

# Azat Miftakhov Days Against the War

July 5-6, 2022

In solidarity with Azat Miftakhov, a doctoral student in mathematics at Moscow State University, arbitrarily imprisoned by Russian authorities since February 2019

## Tuesday July 5, 2022

**4pm-7pm** Central European Summer Time (UTC+2) **Online**

*Honoring the new generation of Russian mathematicians committed to human rights*

Speakers:

Ilya Dumanski (MIT)

Alexander Petrov (Harvard)

Slava Rychkov (IHES)

## Wednesday July 6, 2022

**5pm-7pm** Central European Summer Time (UTC+2) **Hybrid**

Online and in person at the Institut des Hautes Études Scientifiques

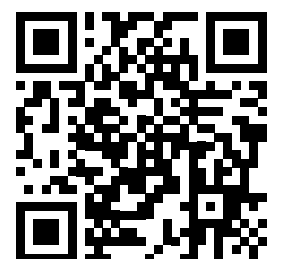
*Assessing the human rights situation in Russia through the cases of persecuted academics*

Panel co-organized by the Azat Miftakhov Committee and Memorial Human Rights Center with the participation of mathematicians and human rights organizations.



Further information available at  
[caseazatmiftakhov.org](https://caseazatmiftakhov.org)

#StandWithUkraine



# AZAT MIFTAKHOV DAYS AGAINST THE WAR

**July 6, 2022**

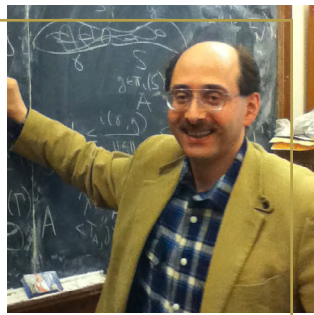
from 5pm to 7pm

A panel to assess the human rights situation in Russia through the cases of persecuted academics cororganized by the **Azat Miftakhov Committee** and **Memorial Human Rights Center**

## PROGRAM/SPEAKERS

- **Chandler Davis**, *mathematician, University of Toronto*
- **Alexander Cherkasov**, *Chair of the Council of the Memorial Human Rights Centre*
- **Fabien Durand**, *President of the French Mathematical Society*
- **Elena Gorban**, *Azat Miftakhov's wife*
- **Anatoly Vershik**, *former president of the St. Petersburg Mathematical Society, member of the European Academy of Sciences, chief researcher of the St. Petersburg section of the Steklov Institute of Mathematics of the Russian Academy of Sciences*
- **Barry Mazur**, *mathematician, the Gerhard Gade University Professor at Harvard University, member of Scholars at Risk Harvard*
- **Grigory Durnovo**, *OVD-info*
- **Maria Menshikova**, *DOXA*
- **Vera Chelishcheva**, *independent journalist*
- **Ilya Nuzov**, *Head of Eastern Europe and Central Asia Desk for the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH)*
- **Rachel Denber**, *Deputy Director of the Europe and Central Asia Division of Human Rights Watch, specializes in countries of the former Soviet Union*
- **Natalia Zviagina**, *Amnesty International Moscow Office Director*
- **Martin Andler**, *mathematician, Université de Versailles St Quentin, for Memorial France*





## OPENING REMARKS

**by Ilya Kapovich**, Department of Mathematics and Statistics  
Hunter College, member of the Azat Miftakhov Committee

Welcome, everybody! On behalf of the Azat Miftakhov Committee I'd like to welcome all of you to the **"Azat Miftakhov Days Against the War"**.

When we met a year ago, in June 2021, for the first Azat Miftakhov Day, we were hoping for a very different future.

We hoped that by now Azat would be released and that the human rights situation in Russia would be improving. Unfortunately, that didn't happen. Azat is still imprisoned, in a penal labor colony in Omutninsk, and the six-year prison sentence against him on trumped-up political charges is still in force. Moreover, during the last year a new cloud descended over Russia, a dark and terrible cloud of war and oppression. On February 24 this cloud extended its tentacles even further, with Russia's bloody invasion of Ukraine, an invasion driven by Putin's mad imperial nationalistic ambition.

As we meet today for this "Azat Miftakhov Days Against the War" conference, Russian bombs and artillery shells fall on Ukrainian cities. The horrors of war inflicted by Russia on the people of Ukraine should shock the conscience of all. The world has only begun to grasp the true toll of human suffering unleashed by this fratricidal war. The crimes committed by the Russian military against Ukraine's civilian population are only beginning to be understood as well.

Today we stand in solidarity with our mathematical colleagues in Ukraine and with the people of Ukraine who bear the brunt of this terrible war. We hope for their safety and the safety of their families, and we hope that the people of Ukraine will prevail in their fight against Russia's aggression and will free their country from the invaders.

We extend our solidarity to the scientists, students and academics and other pro-democracy activists in Russia who are standing up against the war and against the oppression of Putin's brutal regime. Today they face a much greater danger than a year ago. Their fight is especially important now, both for stopping Russia's war against Ukraine and for ensuring a free and democratic future for Russia itself. Azat Miftakhov and other pro-democracy activists stood up against Putin's repressive regime when few outside of Russia listened or paid attention. The current events underscore with terrible clarity that the repression of political opposition in Russia in years past, including the persecution of Azat Miftakhov, paved the way for Putin's war in Ukraine and for the near total silencing of anti-war news and opinions that Russia is witnessing today. We also see the price of the world being too complacent about political repression and human rights violations, especially when committed by a major power like Russia.



***And we affirm our solidarity with Azat Miftakhov, who remains an inspiring symbol for all those who hope for a democratic and peaceful Russia, a Russia which respects the rights of its citizens and doesn't threaten its neighbors.***

*Today also marks the start of the 2022 International Congress of Mathematicians which is being held virtually, with Helsinki as a replacement host for St Petersburg. While every ICM serves as a forum for a world-wide celebration of the beauty and excitement of mathematics, this year's ICM also provides all of us with a poignant opportunity to reflect on the place of mathematics in the modern world, on our responsibilities, as scientists and mathematicians, to our profession and the society as a whole. We don't wish to needlessly politicize the conduct of mathematical research. But we must recognize that truly free international scientific cooperation and truly free exchange of ideas in science are impossible when basic freedoms of expression and inquiry are imperiled. When that happens, when our colleagues around the world suffer political persecution and, even worse, military aggression, we need to speak up. We need to stand up for them. We cannot treat the practice of mathematics as an isolated endeavor, disjoint from the developments in society and the world at large. We hope that the international mathematical community and the IMU will take these lessons to heart.*

*On behalf of the Azat Miftakhov Committee, I welcome all of you as the participants of this year's "Azat Miftakhov Days Against the War". Our special gratitude goes to the mathematical societies supporting this event.*

*We believe that young Russian students and researchers, standing in opposition to Putin's repression and in support of freedom and human rights in Russia, represent the true future of Russia. We are honored to have three of such young mathematicians as today's speakers. We are also honored to welcome several prominent Russian human rights activists and experts as participants of tomorrow's human rights panel. They continue a critically important fight for a free Russia, for the rights of students, scientists and academics who are being politically persecuted there, particularly those being persecuted for opposing the war.*

*Once again, welcome, everybody, and thank you!*

**Ilya KAPOVICH**

*Department of Mathematics and Statistics Hunter College,  
Member of the Azat Miftakhov Committee*



## WELCOMING REMARKS

**by Chandler Davis**, *University of Toronto, member of the Azat Miftakhov Committee*

*It's a pleasure to welcome you to this panel in support of our young colleague Azat Miftakhov and other political prisoners, in support in particular of Russians courageously speaking out against the war, and more generally in support of freedom of conscience and peace.*

*It means a lot to me to be opening this session because I have a special bond to Azat Miftakhov. I was a political prisoner myself, years ago, not in Russia but in the USA. I was not much older than he is now; like him I had a wife standing by me outside; and like him I tried to go ahead doing mathematics while in prison. It was hard, but not as hard as Azat's imprisonment, and it was only half a year.*

*By the way, I have another bond to this Azat Miftakhov Day. After my prison time, there were many years when I served the American Mathematical Society as Chair of the Committee on Human Rights of Mathematicians, defending victims of repression in many countries. A very satisfying job, and one now being carried on by Ilya Kapovich. It's good to work with Ilya jointly on this panel today.*

*WE ARE NOT ALONE. Even though only a minority around the world might share the radical philosophy of Azat ---or my own--- there are many many people in many countries who would defend our right to hold our views and to advocate them. Many many people are horrified by the invasion of Ukraine and want the war to stop, people in NATO countries and Ukraine, but also in Russia: thousands of Russians take the risk of saying so openly, often being arrested for it, and surely many more wish they felt they could. So you see, when we learn and study today, though we are few, we equip ourselves better to advance the cause of many.*

*There may already be a world-wide consensus for peace. It is hard to know how to gather the strands. Our objective must be, in the West as well as in Russia, just what the brave young man said in his banner on a Moscow street: NET VOINE. The world must somehow be steered back onto the path of diplomacy.*

*A terribly daunting challenge. But HEY, WE'RE MATHEMATICIANS, we spend our lives on non-trivial things, on studying questions whose answers we don't know. We need to reach out to our colleagues in whatever country, in prison or out; we need each other; we all need to draw on the courage and wisdom of Azat Miftakhov and the rest of our fellows.*



## NECESSARY CONDITIONS

by **Alexander Cherkasov**, *Chair of the Council of the Memorial Human Rights Centre*

*Version 1: на русском*

*Version 2: in English*

*Version 3: en français*

### Version 1: на русском

#### Необходимое условие

Здравствуйте.

Благодарю вас за приглашение выступить. Наша встреча посвящена делу Азата Мифтахова, но я не буду говорить собственно об этом деле. Те, кто здесь собрались, полагаю, знают и это имя, и это дело.

И вообще, после 24 февраля 2022 года, после начала Россией масштабной войны в Украине, вряд ли можно говорить о чем-то другом, кроме этой войны. Или, если это слишком сильное утверждение, то: вряд ли можно, говоря о чем-то, не говорить при этом о войне в Украине. Но верно и другое: говоря о войне в Украине, о десятках тысяч погибших и миллионах беженцев, о военных преступлениях и преступлениях против человечности, нельзя забывать о причинах войны. Об условиях, сделавших эту немыслимую войну возможной.

А политические заключенные, политические репрессии в России, - одно из таких условий.

