Notes

Introduction

3 *Falsifiers of History (Historical Survey)* (Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1948), *passim*.
4 Ibid.

Chapter 1

2 Vladislav Surkov, “Dolgoe gosudarstvo Putina: O tom, chto zdes zvosbshche proiskhodit,” Nezavisimaiia Gazeta, February 11, 2019, http://www.ng.ru/ideas/2019-02-11/5_7503_surkov.html. Notably, Surkov refers to the Turkish origin of the term deep state (derin devlet), which gained currency in the 1990s when the Turkish military was waging a dirty war against Kurdish insurgents. In terms of historical precedents, the Russian state model as outlined by Surkov comes close to Mussolini’s Italy.


6 For details, see Chapter 7.


12 Cf. Koposov, Memory Laws, Memory Wars, 259–70.


17 Russian Federation Council, O protivodeistvii popytkam falsifikatsii istorii narodov v ussherch interesam Rossii, sbornik materialov (March 2013), 36, 49, http://council.gov.ru/media/files/41d54c47347ee1eb7e77a.pdf. The fear of being forced to pay financial compensation may be overblown. With time, East European governments have concluded that such claims would inevitably hit the wall with Russia anyway. That was the reaction, for example, of the prime minister of Estonia to a call for compensation made by his justice minister at the ceremony commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of Soviet deportation of June 14, 1941. Cf. “V Estonii predlozhili potrebovat ot Rossii kompensatsii za sovetskie deportatsii,” Ekho Moskvy, June 14, 2016, https://echo.msk.ru/news/1783920-echo.html.

Notes

19 Russian Federation Council, O protivodeistvii popytkam falsifikatsii istorii, 1–4, 52.
20 Ibid., 41–43.
21 Ibid., 43.
22 Ibid., 44–46.
23 Ibid., 47.
24 Ibid., 6–11.
25 Ibid., 11–14.
26 Ibid., 17–19.
27 Ibid., 19–21.
28 Ibid., 27. The population of Ukraine and Northern Kazakhstan disproportionately suffered in the 1932–33 famine. While Holodomor has been a subject of research and commemoration for over half a century, the severe impact of the famine on the nomadic Kazakhs received its share of academic and public attention only in recent decades.
29 Ibid., 22–23.
30 Ibid., 24–25.
31 Ibid., 28–30.
32 Ibid., 25–27. Following Dolgov’s joining the presidential administration in April 2017, the foreign ministry eliminated the Office of Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law he had headed since 2011.
33 Ibid., 31–32.
34 Ibid., 32–33. Shtyrov believes that a prospect of receiving good grades would make some 95 percent of schoolchildren look no further than a standardized history textbook in their quest for knowledge.
36 Ibid., 36–37.
37 Ibid., 37–39.
38 Ibid., 39–40.
39 Russian Federation Council, O protivodeistvii popytkam falsifikatsii istorii, 50. Suvorov’s name, with negative connotations, appeared alongside few others in the exhibition on the history of the Second World War organized by RVIO in 2016 in Moscow.
42 Cf. Koposov, Memory Laws, Memory Wars, 245.
45 See interview with Igor Permiakov on Rossiia 24, April 28, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e-AyjFe8GxM.
47 See the text of the Ukrainian Law no. 376V, adopted on November 26, 2006.


53 Information received on the promise of anonymity from USHMM, January 2, 2018.


Notes


62 With few exceptions, investigation files of the Gulag survivors had been routinely destroyed beginning in the 1950s. What remained was a personal card, which documented the person’s movement from one camp to another up until eventual release. Even though the cards themselves remained off-limits, victims’ relatives could upon request receive a summary of the record.


66 Article 275 speaks vaguely of rendering assistance to a foreign state, an international or foreign organization of their representatives. According to official statistics, Russian courts review fifteen to twenty cases dealing with high treason per year; only one case, from 2000, ended up in acquittal.


73 Personal communication with Yuri Alexeev, April 25, 2010. Alexeev mentioned in conversation that some of his close relatives had been victims of Stalin’s terror, yet issued a standard disclaimer to the effect that Russian history does not consist of only dark pages.


80 On the history of ASEEES, see David C. Engerman, Know Your Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America’s Soviet Experts (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 69, 72, 77–79.


85 “Protiv nashei strany vedetsia informatsionnaia voina.” In May 2017 Chubarian received from Putin a decoration for his services before the motherland. At the award ceremony, Chubarian spoke of common history as a means of consolidation.


Notes


94 “O roli tochnosti v istorii.” Geopolitics, as it has been taught in Russia since the early 1990s, tends to promote conspiratorial thinking more than other fields of studies do. According to a scholar who has examined eighty-six geopolitics textbooks published in Russia between 1997 and 2015, one-half of them contain conspiracy theories, and this a growing trend. Cf. Serghei Golunov, “What Russian Students Learn about Russia’s Enemies,” Open Democracy, April 13, 2015, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/what-russian-students-learn-about-russias-enemies/.


military may as well be the only such in the world to deploy a special unit working against the “falsification of history.”


102 Ibid.


104 Cf. European Parliament resolution on the importance of European remembrance for the future of Europe, 2019/2819(RSP), September 18, 2019.


110 Sokolov et al., “Kakaia istoria nuzhna budushchemu Rossii,” 35.

Notes


116 Conversation with historian Tatiana Borisova of the St. Petersburg School of Economics, September 16, 2017.


Chapter 2


3 Cf. foundation’s website (March 2019), http://www.fiip.ru/. Narochntskaia’s further books include Great Wars of the Twentieth Century: Revision and Truth of History, Yalta 45: Contours of a New World, The Russian Evolution Code, and Focusing on Russia: The Battle for the Russian World. All of these works fit the definition of revisionist literature. See the discussion of one of Narochntskaia’s books in Koposov, Memory Laws, Memory Wars, 251–52.


10 Information shared by Olesia Orlenko, March 5, 2012.
15 Vladimir Medinskii, Rossii nikogda ne sdavalas: Mify voiny i mira (Moscow: Knizhnyi mir, 2016), 3.
17 Cf. Reader reviews posted on the publisher’s website (June 2018), https://www.labirint.ru/reviews/goods/249895/.
19 Cf. Reader reviews posted on the publisher’s website (June 2018), https://www.labirint.ru/reviews/goods/322084/.

