother," 216.
34. Ren, 215.
35. Meng Wanzhou, "Grandma, Can You Hear?" [奶奶, 你能听见吗?], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 115, March 28, 2001.
36. Liu Chuanzhi [柳传志], "Liu Chuanzhi: Thoughts after Reading Ren Zhengfei's



- ‘My Father and Mother’” [柳传志：读任正非的“我的父亲母亲”有感], *People’s Daily Online* [人民网], January 27, 2015.
37. Colum Lynch, “Chinese Firm Probed on Links with Iraq,” *Washington Post*, March 16, 2001, <https://wapo.st/3yvzAjK>.
  38. Charles Duelfer, *Hide and Seek: The Search for Truth in Iraq* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009), 494.
  39. Central Intelligence Agency, “Telecommunications Systems Evolutionary Developments,” CIA-RDP92B00181R000300270041-4, CIA Library, Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP92B00181R000300270041-4.pdf>. This memo is undated. Its reference to the USSR should put its creation date before 1991.
  40. Matthew M. Aid, *The Secret Sentry: The Untold History of the National Security Agency* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009), loc. 4658 of 9625, Kindle.
  41. Maggie Farley, “U.S. Pushes for Response from China,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 22, 2001.
  42. Lynch, “Chinese Firm Probed on Links with Iraq.”
  43. Liu, “Huawei and ZTE’s ‘Spy War.’”
  44. Andrea Koppel, “Powell: China Agrees to Stop Helping Iraq,” CNN, March 8, 2001, <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/asiapcf/east/03/08/us.china.iraq>.
  45. “U.S. Senate Governmental Affairs Committee: Subcommittee on International Security, Proliferation and Federal Services Holds a Hearing on Weapons of Mass Destruction,” Federal Document Clearing House, November 7, 2001.
  46. Former Huawei executive, interview by the author, 2022.
  47. Andrew Browne, “China Denies Reports of Links to Taliban,” Reuters, September 15, 2001.
  48. Shirley Kan, *U.S.-China Counter-Terrorism Cooperation: Issues for U.S. Policy*, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, May 12, 2005, <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA462468.pdf>.
  49. Evan Feigenbaum, “Evan A. Feigenbaum Oral History Part I,” interview by Russell L. Riley, November 20, 2020, Presidential Oral Histories, Miller Center, University of Virginia, <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-oral-histories/evan-feigenbaum-oral-history-part-i>.
  50. George W. Bush and Jiang Zemin, “U.S., China Stand against Terrorism,” joint press conference, Shanghai, October 19, 2001, George W. Bush White House Ar-

chives, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011019-4.html>.

51. Ren Zhengfei, "Crossing the Dividing Line between Asia and Europe" [走过亚欧分界线], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 50, May 8, 1997.
52. Declaration of Chad Reynolds Supplementing Cisco's Motion for Preliminary Injunction, March 14, 2003, *Cisco v. Huawei*, No. CIV.QA.2:03-cv-027 (U.S. Dist. Ct. E.D. Tex.).

## Chapter 12: Sudden and Acute

1. Lynnette Luna, "Wireless in Iraq," *Mobile Radio Technology* 21, no. 6 (June 2003): 39.
2. Jeff May and Tom Johnson, "AT&T Challenges Rival MCI with All-in-One Phone Plan," *Star-Ledger* (Newark, NJ), April 29, 2003.
3. May and Johnson, "AT&T Challenges Rival MCI with All-in-One Phone Plan."
4. "Iraq War—Chinese ICPs See Surge in Users, Telecom Equipment Makers and Power Firms Discuss Plans," *Interfax China IT & Telecom Report*, April 18, 2003. In April 2003, Russia's Interfax news agency quoted a Huawei manager as saying that the company had stopped shipping telecom equipment to the Middle East at the end of the previous year and had been "away from the Iraq market for some time." The article also quoted a ZTE spokesperson as saying that ZTE might join the reconstruction in Iraq, depending on approval by the Chinese government and "how big the risk is."
5. "Excerpts from the Discussion on 'Continuously Improving Per Capita Efficiency, Building a High-Performance Corporate Culture'" ["持续提高人均效益, 建设高绩效企业文化" 讨论摘编], *MO*, no. 216, March 5, 2004.
6. Interviews by the author with people familiar with the matter; and Yi Mingjun [易明军], "Crossing the Battlefield" [穿越战地], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 148, January 15, 2004.
7. Yi, "Crossing the Battlefield."
8. "A Greeting to Telecom Operators" [致电信运营商的问候], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 141, May 26, 2003.
9. Song Tun [宋墩], "Huawei Service during the 'SARS' Period" ["非典"时期的华为服务], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 141, May 26, 2003.
10. "General Secretary Hu Jintao Inspects Huawei" [胡锦涛总书记视察华为公司], *Huawei People* [华为人], no. 140, April 22, 2003.

11. Peng Bo [彭博], “Dazzling Sleepless Nights in Hong Kong” [幻彩香江不眠夜], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 155, August 31, 2004.
12. Interview by the author with a person familiar with the matter.
13. Defendants’ Opposition to Cisco’s Motion for Order That Defendants Preserve Evidence, February 19, 2003, *Cisco v. Huawei*, No. CIV.QA.2:03-cv-027 (U.S. Dist. Ct. E.D. Tex.).
14. Li Min [李岷], “Huawei Staff Recall Cisco’s Lawsuit against Huawei: The Story behind the Settlement” [华为人士回忆思科诉华为案：和解的背后故事], *China Entrepreneur* [中国企业家], June 22, 2005, <http://tech.sina.com.cn/t/2005-06-22/1212642975.shtml>.
15. Li, “Huawei Staff Recall Cisco’s Lawsuit against Huawei.”
16. Guo Ping, “Don’t Waste the Opportunity in a Crisis: Minutes of Huawei Rotating Chairman Guo Ping’s Meeting with New Employees” [不要浪费一场危机的机会：华为轮值董事长郭平与新员工座谈纪要], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 350, September 2020.
17. Scott Thurm, “Cisco Ran Sting Operation to Nab a Copycat in China,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 4, 2003, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB104942212126672500>.
18. John Chambers, *Connecting the Dots: Lessons for Leadership in a Startup World* (New York: Hachette Books, 2018), chap. 3.
19. “Anyone Who Participates in Sending Chain Emails Unrelated to Work Will Have Their Pay Cut” [参与发送与工作无关连环邮件 每人降薪处理], *MO*, no. 199, May 20, 2003.
20. Interview by the author with a person familiar with the matter.
21. Rick Gladstone, “When Love and Work Clash in the Valley,” *New York Times*, August 5, 2001, <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/08/05/business/when-love-and-work-clash-in-the-valley.html>.
22. “Chinese and American Communication Companies Reach Win-Win Cooperation: Huawei and 3Com Establish Joint Venture” [中美通信企业达成多赢合作：华为与3Com成立合资企业], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 140, April 22, 2003; and 3Com Corporation’s Opposed Motion to Intervene, June 10, 2003, *Cisco v. Huawei*, No. CIV.QA.2:03-cv-027 (U.S. Dist. Ct. E.D. Tex.).
23. Cisco’s Response to 3Com’s Motion to Intervene and 3Com’s Reply to Cisco’s Response to 3Com’s Motion to Intervene, June 2003, *Cisco v. Huawei*, No. CIV. QA.2:03-cv-027 (U.S. Dist. Ct. E.D. Tex.).
24. Defendants’ Opposition to Cisco’s Motion for Preliminary Injunction, March 24, 2004, *Cisco v. Huawei*, No. CIV.QA.2:03-cv-027 (U.S. Dist. Ct. E.D. Tex.).

25. Yi, "Crossing the Battlefield."
26. Yi, "Crossing the Battlefield."
27. Edmund Sanders, "Iraq Awards Three Wireless Licenses," *Los Angeles Times*, October 7, 2003, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2003-oct-07-fg-cell7-story.html>.
28. Sun Shiyong [孙士勇], "Experiencing Baghdad" [体验巴格达], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], December 30, 2003.
29. Patricia Moloney Figliola, "Digital Surveillance: The Communications Assistance for Law Enforcement Act," *CRS Report for Congress*, June 8, 2007, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/intel/RL30677.pdf>.
30. Eric Steinmann, interview by the author, 2024.
31. "Huawei, Cisco Settle IPR Dispute," *China Daily*, updated July 30, 2004, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-07/30/content\\_353070.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-07/30/content_353070.htm).
32. "Minutes of Mr. Ren's 2012 Laboratory Symposium" [任总与2012实验室座谈会纪要], *Xinsheng Forum*, August 31, 2012, <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#!/detail?uuid=916315732476379136>.

### Chapter 13: The Roads to Empire

1. Interview by the author with a person familiar with the matter.
2. Interviews by the author with former Huawei employees.
3. Liu Ming [刘明], "Two or Three Things Learned by Being around Mr. Ren" [感悟任总身边二三事], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 250, August 6, 2012.
4. Wieland Wagner, "From Sweatshop to Laboratory," *Der Spiegel*, January 2, 2006, <https://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/china-s-high-tech-offensive-from-sweatshop-to-laboratory-a-393615.html>.
5. Vikas Kumar, "Enter the Dragon," *Economic Times*, November 18, 2006; "China: The Struggle of the Champions," *Economist Intelligence Unit*, January 6, 2005; Michael Sainsbury, "China Tackles World's Best in Research," *Australian*, November 25, 2004; and Former Science and Technology Counselor of the Chinese Embassy in Russia Shen Qingjian [原驻俄罗斯使馆科技参赞沈庆鉴], "Revisiting Huawei" [再游华为], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 233, March 8, 2011.
6. Interviews by the author with former employees.
7. "Smartcom Company Sun Meiran: The Scent of Tea Welcomes Guests" [慧通公司院孙妹冉：一缕茶香迎客来], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 209, March 3, 2009.
8. "Huawei Smartcom Business Co. Came to Southwest College for a Special

- Recruitment Event for Receptionists for Its International Conference Center” [华为慧通商务有限公司莅临西航进行国际会议中心接待员专场招聘], Sichuan Southwest College of Civil Aviation, 2018, archived October 11, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20231011025031/https://www.schkxy.com/Mobile/jyfc/content/?ClassId=353&Id=28668>.
9. Ren Zhengfei, “Meet the Challenge, Cultivate Your Skills Diligently, Welcome the Arrival of Spring” [迎接挑战、苦练内功、迎接春天的到来], *Sina*, 2002, <http://tech.sina.com.cn/csj/2020-02-13/doc-iimxxstf1076725.shtml>.
  10. Zhang Xiaoheng [张笑恒], *Huawei Internal Speeches: Your Hard Work Will Pay Off* [华为内部讲话：你的奋斗终有回报] (Beijing: Democracy and Construction Press [民主与建设出版社], 2017), 235–36.
  11. “Interview 12: Lu Ke’s Second Interview” [访谈12：吕克第二次访谈], in *Huawei Interviews* [华为访谈录], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2021), 390.
  12. Robert Read, interview by the author.
  13. “China Development Bank Offers Huawei Technologies Credit Financing of US\$10 Billion to Support Its International Expansion,” *China Telecom* 12, no. 1 (January 2005): 15.
  14. “Indonesian President Visiting Huawei Headquarters,” *Huawei People* (English), no. 164, July 31, 2005.
  15. Softstone, “Why Is the Old Logo Still Being Used for New Materials Purchases” [新购料为何还用老标志], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 316, September 18, 2008.
  16. Matthew Forney, “Ren Zhengfei,” *Time*, April 18, 2005, [https://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1972656\\_1972707\\_1973574,00.html](https://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1972656_1972707_1973574,00.html).
  17. Interviews by the author with people familiar with the matter; and Ian Levy, “Security, Complexity, and Huawei; Protecting the UK’s Telecoms Networks,” *NCSC Blog*, National Cyber Security Centre, February 22, 2019, <https://www.ncsc.gov.uk/blog-post/blog-post-security-complexity-and-huawei-protecting-uks-telecoms-networks>.
  18. Victor Zhang, “A London Courtship,” in *Pioneers*, Huawei Stories, ed. Tian Tao and Yin Zhifeng (London: LID Publishing, 2017), chap. 3.
  19. Ken Zita, interview by the author, 2022.
  20. Jie Su, “The Lion’s Share of a Small Market,” in *Adventurers*, Huawei Stories, ed. Tian Tao and Yin Zhifeng (London: LID Publishing, 2020), chap. 23.
  21. Guo Ping, “Don’t Miss the Opportunity in a Crisis: Notes on Huawei Rotating