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Государство, грубо и массово нарушающее права человека внутри своих границ, рано или поздно становится угрозой миру и международной безопасности. Это, если угодно, теорема, - казалось бы, окончательно доказанная опытом Второй мировой войны. На этом опыте была выстроена система международного сотрудничества, система международных организаций, которая должна была предотвратить повторение 1939 года. Предотвратить не получилось: снова в центре Европы развязана война.

Наивно звучит вопрос: почему в самой России не запущена процедура импичмента, почему нет ярких выступлений оппозиционных лидеров в парламенте, ни антивоенной кампании в общенациональных масс-медиа. Парламентская система и партийная системы давно демонтированы, остались лишь декорации, а медиа контролируются государством и превращены в орудие пропаганды. Не сработали обратные связи, которые должны были ее предотвратить. Как и почему не смогли, не успели, не пытались остановить этот процесс трансформации России в агрессора, в «больного человека Европы» - отдельная больная тема.

Но вот вопрос, который задают постоянно все эти месяцы: почему нет массовых уличных антивоенных выступлений? В чем причина столь эффективного контроля государства над обществом? Причина, не в последнюю очередь, - те самые политические репрессии, уголовное осуждение и заключение за мирную деятельность. Но есть и контекст этих репрессий, который делает их столь эффективными.

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Это, во-первых, политический террор.

Да, в России не действует смертная казнь, но я назову несколько имен. Журналист «Новой газеты» Анна Политковская, адвокат и левый активист Станислав Маркелов, сотрудница «Мемориала» Наталья Эстемирова. Все они боролись с насильственными исчезновениями людей в зоне вооруженного конфликта на Кавказе, в Чечне, - и все они были убиты. Оппозиционный политик Борис Немцов, ставший после 2014 года одним из лидеров антивоенного движения в России – убит. Казалось бы, эти смерти можно было отнести на счет маргинальных групп или властей Чечни. Но после попытки отравления другого лидера оппозиции, Алексея Навального, и во многом благодаря ему была вскрыта система политических убийств с использованием ядов, отравлений, совершаемых агентами российских центральных властей. Навальный выжил после отравления, расследовал это отравление, и сейчас находится в заключении.

Зачем я говорю здесь о политических убийствах, - казалось бы, другой, совсем особой теме? Но эта «совсем особая тема» придает важное значение всему остальному, - как «существенно особая точка» функции много говорит о поведении этой функции в других точках. Это накладывает отпечаток на всё общество. Точно так же, как наложили свой отпечаток на современную Чечню насильственные исчезновения людей, ставшие распространенной и систематической практикой. Полвека назад советский ученый и диссидент Валентин Турчин назвал это «инерцией страха», говоря о советском обществе послесталинского периода. Но ведь и теперь, рассуждая, например, о Чечне, о «кадыровцах», о всевластии Рамзана Кадырова, надо помнить о многих тысячах исчезнувших людей, смерть которых легла в основание нынешней «стабильности» и управляемости Чечни.

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В России арестовывают и судят тех, кто открыто выступает против войны.

А вот другой российский политик, выживший после двух попыток агентов российских властей отравить его – Владимир Кара-Мурза. Он активнейшим образом занимался продвижением в мире темы российских политзаключенных. Теперь он арестован за выступление о войне в Украине. Выступал он в американской глубинке, в Аризоне! – и сейчас находится в российской тюрьме.

Завтра, 7 июля, в Москве состоится очередное судебное заседание по делу московского муниципального депутата Алексея Горинова. На заседании муниципального совета он заговорил о войне, о жертвах войны, об убитых детях, - и был за это арестован. В ближайшие дни будет вынесен приговор, и он, скорее всего, будет суровым.

Им вменяют новую статью уголовного кодекса о «фейках об армии». Оцените логику: любое утверждение, которое не соответствует официальным заявлениям официальных представителей министерства обороны, объявлено в России ложным. За такое утверждение можно получить до 10 лет заключения.

Или другой московский депутат, Илья Яшин, прямо и систематически высказывавший свою антивоенную позицию. Сейчас он арестован по административному делу. Но, скорее всего, административное дело здесь - такая полицейская лемма перед доказыванием теоремы, уже с использованием статьи 207.3 уголовного кодекса.

Человека задерживают по административной статье, и при этом готовят основания для возбуждения уголовного дела – «фейки об армии, до 10 лет».

И тут я хотел бы обратить ваше внимание на второй важный момент - на соотношении и взаимосвязь административных и уголовных репрессий в современной России.

Это соотношение, эта структура сравнима с тем, что было в позднесоветские годы – с конца 1950-х по конец 1980-х.

В послесталинское время власти Советского Союза встала перед проблемой: как эффективно контролировать социум (пусть и находящийся в ситуации «инерции страха»), не используя при этом массовые репрессии? В итоге в 1959 году была введена система «профилактики», при которой на одного осужденного «за политику» по уголовной статье приходилось около ста человек «профилактированных», подвергнутых репрессиям внесудебным. Административным, неофициальным, но с очевидной угрозой репрессий уголовных в случае продолжения деятельности.

В выстраиваемой в последние месяцы и годы репрессивной системе видна если не та же, то похожая логика.

За выход на митинг или пикет раньше Вам грозила статья административного кодекса 20.2.5, со штрафом в несколько десятков тысяч рублей. За повторный выход на пикет – статья 20.2.8 того же кодекса, до 300 тысяч рублей штрафа, или до 30 суток ареста. А если Вы трижды задержаны в течение полугода, то может наступить уголовная ответственность по статье 212.1 – до пяти лет лишения свободы. Эту статью ещё называют «дадинской»- по фамилии Ильдара Дадина, который был первым по ней осужден.

В самом начале войны в Украине, 4 марта 2022 года, была введены специальные статьи о «дискредитации российской армии», статья 20.3.3 административного кодекса (штраф до 50 тысяч рублей, или до ста тысяч, если Вы призываете к публичным акциям), и статья 280.3 уголовного кодекса (до пяти лет заключения).

То есть, хотя нигде тут нет слова «профилактика», перспектива уголовного наказания в случае продолжения деятельности в обоих случаях прописана явно.

По этим административным статьям за прошедшие месяцы были задержаны многие тысячи человек. Только за «дискредитацию»- больше двух с половиной тысяч. Эти люди не осуждены и даже не обвиняются по уголовным статьям, но они уже находятся под угрозой посадки, если ещё раз выйдут на улицу.

При этом даже не обязательно, чтобы их задержали полицейские. Мы живем в XXI веке, прогресс не стоит на месте, и в Москве действует система распознавания лиц по камерам, установленным на улицах и в метро. В прошлом году записи с таких камер использовались при оформлении административных дел «за митинги и шествия». Месяц назад по данным с таких камер полицейские останавливали людей, не вышедших ни на какой митинг, а просто входивших в метро, чтобы ехать в центр города.

Отмечу тут ещё один момент, который особенно повеселит математиков. В случае такой ступенчатой ответственности – сначала административные дела, а потом уголовные,- на втором этапе, в суде по уголовному делу, решения по административным делам (то есть доводы, заведомо более «слабые») используют как полноценные доказательства при последующем уголовном осуждении. В административных судах у защиты нет такой возможности, как в уголовном процессе. Обвинение представляет судья, то есть они выступают в одном лице. Но при этом действует административная преюдиция!

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Третье,- по порядку, но не по значению,- важное обстоятельство: условия содержания в ходе следствия и после осуждения. Проще говоря, пытки, жестокое и унижающее человеческое достоинство способы обращения и наказания.

Вот что происходит прямо сейчас, в эти дни.



Первый пример. Упомянутый выше депутат Алексей Горинов, признанный «Мемориалом» политическим заключенным, после ареста был помещен в четырехместную камеру, где находились семь человек. Он не мог нормально спать. Будучи больным, не получал требуемого лечения и ухода.

Второй пример. Ученый физик Дмитрий Колкер 30 июня был арестован ФСБ. Мы не успели включить его в списки политзаключенных. У него была четвертая стадия рака, его увезли из больницы, и на третий день он умер в тюрьме.

Тут а должен сказать, что даже в темные времена, когда главой Советского Союза был Юрий Андропов, Комитет государственной безопасности СССР не арестовывал людей с тяжелой онкологией! Когда в 1983 году «громили» солженицынский Фонд помощи политзаключенным, не арестовали Андрея Кистяковского, распорядителя Фонда, потому что он был смертельно болен. Я могу продолжать этот список. Тогда это казалось неприличным перед всем миром. Теперь – нет, уже не неприлично. Наоборот: все знают, что и больного, умирающего могут бросить в тюрьму.

Третий пример. На днях стало известно, в каких условиях содержат политического заключенного Алексея Навального. В колонии строгого режима для него создана «тюрьма в тюрьме». Шестиметровый глухой забор, строгая изоляция. Максимально неудобные условия для человека с больной спиной, в рабочее время и после работы. Слушать песни, прославляющие ФСБ. Сидеть под портретом Путина. Это, возможно, лучше, чем «особые условия», созданные для Навального в предыдущем лагере. Но, заметим, это – Навальный, человек, к которому приковано внимание.

С «простыми» политзаключенными всё проще. Упомянутого выше Ильдара Дадина в заключении пытали сотрудники лагерной администрации. Это не исключение: пытки в российских местах заключения давно уже стали системой, - не для «политических», а для всех, кого не удастся сломать.

Точно так же, как системой давно уже стали пытки в ходе дознания и следствия. Выше я говорил о Фонде помощи политзаключенным – так вот, в 1983 году его распорядителя Сергея Ходоровича после ареста полгода пытали – но делали это его сокамерники, уголовники, сотрудничавшие со следствием. Это называлось «пресс-камера», такое есть и теперь. Но, в отличие от позднесоветских времен, системой давно стали пытки «без посредников», которые применяют «люди в форме».

И это не секрет – о том, что в России пытаются, сегодня, в общем, знают все. Знают и те, кто выходил протестовать против войны в Украине.

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Подводя итог, я могу сказать, что политические репрессии, - уголовное осуждение за ненасильственную деятельность, - стали в России важнейшим методом управления социумом, «социальной инженерии». В том числе (сейчас – прежде всего) способом подавления антивоенного движения.

Есть десятки таких уголовных дел, но эти репрессии косвенно касаются и тех тысяч человек, которые были осуждены административно, - что напоминает советскую практику «профилактики». Но такая «профилактика» неэффективна без продолжающихся уголовных репрессий.