25. Ibid.


27. “Razoblachenie falsifikatora i izgotovlennoi im falsifikii neizbezno,” *Kommersant*, April 20, 2015, https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2712788. See also Liubov Chizhova, “300 panfilovtsev,” Radio Liberty, November 25, 2016, https://www.svoboda.org/a/28139269.html. The number of German tanks destroyed in the battle was lower than officially reported while the number of the Soviet soldiers participating in that battle was significantly higher; the Soviets lost 100, not 28 men.


30. “Vladimir Medinskii: ‘Mogu rasskazat i vsiu pravdu, i vsiu nepravdu.’”


32. Quoted in Tolts, “Falsifikatory: Familiii, adresa, iavki…”


275

Notes


43 “Olga Vasilieva: optimalnyi uchebnik – eto mechta, no horoshii sdelat moiho,” Ministry of Education, October 4, 2017, https://xn--80abucjihbh9a.xn--p1ai/%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%81-%D1%86%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D1%80/11161.

44 “Nakanune Dnia uchitelia Ministr obrazovania i kultury Rossi dala ‘KP’ pervoe razvernutoe interviui v novoi dolzhnosti,” Ministry of Education, October 5, 2016, https://xn--80abucjihbh9a.xn--p1ai/%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%81-%D1%86%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D1%80/9050.


46 Medinskii, “Problemy obiektivnosti v osveshchenii Rossiiskoi istorii,” 6, 10, 40–45.

47 Medvedev, “‘Vstrecha s uchenymi-istorikami,’” 41.


50 See full text of the decree at https://rvio.histrf.ru/officially/ukaz-1710.


57 In late 2018 the exhibition found a permanent home at Tambov. By that time, a total of two million people had reportedly seen it.

58 Cf. exhibition’s website (June 2019), http://xn--80adtaucueg4dwd.xn--p1ai/.

He serves as the head of RAN's Center for the History of Wars and Geopolitics, history professor at Moscow State Institute of International Relations, and advisor to the Minister of Culture Medinskii.


66 Cf. TV roundtable, “Sobibor as an Apogee of Jewish Resistance to Fascism.”


69 Cf. Press conference of History of Motherland foundation, TASS, February 15, 2017, https://www.tassphoto.com/ru/asset/fullTextSearch/search/%D0%A4%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B4%20%D0%98%D1%81%D1%82%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%8F%20%D0%9E%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%87%D0%B5%1%81%D1%88%2D0%B2%0B%0/page/1.


78 Ostap Karmodi, “Ironami tak ikonami: Tri tserkvi i pol bolnts i y v den,” Radio Liberty, May 27, 2019, https://www.svoboda.org/ru/a/29966125.html. Thus, for every new hospital built in Russia there are six new Orthodox churches.


104 This is remarkable in its own right, given that just a handful of purpose-built museum buildings had been erected in Russia since 1991. As of October 2019, twenty “Russia: My History” theme parks have been built.


108 Cf. visitor reviews posted, for example, on Trip Advisor (barely 0.5 percent by foreigners).

109 Ibid.
Notes


116 According to an FSB officer interviewed by Radio Liberty on the condition of anonymity, FSB effectively regards the Orthodox Church as its branch, with all senior positions within the church being approved at top level. See Dmitry Volchek, “Za priianik my stali rabami: Priznaniia ofitsera FSB,” Radio Liberty, April 18, 2018, https://www.svoboda.org/a/29172866.html.

117 Voltskaia, “Vagon putinskogo bronepoezda.”


122 Rykovtseva, “Patriarkh prodvigaet ‘ritualnoe ubiistvo.’”

123 Golubeva, “Ot ‘Matildy’ do Isaakii.”


144 That was the slogan sported by Night Wolves, for example, at the National Unity Day march in Moscow on November 4, 2015, http://nightwolves.ru/nw/gallery/2300/.


156 Jourdan, “Une Nuit.”


158 “Kak baikery ’Nochnye volki’ stali politicheskoi staei.”

159 See the video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3NofhC8mORc (August 10, 2014).


162 See the video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_fRiRiQQcQ0 (August 17, 2016).
Chapter 3

Notes


8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.


11 Putin, “Vstrecha s molodymi uchenymi i prepodavateliami istorii.”

12 Volchek, “Shashka generala Denikina.”


19 Putin, “Vstrecha s uchastnikami Obshcherossiiskogo istoricheskogo sobraniia.”


22 Lavrov, “Russia’s Foreign Policy in a Historical Perspective.”

23 Ibid. For the analysis of Lavrov’s one other programmatic article from 2009, nominally reflecting on the 1945 victory over Nazi Germany, see Koposov, Memory Laws, Memory Wars, 255–59.

24 Putin, “Vstrecha s uchastnikami Obshcherossiiskogo istoricheskogo sobraniia.”

25 Ibid.

Koposov, Memory Laws, Memory Wars, 247–50.


See, for example, Vladimir Pozner’s interview with Yuri Petrov, head of the RAN Institute of Russian History, Channel One, May 22, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l7eYociMrY.


“The proposal mimics the Mormon doctrine of baptism of the dead practiced since the nineteenth century. Scandal erupted when it came out, in the 1990s, that certain temples have been posthumously baptizing victims of the Holocaust, who would presumably enter the kingdom of God as Mormons. Despite outcry, this practice has continued until today, though in a limited form.


Putin, “Vstrecha s uchastnikami Obshcherossiiskogo istoricheskogo sobrania.” The notion of sacrifice and martyrdom leaves out the uncomfortable fact that individual acts of heroism often compensate for the incompetence and corruption of the higher-ups.
Notes

52 Ibid.
54 Cf. RT’s dedicated webpage, https://9may.rt.com/.
59 Ibid. Consider also an Inter-Museum fair held in Moscow since 1999. At the kick-off event in 2016, Minister of Culture Medinskii specifically mentioned the foreign museums represented at Moscow (from China, Iran, and the so-called Donetsk People’s Republic), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DE2qiikXiw.


“V MIA ‘Rossiia segodnia’ obsudili podgotovku k 75-letiiu osvobozhdения Evropy ot natsizma.”


“TsSKA vruchil bolelshchikam medali ‘Za vziatie Berlina,’” Ekho Moskvy, October 6, 2016, https://echo.msk.ru/blog/day_photo/1850938-echo/. Never mind that the much-celebrated victory was over Turkish Fenerbahçe, not exactly the best known or strongest football clubs in Europe.