- Chairman Guo Ping's Meeting with New Employees" [不要浪费一场危机的机会：华为轮值董事长郭平与新员工座谈纪要], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 350, September 2020.
22. Bill Owens, interview by the author, 2022.
  23. Guo Ping, "Huawei's Road in the Eyes of Huawei People: From Accidental Success to Inevitable Success" [华为入眼里的华为之路：从偶然性成功到必然性成功], *Caijing* [财经网], June 19, 2014, <http://finance.sina.com.cn/leadership/20140619/195919465412.shtml>.
  24. "Kenya, China Sign Economic, Technical Pacts," BBC News, November 1, 2004.
  25. Michael Joseph, interview by the author, 2023.
  26. US Embassy Nairobi, "Kenya—Doing Business the Chinese Way," WikiLeaks Cable: 07NAIROBI4246\_a, October 30, 2007, [https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07NAIROBI4246\\_a.html](https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07NAIROBI4246_a.html).
  27. Reported by multiple press outlets, including "Kim Jong Il Reportedly Arrived in Beijing Today, Meets Central Government Officials" [傳金正日今抵京 晤中央高層], *Wen Wei Po* [香港文汇报], January 16, 2006.
  28. Ellen Nakashima, Gerry Shih, and John Hudson, "Leaked Documents Reveal Huawei's Secret Operations to Build North Korea's Wireless Network," *Washington Post*, July 22, 2019, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/leaked-documents-reveal-huaweis-secret-operations-to-build-north-koreas-wireless-network/2019/07/22/583430fe-8d12-11e9-adf3-f70f78c156e8\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/leaked-documents-reveal-huaweis-secret-operations-to-build-north-koreas-wireless-network/2019/07/22/583430fe-8d12-11e9-adf3-f70f78c156e8_story.html).
  29. Nakashima, Shih, and Hudson, "Leaked Documents Reveal Huawei's Secret Operations to Build North Korea's Wireless Network."
  30. Ren Zhengfei, "My Father and Mother" [我的父亲母亲], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2002), 219.
  31. Interview by the author with a former Huawei engineer.
  32. Lin Jincan [林进灿], "A Record of My Life and Work in Afghanistan" [阿富汗工作生活实录], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 228, September 28, 2010.
  33. Ren Zhengfei, "Mr. Ren's Speech in Discussions with Regional Department Heads in Thailand and Employees in Nepal" [任总在泰国与地区部负责人、在尼泊尔与员工座谈的讲话], *Xinsheng Forum*, February 15–16, 2017.
  34. Kelsey Davenport, "Timeline of Nuclear Diplomacy with Iran, 1967–2023," Arms Control Association (website), January 2023, <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Timeline-of-Nuclear-Diplomacy-With-Iran>.
  35. San Li [三力], "Suggestions from Frontline Employees" [来自一线员工的建议], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 217, March 22, 2004.

36. Gao Yucheng of the Middle East and North Africa Supply Chain Business Group [中东北非供应链业务部 高宇澄], “Falling Labels” [飘落的标签], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 271, October 30, 2006.
37. “Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation: Imposition of Nonproliferation Measures Against Foreign Persons, Including a Ban on U.S. Government Procurement,” *Federal Register*, December 28, 2006.
38. Olga Khazan, “The Creepy, Long-Standing Practice of Undersea Cable Tapping,” *Atlantic*, July 16, 2013, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/07/the-creepy-long-standing-practice-of-undersea-cable-tapping/277855>.
39. Matt Blitz, “How Secret Underwater Wiretapping Helped End the Cold War,” *Popular Mechanics*, March 30, 2017, <https://www.popularmechanics.com/technology/security/a25857/operation-ivy-bells-underwater-wiretapping/>.
40. Neil King Jr., “In Digital Age, U.S. Spy Agency Fights to Keep from Going Deaf,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 23, 2001, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB990563785151302644>.
41. Derek Jiang, “China’s Huawei Technologies to Set Up JV with Global Marine Systems,” *AFX Asia*, May 14, 2007.
42. Susan Wang, “China’s Huawei Submarine Networks Starts Operations in Tianjin,” *AFX Asia*, December 18, 2018.
43. Huawei, “Managed Services Business Outlook,” streamed on February 24, 2014, YouTube video, 6:55, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M6uJ5HZNtbA>.
44. Huawei Technologies, “Huawei Wins Mobily Deal,” *Light Reading*, April 3, 2008, <https://www.lightreading.com/business-management/huawei-wins-mobily-deal>.
45. US Consulate Guangzhou, “Huawei Says 3Com Plans Still Uncertain,” WikiLeaks Cable: 08GUANGZHOU171\_a, March 21, 2008, [https://search.wikiLeaks.org/plusd/cables/08GUANGZHOU171\\_a.html](https://search.wikiLeaks.org/plusd/cables/08GUANGZHOU171_a.html).
46. Charles Clancy, interview by the author, 2024. Clancy’s LinkedIn résumé says he was a research leader at the National Security Agency from January 2005 to July 2010. See “Charles Clancy,” LinkedIn, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/clancyc>.
47. *5G: The Impact on National Security, Intellectual Property, and Competition: Hearing before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 116th Cong. (2019)* (testimony of Dr. Charles Clancy, Bradley Professor of Cybersecurity, Virginia Tech), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Clancy%20Testimony.pdf>.

48. Michel Juneau-Katsuya, interview by the author, 2023.
49. Andrew Parker and Paul Taylor, "Huawei Rails at 3Com Deal Security Concerns," *Financial Times*, February 11, 2008, <https://www.ft.com/content/3795d97c-d8d5-11dc-8b22-0000779fd2ac>.
50. Bill Gertz, "Paulson Hands Off Merger Review," *Washington Times*, October 5, 2007, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2007/oct/5/paulson-hands-off-merger-review>.

## Chapter 14: Separation of Powers

1. "Separation of Three Powers: Major Institutional Changes in Managerial Appointment and Management" [三权分立：干部任用与管理的重大制度变革], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 298, December 20, 2007. The wording of the extended Q&A reflects concerns among staff about the change.
2. Ren Zhengfei, "Huawei University Wants to Be the Cradle of Generals: Speech at the Symposium of Leaders of Huawei University and the Party Committee" [华为大学要成为将军的摇篮：在华为大学和党委领导座谈会上的讲话], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 280, March 15, 2007.
3. *Purgatory* [炼狱] (Shenzhen: Huawei Management Optimization Newspaper Editorial Office [华为管理优化报编辑部]).
4. Sun Yafang [孙亚芳], "Minutes of an Exchange between Sun Yafang and Employees" [孙亚芳与员工交流纪要], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 105, June 12, 2000.
5. Ye Zhiwei [叶志卫] and Wu Xiangyang [吴向阳], "Hu Xinyu Incident Resurrected, Huawei Says Netizens Misunderstand Mattress Culture" [胡新宇事件再起波澜 华为称网友误解床垫文化], *Shenzhen Special Zone Daily* [深圳特区报], June 14, 2006.
6. Ren Zhengfei, "One Must Cheerfully Live This Life Full of Difficulties" [要快乐地度过充满困难的一生], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 287, June 30, 2007.
7. "Is Corporate 'Wolf Culture' Devouring China's Over-Worked Employees?," *China Labour Bulletin*, May 27, 2008, <https://clb.org.hk/en/content/corporate-%E2%80%9Cwolf-culture%E2%80%9D-devouring-china%E2%80%99s-over-worked-employees#c>.
8. "Announcement on the Recent Changes in the Company's Human Resources" [关于近期公司人力资源变革的情况通告], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 300, January 15, 2008.
9. Wu Chunbo [吴春波], "Even Ren Zhengfei Has Resigned: Reviewing the 2007



- ‘Huawei Collective Resignation’” [任正非都辞职了：复盘2007年“华为集体大辞职”], China Stone e-Insight [华夏基石e洞察], December 5, 2018, archived March 2, 2024, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20240302215909/https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/A426mx92e7PHqAqvwlqKJA>.
10. Wu, “Even Ren Zhengfei Has Resigned.”
  11. Steven Ren [任树录], “Impressions from Studying the EMT Self-Discipline Oath” [EMT自律宣言学习有感], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 296, November 20, 2007.
  12. Xiaobo Wu et al., *The Management Transformation of Huawei: From Humble Beginnings to Global Leadership* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020), sec. 2.3, 84.
  13. Ren Zhengfei, “Mr. Ren’s Speech at the Third Quarter 2004 Domestic Marketing Work Conference” [任总在2004年三季度国内营销工作会议上的讲话], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 227, September 30, 2004.
  14. “ZTE v. Huawei in the African Boxing Ring,” *Africa Intelligence: Indian Ocean Newsletter*, November 18, 2006.
  15. Zuo Fei, “People of Huawei in Saudi Arabia,” *Huawei People* (English), no. 173, May 31, 2006.
  16. Sabrina Meng, “The Bitter Cold of Winter Gives a Warm Fragrance to Plum Blossoms in Spring,” in *Visionaries*, Huawei Stories, ed. Tian Tao and Yin Zhifeng (London: LID Publishing, 2018), preface.
  17. Certificate of Marriage (Exhibit A of Xiaozong Liu Affidavit), *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
  18. Affidavit of Xiaozong Liu, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
  19. Alberto Aguilar, “Buscan evitar que restrinjan alimentos,” *Nombres, Nombres y . . . Nombres, Mural* (Mexico), December 13, 2005.
  20. Affidavit of Xiaozong Liu, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
  21. Skycom Tech Co. Limited (company number 644842), “Notification of Change of Secretary and Director, Form D2A,” Hong Kong Company Registry, February 27, 2008.
  22. The party member count comes from “Huawei’s Innovative Private Enterprise Party-Building Experience Deserves Attention and Promotion” [华为创新民企党建经验值得重视推广], *Shenzhen Special Zone Daily* [深圳特区报], July 9, 2007, archived March 2, 2024, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/save/http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2007-07-09/040012168279s.shtml>. Huawei’s employee count comes from Donglin Wu and Fang Zhao, “Entry Modes for International Markets: Case Study of Huawei, a Chinese Technology Enter-

- prise,” *International Review of Business Research Papers* 3, no. 1 (March 2007): 188, [https://www.iberchina.org/files/2018/Entry\\_Modes\\_For\\_International\\_Markets\\_Case\\_Study\\_Huawei.pdf](https://www.iberchina.org/files/2018/Entry_Modes_For_International_Markets_Case_Study_Huawei.pdf).
23. “Promote Righteousness, Stay Away from Gambling” [发扬正气 远离赌博], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 231, December 9, 2004.
  24. “A Letter to the Party Committee” [给党委的一封信], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 313, July 31, 2008.
  25. “Pledge Letter for Party Organization Cadres” [党组织干部承诺书], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 384, July 15, 2011.
  26. Interview by the author with a person familiar with the matter.
  27. “What Is ‘Self-Criticism?’” [“自我批判”是什么?], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 98, January 22, 2000.
  28. “Tidbits from the Production Department’s Democratic Life Meeting” [生产总部民主生活会花絮], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 59, October 21, 1997.
  29. Ren Zhengfei, “Huawei’s Winter” [华为的冬天], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 8 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2004), 207.
  30. “Capital Construction Management Department to Implement Self-Examination of Cadres with Practical Actions” [基建部将以实际行动落实干部自省自查] and “Steven Ren’s Self-Examination Report” [任树录自检自查汇报], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 314, August 20, 2008.
  31. “Establishing Positive Interpersonal Relationships: Record of Hu Houkun’s Self-Criticism Summary and Appraisal Meeting” [建立积极人际关系：胡厚崑自我批判总结评议座谈会纪实], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 278, February 15, 2007.
  32. Sun Kai [孙凯], “Communication Starts from Culture” [沟通 从文化开始], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 194, December 10, 2007.
  33. “The 2007 Commendation Conference Was Held for Huawei’s Publicity Work in Two Newspapers” [2007年度华为公司两报宣传工作表彰大会召开], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 198, March 31, 2008.
  34. For instance, see Zhou Daiqi’s bio in *Corporate Governance Report* (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2016), 111, [https://www-file.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/annual-report/annualreport2015\\_cg\\_report\\_en.pdf](https://www-file.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/annual-report/annualreport2015_cg_report_en.pdf).
  35. *Corporate Governance Report*, 111.
  36. Qu Bin [屈斌], “We Are Willing to Sacrifice for the Product” [为了产品，我们愿意放弃], *Huawei People* [华为人为], no. 53, June 12, 1997.
  37. Chen Peigen [陈培根], “Promote Professionalism, Ascend One Level First” [促

进职业化 先上一层楼], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 189, October 10, 2002.

38. Ren Zhengfei, “Building the Financial Management System into an Ironclad Wall That Keeps Pace with the Rapid Changes of the Company’s Business: Speech at the Training Class for Financial Management Cadres of the European Regional Department” [把财经管理体系建成跟随公司业务快速变化的铜墙铁壁：在欧洲地区部财经管理干部培训班上的讲话], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 241, July 20, 2005.