Это позволяет также иначе взглянуть и на число политзаключенных в современной России – около полутысячи. Много это или мало? Ведь если эти репрессии имеют какую-то цель, то цель эта – не «всех посадить», а «посадив немногих, всех контролировать».

Говоря о «контроле», надо учитывать также такие системные факторы, как пытки и жестокое обращение в ходе следствия и в заключении, и практику политических убийств (в каком-то смысле заменивших действовавшую в СССР смертную казнь).

«Профилактика» неэффективна без уголовных репрессий, контроль над обществом невозможен без репрессий, война невозможна без репрессий.

И последнее. Число пленных и насильственно удерживаемых граждан Украины составляет сейчас свыше шести тысяч человек. Но украинские пленные сидят, хотя и отдельно, но в тех же тюрьмах. Их допрашивают те же следователи. Их пытаются так же, как до того пытали граждан России.

Репрессии есть необходимое условие войны. Пытки и политические убийства суть условие эффективности репрессий. Значит, борьба за свободу политзаключенных, борьба против пыток и политических убийств в России есть неотъемлемая составляющая борьбы за мир.

Спасибо. ■

## Version 2: in English

### Necessary conditions

Hello.

Thank you for the invitation to speak. Our meeting is devoted to the case of Azat Miftakhov, but I will not talk about the case itself. Those who are gathered here, I believe, know this name and this case.

And generally speaking, after February 24, 2022, after Russia started a largescale war in Ukraine, we can hardly talk about anything else but this war. Or, if that is too strong an assertion, then: it is hardly possible, while talking about something, not to talk about the war in Ukraine. But it is also true that talking about the war in Ukraine, about the tens of thousands of dead and millions of refugees, about war crimes and crimes against humanity, one cannot forget about the causes of the war. About the conditions that made this unthinkable war possible.

And political prisoners, political repression in Russia, is one of those conditions.

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A state that grossly and massively violates human rights inside its borders sooner or later becomes a threat to peace and international security. This is, if you will, a theorem – seemingly definitively proven by the experience of the Second World War. The system of international cooperation, the system of international organizations, was built on this experience in order to prevent a repetition of 1939. Preventing it did not work: war was again unleashed in the center of Europe.

It is naive to ask why in Russia itself an impeachment procedure has not been started, why there are no prominent speeches by opposition leaders in the parliament or an anti-war campaign in the national media. The parliamentary and party systems have long since been

dismantled, only decorations remain, and the media is controlled by the state and turned into a propaganda tool. The feedback loops that were supposed to prevent all that did not work. How and why they failed, did not have time, did not try to stop this process of transforming Russia into an aggressor, into the “sick man of Europe” is a separate painful theme.

But here is a question that has been asked repeatedly all these months: Why are there no mass anti-war street demonstrations? What is the reason why the state has such effective control over society? The reason, not least of all, is the very political repression, criminal convictions and imprisonment for peaceful activities. But there is also the context of this repression that makes it so effective.

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It is, firstly, political terror.

Yes, there is no death penalty in Russia, but I will name a few names. Anna Politkovskaya, a Novaya Gazeta journalist, Stanislav Markelov, a lawyer and leftwing activist, Natalia Estemirova of Memorial. All of them had fought against enforced disappearances in the armed conflict zone in the Caucasus, Chechnya – and all of them were killed. The opposition politician Boris Nemtsov, who after 2014 became one of the leaders of the anti-war movement in Russia, was murdered. It would seem that these deaths could be attributed to marginal groups or the authorities in Chechnya. But after the attempted poisoning of another opposition leader, Alexei Navalny, and largely thanks to him, was uncovered a system of political murders using poisons, poisonings perpetrated by agents of the Russian central authorities. Navalny survived the poisoning, investigated the poisoning, and is now in custody.

Why am I talking about political assassinations here – a seemingly different, very special topic? But this “very special topic” gives importance to everything else – as the “essentially singular point” of a function says a lot about the behavior of that function at other points. It puts an imprint on the whole of society. In the same way that enforced disappearances, which have become a widespread and systematic practice, have left their mark on contemporary Chechnya. Half a century ago, the Soviet scholar and dissident Valentin Turchin called this “inertia of fear”, referring to Soviet society in the post-Stalin period. But even now, when discussing Chechnya, for example, the “Kadyrovites” and the omnipotence of Ramzan Kadyrov, one must remember the many thousands of disappeared people whose deaths formed the basis of the current “stability” and governability of Chechnya.

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In Russia, those who openly oppose the war are arrested and tried.

Another Russian politician who survived two attempts by Russian agents to poison him is Vladimir Kara-Murza. He has been very active in promoting the topic of Russian political prisoners around the world. Now he has been arrested for speaking out about the war in Ukraine. He spoke in the American outback, in Arizona! – and is now in a Russian prison.

Tomorrow, July 7, another court hearing will be held in Moscow in the case of Moscow municipal councilor Alexei Gorinov. At the municipal council meeting, he talked about the war, about the victims of the war, about murdered children – and was arrested for this. In the coming days a sentence will be handed down, and it is likely to be severe.

They are being charged under a new article in the criminal code on “fake news about the army”. Appreciate the logic: any statement that does not correspond to official statements by defense ministry officials is declared false in Russia. You can get up to 10 years in prison for such a statement.

Or another Moscow deputy, Ilya Yashin, who has been directly and systematically expressing his anti-war stance. He is now under administrative arrest. But it is likely that the administrative case here is a police lemma preceding a proof of a theorem based on Article 207.3 of the criminal code.

A person is detained under an article of the administrative code while at the same time they prepare grounds for a criminal case – “fakes about the army, up to 10 years”.

And here I would like to draw your attention to the second important point – the correlation and interrelation of administrative and criminal repressions in today’s Russia. They are comparable to what it was in the late Soviet years – from the late 1950s to the late 1980s.

In the post-Stalin era, the authorities of the Soviet Union faced a problem: how to effectively control society (albeit in a situation of “inertia of fear”) without using mass repression? As a result, in 1959 a system of ‘prophylaxis’ was introduced which meant that for every person convicted of a criminal offence ‘for politics’ there were about a hundred people subjected to extra-judicial repressions. Administrative or unofficial, but with the obvious threat of criminal reprisals if the activity continued.

The repressive system that has been put in place in recent months and years shows a similar, if not the same, logic.

In the past, you could face Article 20.2.5 of the Administrative Code, with a fine of several tens of thousands of rubles for going to a rally or picket. For a repeat picket you face Article 20.2.8 of the same code, up to 300 thousand rubles fine, or up to 30 days of arrest. And if you are detained three times within six months, you may be criminally liable under Article 212.1 – up to five years in prison. This article is also referred to as the “Dadin article” after Ildar Dadin, who was the first person convicted under it.

At the very beginning of the war in Ukraine, on March 4, 2022, special articles on “discrediting the Russian army” were introduced, Article 20.3.3 of the administrative code (a fine of up to 50 thousand rubles, or up to a hundred thousand if you call for public actions), and Article 280.3 of the criminal code (up to five years in prison).

That is to say, although nowhere here is the word “prevention”, the prospect of criminal punishment in the event of continued activity in both cases is clearly spelled out.

Many thousands of people have been detained under these administrative offences in recent months. More than two and a half thousand for “defamation” alone. These people have not been convicted or even charged with criminal offences, but they are already under threat of imprisonment if they take to the streets again.

They don’t even have to be apprehended by the police. We live in the twenty-first century, progress continues, and Moscow has a system of facial recognition on cameras installed on the streets and in the metro. Last year, records from such cameras were used to register administrative cases “for rallies and marches”. A month ago, such camera footage was used to stop people who were not at any rally, but who were simply entering the metro to go to the city center.

There is another point which will particularly amuse mathematicians. In the case of this ladder of responsibility – administrative cases first, followed by criminal cases – in the second stage, in the criminal court, administrative decisions (i.e. arguments known to be “weaker”) are used as valid evidence in the subsequent criminal conviction. In administrative courts, the defense does not have the same rights as in criminal proceedings. The prosecution is represented by a judge, i.e. they are one and the same person. But there is administrative prejudice!



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Third – in order, but not in importance – is an important circumstance: the conditions of detention during the investigation and after conviction. Simply put, torture, cruel and degrading treatment and punishment.

That is what is happening right now, these days.

First example. The aforementioned MP Alexei Gorinov, recognized by Memorial as a political prisoner, was placed in a four-bed cell with seven people after his arrest. He could not sleep properly. Being ill, he did not receive the treatment and care he required.

A second example. The scientist physicist Dmitri Kolker was arrested by the FSB on June 30. We did not have time to include him in the lists of political prisoners. He had the fourth stage of cancer, was taken away from the hospital, and died in prison on the third day.

I should say here that even in the dark ages, when Yuri Andropov was the head of the Soviet Union, the USSR State Security Committee did not arrest people with severe cancer! When Solzhenitsyn's Fund for Assistance to Political Prisoners was "smashed up" in 1983, Andrei Kistyakovsky, the manager of the Fund, was not arrested because he was terminally ill. I could go on and on with this list. At that time this would seem indecent in front of the whole world. Now, no, it's no longer indecent. On the contrary: everyone knows that even a sick, dying man can be thrown in prison.

A third example. Recently the conditions in which political prisoner Alexei Navalny is being held became known. A "prison within a prison" has been created for him in a high-security colony. A six-meter high blanket fence, strict isolation. Maximum uncomfortable conditions for a man with a bad back, during working hours and after work. To listen to songs glorifying the FSB. To sit under Putin's portrait. This is probably better than the "special conditions" created for Navalny in the previous camp. But, mind you, this is Navalny, the man in the spotlight.

With "ordinary" political prisoners' things are simpler. The aforementioned Ildar Dadin was tortured in custody by the camp administration. This is no exception: torture in Russian prisons has long been a system – not for "political" prisoners, but for anyone who cannot be broken.

Just as torture during interrogations and investigations has long been the system. I spoke above about the Foundation for Assistance to Political Prisoners – well, in 1983, its administrator, Sergei Khodorovich, was tortured after his arrest for six months – but it was done by his cellmates, criminals who collaborated with the investigation. This was called a "press cell", which is still the case today. However, unlike in the late Soviet era, the system has long been "unmediated" torture by "men in uniform".

And it is no secret – everyone knows about torture in Russia today. So, do those who came out to protest against the war in Ukraine.