Notes

83 As related to President Medvedev during his field trip to Vladimir. Cf. “Vstrecha s uchenymi-istorikami.”
84 Etymologically, Iskander comes in lieu of defender of mankind or a ruler who built a protective wall against evil forces, usually associated with Alexander the Great. The fact that “Iskander” was also a penname of the famous nineteenth-century Russian publicist Alexander Herzen, as well as the last name of the recently deceased writer Fasil Iskander, is unlikely to have influenced the selection process.
87 See video at http://victorymuseum.ru/?part=13&id_single=4780 (May 1, 2018). Moscow-based Demisolka is promoted as the biggest (600 kids) and best such children’s musical theater in Russia. Among its patrons the theater counts Iosif Kobzon, a steadfast supporter of Putin and his policy on Ukraine. Demisolka has been a part of various state programs, including “patriotic.” Cf. http://www.demisolka.ru/istoriya-teatra.html.
88 The song celebrates a Soviet tank counterattack during the Japanese incursion at Lake Khasan in the summer of 1938. It was commissioned for the comedy “Tractor Drivers,” which was released the following year. During Khrushchev’s reign, all references to Stalin have been edited out from the film; since 2005 the original version has been shown on Russian TV and is also available on DVD.


96 Cf. Medvedev, “Минное поле памяти.”
98 Cf. Medvedev, “Minnoe pole pamiati.”
100 “Линия обороны прокходит чрез каждого.”
103 Cf. Immortal Regiment Russia website (November 2018), https://polkrf.ru/about/.
107 “Охота на журавлика: Власти Крыма меняют координаторов полка,” Ekho Moskvy, May 3, 2017, https://echo.msk.ru/blog/echomsk/1974362-echo/. As a part of the concerted pressure campaign, in 2015 the TV company Lapenkov where he was working was driven out of business.
Notes

115 Medvedev, “Hotiat li russkie voiny?”
119 Sokolov, “Karnaval Pobedy?”
120 Figures by Sergei Lapenkov, “Liniia oborony prokhodit cherez kazhdogo.”
122 “Khraniteli Sibiri: Kuda idet ‘Bessmertnyi Polk?’”
124 “Liniia oborony prokhodit cherez kazhdogo.”
126 “Khraniteli Sibiri: Kuda idet ‘Bessmertnyi Polk?’”
129 Cf. statements by Alexandra Rakova and Sergei Machinskii of RVIO during the joint discussion with president Putin, “Vstrecha s uchastnikami Obscherossiiskogo istoricheskogo sobraniia,” Ukraine is also the only country where the attempts to stage Immortal Regiment marches have been curtailed and/or occasionally met with violence. See “V khode marshi ‘Bessmertnyi polk’ na Ukraina proizosli stykhki,” BBC Russian Service, May 9, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/russian/news-39854383.
134 Koposov, Memory Laws, Memory Wars, 210–13, 238–41, 246–47.


140 Sokolov et al., “Kakoe proshloe nuzhno budushchemu Rossii,” 17.


144 “Putin nazval period repressii gorkoi stranitsei istorii i pouchitelnym urokom,” TASS, October 1, 2015, https://tass.ru/politika/2308009. For the museum director’s views on history, see his statement at the joint meeting with President Putin, “Vstrecha s uchastnikami Obshcherossiiskogo istoricheskogo sobranii.”

145 Ilya Varlamov, “Glavnyi gornolyzhnyi kurort Rossii cherez 5 let posle Olimpiady,” blog entry, January 23, 2019, https://varlamov.ru/tag/%D0%A1%D0%BE%D1%87%D0%B8.


150 Cf. Oliver Stone’s The Putin’s Interviews (Showtime Networks, June 2017), https://www.sho.com/the-putin-interviews.


155 “Stalin’s method” presupposes subjecting the designers of a particular piece of hardware to a stress test that can be dangerous to one’s life.


“Redkaia drian.”


Notes

184 Mariana Torecheshnikova, “‘37-i god nastupaet na piatki,’” Radio Liberty, October 30, 2018, https://www.svoboda.org/a/29546641.html. According to Andreev, the Gulag Museum has until now not experienced any particular pressure by authorities.


191 Cf. Dobrynin, “‘Za Rodinu bez Stalina.”


195 RVIO, “Diskussiia: ‘Zachem narodu monument?’ Priamaia translatsiia s MKF.”

196 “Zasedanie orgkomiteta ‘Pobeda,’” Kremlin, April 20, 2017. Medinskii is thus directly contradicting the wording of the 2015 state policy framework on commemoration of the victims of Soviet political repression.


Chapter 4

7 Ibid., 84–93. In some cases, individual teachers have been implicated in ballot-rigging, for example in November 2016 in Rostov on Don.
9 Sanina, *Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia*, 66.
10 Ibid., 38–46.
11 Ibid., 49–61, quotation at 62.
15 Ibid.
16 Government of Russia, “Gosudarstvennaiia programma ’Patrioticheskoe vospitanie grazhdan Rossiiskoi Federatsii na 2011 – 2015 gody.’”
19 Sanina, Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia, 97–105.
22 Sanina, Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia, 109–15.
25 “V setiakh poiavilsia document, kotoryi obiazyvaet detei voennykh vstupat v ‘Iunarmiiu,” Ekho Moskvy, February 6, 2019, https://echo.msk.ru/blog/echomsk/2365949-echo/. When asked, deputy defense minister and the heads of Youth Army Tatarstan chapter have denied coercion has ever been used to fill the organization’s ranks.
Notes


35 Cf. the 2015 edition of the biker festival, “Forging Victory,” at Sevastopol (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z2WfiaZzwKQ) and the opening statement by Kartopolov at the presentation of the cathedral in St. Petersburg on November 15, 2018 (https://rvio.histrf.ru/activities/news/item-5607). The notion of Slavic Orthodox civilization emerged in the late 1990s in the works by nationalist ideologists such as Alexander Dugin.


42 Cf. company’s website (March 2019), http://carobus.net/catalog/detskaya-krovat-ta nk-buk-m-1/.

43 The ministry of defense had in 2014 to fight off several commercial actors to register a patent for the Polite People brand. See Pavlova, “Odetsia patriotom.”