## Chapter 15: The Torch

1. Details about Huawei’s Mount Everest project are drawn from Zhong Bin [钟彬], “Stories from the Front Lines of Delivery: From 5,200 Meters to 6,500 Meters” [来自交付一线的故事：从5200米到6500米], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 195, December 31, 2007; and “The World’s Highest Altitude Mount Everest Base Station Set Up at an Altitude of 6,500 Meters” [世界最高海拔珠峰基站开通 海拔6500米], *China Economic Network* [中经网], November 15, 2007.
2. “Global Economic Slowdown Impacts 2008 International Patent Filings,” WIPO, January 27, 2009, [https://www.wipo.int/pressroom/en/articles/2009/article\\_0002.html](https://www.wipo.int/pressroom/en/articles/2009/article_0002.html).
3. Ren Zhengfei, “How Today’s Young People Can Love Their Nation: Mr. Ren’s Speech at the September 16 Forum with Employees about the Diaoyu Islands Incident” [当代青年怎样爱国：任总在9月16日与员工关于钓鱼岛事件座谈会上的讲话], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 1997), 68.
4. “China Begins Olympic Countdown,” ABC News, September 22, 2004, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2004-09-22/china-begins-olympic-countdown/555940>.
5. Sun Changxu [孙昌旭], “Coincidental Meeting with ‘IT Great Man’ Li Yinan” [巧遇“IT奇人”李一男], *China Entrepreneur* [中国企业家], August 2008.
6. David Barboza, “China Surpasses U.S. in Number of Internet Users,” *New York Times*, July 26, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/26/business/worldbusiness/26internet.html>.
7. Zheng Zhibin [郑志彬], “Purify the Virtual Network Space, Create a Harmonious Information World: Huawei’s New Technology Plays an Important Role in the Field of Anti-DDOS Attacks” [净化虚拟网络空间, 缔造和谐信息世界：华为

- 新技术在防DDOS攻击领域发挥重要作用], *Information Network Security* [信息安全网络安全], July 10, 2008.
8. Xu Ping [徐平], "Successfully Blocked Illegal VoIP Operations: Refinement of Shenyang Netcom's Broadband Operation, A New Vista Opens" [成功堵击VoIP非法运营: 沈阳网通宽带精细化运营打开新局面], *Huawei Technology* [华为技术], September 2007.
  9. Ken Zita, interview by the author. He recalled touring a municipal public safety control center in Sichuan Province in 2008.
  10. Jian Xin [建新], "Beijing Olympics Bring New Opportunities and New Challenges to Security Companies" [北京奥运带给安防企业新机遇和新挑战], *Cards World* [金卡工程] 12, no. 4 (2008): 72–74.
  11. Wang Hua'an [王华安], "China Security, China Chip: HiSilicon Is Moving Forward—Exclusive Interview with HiSilicon Semiconductor's Ai Wei" [中国安防中国芯 海思正前行——专访海思半导体艾伟], *China Public Security* (comprehensive edition) [中国公共安全 (综合版)], December 1, 2009.
  12. "HiSilicon, Hynix-ST, and Freescale China Top Chinese IC Company Rankings for 2008," *Interfax*, February 26, 2009.
  13. Wang, "China Security, China Chip."
  14. Wang Wenzheng, "Mission to Medog," in *Pioneers*, Huawei Stories, ed. Tian Tao and Yin Zhifeng (London: LID Publishing, 2017), chap. 7.
  15. Ren Zhengfei, "What We Have Learned from the American People" [我们向美国人民学习什么], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 63, February 20, 1998.
  16. Ren, "How Today's Young People Can Love Their Nation," 67–70.
  17. Associated Press, "Raw Video: Olympic Torch Lit on Everest Summit," streamed on May 7, 2008, YouTube video, 0:36, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vgXm2bIK6J8>.
  18. "Nepal: Everest Pro-Tibet Protesters May Be Shot," CNN, updated April 20, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/asiapcf/04/20/nepal.torch.oly/index.html>.
  19. "Huawei's GSM Base Station Helps China Mobile Successfully Send the First Photo of the Olympic Flame Reaching the Summit of Mount Everest" [华为GSM基站助力中国移动成功传出 第一张奥运圣火登顶珠峰照片], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 201, July 7, 2008.
  20. Ruo Ran [若然], "Olympics Story 4: A Quiet 16 Hours" [奥运故事4:静静的16小时], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 203, September 5, 2008.
  21. Gillian Murdoch, Beijing Editorial Reference Unit, "Factbox: Security Steps for Beijing's Olympics," Reuters, August 8, 2008, <https://www.reuters.com>

/article/us-olympics-security/factbox-security-steps-for-beijings-olympics-idUST20636620080808.

22. Richard Cowan, "China Spying on Olympics Hotel Guests: U.S. Senator," Reuters, July 29, 2008, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-olympics-china-spying-idUSN2934051920080729>.
23. Zhao Yuan [赵渊] et al., "Helping the 'Technology Olympics' Shine the Communications Light: Huawei Fully Cooperates with Operators to Usher in Olympics Communications" [助力“科技奥运” 绽放通信之光 华为全面配合运营商为奥运通信保驾护航], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 203, September 5, 2008.
24. "Information on Beijing Olympic Volunteers," China Internet Information Center, June 9, 2005, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/MATERIAL/131531.htm>.
25. Zhao et al., "Helping the 'Technology Olympics' Shine"; "About Us," Smartcom (website), accessed March 23, 2023, <https://www.hwht.com/introduction.html?lang=en>.
26. Zhao et al., "Helping the 'Technology Olympics' Shine."

## Chapter 16: The Western Front

1. Dan Hesse, interview by the author, January 2023.
2. Eli Lake, "Beijing Spying Feared in Telecom Proposal," *Washington Times*, October 20, 2010, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/oct/20/beijing-spying-feared-in-telecom-proposal>.
3. Stephanie Kirchgaessner, "Former US Official Joins Huawei Consultancy," *Financial Times*, October 20, 2010, <https://www.ft.com/content/cbdf6c38-dc97-11df-84f5-00144feabdc0>.
4. Jon Kyl et al. to Hon. Timothy Geithner, Hon. Gary Locke, Hon. Martha N. Johnson, and Gen. James Clapper, letter, August 18, 2010, in David Barboza, "Scrutiny for Chinese Telecom Bid," *New York Times*, August 22, 2010, <https://graphics8.nytimes.com/packages/pdf/business/20100823-telecom.pdf>.
5. The July 21, 2004, letter from Melanie Scofield, Fujitsu Network Communications' general counsel, to Ren Zhengfei and Song Liuping, then the senior director of Huawei's IPR Department, was filed in 2020 as Exhibit B-1 of the Appendix in Support of Fujitsu Network Communications, Inc.'s Motion to Quash and to Stay Deposition Pending Ruling on Motion, *Huawei v. Verizon*, No. 2:20-cv-00030-JRG (U.S. Dist. Ct. E.D. Tex.).
6. Bill Owens, foreword to *The Huawei Story*, by Tian Tao with Wu Chunbo (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2015).

7. William A. Owens, James Blaker, and Martha Bejar, “China in the Age of Accelerating Change: A Positive Approach,” in *Breakthrough: From Innovation to Impact*, ed. Henk van den Breemen et al., vol. 1 (Lunteren: The Owls Foundation, 2016), 208.
8. Governor Perry, “Gov. Perry Helps Cut Ribbon at Huawei Technologies’ New U.S. Headquarters,” streamed on October 2, 2010, YouTube video, 11:45, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0eruWGDSYDg>.
9. “Matt Bross Joins Huawei as Global Chief Technology Officer,” M2 Presswire, September 30, 2009; and Matt Bross and Charles Ding, “Chinese Firm Not Influenced by Government,” letter to the editor, *Washington Times*, August 24, 2010, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/aug/24/chinese-firm-not-influenced-by-government>.
10. David Twiddy, “Sprint Nextel Executive Packingham Leads Huawei Vendor Amerilink Telecom,” *Kansas City Business Journal*, August 24, 2010; and Kirchgaessner, “Former US Official Joins Huawei Consultancy.”
11. Owens, Blaker, and Bejar, “China in the Age of Accelerating Change,” 209.
12. Interview by the author with a former Huawei executive.
13. Google Maps Street View, accessed June 2023.
14. Interview by the author with a former employee, 2024.
15. “Huawei Opens Cyber Security Evaluation Centre in the UK,” Huawei (website), December 6, 2010, [https://www.huawei.com/au/news/au/2010/hw-u\\_151000](https://www.huawei.com/au/news/au/2010/hw-u_151000).
16. Gary Garner, interview by the author.
17. Chris Powell, interview by the author.
18. Huawei Cyber Security Evaluation Centre (HCSEC) Oversight Board, *1st Annual Report: A Report to the National Security Adviser of the United Kingdom*, March 2015, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/huawei-cyber-security-evaluation-centre-oversight-board-annual-report-2015>.
19. Richard Kerbaj, “Chinese Firm Hires Former GCHQ Chief,” *Sunday Times*, June 23, 2013.
20. UK Trade & Investment (UKTI), “China Business Day—Madam Sun Yafang, Chairwoman, Huawei,” streamed on July 27, 2012, YouTube video, 12:18, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R488InonJL4>.
21. Vince Cable, interview by the author, 2023.
22. Christopher Hope, “Huawei Spends Thousands Wooing British MPs,” *Australian Financial Review*, updated December 3, 2012, <https://www.afr.com/companies/huawei-spends-thousands-wooing-british-mps-20121203-jihc0>.

23. House of Commons, *Register of Members' Financial Interests as at 13 January 2012* (London: Stationery Office, 2012), 149, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cmregmem/1782/1782.pdf>.
24. Ren Zhengfei, "Speech by Mr. Ren at the 'Ten Blue-Blooded Heroes' Commendation Ceremony" [任总在“蓝血十杰”表彰会上的讲演稿], *Xinsheng Forum*, June 24, 2014.
25. "Huawei Device Gearing Up Abroad," *Sinocast*, February 1, 2011.
26. Hesse, interview.
27. Bill Owens, "CEO Chat with CenturyLink's Bill Owens," interview by Steve Saunders, *Light Reading*, July 12, 2016, <https://www.lightreading.com/business-transformation/ceo-chat-with-centurylink-s-bill-owens>.
28. Ren Zhengfei, "Success Is Not a Reliable Guide for the Future—Ren Zhengfei's Speech at the Company's Marketing Conference, January 17, 2011" [成功不是未来前进的可靠向导—任正非在公司市场大会上的讲话2011年1月17日], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 380, May 17, 2011.
29. Ren, "Success Is Not a Reliable Guide for the Future."

## Chapter 17: Revolution

1. "Interview 6: Yi Xiang" [访谈6：易翔], in *Huawei Interviews 2* [华为访谈录 2], ed. Tian Tao (Beijing: CITIC Publishing House [中信出版集团], 2022), JD ebook, chap. 6.
2. Huawei put its Middle East headquarters in Bahrain in 2009. See "Bahrain Military and Police Clear Protesters" [巴林军警对示威者强制清场], *China Youth Daily* [北京青年报], February 19, 2011.
3. Tang Xiaoyi, "The Overseas Adventures of a Bemused Female Administrative Manager," in *Pioneers*, Huawei Stories, ed. Tian Tao and Yin Zhifeng (London: LID Publishing, 2017), chap. 14.
4. Huawei, "Huawei Opens Doors to Middle East Executive Briefing Centre," press release, Business Wire, December 4, 2012, <https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20121203006845/en/Huawei-Opens-Doors-to-Middle-East-Executive-Briefing-Centre>.
5. Ren Zhengfei, "Mr. Ren's Speech on Cherishing Life and Professional Responsibility" [任总关于珍爱生命与职业责任的讲话], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 235, May 5, 2011.
6. Ren, "Mr. Ren's Speech on Cherishing Life and Professional Responsibility."
7. "China's Huawei, ZTE Get \$75M in Libyan Fiber, Mobile Contracts," Dow

- Jones Newswires, September 12, 2008; and MEED Editorial, “Libya Awards Submarine Cable Deal to Huawei Marine Networks,” MEED, January 20, 2010, <https://www.meed.com/libya-awards-submarine-cable-deal-to-huawei-marine-networks>.
8. Chen Keyu, “Firms Ponder a Return to Libya,” *China Daily*, updated October 25, 2011, [https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2011-10/25/content\\_13967041.htm](https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2011-10/25/content_13967041.htm).
  9. “Photo News: ‘Great, the Motherland Is Great!’” [图文: “太好了, 祖国伟大!”], *Chutian Metropolitan Daily* [楚天都市报], February 26, 2011.
  10. “Interview 6: Yi Xiang,” chap. 6.
  11. “Basic Professional Ethics” [基本的职业操守], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 238, August 3, 2011.
  12. “Commitment Responsibility Perseverance” [承诺 当责 坚守], *Huawei People* [华为], no. 235, May 4, 2011.
  13. Lionel Barber, interview by the author, 2023. See also Lionel Barber, *The Powerful and the Damned: Private Diaries in Turbulent Times* (London: WH Allen, 2020), 183–84.
  14. “Huawei Expands into ME Enterprise Sector,” *Khaleej Times*, January 18, 2011.
  15. Steve Stecklow, Farnaz Fassihi, and Loretta Chao, “Chinese Tech Giant Aids Iran,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 27, 2011, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970204644504576651503577823210>.
  16. Science and Technology Committee, “Oral Evidence: UK Telecommunications Infrastructure, HC 2200,” House of Commons, June 10, 2019, Q94, <https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/9387/html>. This House of Commons committee was renamed the Science, Innovation, and Technology Committee in 2023.
  17. Huawei’s Safe City contract for Islamabad, announced in 2009, was ill-fated. After China’s state-run Export-Import Bank extended a massive loan to finance the contract, critics alleged that the contract had been illegally awarded to Huawei at inflated prices without an open bid. Pakistan’s Supreme Court eventually declared the contract invalid.
  18. Josh Chin and Liza Lin, *Surveillance State: Inside China’s Quest to Launch a New Era of Social Control* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2022), 123.
  19. New York City Global Partners, *Best Practice: Real Time Crime Center: Centralized Crime Data System*, April 27, 2010, [https://www.nyc.gov/html/unccp/gprb/downloads/pdf/NYC\\_Safety%20and%20Security\\_RTCC.pdf](https://www.nyc.gov/html/unccp/gprb/downloads/pdf/NYC_Safety%20and%20Security_RTCC.pdf).