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To summarize, I can say that political repression – criminal conviction for non-violent activity – has become the most important method of social management, "social engineering" in Russia. Including (now above all) as a way of suppressing the antiwar movement.

There are dozens of such criminal cases, but these reprisals also indirectly affect the thousands of people who have been convicted administratively – reminiscent of the Soviet practice of "prevention". But such "prevention" is ineffective without ongoing criminal reprisals.

It also gives a different perspective on the number of political prisoners in contemporary Russia – about half a thousand. Is this a lot or a little? After all, if this repression has a purpose, this purpose is not “to put everyone in jail”, but “by putting the few in jail, to control everyone”.

When talking about “control”, systemic factors such as torture and ill-treatment during investigation and in custody, and the practice of political assassinations (which in a sense replaced the death penalty in the USSR) must also be taken into account.

“Prevention” is ineffective without criminal repression, social control is impossible without repression, war is impossible without repression.

One last thing. The number of prisoners and forcibly detained Ukrainian citizens now stands at over six thousand. But the Ukrainian prisoners are being held, albeit separately, in the same prisons. They are interrogated by the same interrogators. They are being tortured in the same way as Russian citizens were tortured before.

Repression is a necessary condition for war. Torture and political assassinations are a precondition for the effectiveness of repression. So, the struggle for the freedom of political prisoners, the struggle against torture and political assassination in Russia is an integral part of the struggle for peace.

Thank you. ■

### Version 3 : en français

## Conditions nécessaires

Bonjour.

Je vous remercie de m’avoir invité à prendre la parole. Notre soirée est consacrée à Azat Miftakhov, mais en fait je ne parlerai pas de lui. Ceux qui sont réunis ici, je pense, connaissent ce nom et cette affaire.

Et de manière générale, après le 24 février 2022, après le déclenchement par la Russie d’une guerre à grande échelle en Ukraine, il est difficile de parler d’autre chose que de cette guerre. Et s’il s’agit là d’une déclaration trop forte, alors disons qu’il est difficile de parler de quelque chose sans parler de la guerre en Ukraine. Mais une autre chose est vraie : si l’on parle de la guerre en Ukraine, de dizaines de milliers de morts et des millions de réfugiés, d’exactions et de crimes contre l’humanité, il est impensable d’oublier de parler des causes de cette guerre. De parler des conditions qui ont rendu possible cette guerre impensable.

Les prisonniers politiques et les répressions pour motifs politiques en Russie, sont l’une de ces conditions.

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Un État qui viole grossièrement et massivement les droits de l’homme à l’intérieur de ses frontières devient tôt ou tard une menace pour la paix et la sécurité internationale. C’est, d’une certaine manière, un théorème, qui a été démontré par l’expérience de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Sur la base de cette expérience, un système de coopération internationale

a été construit, un système d'organisations internationales censé empêcher une répétition de 1939. Prévenir n'a pas suffi : la guerre au centre de l'Europe s'est de nouveau déchaînée.

La question semble naïve : pourquoi la procédure de destitution n'a-t-elle pas été lancée en Russie même, pourquoi n'y a-t-il pas de brillants discours de la part des dirigeants de l'opposition au parlement, ou de campagne anti-guerre dans les médias nationaux ? Le système parlementaire et le système des partis sont depuis longtemps démantelés, il n'en reste que les décorations ; et les médias, contrôlés par l'État, ont été transformés en outil de propagande. Les boucles de rétroaction censées l'empêcher n'ont pas fonctionné. Comment et pourquoi n'a-t-on pas pu, n'a-t-on pas eu le temps, n'a-t-on pas essayé d'arrêter ce processus de transformation de la Russie en agresseur, en « homme malade de l'Europe » ? C'est un sujet en soi, douloureux.

Mais voici la question qui se pose constamment ces derniers mois : pourquoi n'y a-t-il pas de manifestations massives contre la guerre ? Quelle est la raison d'un contrôle si efficace de l'État sur la société ? Les raisons, non des moindres, sont justement la répression politique, les condamnations pénales et l'emprisonnement pour activités pacifiques. Mais il y a aussi un contexte qui rend ces répressions si efficaces.

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Il y a d'abord la terreur politique.

Certes, la peine de mort n'est pas appliquée en Russie, mais je citerai quelques noms. La journaliste de Novaya Gazeta Anna Politkovskaïa, l'avocat et militant de gauche Stanislav Markelov, l'employée de Memorial Natalya Estemirova. Tous ont combattu contre les disparitions forcées dans la zone de conflit armé du Caucase, en Tchétchénie. Tous ont été tués. L'homme politique de l'opposition Boris Nemtsov, devenu après 2014 l'un des leaders du mouvement anti-guerre en Russie, a été tué. Il semblerait que ces décès puissent être attribués à des groupes marginaux ou aux autorités tchétchènes. Mais après la tentative d'empoisonnement d'un autre leader de l'opposition, Alexeï Navalny, un système d'assassinats politiques utilisant des poisons et perpétré par des agents des autorités centrales russes, a été mis au jour — en grande partie grâce à lui. Navalny a survécu à l'empoisonnement, a enquêté sur l'empoisonnement et est maintenant en détention.

Pourquoi est-ce que je parle ici d'assassinats politiques, un sujet apparemment différent, assez particulier ? Car ce « sujet particulier » donne de l'importance à tout le reste. Car le « point singulier » d'une fonction en dit long sur le comportement de cette fonction en d'autres points. Cela affecte toute la société. Tout comme les disparitions forcées, devenues une pratique généralisée et systématique, ont marqué la Tchétchénie moderne. Il y a un demi-siècle, le savant et dissident soviétique Valentin Turchin parlait de « l'inertie de la peur » en se référant à la société soviétique de la période post-stalinienne. Mais même maintenant, lorsque l'on parle, par exemple, de la Tchétchénie, des « Kadyrovites », de la toute-puissance de Ramzan Kadyrov, il faut se souvenir des milliers de personnes disparues, dont la mort a constitué la base de la « stabilité » et de la gouvernabilité actuelles de la Tchétchénie.

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En Russie, on arrête et on poursuit en justice ceux qui s'expriment ouvertement contre la guerre.

Voici un autre homme politique russe qui a survécu à deux tentatives d'empoisonnement par des agents du pouvoir : Vladimir Kara-Mourza. Il était activement engagé par-delà le monde à défendre la cause des prisonniers politiques russes. Maintenant, il a été arrêté

pour avoir parlé de la guerre en Ukraine. Il en a parlé dans l'arrière-pays américain, en Arizona (!) et est maintenant dans une prison russe.

Demain, le 7 juillet, à Moscou se tient une audience dans l'affaire du député municipal Alexeï Garinov. Lors d'une réunion du conseil municipal, il a parlé de la guerre, des victimes de la guerre, des enfants tués et a été arrêté pour cela. Le verdict sera rendu dans les prochains jours, et il risque d'être sévère.

Ils sont inculpés en vertu d'un nouvel article du code pénal sur les « fausses informations sur l'armée ». Évaluez la logique : toute déclaration qui ne correspond pas aux déclarations officielles des responsables du ministère de la Défense est déclarée fausse en Russie. Une telle qualification peut entraîner jusqu'à 10 ans de prison.

Ou un autre député à la municipalité de Moscou, Ilya Yashin, qui a exprimé directement et systématiquement sa position anti-guerre. Il est maintenant en état d'arrestation administrative. Mais, très probablement, la poursuite administrative, ici, n'est qu'un lemme de la police qui annonce la démonstration du théorème, et l'utilisation de l'article 207.3 du Code pénal.

On arrête une personne pour une infraction administrative, tout en montant un dossier pour engager une procédure pénale — « fausses informations sur l'armée », jusqu'à 10 ans.

Et ici, je voudrais attirer votre attention sur un deuxième point important : la corrélation et l'interconnexion des répressions administratives et pénales dans la Russie moderne. Ce rapport, cette structure est comparable à ce qu'elle était à la fin des années soviétiques, de la fin des années 1950 à la fin des années 1980.

Dans l'ère post-stalinienne, les autorités de l'Union soviétique ont été confrontées à un problème : comment contrôler efficacement la société (même si elle était en situation d'« inertie de la peur »), sans recourir à des répressions de masse ? En conséquence, en 1959, un système « prophylactique » a été mis en place, dans lequel pour un condamné « pour politique » en vertu d'un article pénal, il y avait une centaine de personnes « prophylactiques », soumises à une répression extrajudiciaire. Administrative, informelle, mais avec une menace évidente de représailles pénales en cas de poursuite des activités.

Dans le système répressif qui s'est construit ces derniers mois et ces dernières années, la logique est semblable, sinon identique.

Autrefois, pour s'être rendu à un rassemblement ou pour une manifestation individuelle, on risquait une condamnation pour l'article 20.2.5 du code administratif, une amende de plusieurs dizaines de milliers de roubles. Pour manifestation individuelle répétée — article 20.2.8 du même code — jusqu'à 300 000 roubles d'amende ou jusqu'à 30 jours d'arrestation. Et si vous êtes détenu trois fois en six mois, la responsabilité pénale pouvait être engagée en vertu de l'article 212.1 — jusqu'à cinq ans de prison. Cet article est également appelé « Dadin », du nom d'Ildar Dadin, qui a été le premier à être condamné en vertu de cet article.

Au tout début de la guerre en Ukraine, le 4 mars 2022, des articles spéciaux ont été introduits sur le « discrédit de l'armée russe », l'article 20.3.3 du code administratif (une amende pouvant aller jusqu'à 50 000 roubles, ou jusqu'à cent mille si vous appelez à des actions publiques), et l'article 280.3 du code pénal (jusqu'à cinq ans de prison).

Bien que le mot « prévention » ne soit pas présent ici, la perspective d'une sanction pénale en cas de poursuite des activités est clairement énoncée dans les deux cas.

Plusieurs milliers de personnes ont été détenues en vertu de ces articles administratifs au cours des derniers mois. Au seul motif de « discrédit » — plus de deux mille cinq



cents. Ces personnes n'ont pas été condamnées et ne sont même pas inculpées en vertu d'articles criminels, mais elles sont déjà sous la menace d'emprisonnement si elles descendent à nouveau dans la rue.