46 Sanina, Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia, 137–41.

50 Karmodi and Ponomareva, “Lentochka so svastikoi: Strannye sposoby prazdnovat Pobedu.”
56 Ibid. (May 24, 2018).
57 Ksenia Kirillova, “Kremlevskaia gvardiia,” Radio Liberty, April 26, 2018, https://www.svoboda.org/a/29188787.html. Molodaia gvardiia is the name of a clandestine wartime Soviet cell that operated for a few months in 1942/43 in the city of Krasnodon in Nazi-occupied Ukraine. The story was immortalized in a novel (1946) and a movie (1948) and thus became a part of the Soviet foundational myth of the Great Patriotic War. Molodaia gvardiia became the subject of two different TV series aired in 2006 and 2015 respectively. The word nashi is typically associated with Soviet forces fighting against Nazi Germany and/or ethnic Russians residing in the former Soviet republics.
59 One the earlier attempt to produce a standard history textbook (Alexander Philippov and Alexander Danilin’s Russian History, 1945–2007), see Miller, “The Turns of Russian Historical Politics,” 258–61.
66 “‘Bazovoe soderzhanie uchebnikov dolzhno byt odinakovym po vsei strane’: Ministr obrazovaniia Vasilieva – v interviui RT,” Ministry of Education, September 27, 2017,
Notes

https://xn--80abuciibhv9a.xn--p1ai/%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%81%D1%86%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D1%80/11083.

67 "Pozdravlenie Ministra obrazovaniya i nauki Rossiiskoi Federatsii O. Iu. Vasilievoi s Dnem narodnogo edinstva," Ministry of Education, November 4, 2016, https://xn--80abuciibhv9a.xn--p1ai/%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8/9033.

68 "V Minobr nauki Rossi zagrali pobediteli II Vserossiskogo konkursa pedagogicheskogo masterstva 'Istoriiia v shkole: traditsii i innovatsii,'” Ministry of Education, October 5, 2017, https://xn--80abuciibhv9a.xn--p1ai/%D0%BD%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8/11142.

69 "Prepodavanie istorii v shkole v novom uchebnom godu.”

70 Putin, “Vstrecha s avtormi kontseptsii novogo uchebnika istorii.”


74 Pakhaliuk, “Istoricheskoe proshloe kak osnovanie rossiiskoi politiki,” 11.


79 Mesnianko, “Poslushniki ‘krasnogo monastyria.’”

80 Palvelieva, “Zhertvoprinoshenie: Zhecmere pereplavliat trofeinuiu tekhniku dla khrama.”


Notes


 Cf. project’s website (July 2018), http://xn--c1abr0a.xn--p1ai/.


Lavrov, “Russia’s Foreign Policy in a Historical Perspective.”

Loriia et al., “Bolshe chem istoriia.”


Gudkov, “1917 god v structure legit imnosti rossiiskoi vlasti.”


 Cf. Gudkov, “1917 god.”


Alia Ponomareva, “Ne rasstalis s komsomolom,” Radio Liberty, October 29, 2018, https://www.svoboda.org/a/29569933.html. Similar time capsules were opened on October 29, 2018 across Russia.


Gogun, “‘Putin nenavidit Lelina.’”


107 “Poklonskaia poprosila prokurora Chaiku proverit film o Nikolae II,” BBC Russian Service, November 2, 2016, https://www.bbc.com/russian-news-37846098; Natalia Poklonskaia, “Publichnyi otvet zaiaaviteliam na obrashchenie po filmu ’Matilda,”’ Ekho Moskvy, April 17, 2017, https://echo.msk.ru/blog/echomsk/1964630-echo/. From the legal point of view, Poklonskaia’s request has validity only if supplemented with an affidavit from the person who claims a violation of privacy, that is, Tsar Nikolai II.


115 “Hanty-mansiiskaia eparkhiia RPTs nachinaet sbor podpisei za zapret filma Alekseia Uchitelia ‘Matilda,”’ Ekho Moskvy, June 29, 2017, https://echo.msk.ru/news/2009216-echo.html. Forty Forties—which in 2015 was personally commended by Patriarch Kirill—showed its mettle in recent years in delivering “humanitarian aid” to Donbass, breaking up protests against the erection of a monument to Prince Vladimir, seeking prison terms for “propaganda of homosexuality,” and advocating prosecution of select members of Russian opposition parties.


Notes

122 “Putin zdelal pamiatnym den priniatiia Kryma v sostav Rossiiskoi imperii,” RBK, August 3, 2018, https://www.rbc.ru/politics/03/08/2018/5b6476f89a7947aceaf3d137. Among the authors of the original proposal is Federation Council speaker Matvienko.
123 As of this writing (summer 2019), there has been no new development on Patriotism Day.
124 The memorial-day list may soon be expanded on account of the Great Confrontation on Ugra River in 1480. Endorsed by President Putin yet opposed by Tatarstan authorities, that date ostensibly marks the beginning of the end of the Tatar Mongol rule over Russian lands.
127 Tellingly, none of the memorial-day lists available on the internet include Day of Remembrance of Victims of Political Repression.
128 Popular initiative, “Two Carnations to Comrade Stalin,” was launched in 2001.
132 “Pod Sevastopolem oskvernili pamiatnik pogibshim v gody voiny krymskim tataaram,” Radio Liberty, May 9, 2019, https://www.svoboda.org/a/29930852.html. The monument is nothing more than several plaques, now broken, with individual names inscribed on them.
133 Latvia did just that on May 10, 2019.
important passages in his Instagram post: a reference to a wholesale deportation of the Chechens (which warrants a genocide charge) and a speculation that Kadyrov Sr. had sacrificed his own life to save the Chechen people from annihilation. Kadyrov's old Instagram account, where this particular post appeared, was blocked after he had been put on the Western sanctions list later than December. See also, Ramzan Kadyrov: “Stalin podvel chechenskii narod k kraiu propasti,” Ekho Moskvy, January 11, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/echomsky.ru/posts/1480610248634646/; “Kadyrov predlozhil peredat Gruzii ostanki Stalina,” Radio Liberty, November 21, 2017, https://www.svoboda.org/a/28866285.html; Ramzan Kadyrov, “Nas lishili vsego,” Ekho Moskvy, February 23, 2018, https://echo.msk.ru/blog/rkadyrov_95/2153568-echo/.


139 Sharyi, “Detskii otriad osazhdennoi kreposti.”

Chapter 5


Notes


11 Gnilorybov, “Kto i zacheem staviti pamjatniki Stalinu.”

12 Elena Iarovikova, “V Yakutii ustanovili pamятnik Stalinu,” Life.ru, November 27, 2009, https://life.ru/t/%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8/4615.