20. Fran O'Sullivan, "Building a Super City—China Style," *New Zealand Herald*, June 8, 2010, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/ifran-osullivan-building-a-super-city-china-style/ETCLIHWQ6XVP3QZ52WVIR3TGAY>.
21. "Feeling the 'Ubiquity' of the Sensor Network" [感受传感网的'无所不在'], *Wuxi Daily* [无锡日报], August 24, 2009.
22. Ren Zhengfei, "A Spring Flows Eastward" [一江春水向东流], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 243, January 7, 2012.
23. Ren, "A Spring River Flows Eastward."
24. Guo Ping, "Meet Your Better Self at the Great Turning Point of History: Notes on Huawei Rotating Chairman Guo Ping's Meeting with New Employees" [在历史大转折中遇见更好的自己:华为轮值董事长郭平与新员工座谈纪要], *Huawei People* (verified account) on Xinsheng Forum [心声社区的 华为为人(官方账号)], August 11, 2021, archived April 27, 2023, at Archive.Today, <https://archive.ph/P7xQI>.
25. Guo Ping said in 2016 that it had been six years since his diagnosis. See Guo Ping, "Huawei Rotating CEO Guo Ping: Where You Invest Your Time Determines What You Will Achieve" [华为轮值CEO郭平:时间在哪里,成就在哪里], Sohu, August 25, 2016, [https://www.sohu.com/a/111993759\\_205354](https://www.sohu.com/a/111993759_205354).
26. "About Us," Smartcom (website), accessed March 23, 2023, <https://www.hwht.com/introduction.html?lang=en>.
27. Meng Ping [孟平], "Cooking Is Like Life" [料理如人生], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 294, February 16, 2015.
28. Cao Zhen, "Huawei Denies Family Successor Report," *Shenzhen Daily*, October 29, 2010, [http://www.szdaily.com/content/2010-10/29/content\\_5039593.htm](http://www.szdaily.com/content/2010-10/29/content_5039593.htm).
29. Ren Shulu [任树录], "There Are No 'Heroes' Here" [这里没有“英雄”], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 102, April 7, 2000.
30. Her CFO position became widely known with the publication of Huawei's 2010 annual report in April 2011.
31. Meng Wanzhou, "One Step Further: Meng Wanzhou's Opening Speech at the May 21 CFO Seminar (Phase 1)" [百尺竿头 更进一步:孟晚舟5月21日在CFO研讨班(第一期)的开班讲话], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 409, July 31, 2012.
32. Meng Wanzhou, "The Eternal Dreamland of Provence" [普罗旺斯 永远的梦乡], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 228, September 28, 2010.
33. Ken Hu, "Huawei Open Letter," *Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 2011, <https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/Huawei20110205.pdf>.

34. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 1,” streamed on October 3, 2012, YouTube video, 6:50 of 28:22, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ApQjSCUpt4s>.
35. “House Intelligence Committee Launches Investigation into National Security Threats Posed by Chinese Telecom Companies Working in the U.S.,” press release, Congressman Mike Rogers (website), November 17, 2011, archived November 21, 2011, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20111121235233/https://mikerogers.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=269471>.
36. “FBI Targets Chinese Firm over Iran Deal,” *Smoking Gun*, July 12, 2012, <http://www.thesmokinggun.com/documents/fbi-probes-zte-iran-deal-645912>.
37. Ren, “A Spring River Flows Eastward.”

## Chapter 18: The Hearing

1. William Plummer, interview by the author.
2. Mike Rogers, “Why Congress Is Broken,” *Politico Magazine*, January/February 2015, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/01/mike-rogers-leaves-congress-113888>.
3. “Biography: Charles Ding,” House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (website), <https://intelligence.house.gov/sites/intelligence.house.gov/files/documents/biographycharlesding91112.pdf>.
4. William B. Plummer, *Huidu: Inside Huawei* (pub. by the author, 2018), 151.
5. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 1,” streamed on October 3, 2012, YouTube video, 0:57 of 28:22, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ApQjSCUpt4s>. The other quoted remarks from Rogers’s opening statement are made at 6:23 and 12:44. See also the Federal News Service’s full transcript of Hearing of the House (Select) Intelligence Committee: National Security Threats Posed by Chinese Telecom Companies Working in the U.S., 112th Cong., 2nd sess. (September 13, 2012).
6. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 1,” 13:27.
7. Paul Vishu, interview by the author, 2023.
8. US Consulate Guangzhou, “Huawei: The Human Resource Component of a Modern Chinese Company,” WikiLeaks Cable: 06GUANGZHOU32401\_a, December 15, 2006, [https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06GUANGZHOU32401\\_a.html](https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06GUANGZHOU32401_a.html).

9. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 2,” streamed on October 3, 2012, YouTube video, 19:26 of 30:21, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wG2tk98AX\\_s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wG2tk98AX_s).
10. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 1,” 21:40.
11. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 2,” 21:17.
12. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 2,” 22:50.
13. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 3, streamed on October 3, 2012, YouTube video, 2:34 of 30:08, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PFI7hdhocus&t=206s>.
14. “The Party Committee’s Impeachment Letter for Liu and He from the Fifth R&D Department of Software Company NGBSS” [党委对软件公司 NGBSS 开发五部刘某、何某弹劾函件], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 327, March 3, 2009.
15. “Give Full Play to the Role of Grassroots Party Organizations in Exercising Power in Cadre Appointments” [发挥基层党组织在干部任用过程中的行权作用], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 348, January 15, 2010.
16. Zheng Bo of the Nanchang Representative Office [南昌代表处 郑波], “A Few Thoughts on Grassroots Party Organizations Playing Their Role” [关于基层党组织发挥作用的几点思考], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 390, October 17, 2011.
17. “Pledge Letter for Party Organization Cadres” [党组织干部承诺书], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 384, July 15, 2011.
18. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 3,” 3:15.
19. RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 3,” 6:20.
20. This line of questioning by Ruppertsberger starts at 14:17 and ends at 25:31 in RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 3.”
21. This line of questioning by Myrick starts at 2:48 in RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 4,” streamed on October 3, 2012, YouTube video, 21:32, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6fDRRWiptUU>.

22. This line of questioning by Schiff starts at 14:40 and ends at 25:06 in Rep-MikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 5,” streamed on October 3, 2012, YouTube video, 30:22, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zrhVxqoSz4U&t=173s>.
23. UK Trade & Investment (UKTI), “China Business Day—Madam Sun Yafang, Chairwoman, Huawei,” streamed on July 27, 2012, YouTube video, 12:18, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R488InonJL4>.
24. “Huawei to Invest £1.3bn in Growing Its UK Business,” BBC News, September 11, 2012; Richard Garfield, “Huawei in Basingstoke Job Bonanza,” *Basingstoke Gazette*, April 14, 2011, <https://www.basingstokegazette.co.uk/business/8975644.huawei-in-basingstoke-job-bonanza/>.
25. Quotes from Gutiérrez’s line of questioning start at 21:25 and end at 24:24 in RepMikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 7,” streamed on October 3, 2012, YouTube video, 30:12, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4wbzvxi6EnY&t=1225s>.
26. Interview by the author with a former HCSEC employee.
27. Quotes from Rogers’s closing statement start at 26:56 and end at 29:04 in Rep-MikeRogers, “Huawei and ZTE Testify before the House Intel Committee Part 7.”
28. Mike Rogers and Dutch Ruppertsberger, *Investigative Report on the U.S. National Security Issues Posed by Chinese Telecommunications Companies Huawei and ZTE: A Report* (Washington, DC: House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 2012), 45.
29. “Obama Campaign Uses Huawei to Attack Romney,” Politico Pro, October 8, 2012, <https://subscriber.politicopro.com/article/2012/10/obama-campaign-uses-huawei-to-attack-romney-009607>.
30. Andy Keiser, interview by the author, 2022.
31. See (April 4, 2012) 679 NZPD 1648, [https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/50HansD\\_20120404/6c52cee99d91266b91e52140dd1eb4bc93b27bbf](https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/50HansD_20120404/6c52cee99d91266b91e52140dd1eb4bc93b27bbf).

## Chapter 19: Low Visibility

1. Kathrin Hille, “Huawei Pins Hopes on Fresh Face,” *Financial Times*, January 21, 2013, <https://www.ft.com/content/18b2da7c-63be-11e2-af8c-00144feab49a>.
2. Qiu Huihui [丘慧慧], “Ren Zhengfei’s Daughter Meng Wanzhou’s First Time Revealing the Secrets of the Family and the Truth of Huawei” [任正非之女孟晚舟首度解密家族和华为真相], *21st Century Business Herald* [21世纪经济报], January 22, 2013, [tech.sina.com.cn/t/2013-01-22/00408000729.shtml](http://tech.sina.com.cn/t/2013-01-22/00408000729.shtml).

3. “Summary of Mr. Ren’s Speech at the Shareholder Representative Conference” [任总在持股员工代表大会的发言摘要], Xinsheng Forum, March 30, 2013, archived June 18, 2023, at Archive.today, <https://archive.ph/nkpUd>.
4. Steve Stecklow, “Exclusive: U.S. Probes China’s ZTE over Tech Sales to Iran,” Reuters, May 25, 2012, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-zte-usa-investigation-idUSBRE84O0W420120525>.
5. Record of the Case for Prosecution, January 28, 2019, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
6. Steve Stecklow, “Exclusive—Huawei CFO Linked to Firm That Offered HP Gear to Iran,” Reuters, January 31, 2013, <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-huawei-skycom/exclusive-huawei-cfo-linked-to-firm-that-offered-hp-gear-to-iran-idUKBRE90UOCA20130131>.
7. Ashley Yablon, *Standing Up to China: How a Whistleblower Risked Everything for His Country* (Dallas: Brown Books, 2022), chap. 3.
8. Applicant’s Record on the Fourth Application to Adduce Evidence Pursuant to Section 32(1)(c) of the Extradition Act, *US v. Meng*, BCSC, 86.
9. Applicant’s Record on the Fourth Application to Adduce Evidence Pursuant to Section 32(1)(c) of the Extradition Act, 206.
10. Meng Wanzhou, “Brief Talk on Risk Management” [浅谈风险管理], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 432, July 15, 2013.
11. Applicant’s Record on the Fourth Application to Adduce Evidence Pursuant to Section 32(1)(c) of the Extradition Act, 29–39.
12. Applicant’s Record on the Fourth Application to Adduce Evidence Pursuant to Section 32(1)(c) of the Extradition Act, 250.
13. “Applicant’s Condensed Book of Materials on Vukelich Motion,” *US v. Meng*, BCSC; and Karen Freifeld and Steve Stecklow, “Exclusive: HSBC Probe Helped Lead to U.S. Charges against Huawei CFO,” Reuters, February 26, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKCN1QF1IA>.
14. Applicant’s Record on the Fourth Application to Adduce Evidence Pursuant to Section 32(1)(c) of the Extradition Act, *US v. Meng*, BCSC, 23.
15. Huawei, “Huawei Tech. Investment Co., Limited Secures USD1.5 Billion Equivalent 5-Year Term Loan, Revolving Credit Facilities from International Financial Institutions,” press release, Telecom Ramblings, August 22, 2013, <https://newswire.telecomramblings.com/2013/08/huawei-tech-investment-co-limited-secures-usd1-5-billion-equivalent-5-year-term-loan-revolving-credit-facilities-from-international-financial-institutions>.
16. Huawei, “Huawei Tech. Investment Co., Limited Secures USD1.5 Billion Equivalent 5-Year Term Loan.”

17. Steve Stecklow, “Special Report: Chinese Firm Helps Iran Spy on Citizens,” Reuters, March 22, 2012, <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSBRE82LOBC>.
18. Jason Subler, “China’s ZTE Says It Basically Dropped Iran Business,” Reuters, April 18, 2013, <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSBRE93H0A9>.