Il n'a même pas besoin d'être arrêté par la police. Nous vivons au 21<sup>e</sup> siècle, on n'arrête pas le progrès et à Moscou existe un système de reconnaissance faciale utilisant des caméras installées dans les rues et dans le métro. L'année dernière, les enregistrements de ces caméras ont été utilisés dans la préparation de dossiers administratifs « pour des rassemblements et des marches ». Il y a un mois, selon les données de ces caméras, la police a arrêté des personnes qui ne sont venues à aucun rassemblement, mais sont simplement entrées dans le métro pour se rendre au centre-ville.

Je noterai ici encore un point qui amusera surtout les mathématiciens. Dans le cas d'une responsabilité aussi progressive — d'abord les affaires administratives, puis pénales — au deuxième stade, devant le tribunal dans une affaire pénale, les décisions sur les affaires administratives (c'est-à-dire les arguments manifestement « plus faibles ») sont utilisées à plein — constituant preuve à part entière dans la condamnation pénale subséquente. Dans les juridictions administratives, la défense n'a pas la même possibilité que dans les procédures pénales. Le ministère public est représenté par le juge, c'est-à-dire qu'il agit en une seule personne. Mais en même temps, il y a un préjugé administratif !

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La troisième, dans l'ordre, mais non des moindres, est une circonstance importante : les conditions de détention pendant l'enquête et après la condamnation. En termes simples, la torture, les méthodes de traitement et de punition cruelles et dégradantes.

Voici ce qui se passe en ce moment, ces jours-ci.

Premier exemple. Le député Aleksey Gorinov, mentionné plus haut, qui a été reconnu par Memorial comme prisonnier politique, après son arrestation a été placé dans une cellule à quatre lits avec sept personnes. Il ne pouvait pas bien dormir. Étant malade, il n'a pas reçu le traitement et les soins requis.

Deuxième exemple. Le physicien Dmitry Kolker a été arrêté par le FSB le 30 juin. Nous n'avons pas réussi à l'inscrire sur les listes de prisonniers politiques. Il avait un cancer de stade quatre, a été emmené de l'hôpital et le troisième jour, il est mort en prison.

Ici, je dois dire que même dans les temps sombres, lorsque Yuri Andropov était à la tête de l'Union soviétique, le Comité de sécurité de l'État de l'URSS (KGB) n'arrêtait pas les personnes atteintes d'un cancer en phase finale ! Lorsqu'en 1983, le Fonds Soljenitsyne d'assistance aux prisonniers politiques a été « détruit », Andreï Kistjakovsky, le directeur du Fonds, n'a pas été arrêté car il était malade et condamné.

Je peux continuer cette liste. Alors, cela paraissait indécent devant le monde entier. Maintenant — non, ce n'est plus indécent. Au contraire : tout le monde sait qu'un malade, un mourant peut être jeté en prison.

Troisième exemple. L'autre jour, on a appris dans quelles conditions était détenu le prisonnier politique Alexeï Navalny. Dans une colonie à régime strict, une « prison dans la prison » a été créée pour lui. Clôture sourde de six mètres, isolement strict. Les conditions les plus inconfortables pour une personne qui a mal au dos, pendant les heures de travail et après le travail. Écouter des chansons glorifiant le FSB. Assis sous un portrait de Poutine. C'est peut-être mieux que les « conditions spéciales » créées pour Navalny dans le camp précédent. Mais notons qu'il s'agit de Navalny, la personne sur laquelle est rivée l'attention générale.

Tout est plus facile avec les prisonniers politiques « ordinaires ». Ildar Dadin susmentionné a été torturé par l'administration du camp en détention. Cela ne fait pas exception : la torture dans les lieux de détention russes est depuis longtemps un système, non pas pour les « politiques », mais pour tous ceux qui ne peuvent être brisés.

De la même manière que la torture est devenue depuis longtemps un système dans le cadre des enquêtes et des investigations. Ci-dessus, j'ai parlé du Fonds d'assistance aux prisonniers politiques. Et bien, en 1983, son directeur Sergueï Khodorovitch a été torturé pendant six mois après son arrestation — mais cela a été fait par ses compagnons de cellule, des criminels qui ont collaboré à l'enquête. Cela s'appelait la « cellule-presse », et cela existe encore maintenant. Mais, contrairement à la fin de l'époque soviétique, la torture « sans intermédiaires » utilisée par les « gens en uniforme » est depuis longtemps devenue un système.

Et ceci n'est pas un secret. Aujourd'hui, tout le monde sait qu'on torture en Russie. Ceux qui sont sortis protester contre la guerre en Ukraine le savent aussi.

\*\*\*\*\*

En résumé, je peux dire que la répression politique — condamnation pénale pour activité non violente — est devenue en Russie la principale méthode de gestion de la société, « l'ingénierie sociale ». Y compris (maintenant : surtout) un moyen de réprimer le mouvement anti-guerre.

Il existe des dizaines d'affaires pénales de ce type, mais ces répressions affectent indirectement ces milliers de personnes qui ont été condamnées administrativement, ce qui rappelle la pratique soviétique de la « prophylaxie ». Mais une telle « prophylaxie » est inefficace sans une répression criminelle continue.

Cela nous permet également de jeter un regard différent sur le nombre de prisonniers politiques dans la Russie moderne — environ 500. C'est beaucoup ou un peu ? Après tout, si ces répressions ont un but, alors ce but n'est pas « d'emprisonner tout le monde », mais « en emprisonnant quelques-uns, de contrôler tout le monde ».

En parlant de « contrôle », il faut aussi tenir compte de facteurs systémiques tels que la torture et les mauvais traitements pendant l'enquête et en garde à vue, et la pratique des assassinats politiques (qui ont en quelque sorte remplacé la peine de mort en URSS).

La « prophylaxie » est inefficace sans répression criminelle, le contrôle de la société est impossible sans répression, la guerre est impossible sans répression

Dernier point important. Le nombre de citoyens ukrainiens capturés et détenus de force s'élève désormais à plus de six mille personnes. Mais les prisonniers ukrainiens sont enfermés, quoique séparément, dans les mêmes prisons. Ils sont interrogés par les mêmes enquêteurs. Ils sont torturés de la même manière que les citoyens russes ont été torturés auparavant.

La répression est une condition nécessaire à la guerre. La torture et les assassinats politiques sont la condition de l'efficacité de la répression. Cela signifie que la lutte pour la liberté des prisonniers politiques, la lutte contre la torture et les assassinats politiques en Russie fait partie intégrante de la lutte pour la paix.

Merci. ■



**by Fabien Durand,**  
*President of the French Mathematical Society*

Dear participants of these second Azat Miftakhov's days entitled "Against the war in Ukraine".

The Société Mathématique de France, of which I am the president, was created in 1872, 150 years ago. It is a collective work whose initial object was circumscribed to the diffusion of research in mathematics. Article 2 of its statutes stated, I quote: "No discussion can take place on objects foreign to mathematics".

It has gone through many wars and conflicts taking very little position as a learned society. Nevertheless, the French mathematical community has never remained silent and mute during these events. However, an association must be a reflection, even if tempered, of its members and more widely of its community. Little by little, human rights have become a recurring topic in our councils and in our media.

Learned societies must therefore speak out when events involving respect for human rights, as set out in the Declaration of Human Rights, occur.

Thus, since a committee for the defense of Azat Miftakhov was formed, the SMF has always supported and accompanied it in its actions and initiatives.

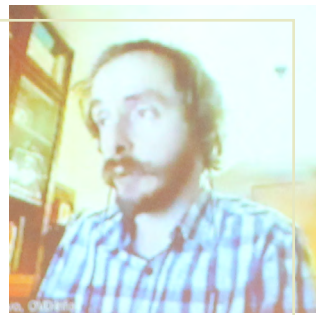
Last year, shortly before the first Azat's Miftakhov day, we celebrated the new freedom of our colleague Tuna Altinel, who was actively supported by the community and the SMF during his deprivation of freedom.

We are gathered here to ensure that Azat will soon be released.

We did not know it, unfortunately the unthinkable was in progress. It is now four months since the Russian state invaded Ukraine causing the bloodshed of civilians and terror.

The learned societies and the community have a negligible weight in these situations, but this is not a reason to remain silent. The negligible exists and, as we well know, can bring exceptional benefits. I am thinking here, for example, of the case of Leonid Pliouchtch. Learned societies can and should take positions and remind them regularly, insistently. Not only when the events occur, but also afterwards and for a long time afterwards, to remind the younger generation, or the not so young (I include myself in this), who would have forgotten the exactions perpetrated by our rulers, not to believe that it happens only elsewhere. I am thinking this time of all the people who worked for the truth to be made about the disappearance of Maurice Audin. There are obviously many other such situations. This is why the SMF is sponsoring the second Azat Miftakhov days again this year, specially entitled "Against the war in Ukraine".

The SMF unreservedly condemns the abject aggression of the Russian state on Ukraine and the resulting war. Our thoughts are with the Ukrainian people and Azat. ■



## PRESSURE AGAINST PROFESSORS CONCERNING ANTI-WAR ACTIVITY

by Grigory Durnovo,

*OVD-Info*

I would like to start with a quote from the speaker of the State Duma, the lower house of the Russian parliament Vyacheslav Volodin who has recently [said](#) that those who start to distort information on the so-called special military operation “trying to use their chair making propaganda before the students should resign.” He added that rectors of state education institutions should be conscious of their responsibility and also resign “if such cases happen.”

Telegram channel “Mozhem ob’yasnit” (*We Can Explain*) [reported](#) according to anonymous sources that the administration of the faculty of journalism of the Moscow State University had conversations with professors on their political views and on the topics of their discussions with students. The administration explains that students can form a “wrong opinion on the political situation and on the special operation.” It was also reported that people with “undesirable” views receive less workload. So far, we cannot confirm or deny this information.

So far, it is hard to speak about any statistics on direct repressions against professors concerning anti-war statements and activities since we do not have enough information. But still it is possible to highlight some trends. Here I would like to thank our colleagues from the DOXA journal for monitoring various cases of pressure against academia since most of the cases we found were published by them.

People from the Antiwar Foundation who help those who have suffered from discrimination in the office due to their position against the war [told OVD-Info](#) that university professors are among the most vulnerable categories today. Their situation is worse than that of others because it often becomes harder for them to find a new job or return to work because they are being fired for ‘immoral act, inconsistent with teaching.’

We become aware of new facts from time to time. For instance, professor of Russian, Tatyana Novikova was [fired](#) from the Belgorod State University at the end of June for anti-war comments in the VKontakte social network. She tried to defend a young girl who was criticized for her piquet with ‘No to war’ poster. An administrative case on discrediting the Russian armed forces was also instigated against Novikova.