13 Gnilorybov, “Kto i zacheem staviti pamjatniki Stalinu.”


25 Piot Maniakhin, “My vyshli pobediteliami iz boia [s] nashimi vragami-liberalami,” Radio Liberty, May 9, 2019, https://www.sibreal.org/a/29931652.html. See also a photo essay about the celebration of Stalin’s birthday in Novosibirsk, Ilya Varlamov,


28 “Cult of Stalin Sweeps back into Ukraine’s Donetsk Rebel ‘Republic,’” The Telegraph, October 19, 2015, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/11939912/Cult-of-Stalin-sweeps-back-into-Ukraines-Donetsk-rebel-republic.html. Stalin’s photo portrait from ca 1949 appears to be one of the most popular in Putin’s Russia. The same image in May 2018 graced bus stops in the Siberian city of Tiumen, for example.


30 Gnilorybov, “Kto i zachem stavit pamiatniki Stalinu.”


36 See information about the museum, along with visitor reviews at https://autotravel.ru/otklik.php/9561.


42 Irina Ngornykh et al., “Pochivshie v bronze: Cherchillia, Ruzvelta i Stalina cherez 70 let vnov priniali v Yalte,” Kommersant, February 6, 2015.


46 See, for example, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a08gdzCJD8E (February 5, 2015).

47 “Pochivshie v bronze.”


49 “V Krymu poiaviatsya Stalin.”

50 See user reviews on Trip Advisor, https://www.tripadvisor.ru/Attraction_Review-g3442087-d8604498-Reviews-Monument_Yaltinskoi_Troie-Lividiya.html#photos;aggregateId=101&albumId=101&filter=78&ff=219784368.


58 Out of the three such monuments originally planned two have been built so far, in Magadan in 1996 and in Ekaterinburg in 2017; the third at Vorkuta is in limbo.

306  

Notes  

60 Krasnodar school # 32 has FSB as a sponsor and features a history museum, The Generation Link, which mainly tells the story of Cheka-KGB-FSB. The RossGuard (Rossgwardiia) college in Saratov has been restored its original name, “The Dzerzhinsky Institute of the Order of the Red Banner.”


63 Merkacheva, “Głava SVR Sergiej Naryshkin.”


68 “Trepeshchite, iadom pliuute.”


“V Rossii postavili pamiatnik ‘Vezhlivym liudiam,’” Lenta.ru, May 6, 2015, https://lenta.ru/news/2015/05/06/soldat/. Tongue-in-cheek, one of many T-shirts with the portrait of Putin one can buy designates the Russian leader as the “most polite among people.” One of the Duma factions even proposed, in September of 2014, to institute the official Day of Polite People, to be marked on Putin’s birthday, October 7.

“Skulptura ‘Vezhlivye liudi’ ustanovlena v Bakhchisaraye,” Sevas, March 19, 2016, http://news.sevas.com/crimea/pamyatnik_vezhlivym_lyudyam_v_bakhchisaraye_otkryt. After much ridicule, the original monument was replaced with a more conventional one five months later.


“V Rostove-na-Donu voennye postavili pamiatnik ‘Vezhlivym liudiam,’” Vechernii Rostov, May 4, 2018, https://vechernost.ru/news/87622-v-r-d0%BEst%D0%BEve-n%D0%B0-d%D0%BEnu-v%D0%BEenn%D1%8Be-p%D0%BEst%D0%B0vili-p%D0%B0myatni%D0%BA-vezli%D1%8Bm-lyudyam.


On the cult of tsar Nikolai II in contemporary Russia see Dianina, “Vozvrashchennoe nasledie: Nikolai II kak novodel.”

308


“Ivan Vasilievich meniaet propisku.” According to Medinskii, Ivan the Terrible is responsible for much fewer victims than has been quoted.


“Gagarin poluchilsia khmurym.”
Notes

110 “Kulturnyi brend ili urodstvo: V Moskve otkryli pamiatnik Kalashnikovu,” RBK, September 19, 2017, https://www.rbk.ru/photoreport/19/09/2017/59c0cf599a79477897c87b96. AK-47 has the dubious distinction of being the most frequently used firearm in military conflicts around the world. There are an estimated one hundred million Kalashnikovs currently in circulation—a weapon of choice for military men and terrorists alike.
120 See video at http://nightwolves.ru/nw/gallery/2300/ (December 6, 2016). The slogan has been authored by Russian nationalist writer and Zaldostanov’s ideological guide, Alexander Prokhanov.
html. Out of one million Chinese tourists per year projected by local authorities, a mere seven thousand came to visit Ulianovsk between 2015 and 2017.


129 Sokolov et al., “Kakoe proshloe nuzhno budushchemu Rossi,” 12.


136 Kara-Murza, “Zachem Putinu i Medvedevu Medinskii?”


psychiatric expertise eventually declared the perpetrator mentally unstable, ordering forced medical treatment.


146 See project’s website at https://project1917.ru/.


According to Putin’s own estimates, a good quarter of Israelis are Russian speakers. “In that sense, Israel is essentially a Russian-speaking country,” he claimed, “which injects a special charm in the relations between our two countries and serves as a solid basis for advancing bilateral relations.” See “Interviui Pervomu kanalu izrailskogo televizionn, Kremlin, April 20, 2005, http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/22928.

To give just one example, the festival of Russian bard music has become increasingly popular in Israel over the years.


“Interviui Pervomu kanalu izrailskogo televizionn, Kremlin, April 20, 2005. The possibility of Putin’s visit to Israel—the first Kremlin leader to ever do so—was discussed with Israeli officials during the commemorative events in Poland earlier that year.


Notes

four months to create a monument. Coincidentally, he is also the one who designed a memorial park on Poklonnaia gora.

10 “Otkrytie Memoriała pobedy Krasnoi armii nad fashistskoi Germaniei,” Kremlin, June 25, 2012, http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/15727. Judging by the number of state commissions, since annexation of Crimea, Scherbakov has taken over from Tsereteli the mantle of the most important Russian sculptor.


24 Belaia kniga natsizma, ed. Valery Engel et al. (Moscow: Terra, 2013), 3–13, 1107. World without Nazism was able to lure the well-known Berlin-based German academic institution, Center for the Study of Antisemitism, in collaborating on the 2013 edition of the book.