## Chapter 20: Shotgiant

1. David E. Sanger and Nicole Perlroth, “N.S.A. Breached Chinese Servers Seen as Security Threat,” *New York Times*, March 22, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/23/world/asia/nsa-breached-chinese-servers-seen-as-spy-peril.html>; and “NSA Spied on Chinese Government and Networking Firm,” *Der Spiegel*, March 22, 2014, <https://www.spiegel.de/international/world/nsa-spied-on-chinese-government-and-networking-firm-huawei-a-960199.html>.
2. “Slides Describe Mission Involving Huawei,” *New York Times*, March 22, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/03/23/world/asia/23nsa-docs.html>.
3. Paul Sandle and Jane Barrett, “Huawei CEO Says Not Surprised by U.S. Spying Reports,” Reuters, May 2, 2014, <https://www.reuters.com/article/technology/huawei-ceo-says-not-surprised-by-u-s-spying-reports-idUSBREA410HC/>; Sanger and Perlroth, “N.S.A. Breached Chinese Servers Seen as Security Threat.”
4. Edward Snowden, *Permanent Record* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2019), chap. 16.
5. Cao Yin, “China to Launch Security Reviews on Tech Products,” *China Daily*, May 22, 2014, [https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014-05/22/content\\_17533528.htm](https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014-05/22/content_17533528.htm); Paul Carsten and Adam Jourdan, “Apple iPhone a Danger to China National Security,” Reuters, July 12, 2014, <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-apple-china/apple-iphone-a-danger-to-china-national-security-state-media-idINKBN0FH0GF20140712>; and “Windows 8 a ‘Threat’ to China’s Security,” BBC News, June 5, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-27712908>.
6. Juliette Garside, “Vodafone Reveals Existence of Secret Wires That Allow State Surveillance,” *Guardian*, June 5, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/jun/06/vodafone-reveals-secret-wires-allowing-state-surveillance>.
7. Vodafone, *Law Enforcement Disclosure Report*, June 2014, <https://assets.ctfas>

sets.net/q7ob9vms4z5k/10VLGEH1di9wZ0cNdXbeEE/4755cc2a78d14c89bd2987f67c68518e/law-enforcement.pdf.

8. Vodafone, *Law Enforcement Disclosure Report*.
9. James Bamford, *The Shadow Factory: The Ultra-Secret NSA from 9/11 to the Eavesdropping on America* (New York: Doubleday, 2008).
10. Lucy Purdon with Salil Tripathi and Motoko Aizawa, *Human Rights Challenges for Telecommunications Vendors: Addressing the Possible Misuse of Telecommunications Systems: Case Study: Ericsson* (London: Institute for Human Rights and Business, 2014), 32, [https://www.ihrb.org/uploads/reports/2014-11-18%2C\\_IHRB\\_Report%2C\\_Human\\_Rights\\_Challenges\\_for\\_Telecommunications\\_Vendors.pdf](https://www.ihrb.org/uploads/reports/2014-11-18%2C_IHRB_Report%2C_Human_Rights_Challenges_for_Telecommunications_Vendors.pdf).
11. Purdon with Tripathi and Aizawa, *Human Rights Challenges for Telecommunications Vendors*, 16.
12. Science and Technology Committee, “Oral Evidence: UK Telecommunications Infrastructure, HC 2200,” House of Commons, June 10, 2019, Q146–47, <https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/9387/html>.
13. Bamford, *The Shadow Factory*, 196.
14. Glenn Greenwald, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the U.S. Surveillance State* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014), 151; and Glenn Greenwald, “How the NSA Tampers with U.S.-Made Internet Routers,” *Guardian*, May 12, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/may/12/glenn-greenwald-nsa-tampers-us-internet-routers-snowden>.
15. John Chambers to President Barack Obama, letter, May 15, 2014, in Don Clark, “Cisco Chief Chides NSA in Letter to Obama,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 19, 2014, <https://www.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJ-20140519-CiscoLetter.pdf>.
16. Bloomberg News, “Huawei Goes on Offense in the Battle for Hearts and Minds,” Bloomberg, updated February 27, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-02-27/under-siege-huawei-plays-offense-in-battle-for-hearts-and-minds>.
17. “Summary of Mr. Ren’s Symposium with the 2012 Lab” [任总与2012实验室座谈会议纪要], Xinsheng Community [心声社区], August 31, 2012, archived November 25, 2021, at Archive.today, <https://archive.is/hOnLo>.
18. Ren Zhengfei, “The Best Defense Is an Attack” [最好的防御就是进攻], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 442, November 20, 2013.
19. Guy Saint-Jacques, interview by the author, 2023.

20. Meng Wanzhou, “Keynote Speech by Cathy Meng at Huawei ICT Finance Forum,” *Huawei People* (English), no. 252, September 17, 2014.
21. William Plummer, interview by the author.

### Part III

1. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s International Media Roundtable,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 28.

### Chapter 21: Sharp Eyes

1. Details about Xi’s visit to Huawei’s offices in London are drawn from CCTV Video News Agency, “Chinese President Xi Jinping Visits Huawei,” streamed on October 21, 2015, YouTube video, 1:00, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-kSp8r\\_KlM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-kSp8r_KlM).
2. “Xi Jinping Visits Huawei UK,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, October 22, 2015, [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/topics\\_665678/2015zt/xjpdygjxgsfw/201510/t20151023\\_705440.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/2015zt/xjpdygjxgsfw/201510/t20151023_705440.html).
3. “China’s President Xi Jinping Visits the National Graphene Institute,” University of Manchester (website), October 23, 2015, <https://www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/news/chinas-president-xi-jinping-visits-the-national-graphene-institute>.
4. “Zhou Yongkang Meets with Ren Zhengfei” [周永康会见任正非], *Sichuan Daily* [四川日报], September 10, 2000; and Zhao Rengui [赵仁贵], “When Zhou Yongkang Inspected Huawei in Ya’an, He Emphasized That a Large Number of High-Quality Talents Should Be Gathered to Accelerate the Growth of High-Tech Industries” [周永康在雅安考察华为公司时强调 凝聚大批高素质人才加速壮大高科技产业], *Sichuan Daily* [四川日报], August 20, 2000.
5. “Photo News” [图片新闻], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 124, December 28, 2001; and “Xilai’s Witty Remarks on Liaoning-Guangdong Economic Cooperation: The ‘Liaoning Boss’ Needs to Learn from the ‘Guangdong Boss’” [熙来妙语连珠纵论辽粤经济合作: “辽老大”要向“粤老大”学习], *Southern Metropolis Daily* [南方都市报], December 19, 2001.
6. “Huawei Holds Self-Discipline Oath Meeting for Board of Directors” [华为公司举行董事会自律宣言宣誓大会], *Management Optimization* [管理优化], no. 420, January 17, 2013.



7. “Minutes of Eastern and Southern Africa Multinational Management Department Work Report to Mr. Ren,” Xinsheng Forum, November 15, 2012, <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/detail?uuid=916313487663906842>.
8. Sijia Jiang, “Huawei’s China Smartphone Sales Chief Detained for Suspected Bribe-Taking,” Reuters, December 27, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN1ELOY8>.
9. *Beijing Xicheng District People’s Procuratorate v. Zhang Zhijiang*, the First Instance Criminal Judgment on the Crime of Accepting Bribes [张智江受贿罪一审刑事判决书] (2015), Xi Xing Chu Zi Di 801 Hao [(2015) 西刑初字第801号].
10. “Beijing Police Have Covered Every Corner of the City with Video Surveillance System,” *China Daily*, October 5, 2015, <http://en.people.cn/n/2015/1005/c90000-8958235.html>.
11. For details about Ren’s time in Xi’an, see chapter 2.
12. Charles Duhigg, “How Companies Learn Your Secrets,” *New York Times*, February 16, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/19/magazine/shopping-habits.html>.
13. “Using the Turtle Spirit to Catch Up with the Dragon Spaceship: Ren Zhengfei’s Speech at the Company’s 2013 Annual Cadre Work Conference (October 19, 2013)” [用乌龟精神, 追上龙飞船: 任正非在公司2013年度干部工作会议的讲话], Xinsheng Forum, June 30, 2015, <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/detail?uuid=916313846695800837>.
14. “Huawei & Unisec 3D GIS Security IoT Visualization Platform Joint Solution” [华为&云众三维GIS安防物联网可视化平台联合解决方案主打胶片] (PowerPoint presentation, Huawei, 2016).
15. Zhang Guosheng, “Tianjin Smart City Creates Economic Prosperity and Better Lives,” *ICT Insights*, January 2019, 6, <https://www-file.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/publications/ict/ict-201901-se-en.pdf>.
16. Bai Jianhua, “ICT Builds Safe Cities,” *ICT Insights*, no. 20, December 2016, 24–25, [https://e-file.huawei.com/-/media/EBG/Download\\_Files/Publications/en/ICT%20Insights%20Issue%2020-new.pdf](https://e-file.huawei.com/-/media/EBG/Download_Files/Publications/en/ICT%20Insights%20Issue%2020-new.pdf).
17. Complaint (Attorney Civil Case Opening), ECF No. 1, August 11, 2021, *Business Efficiency Solutions v. Huawei*, No. 8:21-cv-01330 (U.S. Dist. Ct. C.D. Cal.), <https://www.courtlistener.com/docket/60148011/1/business-efficiency-solutions-llc-v-huawei-technologies-co-ltd>.
18. Ren Zhengfei, “Speech by Mr. Ren at the Human Resources Work Report Meeting” [任总在人力资源工作汇报会上的讲话], Xinsheng Community [心声社区], June 24, 2014; and “Xinjiang Station Attack: President Xi Jinping Urges

- Action,” BBC News, May 1, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-27232924>.
19. The train track obstruction occurred in 2012, according to “The Spring of Counting Plum Blossoms: Notes from a Little Accounting Soldier” [数点梅花天地春：账务小兵手记], Xinsheng Community [心声社区], February 15, 2017, [xinsheng.huawei.com/cn/index.php?app=forum&mod=Detail&act=index&id=3369437](http://xinsheng.huawei.com/cn/index.php?app=forum&mod=Detail&act=index&id=3369437).
  20. Edward Wong, “After Long Ban, Western China Is Back Online,” *New York Times*, May 14, 2010, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/15/world/asia/15china.html>.
  21. Ren Zhengfei, “Speech by Mr. Ren at the Meeting about the Inspiration and Challenges That the ‘Squad Leaders’ Battle’ Has Brought to Huawei” [任总在“班长的战争”对华为的启示和挑战汇报会上的讲话], Xinsheng Community [心声社区], September 23, 2014, archived August 26, 2023, at Archive.today, <https://archive.is/gAbVR>.
  22. Ren Zhengfei, “Mr. Ren’s Speech at the Human Resources Work Report Meeting” [任总在人力资源工作汇报会上的讲话], Xinsheng Community [心声社区], August 20, 2014, <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/detail?uuid=916313489635229703>.
  23. Guo Jianjun, “Report Regarding Comprehensive Reorganization and Standardization of the Company Export Control Related Matters,” ZTE Corporation Document Submitted for Ratification (Review) Form, August 25, 2011, Bureau of Industry and Security, archived March 13, 2016, at the Wayback Machine, [https://web.archive.org/web/20160313235843/http://www.bis.doc.gov/index.php/forms-documents/doc\\_download/1438-report-regarding-english](https://web.archive.org/web/20160313235843/http://www.bis.doc.gov/index.php/forms-documents/doc_download/1438-report-regarding-english).
  24. Paul Mozur, “ZTE Document Raises Questions about Huawei and Sanctions,” *New York Times*, March 18, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/19/technology/zte-document-raises-questions-about-huawei-and-sanctions.html>.
  25. Ren Zhengfei, “The Road Ahead Will Not Be Paved with Flowers: Ren Zhengfei’s Speech at the 2016 Marketing Mid-Year Meeting (July 12, 2016)” [前进的路上不会铺满了鲜花：任正非在2016年市场年中会议上的讲话], Xinsheng Forum, January 8, 2017, <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/detail?uuid=916313898692587522>.

## Chapter 22: A Thing of Beauty

1. Shulu Ren, “The Virtuous Cycle of Architecture: The Source of Huawei’s Competitiveness,” *Nikken Journal*, no. 23 (Summer 2015): 12–14, [https://www.nikken.co.jp/ja/about/p4iuj0000001e0y-att/NJ23\\_WEB.pdf](https://www.nikken.co.jp/ja/about/p4iuj0000001e0y-att/NJ23_WEB.pdf).
2. Fu Runhong [符润红], “Innovative Technology in the Classical Style: Decoding the Innovative Technology of Huawei’s Songshan Lake Final Project” [古典造型的新技术：解密华为松山湖终端项目的新技术], *Architecture Technique [建筑技艺]* 26, no. 10 (2020): 116–17.
3. “Virtual Tour: Work and Live in Huawei’s Songshan Lake Campus,” Huawei (website), July 10, 2020, <https://e.huawei.com/ae/material/local/1fa31b9fe67f4e86b4ab30c188ae0c17>.
4. Huang Lanlan, “China Vows to Ban Notorious Copycat Architectures,” *Global Times*, May 7, 2020, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202005/1187721.shtml>.
5. Ren Zhengfei, “From the Crystallization of Human Civilization, Find the Key to Solve the World’s Problems: Speech by Mr. Ren at the Briefing on the Public Relations Strategy Outline” [从人类文明的结晶中，找到解决世界问题的钥匙：任总在公共关系战略纲要汇报会上的讲话], Huawei (website), September 29, 2018, archived March 22, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230322035210/https://xinsheng.huawei.com/cn/index.php?app=forum&mod=Detail&act=index&id=4092231>.
6. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with *The Wall Street Journal*,” in *His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 103.
7. Huawei Consumer Business Group, “Scarlett Johansson Shoots Selfies with Fans at Huawei P9 Fans Club Party Event,” press release, PR Newswire, November 17, 2016, <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/scarlett-johansson-shoots-selfies-with-fans-at-huawei-p9-fans-club-party-event-300365123.html>.
8. Miyoung Kim, “Samsung’s Advertising Budget Is Bigger Than the GDP of Iceland,” Reuters, November 29, 2013.
9. Quote from an English-language slide deck about Huawei’s history, presented by the company to *Wall Street Journal* reporters on November 4, 2019.
10. Ren Zhengfei, “Mr. Ren’s Speech at the July 25, 2014, EMT Work Meeting” [任总在2014年7月25日EMT办公会议上的讲话], Xinsheng Forum, <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/cn/index.php?app=forum&mod=Detail&act=index&id=2070297>.