One of the popular ways for a university professor to express his or her anti-war position is to release or sign an open letter against war. Such an initiative can become a reason for repressive measures. Professor Nail Fatkullin, Doctor of Physics and Mathematics from the Kazan Federal University sent his colleagues an anti-war letter. After that, he received a warning from the prosecutor’s office claiming his letter “could provoke the forming of a negative attitude towards the special military operation and serve as a trigger for the activation of protest activity among employees and students of the university.” Later, the



academic council of the university [voted](#) not to renew his contract. The official reason was that he had not passed the competition. Fatkullin himself however thinks the letter was the real reason.

Professors can also face various kinds of pressure for the so-called 'agitation' before the students (even if they did not agitate at all). For instance, Dmitry Rudakov [was sacked](#) from the Omsk Technical University after students claimed he was using his position for political agitation, imposing his negative attitude towards the country and the city, and forcing them to write non-patriotic works. This happened two months after Rudakov published an anti-war post in VKontakte social network and had an unpleasant conversation with an FSB official in the head of department's office. The official threatened Rudakov mentioning a possibility to charge him with a criminal article without specifying, and claiming he had videos of Rudakov agitating students against the state and statements from other professors on the subject. Rudakov claimed he never had political conversations with students.

A university lecture can become a reason to instigate a case under the article of discrediting the Russian armed forces. This [happened](#) in Blagoveshchensk, the lecturer got fined 30 thousand rubles (about 500 euros).

In the Moscow regional branch of the State Institute of International Relations, professor of the department of foreign languages Anatoly Kanev [resigned](#) after he was told to by the head of the department to "refrain from any statements or discussions of the actual situation with students," because the institute is part of the Foreign Ministry structure, so Kanev's position could be considered as official.

Professor Andrey Lavrukhin at the High School of Economics [resigned](#) after a student complained about him discussing the 'special military operation' in class. She claimed he did not let her speak in support of the Russian army. Lavrukhin says however that he did not let her repeat many times the statement that the 'operation' was justifiable.

Professor at the Institute for Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration Denis Grekov was [asked to resign](#) by his own will after he published an anti-war post in his social network calling the war shameful and sneaky. His colleague screenshotted his post in her Telegram channel demanding to pay attention to it and claiming he "likes to talk about current politics to the students." "We do not need any external enemies when we have such educators of the next generation," she said. After that, Grekov left the country.

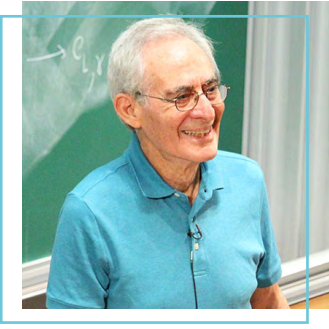
Associate professor at the Volgograd State University department of constitutional and municipal law Roman Melnichenko was fined 30 thousand rubles for a post about war. He was charged with disseminating unauthentic information. After that he was [fired](#) from the university blamed for immoral conduct violating the moral standards. He made a reinstatement application to the court but failed.

Associate professor at the East Siberian State Institute of Culture in Ulan Ude Sergey Levitsky was [suspended](#) because of his Telegram post with "negative statements concerning Russia". He said that the head of the department thanked him for his work what he considered as goodbye. He was also [fired](#) from the Russian Drama Theater where he had served as artistic director. He was also fined for his posts.

Professor of the department of the CIS history, expert in Ukraine Tatyana Tairova-Yakovleva was [fired](#) from the St. Petersburg State University after having published an anti-war statement in Ukrainian.

There were also reports on threats to fire employees of universities who would take part in rallies against war.

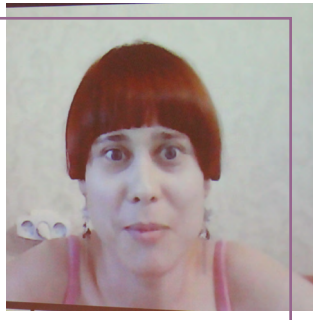
Finishing my report, I would like to say that so far, we have not heard about any criminal cases against professors related to war, although there is already one criminal case against a school teacher, one case against a writer, several cases against journalists which is quite close. Anyway, the conditions in academia for those who are opposed are deteriorating. Is it also worth mentioning that in recent months, at least five professors ([Dmitry Dubrovsky](#), *historian, human rights analyst*; [Victor Vakhshhtayn](#) and [Boris Kagarlitsky](#), *sociologists*; [Ekaterina Shulman](#) and [Nikolay Petrov](#), *political scientists*) have been included in the register of media functioning as 'foreign agents,' as well as the [Troitsky Variant Nauka](#) outlet on science that had published an anti-war letter. The State Duma has just [approved](#) the amendments to the law on 'foreign agents' banning them from teaching at state institutions. ■



**Barry Mazur,**

*mathematician, the Gerhard Gade University Professor at Harvard University, member of Scholars at Risk Harvard*

*Professor Barry Mazur announced that the Harvard University chapter of Scholars at Risk awarded Azat Miftakhov a Scholars at Risk Fellowship. The fellowship provides scholars, who are facing political persecution in their home countries, with funding to pursue research at Harvard for up to ten months. We hope that Azat will be able to use this opportunity after his release.*



**by Elena GORBAN,**  
*Azat Miftakhov's wife*

*Good day,*

*Before I repeat my speech, which you may have seen yesterday, I would like to add a few words about this conference. Firstly, I was happy to hear all the words in support of Azat, and I am glad that so many people have not forgotten about him all these years. Thank you from me and Azat's family to all speakers for your participation, and thanks to the mathematical communities from different countries. Unfortunately, I did not understand a word of yesterday's mathematical reports, but listening to these speeches, I thought that it would be necessary to let Azat hear them after his release. I'm sure he will be interested to hear them, and maybe he can even explain to me was that all about.*

*And secondly, about the announced topics the war and human rights situation in Russia through the cases of persecuted academics. Of course, there is much more than the persecution of Azat. The political situation in Russia is leading to many dire consequences both for the people inside Russia and for its neighbors. I would like to say many words about Ukraine, but my current location restrict me. About the repressions against academics in Russia, you can list many names. Both the scientists who are under political pressure for their political activities or their opinions on events in Ukraine, such as Mikhail Lobanov today, and figurants in cases, fabricated by FSB, on the disclosure of state secrets, because of which many people well-known in their profession, have already suffered, such as the terrible recent case of Dmitry Kolker. May be other speakers will mention these events.*

*I am Lena Gorban, Azat's wife and a person under suspended sentence in the same political case.*

*I am glad to welcome everyone who is not indifferent to the fate of Azat, to the fate of all political prisoners in Russia, and to the tragic events taking place in the world.*

*All of these are caused by the same reasons. For many years of lack of freedom society doesn't understand its interests, it only understand that it is powerless.*

*The state, ruled by the security services, chekists heirs, is not held back by the opposition. They seeks to suppress all dissent and bend everyone to its will.*

*Such things as human personality and human life, on both sides of state borders, have no value, they are sacrificed to imperial ambitions.*

*The bravest and most honest people, like Azat and many other political prisoners, are subjected to maximum restrictions for trying to change things.*

*While incarcerated, people face all of the above in an even more concentrated form.*

*In the so-called "red" prison, such as the one Azat is in, the prisoners are under total control of the state, represented by the prison administration and the prisoners who*



*informally serve them, they are called activists.*

*Prison operatives are looking for any signs of dissent, they are afraid of revolt, which is typically for people who now rule Russia.*

*At times, their fantasias are so paranoid and detached from reality that it raises doubts about their adequacy, but political prisoners have to deal with their threats.*

*More than once they told Azat that it is inadmissible to propagate the ideas of anarchism among the over prisoners.*

*In Azat's correctional facility the time of the prisoners is wasted on mindless, monotonous labor at the цюи sewing machine or at the sawmill.*

*They cannot really refuse to do this, because refusal will be followed by, so to speak, not very pleasant consequences, after which the prisoners quickly change their minds about their reluctance to work.*

*Therefore, the last year Azat spent most of his time sawing tree trunks into logs.*

*In the hours free from work prisoners are regularly forcibly volunteered for work to improve the prison area: from cleaning snow in winter to, as Azat said, the «joys of the time for gardening» in summer.*

*After such a workload in the remaining time Azat often has no energy and desire to read, do math, or write letters.*

*Though he tries to find time for self-development and solving math problems.*

*Often small problems he comes up with himself, for example, from physics.*

*He explained some of them to me on dates.*

*There is also a problem with interesting books, because it is impossible to send them to him.*

*The events of the end of February were also reflected in the prison.*

*Unfortunately, the majority of prisoners supported the actions of the Kremlin, and in the first few months watched the TV propaganda with excitement.*

*Even those with whom Azat chats the most reacted negatively to his disagreement with the general opinion.*

*At the same time, arrestees have become even more cut off from sources of information alternative to television.*

*In recent months, even the oppositional Novaya Gazeta newspaper, previously available in prisons, has been discontinued.*

*A big problem was the парад parade the prisoner had to prepare for on May 9.*

*Azat wondered how to avoid participating in it.*

*Both he and I thought that he would be locked up in a punishment cell and would probably face direct violence.*

*On the first day of the parade rehearsal, Azat saw in their workshop a wooden model of a rocket with the Latin letters V and Z adorned on its sides.*

*He then bluntly told the squad leader that he did not want to participate in the parade or the rehearsals.*

*Fortunately, all turned out well for him.*

*They don't force him to do those things, and a week afterwards they locked him up in the*

*infirmity on made-up pretexts and kept him there for another week, releasing him after all the celebrations.*

*In that case, like in some over's cases, Azat manage to avoid additional pressure. I am sure, that this is because Azat's case is well-known, and people are very attentive to that is happening with him in the prison.*

*He continues to receive a lot of letters and his problems are covered in press.*

*The support of mathematicians from various countries is also of great importance.*

*Azat and I are very grateful to you for this.*

*Your support will help us to endure the rest of his imprisonment, after which he will return to free life as convinced of his ideals as he was before the repressions.*

*I would also like to hope that the grievous events now taking place will eventually lead to the liberation of all people, who are free in their hearts, from the legacy of the past eras of coercion and inequality.*

*Thank you very much. ■*

# THE TRAGIC FATE OF SCIENTISTS IN MODERN RUSSIA. ALMOST LIKE IN 1937...

by Vera Chelishcheva, *Independent Journalist*

Version 1: на русском

Version 2: in English

Version 1: на русском

## Трагическая судьба ученых в современной России. Почти как в 1937-м...

Сегодня в нашей стране пахнет немного 1937-м годом. И даже, я бы, сказала, много. Я расскажу о трагедии, которая сегодня разворачивается вокруг российских ученых, которые посвятили науки многие годы жизни, а то и всю жизнь.