26 Koposov, Memory Laws, Memory Wars, 281–87, 293–95.


32 “Kommentarii k podgotovlennomu latviiskimi istorikami I. Feldmanisom i K. Kangerisom material ‘O Latyshskom dobrovolnom legione SS,’” MID, July 30, 2004, http://www.mid.ru/web/guest/maps/lv/-/asset_publisher/9RJVTExWFw7R/content/id/463074. Robert White is an expert on Latvia who served as a historian at the Office of Special Investigations of the US Justice Department, established in 1979 to deal with alleged Nazi war criminals and their collaborators who found their way into the United States. Beginning in 1943, Baltic nationals were indeed conscripted into the Wehrmacht, which was against the letter of international law that prohibits such an action vis-à-vis citizens of occupied countries. The fact that many a conscript, eager to fight against Russia, did not resist the call does not make it a voluntary act.


34 “Vystuplenie zamestitelia Ministra inostrannykh del Rossiiiskoi Federatsii A. V. Saltanova na 60-i sessii Genassamblei OON po punktu 72 ‘Pamiat o Holokoste,’ New


43 “O vstreche zametstotelia Ministra inostrannykh yak Rossii S. A. Riabova s direktorom Memorialnogo muzeia Holokosta (SShA) S. Blumfeld,” MID, February 1, 2010, http://www.mid.ru/web/guest/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/280822. Bloomfield’s visit prompted no bilateral initiatives within Holocaust studies besides a systematic copying of Holocaust-related records from the Russian archives that the Washington museum has been pursuing since the early 1990s.


See text of Resolution 67/154 at https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/67/154&Lang=E. The wording of the resolution is heavily influenced by the Russian/Soviet linguistic tradition. To give just one example, the indeterminate “sufferings” (in plural) is a direct translation of the Russian word stradaniia, which also conveys emotional pain. The foreign ministry in November 2014 used the exact same wording of provision 16 in its annual statement reaffirming Resolution 67/154.


Cf. “Vystuplenie Uptonomochennogo MID Rossii po voprosam prav cheloveka K. K. Dolgova po predstavleniu Doklada MID Rossii, ‘Neonatsizm – opasnyi vyov pravam cheloveka, demokratii i verkhovenstu prava,’ Moskva,” MID, April 23, 2015, http://www.mid.ru/web/guest/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/1203215; “MID Rossii vyiasnil gde bolshe vsego neonatsistov,” BBC Russian Service, April 24, 2015, https://www.bbc.com/russian/international/2015/04/150424_russia_neo_nazis_report. The 2015 report is available at http://www.mid.ru/documents/10180/659066/%D0%94%D0%BE%D0%BA%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B4_%D0%9C%D0%98%D0%94_%D0%A0%D0%A4_%D0%9D%D0%B5%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%BC.pdf/6ce5d456-f2e5-477b-b47e-3f3d65defe56. The foreign ministry mentioned World without Nazism—described on the occasion as a “human rights NGO with antifascist profile”—as one of several sources of data used in the new report.


56 Ibid.


61 “Rossiiskim evreiam i vsem, kto otmechaet Den spasenia i osvobozhdenii,” Kremlin, June 3, 2016, http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/letters/52102. Since it had been introduced, 26 iyar came nowhere near Yom Hashoah in significance. Marked almost exclusively in Israel, it remains merely an example of symbol politics—as originally intended by Putin’s regime.

62 “V Minobrnauki proshel pokaz filma ‘Sobibor,’” Ministry of Education, May 10, 2018, https://xn--80abucjiibhv9a.xn--p1ai/%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%81-%D1%86%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D1%80/12809.

63 “O. Iu. Vasilieva priniala uchastie v konferentsii ‘Pobeda v Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine kak istorichesko sobytie v zhizni evreiskogo naroda,’” May 10, 2018, Ministry of Education, https://xn--80abucjiibhv9a.xn--p1ai/%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%81-%D1%86%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D1%80/12802.


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71 “Ob otkrytii v Parlamente Cheshskoi Respubliki rossiiskoi dokumentalnoi vystavki ‘Holokost: unichtozhenie, osvobozhdenie, spasenie,’” MID, April 18, 2018, http://www.mid.ru/web/guest/maps/cz/-/asset_publisher/k0a3O6Z8NHnZ/content/id/3176716.


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//www.mid.ru/web/guest/maps/ro/-/asset_publisher/WzuFsB3Aw7t3/content/id/2062408.
77 Cf. Anton Weiss-Wendt, Murder without Hatred: Estonians and the Holocaust (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009). The Moscow-based university is one of the few such institutions of higher learning in Russia that incorporates “falsification of history” into its research agenda.
79 The Polish spelling is Sobibór.
80 “Zasedanie orgkomiteta ‘Pobeda,’” Kremlin, April 20, 2017. That was also where and when the government committed to variously support, under the aegis of RVIO, the distribution of Russian war movies abroad. Cf. “Protokol zasedaniia Rossiiskogo organizatsionnogo komiteta ‘Pobeda,’” At the festival of military-patriotic film later that August Sobibor received an RVIO prize.
82 Khabensky, in a TV interview with Vladimir Pozner on Channel One, distinguished between “patriotic” and “antipatriotic” movies. Among the latter he regards the award-winning Leviathan by Andrei Zviagintsev. At the same time, he refused to be drawn in the Polish-Russian row over the Sobibor museum. See full interview (April 23, 2018) at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6AlF40RSt2c.
84 Cf. news item posted on the Alexander Pechersky Foundation Facebook account (May 10, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/AlexanderPecherskyFoundation/?hc_ref=ARQqfJBPnDleWzq-uJDmbXX7bfNwGsrO-m8b8Qi7kS_WLEcTFMsgPAhdCz6TSJU60U&ref=nf.
85 Cf. https://zachestnyibiznes.ru/company/ul/1177700009827_7733321713_FOND-ALEKSANDRA-PEChERSKOGO.
RVIO once referred to Vasiliev as Sobibor’s “creative producer.”


90 See video posted on RVIO’s VKontakte account (May 14, 2018), https://vk.com/rvio_ru?z=video-69976433_456239105%2F58ec16c53a3fc721de%2Fp_wall_-69976433. It remains unclear who covered the participants’ travel and accommodation costs. The focus on Sobibor under the annual Immortal Regiment parade was one-off. In May 2019, it was already the Battle of Rzhev, where RVIO is currently building a gigantic memorial to the Soviet soldier.

91 “Prazdnik ne dla vsekh,” Vremia Pokazhet, Channel One, May 10, 2018. See video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HYnAJ8vSb1g.