11. Steven Millward, "For the First Time, More Than Half of China's Population Is Online," *Tech in Asia*, January 27, 2016, <https://www.techinasia.com/more-than-half-of-china-population-is-online>.
12. William Xu [徐文伟], "The Way Cloud Computing Extends Its Value" [云计算价值的延伸之道], *ICT [新视界]*, no. 15, September 2015.
13. Meng Jing and Shen Jingting, "Huawei Spins Off Honor, 'Young' Smartphone Brand," *China Daily*, updated December 17, 2013, [https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2013-12/17/content\\_17178424.htm](https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2013-12/17/content_17178424.htm).
14. Zhao Ming, "The Dumbest Bird in the Flock Takes Flight," *Adventurers, Huawei Stories*, ed. Tian Tao and Yin Zhifeng (London: LID Publishing, 2020), chap. 9.
15. Interview by the author with a Xiaomi business associate.
16. Ren Zhengfei, "Mr. Ren's Speech at the Reporting Meeting in North Africa (Niger, Burkina Faso)" [任总在北部非洲(尼日尔、布基纳法索)汇报会议的讲话], *Xinsheng Forum*, February 10, 2017.
17. Andrei Frumusanu and Joshua Ho, "Huawei Honor 6 Review," *AnandTech*, September 12, 2014, <https://www.anandtech.com/show/8425/huawei-honor-6-review/5>.
18. "Huawei Unit Ships Chinese-Made Surveillance Chips in Fresh Comeback Sign," *Reuters*, September 20, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/technology/huawei-unit-ships-chinese-made-surveillance-chips-fresh-comeback-sign-sources-2023-09-20/>.
19. Department of Public and Government Affairs, "Highlights: CCTV Interviews Ren Zhengfei Again: However Poor We Are, We Cannot Lack Teachers" [精华|央视再访任正非：再穷不能穷老师], *Xinsheng Forum*, May 27, 2019, <https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/detail?uuid=916315738105135106>.
20. "Prof. Yang Qiang of Huawei's Noah's Ark Lab Visits USTC," *USTC (web-site)*, December 28, 2015, <https://en.cs.ustc.edu.cn/2015/1228/c23602a93641/page.htm>.
21. "US Corporations Are the Biggest Spenders in Brussels Lobbying," *LobbyFacts*, September 30, 2014, archived October 4, 2014, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141004055210/http://www.lobbyfacts.eu/news/25-09-2014/us-corporations-are-biggest-spenders-brussels-lobbying>.
22. Interviews by the author with people familiar with the matter; and "Annex G: List of participants at RAN1 #87," in *Draft Report of 3GPP TSG RAN WG1 Meeting #87 v0.1.0*, 3GPP, [https://www.3gpp.org/ftp/tsg\\_ran/WG1\\_RL1/TSGR1\\_87/Report](https://www.3gpp.org/ftp/tsg_ran/WG1_RL1/TSGR1_87/Report).

23. Zhi Xinxin [治欣慰], “The Nonstandard Life of a Standards Representative” [标准代表的非标准生活], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 253, October 31, 2012.
24. Paul Triolo, “The Telecommunications Industry in U.S.-China Context: Evolving toward Near-Complete Bifurcation,” Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory, 2020, <https://www.jhuapl.edu/assessing-us-china-technology-connections/publications>.
25. Michael Thelander, interview by the author.
26. “Way Forward on Channel Coding” (PowerPoint presentation, Huawei, 2016), [https://www.3gpp.org/ftp/tsg\\_ran/WG1\\_RL1/TSGR1\\_87/Docs/R1-1613211.zip](https://www.3gpp.org/ftp/tsg_ran/WG1_RL1/TSGR1_87/Docs/R1-1613211.zip).
27. “Final Report of 3GPP TSG RAN WG1 #87 v1.0.0,” November 2016, <https://www.3gpp.org/dynareport?code=TDocExMtg--R1-87--31665.htm>.
28. “Final Report of 3GPP TSG RAN WG1 #87 v1.0.0”; interviews by the author.
29. Ray Le Maistre, “BT’s McRae: Huawei Is ‘the Only True 5G Supplier Right Now,’” *Light Reading*, November 21, 2018, <https://www.lightreading.com/5g/bt-s-mcrae-huawei-is-the-only-true-5g-supplier-right-now->.
30. Huawei Digital Power, “Huawei Founder Ren Zhengfei Met with the Father of #PolarCode, Prof. Erdal Arıkan,” streamed on August 9, 2018, YouTube video, 14:36, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BE5HuqEg0oY>.
31. Erdal Arıkan, written interview conducted by the author, 2021.
32. The descriptions in this passage derive from Huawei Digital Power, “Huawei Founder Ren Zhengfei Met with the Father of #PolarCode.”
33. For Arıkan’s quoted remarks, see Huawei Digital Power, “Huawei Founder Ren Zhengfei Met with the Father of #PolarCode,” 10:54 to 12:24.

## Chapter 23: The Listening State

1. For a detailed portrait of Xinjiang’s high-tech government surveillance, see Josh Chin and Liza Lin, *Surveillance State: Inside China’s Quest to Launch a New Era of Social Control* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2022), chap. 1.
2. “Huawei Mobile Surveillance Dispatching Solution V3.0” (PowerPoint presentation, Huawei, 2018).
3. “Huawei x FamilySmart AI Audio Violence-Detection System Joint Solution” [华为 x 家人智能AI音频暴力侦测系统联合解决方案] (PowerPoint presentation, Huawei, 2018).
4. “Huawei & Iristar Solution on Smart Prison High-Security Prevention and Control System Based on Iris Recognition” [华为&中科虹星基于虹膜识别的高

- 安全防控系统智慧监所解决方案主打胶片] (PowerPoint presentation, Huawei, 2016).
5. “Xinjiang and Huawei Enterprise Cloud Have Reached a Strategic Cooperation to Jointly Promote the Development of the Cloud Computing Industry” [新疆与华为企业云达成战略合作, 携手推进云计算产业发展], Huawei (website), September 2, 2016, archived December 19, 2022, at the Wayback Machine, [https://web.archive.org/web/20221219053120/https://www.huaweicloud.com/news/1472802911\\_321.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20221219053120/https://www.huaweicloud.com/news/1472802911_321.html).
  6. Eva Dou, “Documents Link Huawei to China’s Surveillance Programs,” *Washington Post*, December 14, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/12/14/huawei-surveillance-china>.
  7. Nathan VanderKlippe, “Huawei Founder Defends ‘Seamless Surveillance’ Technology, Dismisses Criticism It Enables Human-Rights Abuses,” *Globe and Mail*, updated December 4, 2019, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/world/article-huawei-founder-defends-seamless-surveillance-technology-dismisses>.
  8. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with Sky News,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 5 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 137–38.
  9. Gary Sims, “Huawei Announces the Kirin 970—New Flagship SoC with AI Capabilities,” Android Authority, September 2, 2017, <https://www.androidauthority.com/huawei-announces-kirin-970-797788>.
  10. Huawei, “Huawei Cloud AI Practice: Empower Digital Transformation” (PowerPoint presentation, ITU, 2019), <https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Regional-Presence/AsiaPacific/SiteAssets/Pages/Events/2019/Artificial-Intelligence-Overview-and-Applications/HUAWEI%20CLOUD%20AI%20Solutions.pdf>.
  11. Huawei and Wireless X Labs, “5G Unlocks a World of Opportunities: Top Ten 5G Use Cases” (white paper, Huawei Technologies Co., 2017), <https://www-file.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/mbb/5g-unlocks-a-world-of-opportunities-v5.pdf>.
  12. “A Cup of Coffee Absorbs the Energy of the World, a Bucket of Glue Binds the Wisdom of the World: Mr. Ren’s Visit to Four Canadian University Presidents’ Symposiums and His Speech at the Company’s Employee Symposium (October 4–6, 2017)” [一杯咖啡吸收宇宙能量 一桶浆糊粘接世界智慧: 任总访问加拿大四所高校校长座谈会, 以及在公司员工座谈会上的讲话 (2017年10月4日–6日)], Xinsheng Forum, November 23, 2017, [https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/detail?uuid=916314257771675653&search\\_result=1](https://xinsheng.huawei.com/next/#/detail?uuid=916314257771675653&search_result=1).

13. “Ren’s Arabic Media Roundtable October 20, 2019,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 55–56.
14. Ashraf Javed, “Shehbaz Inaugurates Safe City,” *Nation* (Pakistan), January 5, 2018, <https://www.nation.com.pk/05-Jan-2018/shehbaz-inaugurates-safe-city>.
15. *China’s Digital Authoritarianism: Surveillance, Influence, and Political Control: Hearing before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence*, 116th Cong. (2019) (opening statement of Chairman Adam B. Schiff), accessed via the National Security Archive, <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/20110-national-security-archive-144-chairman-adam-b>.
16. “Hikvision Products Exposed to Have Security Vulnerabilities, Investigated by Public Security Authorities” [海康威视产品被曝存安全漏洞遭公安部门清查], *Xinjingbao* [新京报], February 28, 2015; Jane Zhang, “Tencent, Huawei, Other Major Shenzhen Firms to Bolster User Data Safeguards Ahead of Roll-Out of New Personal Information Law,” *South China Morning Post*, October 23, 2021, <https://www.scmp.com/tech/policy/article/3153448/tencent-huawei-other-major-shenzhen-firms-bolster-user-data-safeguards>.
17. Michael Thelander, interview by the author.
18. John Bolton, interview by the author, 2023.
19. Tom Cotton, “Cotton Warns about the Threat of Huawei and ZTE,” Tom Cotton Senator for Arkansas (website), June 13, 2018, <https://www.cotton.senate.gov/news/speeches/cotton-warns-about-the-threat-of-huawei-and-zte>.
20. “Rubio, Banks Raise Concerns of Chinese Espionage through University Partnerships with Huawei,” Marco Rubio U.S. Senator for Florida (website), June 20, 2018, <https://www.rubio.senate.gov/rubio-banks-raise-concerns-of-chinese-espionage-through-university-partnerships-with-huawei>.
21. Malcolm Turnbull, *A Bigger Picture* (Melbourne: Hardie Grant Books, 2020), 560–63.
22. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with Chinese Media,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 409.
23. Bolton, interview.
24. Edward Barsamian, “Inside Le Bal, the World’s Most Exclusive Debutante Ball,” *Vogue*, November 28, 2018, <https://www.vogue.com/article/le-bal-debutante-gala-annabel-yao-paris-couture-party>.
25. “Bals des debs: Une fille du ciel dans la Ville Lumière,” *Paris Match*, November 13, 2018, <https://www.parismatch.com/People/Bal-des-debs-Une-fille-du-ciel-dans-la-Ville-lumiere-1586623>.

26. Sabrina Meng, “Forward,” in *Built on Value: The Huawei Philosophy of Finance Management*, ed. Weiwei Huang (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).
27. Meng Wanzhou, “Huawei’s Meng Wanzhou: The Coming Days Are Not Endless, and Our Choices Determine Our Future” [华为孟晚舟：来日并不方长，选择决定未来], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 339, November 1, 2018.
28. Lionel Barber, interview by the author, 2023.