Последние два десятка лет мы в России наблюдаем за беспрецедентной атакой на научное сообщество со стороны ФСБ (Федеральной службы безопасности). Силовики привлекают ученых к уголовной ответственности за их непосредственную профессиональную деятельность. И это, безусловно, негативно сказывается на российской науке. Например, если ученый имеет какие-либо соглашения о сотрудничестве с зарубежными коллегами, посещает зарубежные институты для чтения лекций или работает над международным проектом, то он находится в зоне прямого риска получить статус обвиняемого по статье 275 УК РФ- “Госизмена”. Срок лишения свободы по этой статье – от 12 до 20 лет. Тенденция на самом деле устрашающая: с каждым годом растет число ученых, привлеченных к уголовной ответственности за осуществление своей деятельности. Причем, люди это как правило немолодые: за 60 и 70 лет, а то и 80. Учитывая, что сроки, к которым их приговаривают, огромны, шанса дожить до освобождения у большинства из них нет. Их помещают в тюрьмы, часто лишают жизненно необходимых лекарств, свиданий с родными и зачастую шантажируют, требуя дать показания и признать свою вину в обмен на смягчения в будущем сроке.

Некоторые ученые не доживают даже до приговора, некоторые умирают уже после приговора в колониях. Повторю: единицы доживают до освобождения.

Самые яркие свежие примеры: ученый-физик Виктор Кудрявцев и его коллега Роман Ковалев- ведущие специалисты Центрального научно-исследовательского института машиностроения. Обоим было за 70. Обоих держали за решеткой. Обвинения в госизмене для них стали в буквальном смысле смертельными. Они скорострительно скончались от рака. Романа Ковалева соизволили выпустить на волю за две недели до смерти.

Приведу несколько примеров ученых, находящихся под следствием по обвинению в «госизмене» в настоящее время.

69-летнего ученого Валерия Голубкина арестовали в 2021 году, вслед за его начальником – ученым Анатолием Губановым. Оба занимались проектом по созданию гражданского самолета на водородном топливе. Этот самолет должен был преодолевать расстояния в разы быстрее, чем обычно. Например, между Токио и

Брюсселем — за два часа. В исследованиях принимали участие и российские научные институты, и европейские, а также австралийские. Словом, это был международный проект, согласованный на российском уровне со всеми необходимыми ведомствами.

Голубкин присоединился к работе над проектом в 2018-м, по просьбе начальника Губанова он помогал с редактурой и оформлением отчетов о работах по проекту и пересылал их зарубежному координатору проекта. При этом речи о секретности в этих документах не шла.

Тем не менее Голубкина обвинили в госизмене. Судя по хронологии событий, Голубкина арестовали после того, как его руководитель Губанов пошел на досудебное соглашение со следствием и дал показания против коллеги.

Голубкин вину не признает. Сегодня ему 70 лет и он второй год в СИЗО. В письме из СИЗО ученый объяснял журналистам: «В моих действиях не было никакого состава преступления, поскольку данный проект, как и все его результаты, с самого начала были открытыми и предназначенными для общего использования партнерами по проекту».

После ареста следователи неоднократно предлагали сотрудничество и Голубкину, обещая менее суровое наказание. Однако свою вину он не признает. Впереди его ждет приговор и большой срок. В его просьбах о переводе под домашний арест Голубкину постоянно отказывают. Следствие настаивает, что если ученого освободить до приговора, он «сможет скрыться в одном из посольств стран НАТО». Смешно и грустно.

80-летний исследователь Арктики Валерий Митько второй год находится под следствием по обвинению в государственной измене. Митько преподавал в Даляньском морском университете как приглашенный профессор. По ФСБ, ученый передал спецслужбам Китая информацию, которая составляет государственную тайну. Свою вину ученый не признает и отрицает вообще какую-либо связь со спецслужбами Китая. Он подчеркивал, что к гостайне не имел допуска много лет.

Слава богу, в свои 80 ученый находится под домашним арестом, а не в СИЗО. Однако без жестокости не обходится и тут. Суд по представлению замгенпрокурора запретил Митько прогулки на свежем воздухе, хотя они необходимы пожилому человеку по показаниям врача. Да и такая мера пресечения, как домашний арест, допускает прогулки. Но нет. Митько тоже грозит большой срок — до 20 лет.

Отмечу, что большинство ученых несмотря на столь почтенный возраст — настоящие крепкие орешки. Будучи под следствием, они ведут себя настолько достойно, что дух захватывает. Казалось бы, у них далеко не крепкое здоровье, у всех хронические заболевания, а они настоящие крепкие орешки — не дают себя унижать, не соглашаются признавать вину и не ведутся на провокации следствия.

Есть и молодой ученый, который недавно в России получил огромный срок. Это доцент Московского Авиационного Института Алексей Воробьев разрабатывал ракетный двигатель по контракту с китайским университетом. Как-то к нему обратился знакомый с просьбой переслать в Китай пульт от военного самолета. По словам адвокатов, Воробьев не знал о том, что пульт является предметом военной техники. За это ученого обвинили в контрабанде и отправили в СИЗО. При обыске на карте памяти в чехле от смартфона Воробьева нашли фото «секретного» автореферата диссертации, формулы из которого были в открытом доступе. Также на карте памяти нашли некую «пыль из Китая». Защита ученого высказывала мнение, что Воробьев стал жертвой провокации ФСБ.

В 2021 году российский суд приговорил Воробьева к 20 годам колонии строгого режима. Его призвали виновным в государственной измене, контрабанде, а также в подготовке к незаконному экспорту из России материалов, которые могут быть использованы при создании оружия массового поражения.

В тюрьме у относительного молодого ученого- 45 лет- начались серьезные проблемы со здоровьем. У него выявили фиброзные поражения легких и опухоль на руке. Однако суд решил, что серьезных проблем с лёгкими недостаточно, чтобы освободить ученого от наказания.

Добавлю, что все судебные процессы в отношении ученых всегда проходят в закрытом от публики и журналистов режиме, материалы уголовного дела засекречены. Адвокатов, которые представляют интересы ученых, нередко тоже преследуют, запугивают и вынуждают уехать из страны, как например адвоката Ивана Павлова.

Научное сообщество в России в целом не активно проявляет свою солидарность с арестованными коллегами. Иногда подписывает письма в поддержку, не более. Людьюми движет объяснимый страх: ведь они тоже могут оказаться в тюрьме за свою профессиональную деятельность.

В начале 2000-х, когда ФСБ только начало охоту на ученых, за последних активно вступались академики и известные физики. Такие как Юрий Рыжов и Виталий Гинзбург. Они писали жалобы, обращения, ходили на пикеты, устраивали пресс-конференции. Бились за своих коллег! Это старая когорта выдающихся академиков, в числе которых были и нобелевские лауреаты. Они не боялись ни ФСБ, ни Путина, никого. Увы, они уже умерли. И их планку в части защиты ученых никто сегодня не может повторить. Нынешние ученые абсолютно беззащитны перед произволом государственной машины.

**P.S.** Когда я уже закончила написание своей речи, в последующие дни стало известно об арестах в Новосибирске сразу двух пожилых ученых- 75-летнем Анатолии Маслове и 54-летнем Дмитрие Колкере. Последнего силовики взяли прямо из больничной палаты- у ученого четвертая стадия рака поджелудочной железы.

Обоих тоже обвиняют в госизмене. В частности, Маслова, специалиста в области динамики вязкого газа, главного научного сотрудника Института теоретической и прикладной механики Сибирского отделения РАН, подозревают в передаче КНР данных, связанных с гиперзвуком.

Колкера, профессора Новосибирского государственного технического университета, обвинили в том, что он предоставил Китаю некие данные, содержащие государственную тайну.

На самолете из Новосибирска обоих ученых перевезли в Москву и поместили в СИЗО Лефортово. Родные не смогли передать лекарства ученому Колкеру. У него были постоянные приступы рвоты черной жидкостью, он не мог самостоятельно питаться (только через трубку в вене) и принимал сильнодействующие обезболивающие. За время болезни он похудел на 30 килограммов. По сути это уже был труп. И в таком состоянии его посадили на самолет и поместили под стражу. Следователь сказал родным: «Не беспокойтесь, в СИЗО хорошие условия. Есть холодильник». Зачем человеку, который может питаться смесями через трубочку в вене, холодильник?! Через два дня ученый Колкер скончался в тюрьме. И вот зачем все это надо было ФСБ – мучить умирающего человека, мотать его из одной части страны в другую, чтобы он через двое суток умер в СИЗО, а не в окружении родных и близких?



Сегодня родные Дмитрия Колкера собирают деньги на то, чтобы оплатить перевозку тела ученого обратно из Москвы в родной Новосибирск. Это стоит бешенных денег. Государство оплачивать обратный перелет не стало.

У меня нет слов.

Думаю, будущее российской науки очевидно – оно никакое. Многие мозги просто уехали из страны, а тех, кто не уехал, просто мучают арестами и пытками. ■

## Version 2: in English

### The tragic fate of scientists in modern Russia. Almost like in 1937...

Today in our country it smacks a little of 1937. And even, I would say, a lot. I will tell you about the tragedy that is unfolding today around Russian scientists who have devoted many years of their lives (and maybe their whole lives) to science.

For the last two decades, we in Russia have witnessed an unprecedented attack by the FSB (Federal Security Service) on the scientific community. The security services are holding scientists criminally responsible for their direct professional activities. And this, of course, has a negative impact on Russian science. For example, if a scientist has any agreements on cooperation with foreign colleagues, visits foreign institutes to give lectures or works on an international project, he or she is at direct risk of being charged under Article 275 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation: “High treason”. The term of imprisonment under this article is from 12 to 20 years. This trend is really frightening: every year the number of scientists brought to criminal responsibility for their activities grows. Moreover, as a rule, these people are not young – in their 60s, 70s and even 80s. Considering that the terms to which they are sentenced are enormous, most of them have no chance to live to see their release. They are imprisoned, often deprived of life-saving medicines, visits from relatives, and often blackmailed into testifying and pleading guilty in exchange for a reduced sentence.