95 “Russia Summons 3 Ambassadors over Poland’s Sobibor Museum Renovation,” Sputnik, August 17, 2017, https://sputniknews.com/europe/201708171056550212-russia-summons-ambassadors-sobibor/. Zakharova in January 2018 lashed out personally at Sławomir Dębski, director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, who wrote on Twitter that it was actually the Netherlands and not Poland that blocked Russia’s participation in the project. Four months later Dębski was denied reentry and deported from Russia, though not exclusively on account on his tweet.

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99 Masis, “In Sobibor, Where a Soviet Jew Led the Escape, Russia is Shut out of New Museum.” The new museum building is scheduled to open in the fall of 2019. The nationality of Pechersky—the crucial point of reference for the Russian side—is unlikely to become a centerpiece of the exhibition currently in the works.


105 See Russia-Israel satellite link-up (April 11, 2018) at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UYNdpz0ljJi.


110 See video of the Berlin premier on May 9, 2018 at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JS72Ptiew7k.

111 See the press conference in Berlin on May 9, 2018 at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zog09VKnz6M.

Notes

113 Cf. TV roundtable, “Sobibor as an Apogee of Jewish Resistance to Fascism.”

117 Cf. TV roundtable, “Sobibor as an Apogee of Jewish Resistance to Fascism.” Aron Shneer in his Facebook comment called this description of the Sobibor uprising historically false and denounced the use of the Holocaust for propaganda purposes generally.
118 See interview with Mogilevskii about the book (May 20, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/AlexanderPecherskyFoundation/?hc_ref=ARQqFJbpNdIewzq-ulJDmbXX7bfNwGsrO-m8b8QI78ks_WLEcTFMsgPAhdCz6TSJU60U&fref=nf. Mogilevskii also serves on the RIO board, alongside Sergei Naryshkin who he had quoted in the interview. Meanwhile RVIO helped to short-circuit Russia being shut out from the work on the new Sobibor memorial by incorporating, in April 2018, the story of the uprising in the permanent exhibition on the history of Polish-Russian relations in the twentieth century at Katyn memorial—in and of itself a controversial initiative.
121 Film director Sergei Dvortsof was informed ahead of time Russia would nominate Sobibor for the Academy Awards. Cf. “‘Mne ne khvataet deneg elementarno na edu,’” Meduza, January 19, 2020, https://meduza.io/feature/2020/01/19/mne-ne-hvataet-deneg-elementarno-na-edu.
127 The fact that Argentina had for decades served as a safe haven for Nazi war criminals may as well be a factor. The exhibition also directed attention away from the scandal involving stacks of cocaine discovered in December 2016 in the Russian diplomatic


130 Altman must be aware of Sputnik’s reputation as a Russian state propaganda outlet when he was interviewed by its Spanish-language service in Montevideo in May 2018. Altman was quoted saying that the “Liberators” project deserves to become international for it “can tell the world the truth about the role played by the Red Army in the annihilation of fascism . . . and saving the Jews of Europe.” Cf. “Rusia trae exposición sobre el Holocausto.”


132 “Ob otkrytii v Parlamente Cheshskoi Respubliki rossiiskoi dokumentalnoi vystavki ‘Holokost: unichtozhenie, osvobozhdenie, spasenie.’”


136 “Vystuplenie zamestitelia direktora Departamenta obscheevropeiskogo sotrudnichestva MID Rossisskoi Federatsii A. S. Azimova na zakrytie konferentsii OSCE po antisemitizmu, Berlin.”


138 Consider, for example, the Soviet peace offensive of the early 1950s. Cf. Weiss-Wendt, The Soviet Union and the Gutting of the UN Genocide Convention, 246–60.


141 Polian, “Istoriomor: Strukturizatsiia pamiati i infrastruktura bespamiatstvta.”
142 Consider, for example, the memorial plaques honoring individual participants in the Sobibor uprising that were installed in several Russian cities in 2018 and 2019. The one in Riazan identifies the person as a “veteran of the Great Patriotic War” and another one in Samara as “hero of antifascist resistance,” without mentioning that both were Jewish.
143 Cf. exhibition’s website, http://filmer-la-guerre.memorialdelashoah.org/index.html. Exhibition catalog is also available.
144 Kirchick, “Anti–Nazi Group.”
152 See, in particular, research by Francine Hirsch.
155 According to Yefim Pivovar, president of the Russian State University for the Humanities, Sobibor is all about the “heroism and resilience of the Soviet soldier.” Cf. TV roundtable, “Sobibor as an Apogee of Jewish Resistance to Fascism.”
156 On the subject of hybrid warfare carried out by Russia see, in particular, Mark Galeotti’s writings.
158 Quoted on page 5 of Foreign Ministry’s report, “Neonatsizm – opasnyi vyzov pravam cheloveka, demokratii i verkhoenstvu prava,” April 2015, http://www.mid.ru/documents/10180/659066/%D0%94%D0%BE%D0%BA%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%9C%D0%98%D0%94_%D0%A0%D0%A4_%D0%9D%D0%B5%
%BE%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%BC.pdf/6ce5d456-f2e5-477b-b47e-3f3d65d6ef56.


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Chapter 7


3 Ibid.


7 Barnes, “Keeping the Past in the Past.”


19 “Perepisat Sandarmokh.”
23 Ministry of Culture of Karelia to RVIO, July 15, 2019, posted on a dedicated Facebook page covering the legal case against Yuri Dmitriev, https://www.facebook.com/groups/delo.dmitrieva/permalink/1214427038739808/.
25 “Direkторa karelskogo muzeia Sergei Koltyrina obvinili v pedofilii.”


Possession of drugs and pedophilia are the two charges most commonly used by the regime (on the basis of falsified evidence) against the perceived opponents. In case of pedophilia, a single allegation by a “concerned citizen” may suffice to send the defendant to jail.

28 In the spring of 2017, RVIO unveiled at the Katyn memorial a series of panels on Russian POWs in Polish captivity in 1920–1. The exaggerated death toll is meant to balance out the number of Polish officers executed by the NKVD in 1940, in spite of the missing link connecting the two episodes. Polish authorities and Memorial declared it a deliberate attempt at historical relativization. See Mumin Shakirov, “‘Eto plevok v litso,'” Radio Liberty, April 10, 2017, https://www.svoboda.org/a/28420655.html.

29 Seregin, “‘Nas gnobiat liudi, khorosho ustrovshiesia vo vlasti.’”


31 Seregin, “‘Nas gnobiat liudi, khorosho ustrovshiesia vo vlasti.’” The article features a picture of newlyweds visiting the museum.