## Chapter 24: Hostage Diplomacy

1. Unless otherwise noted, the details in this chapter are drawn from *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
2. Applicant’s Documents on Evidentiary Voir Dire—Sowmith Katragadda, Tab 15, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
3. Affidavit of Donna Chan, 0082-0096, September 18, 2019, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
4. Applicant’s Documents on Evidentiary Voir Dire—Winston Yep, Tab 2, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
5. SITREP: Impending Arrest in Canada of Meng Wanzhou, December 1, 2018, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
6. Applicant’s Documents on Evidentiary Voir Dire—Winston Yep, Tab 15, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
7. Affidavit of Donna Chan, 0185, September 18, 2019, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
8. Scott Kirkland Solemn Declaration, Chan Affidavit 1, 51, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
9. Statement of Wanzhou MENG taken by Cst. Winston Yep, Affidavit of Donna Chan, 0948-0973, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
10. Meng Wanzhou, “Your Warmth Is a Beacon That Lights My Way Forward,” Huawei (website), December 1, 2019, archived September 9, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230909160130/https://www.huawei.com/it/facts/voices-of-huawei/your-warmth-is-a-beacon-that-lights-my-way-forward>.
11. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with German Broadcaster ARD,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 29.
12. Anna Fifield, “China Accuses Two Detained Canadians of Stealing State Secrets,” *Washington Post*, March 4, 2019, <https://wapo.st/4bLvsuz>.
13. Jeff Mason and Steve Holland, “Exclusive: Trump Says He Could Intervene in U.S. Case against Huawei CFO,” Reuters, December 11, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-huawei-tech-exclusive-idUSKBN10A2PQ>.



14. Judicial Interim Release Hearing, 66, December 7, 2018, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
15. Affidavit of Wanzhou Meng, December 4, 2018, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.

## Chapter 25: Waterloo

1. Matthew Whitaker, “Acting Attorney General Whitaker Announces National Security Related Criminal Charges against Chinese Telecommunications Conglomerate Huawei,” January 28, 2019, Office of Public Affairs, US Department of Justice, video, 35:37, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/video/acting-attorney-general-whitaker-announces-national-security-related-criminal-charges>.
2. Record of the Case for Prosecution, January 28, 2019, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
3. Record of the Case for Prosecution, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
4. Office of Public Affairs, “HSBC Holdings Plc. and HSBC Bank USA N.A. Admit to Anti-Money Laundering and Sanctions Violations, Forfeit \$1.256 Billion in Deferred Prosecution Agreement,” press release, US Department of Justice, December 11, 2012, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/hsbc-holdings-plc-and-hsbc-bank-usa-na-admit-anti-money-laundering-and-sanctions-violations>.
5. “The Long March of the Invisible Mr. Ren,” *Economist*, June 2, 2011, <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2011/06/02/the-long-march-of-the-invisible-mr-ren>.
6. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s International Media Roundtable,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 1–41.
7. Amy Smart, “Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou Sues Canadian Government, RCMP and CBSA,” *Global News*, March 3, 2019, <https://globalnews.ca/news/5017311/huawei-meng-wanzhou-suing-canada-rcmp>.
8. Jessica Bursztynsky, “Secretary of State Pompeo: Huawei’s CEO ‘Isn’t Telling the American People the Truth’ on China Government Ties,” *CNBC*, updated May 23, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/05/23/secretary-of-state-pompeo-huawei-saying-that-it-does-not-work-with-the-chinese-government-is-false.html>.
9. Jessica Bursztynsky, “Ex-Trump Advisor Steve Bannon: Huawei Is a ‘Dirty Bomb Inside Industrial Democracies,’” *CNBC*, updated June 27, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/06/27/steve-bannon-huawei-is-a-dirty-bomb-inside-industrial-democracies.html>.
10. Laurie Chen, “Oxford University Suspends Donor Ties with Chinese Tech Giant Huawei as National Security Fears Mount,” *South China Morning Post*, January 17, 2019, <https://scmp.com/k9bkb>.

11. Vice Chancellor for Research Randy Howard Katz to Members of the Chancellor's Cabinet, 30 January 2019, "UC Berkeley Police Directive on Huawei Engagement 2019-01-30," August 23, 2019, Document Cloud, Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/6331119-UC-Berkeley-Policy-Directive-on-Huawei>.
12. Vanessa Gera and Kelvin Chan, "Huawei Fires Sales Manager Who Poland Charged with Spying," Associated Press, January 12, 2019, <https://apnews.com/general-news-4eeeff2461614b93aca237b728c22baa>.
13. Exec. Order No. 13,873, 84 Fed. Reg. 22689 (May 15, 2019), <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2019-05-17/pdf/2019-10538.pdf>.
14. Office of Public Affairs, "Department of Commerce Announces the Addition of Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd. to the Entity List," press release, US Department of Commerce, May 15, 2019, <https://2017-2021.commerce.gov/news/press-releases/2019/05/department-commerce-announces-addition-huawei-technologies-co-ltd.html>.
15. Dina Bass, "Microsoft Says Trump Is Treating Huawei Unfairly," *Bloomberg Businessweek*, September 8, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-09-08/microsoft-says-trump-is-treating-huawei-unfairly>.
16. "Dr. Song Liuping's Statement at the Huawei Press Conference on May 29, 2019," Huawei (website), May 30, 2019, <https://www.huawei.com/en/news/2019/5/SongLiuping-Statement-Huawei-Press-Conference>.
17. Ren Zhengfei, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with Chinese Media," in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 3 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 2.
18. Temporary General License, 84 Fed. Reg. 23468 (May 20, 2019), <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2019/05/22/2019-10829/temporary-general-license>.
19. Ren, "Ren Zhengfei's Interview with Chinese Media," 5.
20. Keith Krach, interview by the author, 2022.
21. Steven Swinford and Charles Hymas, "Theresa May Defies Security Warnings of Ministers and US to Allow Huawei to Help Build Britain's 5G Network," *Telegraph*, April 24, 2019.
22. Matt Chorley, "So That's What Will Get You the Sack from This Government," *Times* (UK), May 2, 2019, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/so-thats-what-will-get-you-the-sack-from-this-government-xt2mgk2ks>.
23. Simon Walters, David Wilcock, and Martin Robinson, "The 11 Minute 'Smoking Gun' Phone Call: Gavin Williamson Admits He Spoke to Journalist after

- Security Council Meeting but Denies He Spoke about Huawei and Swears ‘On My Children’s Lives That I’m Innocent,’” *Daily Mail*, updated May 2, 2019, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6981725/Defence-Secretary-Gavin-Williamson-SACKED-Theresa-May.html>.
24. Michael R. Pompeo, “The Special Relationship,” speech, May 8, 2019, Lancaster House, London, UK, Department of State, transcript and video, <https://2017-2021.state.gov/the-special-relationship>.
  25. Factbase Videos, “Interview: Donald Trump Calls In to *Fox and Friends* for an Interview—August 17, 2020,” streamed on August 17, 2020, YouTube video, 52:14, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UAFd-N0UVKI&t=1186s>.
  26. Interview by the author with a senior UK security official, 2023; and John Bolton, interview by the author, 2023.
  27. Sam Meredith, “Russia’s Putin Says Huawei Is Being Unceremoniously Pushed Out of the Global Market,” CNBC, updated June 7, 2019, <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/06/07/russias-putin-says-huawei-is-being-unceremoniously-pushed-out-of-the-global-market.html>.
  28. Patrick Donahue, “Merkel Calls for High 5G Security, But No Full Huawei Ban,” Bloomberg, November 27, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-11-27/merkel-calls-for-high-5g-security-but-no-full-huawei-ban>.
  29. Michel Rose and Elizabeth Pineau, “Macron Says France’s 5G Strategy Founded on European Sovereignty,” Reuters, August 28, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN25O2I1>.
  30. Ken Zita, interview by the author, 2022.
  31. *South China Morning Post*, “Huawei ‘Can Spy as Much as They Like,’ Says Malaysia’s Mahathir Mohamad,” streamed on May 31, 2019, YouTube video, 1:18, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGkdIjNFn70>.
  32. Graham Allison and Eric Schmidt, “China’s 5G Soars Over America’s,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 16, 2022, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-5g-america-streaming-speed-midband-investment-innovation-competition-act-semiconductor-biotech-ai-11645046867>.
  33. EJ Powers, “Can a Public Relations Hail Mary Turn the Tide for Huawei?,” LinkedIn, February 28, 2019, <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/can-public-relations-hail-mary-turn-tide-huawei-ej-powers>.
  34. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s German Media Roundtable,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 7 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 146.
  35. Eric Xu, “Eric Xu’s Interview with Reuters,” in *On the Record: Huawei Executives Speak to the Public*, vol. 2 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 173.

36. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with German Broadcaster ARD,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, 3:143.
37. “Ren Zhengfei May Sell Huawei’s 5G Technology to a Western Buyer,” *Economist*, September 12, 2019, <https://www.economist.com/business/2019/09/12/ren-zhengfei-may-sell-huaweis-5g-technology-to-a-western-buyer>.
38. Christopher Balding and Donald C. Clarke, “Who Owns Huawei?,” preprint, submitted to SSRN on April 17, 2019, <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3372669>.
39. *100 Faces of Huawei*, season 1, episode 3, “Who’s Controlling Huawei from the Past to Future?,” directed by Ryo Takeuchi, streamed by Hezhimeng on March 27, 2021, YouTube video, 30:57, <https://youtu.be/F5NUXSd3g?si=uYWssVdgbBQWG1kj>.
40. Interview by the author with an industry executive, 2022.
41. Arjun Kharpal, “Huawei’s CEO on Trump, His Daughter’s Arrest and Apple,” CNBC, April 19, 2019, <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/huaweis-ceo-trump-his-daughters-arrest-apple-arjun-kharpal>.
42. Thomas L. Friedman, “Huawei Has a Plan to Help End Its War with Trump,” *New York Times*, September 10, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/10/opinion/huawei-trump-china-trade.html>.
43. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with CNN,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 2 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 13.
44. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with Bloomberg TV,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, 3:101.
45. Ren, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with CBS,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, 1:172.
46. Ren, “Ren Zhengfei’s International Media Roundtable,” 22.
47. Ren, 22.
48. “Ms. Sun Yafang,” Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development (website), <https://www.broadbandcommission.org/commissioner/sun-yafang>.
49. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with the BBC,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, 1:121–22.
50. Ren, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with CBS,” 192.

## Chapter 26: The Trial

1. Meng Wanzhou, “London Impressions” [伦敦印象], in *Huawei Selected Writings* [华为文摘], vol. 12 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2015), 256.
2. Meng Wanzhou, “Your Warmth Is a Beacon That Lights My Way Forward,”

- Huawei (website), December 1, 2019, archived September 9, 2023, at the Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230909160130/https://www.huawei.com/it/facts/voices-of-huawei/your-warmth-is-a-beacon-that-lights-my-way-forward>.
3. Ren Zhengfei, “Ren Zhengfei’s Interview with CBS,” in *In His Own Words: Dialogues with Ren*, vol. 1 (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co., 2019), 160.
  4. Xinhua, “China Opposes Canada’s Authority on Huawei CFO Case: Embassy,” *China Daily*, March 2, 2019, <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201903/02/WS5c7a1afba3106c65c34ec587.html>.
  5. Warrant of Provisional Arrest, November 30, 2018, *US v. Meng*, BCSC.
  6. Huawei Canada, “Statement from Huawei Canada,” press release, Canada Newswire, February 27, 2021.
  7. Joanna Chiu, Wanyee Li, and Michael Mui, “Ambassador John McCallum Says It Would Be ‘Great for Canada’ if U.S. Drops Extradition Request for Huawei’s Meng Wanzhou,” *Toronto Star*, January 25, 2019, [https://www.thestar.com/vancouver/ambassador-john-mccallum-says-it-would-be-great-for-canada-if-u-s-drops-extradition/article\\_f45ea9ba-a352-5a74-96c1-b1f2b7d04159.html](https://www.thestar.com/vancouver/ambassador-john-mccallum-says-it-would-be-great-for-canada-if-u-s-drops-extradition/article_f45ea9ba-a352-5a74-96c1-b1f2b7d04159.html).
  8. Zeng Meng, interview by the author, 2023.
  9. James Griffiths and Steve George, “Two Canadians Got Caught in a Spat between the US and China. They’ve Been in Prison for a Year,” CNN, December 10, 2019, <https://amp.cnn.com/cnn/2019/12/10/asia/canada-china-kovrig-spavor-huawei-intl-hnk/index.html>.
  10. Global Affairs Canada, “One Year since Canadians Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor Arbitrarily Detained in China,” Government of Canada (website), December 9, 2019, <https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2019/12/one-year-since-canadians-michael-kovrig-and-michael-spavor-arbitrarily-detained-in-china.html>.
  11. David Molko, interview by the author, 2023.
  12. Jason Proctor, “Meng Wanzhou Case Is about the U.S. Wanting Canada to Enforce Sanctions It Rejects, Defence Says,” CBC News, updated January 20, 2020, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/meng-wanzhou-extra-dition-criminality-1.5430149>.
  13. Wang Bo / Hubei Rep Office, “Fighting COVID-19 Together: Stories from the Hubei Rep Office amid the COVID-19 Outbreak,” *Huawei People* (English), no. 313, April 2020.
  14. Arjun Kharpal, “Canada and France Say Donations of Coronavirus Masks