Some scientists do not live to see their sentence; some die in penal colonies after they are sentenced. I repeat: only a few survive to be released.

The most recent examples are physicist **Viktor Kudryavtsev** and his colleague **Roman Kovalev**, leading specialists of the Central Research Institute of Mechanical Engineering. Both were over 70. Both were kept behind bars. For them, the charges of treason were literally fatal. They both died suddenly of cancer. Roman Kovalev was released two weeks before his death.

Here are a few examples of scientists currently under investigation for “High treason”:

The 69-year-old scientist **Valery Golubkin** was arrested in 2021, following his superior, the scientist Anatoly Gubanov. Both were working on a project to create a civilian hydrogen-fueled plane. This plane was supposed to cover distances many times faster than usual. For example, between Tokyo and Brussels in two hours. Russian, European, and Australian research institutes took part in the research. In short, it was an international project, coordinated at the Russian level with all necessary agencies.

Golubkin joined the project in 2018; at the request of his boss Gubanov, he helped with

the editing and design of the project reports and forwarded them to the foreign project coordinator. At that time, there was no talk of secrecy in these documents.

Nevertheless, Golubkin was accused of treason. It is evident from the chronology of events that Golubkin was arrested after his boss, Gubanov, agreed to a pretrial agreement with the investigation and testified against his colleague. Golubkin did not admit guilt. Today, he is 70 years old and has been in the SIZO (pre-trial isolator) for two years. In a letter from the detention centre, the scientist explained to journalists: “There was no corpus delicti in my actions because this project and all its results were from the very beginning open and intended for common use by project partners”.

After his arrest, investigators repeatedly invited Golubkin to cooperate with the investigation, promising a less severe punishment. However, he did not admit his guilt. A verdict and a long sentence awaits him in the future. His requests to be transferred to house arrest were repeatedly denied. The investigation insists that if he is released before the verdict, he “will be able to hide in one of the embassies of NATO countries”. Ridiculous and sad.

**Valery Mitko**, an 80-year-old Arctic researcher, is in his second year under investigation for treason. Mitko taught as a visiting professor at the Dalian Maritime University [in China]. According to the FSB, the scientist passed to the Chinese intelligence services information that constitutes a state secret. The scientist does not admit his guilt and denies any connection with the intelligence services of China. He emphasized that he had no access to state secrets for many years.

Thank God, in his 80s, the scientist is under house arrest, not in a detention center. However, this case is not without cruelty, either. On request from a deputy prosecutor general, the court prohibited Mitko to take outdoor walks, though they are necessary for the elderly man according to the doctor’s indications. But house arrest as a measure of restraint permits walks. But no. Mitko also faces up to 20 years in prison.

I note that most scientists, despite such a venerable age, are real tough nuts. Being under investigation, their behaviour is so dignified that it is breathtaking. It would seem that their health is far from good, they all have chronic diseases, and they are real tough nuts – they do not allow themselves to be humiliated, do not agree to admit guilt and are not subject to provocations of the investigation.

There is also a young scientist who recently received a huge sentence in Russia. He is **Alexei Vorobiev**, an associate professor at the Moscow Aviation Institute, was developing a rocket engine under a contract with a Chinese university. Somehow, an acquaintance approached him with a request to send a control panel for a military aircraft to China. According to his lawyers, Vorobiev was unaware that the control panel was military equipment. For this, the scientist was accused of smuggling and sent to the SIZO [pre-trial isolator]. During the search, they found a photo of a “secret” dissertation abstract on a memory card in Vorobiov’s smartphone case, formulas from which were in the public domain. They also found some “dust from China” on the memory card. The scientist’s defence expressed the opinion that Vorobiov was the victim of an FSB provocation.

In 2021, a Russian court sentenced Vorobyov to 20 years in a strict regime colony. He was found guilty of high treason, smuggling, as well as preparation of the illegal export from Russia of materials that could be used to create weapons of mass destruction.

In prison, a relatively young scientist- 45 years old- began to have serious health problems. He was diagnosed with fibrous lesions of the lungs and a tumor on his arm. However, the court decided that serious problems with the lungs were not enough to exempt the scientist from punishment.

I will add that all trials against scientists are always held in a closed for the public and journalists mode, the materials of the criminal case are classified. Lawyers who represent scientists are also often harassed, intimidated and forced to leave the country, as was the case of a defence lawyer Ivan Pavlov.

The Russian scientific community as a whole does not actively show its solidarity with the arrested colleagues. Sometimes they sign letters of support, nothing more. People are driven by an understandable fear: after all, they, too, may end up in prison for their professional activities.

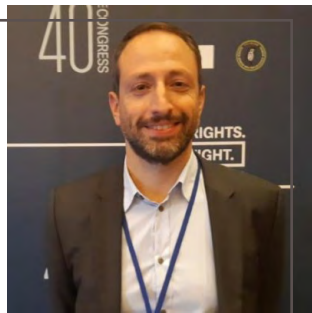
In the early 2000s, when the FSB was just beginning to hunt for scientists, academicians and well-known physicists actively stood up for the latter. Such as Yuri Ryzhov and Vitaly Ginzburg. They wrote complaints, appeals, went to pickets, held press conferences. Fight for your colleagues! This is an old cohort of outstanding academics, including Nobel laureates. They were not afraid of the FSB, or Putin, or anyone. Alas, they are already dead. And no one can repeat their feat of protecting scientists today. Today's scientists are absolutely defenseless against the arbitrariness of the state machine.

P.S. When I had already finished writing my speech, in the following days it became known about the arrests in Novosibirsk of two elderly scientists at once – 75-year-old **Anatoly Maslov** and 54-year-old **Dmitry Kolker**. The security forces took the latter directly from the hospital ward – the scientist has the fourth stage of pancreatic cancer. He died in prison two days after his arrest.

Both are also accused of treason. In particular, Maslov, a specialist in the field of viscous gas dynamics, chief researcher at the Institute of Theoretical and Applied Mechanics of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, is suspected of supplying China with data related to hypersonic [flows].

Kolker, a professor at the Novosibirsk State Technical University, was accused of providing China with some classified data.

Both scientists were transported by plane from Novosibirsk to Moscow and placed in the Lefortovo pre-trial detention center. Relatives were unable to pass the medicine to the scientist Kolker. He had constant bouts of vomiting of black fluid, was unable to feed himself (only through a tube in a vein) and took strong painkillers. During his illness, he lost 30 kilograms. In fact, it was already a corpse. And in this state, he was put on a plane and placed in custody. The investigator told the relatives: "Don't worry, the conditions in the pre-trial detention center are good. There is a refrigerator". Why would a person who can take in only mixtures through a tube in a vein need a refrigerator?! Two days later, scientist Kolker died in prison. And that's why the FSB needed all this – to torture a dying person, to drag him from one part of the country to another, so that he would die in a pre-trial detention center two days later, and not surrounded by relatives and friends ■



**by Ilya Nuzov**, *Head of Eastern Europe and Central Asia Desk for the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH)*

Thank you for having given me the floor.

Members of the academia are targeted for various reasons. Some for simply opposing the war in Ukraine, some for having the wrong political views, some for receiving foreign financing or foreign cooperation. I want to focus on academics who undermine the ideology of the current regime directly by their work; like historians, sociologists, political scientists that have dedicated their careers to studying and revealing the truth regarding Russia's totalitarian past, particularly the Soviet-era repressions, and have through this work challenged the state-sponsored historical narrative of the Soviet period, built on the glorification of Soviet victory in the Second World war and marginalizing the victims of Stalinist and other Soviet-era atrocities.

Last year my organization, **FIDH**, [published a report last year called "Russia: Crimes Against History"](#), based on interviews with historians and other academics and practitioners working with historical and political science issues, including one member of Russia's Academy of Sciences. We documented dozens of cases of individual violations of human rights, through the adoption and implementation of so-called memory laws, like the law criminalizing the dissemination of knowingly false information about the Soviet Union's activities during the Second World War, and "foreign agent" laws, expulsions of independent academics from their faculties or from the country, cases of malicious prosecution of historians, threats and intimidation of historians, restrictions on collaboration with foreign colleagues...

Let me give you just a couple of examples of academics who have born the brunt of these repressions.

In 2015, another respected historian and political scientist, Yury Pivovarov, who was member of Russia's Academy of Sciences, and then-director of the Institute of Scientific Information in Humanities, was charged with negligence after a catastrophic fire destroyed a significant portion of that institute's library. While it was determined that he was not at fault, another criminal case was opened against him for fraud. Just today, the Investigative Committee has requested that an arrest warrant be issued against him. The cases were politically motivated: Pivovarov had long argued for deSovietization, the need to deal with the repressive Soviet past. He is a member of the anti-war committee which is a movement uniting influential Russians who are against the war, including Sergei Guriev, Vladimira Kara-Murza, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, and others.

In yet another, lesser known case, in 2016 Alexey Petrov, deputy dean of the history department at Irkutsk State University has been fired from his job, after he was denounced by his colleague and an anonymous complainant for public activism and for having promoted insufficiently patriotic views during his lectures.

Petrov headed the regional branch of Golos, a grassroots organization that combats electoral fraud. He is also renowned as organizer of the project Walks through Old Irkutsk, where he mentions among others the history of repressions in the Irkutsk region.

Besides being fired from his faculty, more recently Petrov has been deemed a Foreign Agent, with accusations of receiving foreign funding from Tadjikistan. His designation of Foreign Agent has recently been upheld by the Irkutsk District Court.

The repressions against these academics, the additional measures restricting speech, have the effect of creating a climate of fear and hostility. This situation is likely to deteriorate even further: since history is Russia's primary tool of foreign policy, it will be more and more difficult to speak about Soviet-era repressions, to draw parallels between totalitarian regimes of yesterday and today, and to advocate for measures of TJ, measures like criminal trials, lustrations, truth commissions and institutional reforms that threaten the impunity and viability of the current regime. ■



# AZAT MIFTAKHOV DAYS AGAINST THE WAR

July 5-6, 2022

As we continue to fight for Azat's release from prison, we stand in solidarity with the Ukrainian mathematicians and the people of Ukraine who suffer the terrible brunt of the war.

#StandWithUkraine