33 Ibid.


36 Upon Putin’s initiative, Duma on December 19, 2018 requalified Article 282 as an administrative offence. In the case of repeated offense within one year, however, criminal charges do apply as before. Overall, the amendment can hardly be regarded as positive. As part of the Criminal Code, Article 282 set the statute of limitation at six years, that is to say, individuals could be liable for the information published online going back six years. The Administrative Code, however, incorporates the notion of lasting offense, which effectively eliminates statute of limitation as such. Amnesty International expressed its concern about the use of Article 282 as a means of suppression of the freedom of speech as early as 2008. Human rights advocates believe that in the aftermath of decriminalization of Article 282, its place will be taken by Article 205.2 (“justification of terrorism”). Cf. Vsevolod Boiko, “‘Sposoba soskochit net’: Kogo v Rossii sudiat za opravdanie terrorizma,” BBC Russian Service, March 6, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-47453121.

37 Koposov, Memory Laws, Memory Wars, 221.


41 Tatiana Volskaia, “Ekspertiza ne podoshla: Iz SPbGU uvolen odin iz luchshikh antropologov,” Radio Liberty, December 4, 2018, https://www.svoboda.org/a/29636369.html. Smolny College was founded in 1996 as Russia’s first true liberal arts school. Its founding dean, Nikolay Koposov, was in 2009 forced to resign and had since then—with the help from fellow academics—held numerous teaching appointments in Europe and North America.


46 Starinova, “Esli ia kogo-to nazyva podonkom, eto moe lichnoe mnenie.”


Notes

329


60 Report by Agora human rights group, “Russia against History: Revision Prosecuted.”


71 Ivan Beliaev, “‘Zhertvy budut mstit’: Lipetskii gubernator nashel prichiny provala Germanii,” Radio Liberty, June 29, 2018, https://www.svoboda.org/a/29327796.html. Cf. Vladimir Zhirovskii’s supporting the allegation of bias against the Russian team at the 2002 Winter Olympics at Salt Lake City: “This is a revenge for the 1945 victory.”

72 Voltskaia, “Pravo rassuzhdat o prichinakh voiny.”


79 See full text of Article 148 at http://ukodeksrf.ru/ch-2/rdz-7/gl-19/st-148-uk-rf. The Pussy Riot’s “punk prayer” inside the Moscow’s Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer on February 21, 2012 was the single event that prompted the June 2013 amendment. Yet, through 2019 only twenty-seven criminal cases under Article 148 have been opened, none of them resulting in imprisonment. As the Agora human rights group has concluded, Article 148 did not become the staple of political repression in recent years. See Natalia Dzanpoladova, “Ne instrument repressii: Kak sudiat za oskorblenie chustv veruiushchikh,” Radio Liberty, May 15, 2019, https://www.svoboda.org/a/29940416.html.


Notes

82 Cf. report by Agora human rights group, “Russia against History: Revision Prosecuted”; https://guides.files.bbc.co.uk/bbc-russian/Russia_vs_History.pdf.


114 This dilemma has been acknowledged also by VIO. Cf. Sokolov et al., “Kakoe proshloie nuzhno budushchemu Rossii,” 41–42.


116 For a comprehensive overview, see Mischa Gabowitsch, Protest in Putin’s Russia (Cambridge, MA: Polity, 2016). Since the publication of Gabowitsch’s book, the only significant, spontaneous protests in Russia—all of the nonpolitical, at least ostensibly—occurred in connection with the pension reform, a landfill crisis in Moscow region, a fire in a shopping center in Kemerovo, plans to build an Orthodox church in downtown Ekaterinburg, the arrest of an investigative journalist in Moscow, and the refusal to register independent candidates for the Moscow city council elections. Back in 2015, sociologist Lev Gudkov put the number of Russians who strive for democracy at 10 percent. See Lipskii, “Totalitarnyi dreif.” As of May 2019, less than one-quarter of the Russians still believe political protests are possible. See “‘Levada-tsentr’: Grazhdane Rossii stali schitat massovye protesty menee veroiatnymi,” Meduza, June 4, 2019, https://meduza.io/news/2019/06/04/levada-tsentr-grazhdane-rossii-stali-schitat-massovye-protesty-menee-veroyatnymi.


118 Vernikov, “‘Zdes muchali i ubivali liudei.’”

119 Sokolov, “Kak vlast upravliaet proshlym?”


121 According to speculations, political opposition can mobilize up to 40,000 supporters in Moscow at any given time. Extended to the whole of Russia, this is just a drop in the ocean. Cf. Volchek, “‘Za priianik my stali rabami’: Priznaniia ofitsera FSB.”


133 Krechetnikov, “Vse dla pobedy.”


Notes

Conclusion


3 For a different opinion see Pakhliuki, “Istoricheskoe proshloe kak osnovanie rossiiskoi politiki,” 12.


5 Statistically, among all the parties represented in the Duma, the communists and Zhirinovski’s Liberal Democrats evoke history most often. Despite its name, the present Communist Party advances a populist and nationalist agenda. Cf. Pakhliuki, “Istoricheskoe proshloe kak osnovanie rossiiskoi politiki,” 27.

6 Rykovtseva, “Patriarkh prodvigaet ‘ritualnoe ubiistvo’.”

7 Toymetsnev, “Legal but Criminal,” 315.


9 Cf. Gudkov, “1917 god”; Sokolov, “Putin luchshe Stalina?”


Notes


17 “Rekonstruktsia schastia: V Peterburge vossozdatut atmosferu Dnia Pobedy 1945-go goda.”

18 Cf. Sokolov et al., “Kakoe proshloe nuzhno budushchemu Rossii”; Surkov, “Dolgoe gosudarstvo Putina.”


22 Cf. statements by Vladimir Shapovalov, deputy head of the Institute of History and Politics at Moscow State Pedagogical University, and Vardan Bargasarian, head of the school of history, politics, and law at Moscow Region State University, RVIO, “Khartiia istorika: Istina vs Pravda.”


28 Quoted in RVIO, “Budushchie tamozhenniki uznaли o sposobakh borby s falsifikatsiei istorii,” May 29, 2019, https://rvio.histrf.ru/activities/news/item-6259. That same month Miagkov was awarded a decoration for his “services before the motherland,” the exact same award Chubarian had received two years earlier. Cf. a recent book, Globalnaia informatsionnaia voina protiv Rossii, published on behest of RVIO’s Medinskii.


32 Elena Tsunaeva, head of the Russian Search Movement, quoted in “Zasedanie orgkomiteta ‘Pobeda.’”