- Won't Influence Decisions on Huawei and 5G," CNBC, April 10, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/04/10/coronavirus-canada-france-deny-masks-will-affect-huawei-5g-decisions.html>.
15. Amanda Coletta, "Canadian Court Rules Extradition Case against Huawei Executive Meng Can Proceed," *Washington Post*, May 27, 2020, <https://wapo.st/3KpTmzL>.
  16. Annabel Yao (@AnnabelBallerina), "Belated graduation post. . . .," Instagram photo, June 10, 2020. This post has since been deleted.
  17. Annabel Yao (@AnnabelBallerina), Instagram photo, 2020. This post has since been deleted.
  18. Amanda Coletta, "Detained Huawei CFO Enjoys Private Shopping and Evenings at Open-Air Theaters 'Under the Stars,' Wants Bail Conditions Eased," *Washington Post*, January 17, 2021, <https://wapo.st/3X2Ds5S>.
  19. Factbase Videos, "Interview: Donald Trump Calls In to *Fox and Friends* for an Interview—August 17, 2020," streamed on August 17, 2020, YouTube video, 52:14, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UAFd-N0UVKI&t=1186s>.
  20. "Ren Zhengfei Accepts Interview with Sony CEO: Only by Tolerating Opposition Can Talent Emerge" [任正非接受索尼CEO采访：容忍反对才会人才辈出], *Entrepreneur Daily* [企业家日报], February 19, 2019.
  21. "Huawei to Be Removed from UK 5G Networks by 2027," press release, Government of the UK (website), July 14, 2020, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/huawei-to-be-removed-from-uk-5g-networks-by-2027>.
  22. Vince Cable, interview by the author, 2023.
  23. Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, *Mission Report Following the Mission to Washington D.C. and Boston, United States of America*, European Parliament (website), July 8, 2020, 23, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/LIBE-CR-654092\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/LIBE-CR-654092_EN.pdf).
  24. Interview by the author with a former senior British security official, 2023.
  25. Simon Sharwood (@SSharwood), Twitter, August 6, 2020, 12:09 a.m., <https://twitter.com/ssharwood/status/1291224981016154112>.
  26. Juan Ortiz Freuler (@JuanOf9), Twitter, August 6, 2020, 11:43 a.m., <https://twitter.com/juanof9/status/1291399463874048000>.
  27. US State Department (@StateDept), Twitter, August 1, 2020, 2:13 p.m., <https://twitter.com/StateDept/status/1289625294798835715>.
  28. Otiato Opali, "Eswatini Withdraws from US 'Clean Network' Program," *China Daily*, updated February 1, 2021, <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202102/01/WS60182362a31024ad0baa68a9.html>.

29. “Extending Our Roots Deep into the Soil and Breaking Limits High in the Sky: Remarks by Mr. Ren Zhengfei at Meetings with Scientists and Student Representatives of Institutions Including Peking University, Tsinghua University, and the Chinese Academy of Sciences,” *Huawei People* (English), no. 322, January 4, 2021.
30. Greg Harper (@GS\_Harper), “Anti Huawei and Chinese government protestors show up outside Meng Wanzhou’s Vancouver mansion. Her extradition hearing is scheduled to begin this morning,” Twitter, January 20, 2020, 11:04 a.m., [https://twitter.com/GS\\_Harper/status/1219289675149369344](https://twitter.com/GS_Harper/status/1219289675149369344).
31. Josh Chin and Liza Lin, *Surveillance State: Inside China’s Quest to Launch a New Era of Social Control* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2022), 165–66.
32. Chin and Lin, *Surveillance State*, 160.
33. John F. Tyson, *Adventures in Innovation: Inside the Rise and Fall of Nortel* (John F. Tyson Publishing, 2014), 140–41.
34. Quoted dialogue from the questioning of John Suffolk comes from Science and Technology Committee, “Oral Evidence: UK Telecommunications Infrastructure, HC 2200,” House of Commons, June 10, 2019, Q67, Q72–77, <https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/9387/html>. The committee changed its name to the Science, Innovation, and Technology Committee in 2023.
35. Don Maye, interview by the author, 2023; and Drew Harwell and Eva Dou, “Huawei Tested AI Software That Could Recognize Uighur Minorities and Alert Police, Report Says,” *Washington Post*, December 8, 2020, <https://wapo.st/3VnCKik>.
36. Antoine Griezmann (@AntoGriezmann), “Suite aux forts soupçons selon lesquels l’entreprise Huawei aurait contribué au développement d’une ‘Alerte Ouïghour’ grâce à un logiciel de reconnaissance faciale. . . .,” Instagram photo, December 10, 2020, [https://www.instagram.com/p/CInqQ5-ptdP/?img\\_index=1](https://www.instagram.com/p/CInqQ5-ptdP/?img_index=1).
37. Eva Dou and Drew Harwell, “Huawei Worked on Several Surveillance Systems Promoted to Identify Ethnicity, Documents Show,” *Washington Post*, December 12, 2020, <https://wapo.st/4c2fAUd>.
38. Tommy Zwicky, interview by the author, 2023. See also Drew Harwell, “Huawei Official Speaks Out on Why He Resigned after *The Post* Reported the Tech Giant Had Worked on a ‘Uighur Alarm,’” *Washington Post*, February 1, 2021, <https://wapo.st/3RaEFnQ>.
39. Ian Young, “I Knew We’d End Up in Court, Says Border Officer Who Dealt with Meng Wanzhou, as Judge Grants Huawei Executive a Small Win,” *South China*

*Morning Post*, October 30, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/society/article/3107697/i-knew-wed-end-court-says-canada-border-officer-who-quizzed>.

40. Amy Smart, “Meng’s Lawyer Asks if Border Officer Was Gathering Evidence for the FBI,” CTV News, November 18, 2020, <https://www.ctvnews.ca/mobile/canada/meng-s-lawyer-asks-if-border-officer-was-gathering-evidence-for-the-fbi-1.5195295?cache=?clipId=68597>.
41. Smart, “Meng’s Lawyer Asks if Border Officer Was Gathering Evidence for the FBI.”
42. Keith Fraser, “CBSA Officer Grilled about Authority to Secure Meng’s Cell-phones,” *Vancouver Sun*, November 20, 2020, <https://vancouversun.com/news/cbsa-officer-grilled-about-authority-to-secure-mengs-cellphones>.
43. Ian Young, “Canada Border Officer ‘Can’t Recall’ Who Wanted Meng Wanzhou’s Electronic Device Passwords,” *South China Morning Post*, November 20, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3110611/canada-border-officer-says-he-cant-recall-who-wanted-passwords>.
44. Jason Proctor, “Meng Wanzhou Lawyer Says Extraditing Huawei Exec Would Run Contrary to Rule of Canadian Law,” CBC News, updated August 9, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/meng-wanzhou-stay-trump-law-1.6135072>.
45. Michael McCullough / Bloomberg, “Huawei CFO Fights Extradition as Beijing Raises Pressure,” *Al Jazeera English*, August 11, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2021/8/11/huawei-cfo-fights-extradition-as-beijing-raises-pressure>.
46. Jason Proctor, “Decision on Meng Wanzhou Extradition Rests with Judge as Marathon Hearing Concludes,” CBC News, updated August 18, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/meng-wanzhou-hearing-ends-decision-1.6145573>.

## Chapter 27: A Hero’s Welcome

1. FlightRadar24 (@FlightRadar24), “The most tracked flight right now is #CA552 (Vancouver–Shenzhen). According to reports in media, Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou is on board this flight. . . .,” Twitter, September 25, 2021, 5:32 a.m., <https://twitter.com/flightradar24/status/1441697195762225152>.
2. CCTV Video News Agency, “LIVE: Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou Returns to



- China,” streamed live on September 25, 2021, YouTube video, 29:20, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FC8Jnt9Hdqw>.
3. “Vice Foreign Minister Le Yucheng’s Exclusive Interview with CGTN on China’s Foreign Policy, China-U.S. Relations and Relevant International and Regional Hotspot Issues,” Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the United States of America (website), October 13, 2021, [http://us.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/zmgxss/202110/t20211013\\_9549136.htm](http://us.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/zmgxss/202110/t20211013_9549136.htm).
  4. Annabel [姚安娜], “My sister’s plane has already crossed the North Pole. . . .” [姐姐的飞机已飞过北极上空。 . . .], Weibo, September 25, 2021, 12:28 a.m., <https://weibo.com/7537923740/4685291854238076>.
  5. Jeffrey Towson, interview by the author, 2023.
  6. Justin Trudeau, “Prime Minister Trudeau Announces the Release of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor,” September 24, 2021, Government of Canada, transcript and video, 3:59, <https://www.pm.gc.ca/en/videos/2021/09/24/prime-minister-trudeau-announces-release-michael-kovrig-and-michael-spavor>.
  7. Tom Blackwell, “Why Media Report I Was Spying in China Is So Hurtfully Wrong: Michael Kovrig,” *National Post*, updated December 1, 2023, <https://nationalpost.com/news/world/michael-kovrig-defence-china-spy-claims>.
  8. John McGill and Kevin Robertson, “Why Former Foreign Minister John Manley Thinks Canada Botched Huawei Affair,” CBC Radio, updated December 15, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/asithappens/as-it-happens-friday-edition-1.4946533/why-former-foreign-minister-john-manley-thinks-canada-botched-huawei-affair-1.4946539>.

## Chapter 28: Black Swan

1. Eva Dou, “New Phone Sparks Worry China Has Found a Way around U.S. Tech Limits,” *Washington Post*, September 2, 2023, <https://wapo.st/3X4LUlh>.
2. Paul Triolo, interview by the author, 2024.
3. Commerce Dems, “CHIPS and Science Implementation and Oversight,” streamed on October 4, 2023, YouTube video, 2:44:20, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ph8jWWYzzvk>.
4. Zhou Daiqi is mentioned as having retired in Tian Tao [田涛], “Why Is Survival Both the Lowest and Highest Goal for Huawei?” [为什么华为的最低与最高纲领都是活下来?], *Sina*, September 18, 2022. As of this writing, Huawei does not appear to have disclosed who succeeded Zhou as party secretary.

5. Wan Runnan, interview by the author, March 2024. This was also recalled by Wan in Lei Long [雷隆], “Exclusive Interview with Former Stone Group President: The Blood Is Not Cold Thirty Years Later, the Changing Landscape Will Bring a New Situation” [专访前四通总裁万润南：三十年来血仍未冷，格局变化将带来新局面], *Initium*, June 4, 2019, <https://theinitium.com/zh-Hans/article/20190604-interview-wanrunnan-june-fourth>.
6. David Kaye, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression*, UN Doc. A/HRC/32/38, May 11, 2016, accessed via the United Nations Digital Library, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/842541?ln=en&v=pdf>.
7. Javvad Malik, “Privacy, the Feds and Government Surveillance—RSA and Spiceworks Survey Results,” *LevelBlue* (blog), AT&T, March 15, 2016, <https://cybersecurity.att.com/blogs/security-essentials/privacy-the-feds-and-government-surveillance>.
8. Michael Joseph, interview by the author.
9. David Ian Chambers, review of *Chinese Spies: From Chairman Mao to Xi Jinping*, by Roger Faligot, *Studies in Intelligence* 64, no. 4 (December 2020): 54, <https://www.cia.gov/resources/csi/static/Chinese-Spies-Intelligence.pdf>.
10. *South China Morning Post*, “Huawei ‘Can Spy as Much as They Like,’ Says Malaysia’s Mahathir Mohamad,” streamed on May 31, 2019, YouTube video, 1:18, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGkdIjNFn70>.
11. Charles Clancy, interview by the author, March 2024.
12. Malcolm Turnbull, *A Bigger Picture* (Melbourne: Hardie Grant Books, 2020), chap. 34.
13. Ren Zhengfei, “Survival through Rationality and Practicality” [在理性与平实中存活], *Huawei People* [华为为人], no. 8, May 25, 2003, 27.
14. Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd., *We See Beyond Telecom: Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd. 2010 Annual Report* (Shenzhen: Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd., 2011), 58, [https://www.annualreports.com/HostedData/AnnualReportArchive/h/huawei\\_2010.pdf](https://www.annualreports.com/HostedData/AnnualReportArchive/h/huawei_2010.pdf); and Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., *Building a Better Connected World: Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd. 2015 Annual Report* (Shenzhen: Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., 2016), 102, [https://www.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/annual-report/annualreport2015\\_en.pdf](https://www.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/annual-report/annualreport2015_en.pdf).
15. Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., *Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd. 2013 Annual Report* (Shenzhen: Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., 2014), 109, [https://www.huawei.com/-/media/corp2020/annual-report/pdf/2013-en-hw\\_u\\_323372.pdf](https://www.huawei.com/-/media/corp2020/annual-report/pdf/2013-en-hw_u_323372.pdf).

## NOTES

16. Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., *Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd. 2023 Annual Report* (Shenzhen: Huawei Investment & Holding Co. Ltd., 2024), 140, [https://www-file.huawei.com/minisite/media/annual\\_report/annual\\_report\\_2023\\_en.pdf](https://www-file.huawei.com/minisite/media/annual_report/annual_report_2023_en.pdf).
17. “How CPC Congress Delegates Are Elected?,” trans. Alex Xu and Li Jinhui, China Internet Information Center, September 24, 2002, <http://english.china.org.cn/english/2002/Sep/43936.htm>.

