

FROM RUSSIA IN PROTEST

Open Letters  
from  
Russian Citizens Protesting the War in Ukraine  
Addressed to Vladimir Putin  
and to  
The Government of the Russian Federation

&

Personal Reactions of Prominent Russian Citizens  
At the Outset of the Invasion of Ukraine

with

An American Response

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## INTRODUCTION

Already in early February, as Vladimir Putin was massing troops and weaponry along the Ukrainian border, some citizens of the Russian Federation credited the regime's assertions that there would be no war. Others began releasing open letters protesting Putin's apparent hostile intentions. This effort intensified as war became real. This booklet contains a sample of such letters with a total of more than sixty thousand signatories who put their dissent in plain view of the whole world. In addition, it presents the personal reactions of more than twenty individual Russians elicited by the independent news service Meduza, now based in Riga. While the respondents quoted in our sample are quite prominent figures and well known to most Russians, we have included a short glossary to give the reader, who is likely to be less familiar with them, a sense of just who it is who is speaking out in protest.

In addition to the insight and courage the letters presented here required, most striking are the scale and the rapidity with which they were drafted, signed, and circulated along with the principled and pragmatic thrust they largely share. In a matter of days following indications that Russian forces might invade Ukraine and again immediately following the initial invasion, many dozens of letters were written, signed by tens of thousands of signatories, and given broad distribution directly on the Internet and through other public media. The solidarity and coordination in evidence offer hope for a future with a less combative and more democratic partnership.

It appears that Putin's legions were not expecting such a massive and articulate response. Putin's legislative collaborators quickly adopted statutes criminalizing reference to the war as "war" with penalties ranging up to fifteen years in prison for violations. The authors of many of the letters responded equally quickly, typically by substituting asterisks (\*\*\*) for the forbidden terms along with detailed reference to the regulatory authority responsible for enforcement (the RKN). We have left some of this language for readers to get a glimpse of how this worked. Readers of the documents reproduced here will have no more difficulty discerning the intended meaning implied by the asterisks than did their original Russian readers.

The letters speak for themselves. The reader is therefore encouraged to turn to them directly. They are, after all, the purpose of this little booklet. He or she may then return to this introduction for a bit more background.

As the reader has seen, or will see, each of the letters has, with few exceptions, been released and signed by one or another of an astonishing range of professional or other interest group: actors, scientists, geographers, mathematicians, rock climbers, retired military officers, literary critics, Russia's leading chess masters, IT specialists, psychologists & psychiatrists, music journalists, literary figures, Shakespeare scholars, Montessori teachers, poets, medical personnel -- doctors, nurses, and paramedics. And so on. It would be a challenge to come up with a profession that has not joined in the protest. At one point a single internet site contained links to 93 additional sites, each containing a letter. Many such sites have simply disappeared or been suppressed. Toward the end of this booklet, the reader will find a list of many such letters along with the number of signatories of each at the time they were observed.

What follows here in this introduction is a brief overview of the letters, largely devoted to a summary of the major themes which inspired them. This introduction is then followed by a section where the letters themselves are displayed. A subsequent section then offers just over twenty personal snapshots of the immediate reactions of prominent individual Russians to the launching of the war. As noted, these reactions were collected by the online news service Meduza. Following that there is a longer list of letters whose existence has been confirmed some of which are no longer available at their original sites together with specification of the numbers of signatories at the moment the site was visited. A sample of letters in the original Russian follows. An appendix identifies links to sites where the material presented here was sourced along with links to additional letters both in the original Russian and in translation. The

closing pages include the letter released on line responding to the Russian letters of protest and including the names of the Americans who had signed it as of July 2022.

All the letters included here, both in the original Russian and in translation, are available individually online at [FROM-RUSSIA-IN-PROTEST.COM](http://FROM-RUSSIA-IN-PROTEST.COM). The American response just mentioned, can be visited at [SLYSHIMVAS.COM](http://SLYSHIMVAS.COM) as well. Should you wish, you can add your own name to this collection at the first site mentioned above: [FROM-RUSSIA-IN-PROTEST.COM](http://FROM-RUSSIA-IN-PROTEST.COM).

It is astonishing that those who engineered the drafting of the letters and the recruitment of the signatories were able to do so with such speed and on such scale. Boris Shtern, an astrophysicist and one of the prime movers of the letter of scientists and science journalists, noted that they were able to gather over 8,000 signatures in little over a day. The rock climbers note that they were able to gather 1,000 in little over 24 hours. The IT specialists, in a matter of days, succeeded in gathering (on Facebook) the 37,000 signatures that appear on their letter. The alarm associated with the exodus from Russia of tens of thousands of IT specialists (alarm voiced early by Alexandr Sergeev, president of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in a public press conference) lends credence both to the startling numbers and to the important impact on Russian society and economy of the dissent.

This alacrity, the numbers, and the texts themselves suggest a vision shared among Russia's elites across virtually their entire spectrum. Never in Soviet times was there ever a comparably organized and copious expression of dissent. The means of communication and organization have of course evolved since the days of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, an evolution that may help even the balance between the autocrats with the guns and the opposition armed with words alone. Putin was able to secure a few letters, inconsequential by comparison, from educational administrators and a handful of scientists.

The scale and scope of the dissent expressed through these letters raises the question: How might this dissent shape the future of the war and the future after the war? There is, unfortunately, little that can be said with confidence on this subject other than that it's unlikely to make much difference in the short term. As Americans, we know from our own experience with the war in Viet Nam that even massive and unrepressed, open opposition to the war had less effect on its eventual termination than that of time and the facts on the ground in Viet Nam. Should the war be prolonged, it's likely that endemic resistance and other factors will come into play that increase the challenges the regime will face in resourcing its continuation as well as greater difficulty recruiting troops should it be necessary to introduce a national draft. In the longer term, assuming a weakening of the autocracy, the voices captured here show that Russian elites hold values and share a vision that may in time nourish a more humane government with a more convivial attitude toward the West and the rest of the world. (It should be noted that what is presented here is neither a complete picture of the letters of protest nor a representation of other forms Facebook, for example. Nor does it give any account of support for Putin.) In a powerful interview, cited later in full, *They Are Aware That They Fought for Nothing*, Dmitry Glukhovskiy, one of Russia's best-known authors, gives a deep look into many of these questions.

As the letters have been signed individually by members of one profession or another, they all display some sense of how the war and the resistance look from points of view shaped in part by their professional perspective. Thus, chess players refer to logic, geographers to landscape and climate, rock climbers to climbing with Ukrainian friends, mathematicians to the achievements of Russian mathematics. In the main, though, they point to the fruits of collaboration with foreign colleagues, Ukrainian colleagues in particular, and to the damage the war will visit on the potential for collaboration with associates from other countries.

Beyond such particularities, the letters emphasize three very specific common themes. First, they point to the lack of justification for the war, the absence of any rational motivation. Second, they express a sense of cross-border solidarity with the Ukrainian people in terms of family, friends, and professional

collaboration. And third, they stress the pain, suffering and other costs the war will inflict on the people of both Russia and Ukraine.

Consider these features one by one.

[Note: Our English text makes a distinction usually lost in English translations that is crucial both culturally and politically. Frequent confusion results from the common use of a single English word to translate two quite distinct Russian words. In our text we use \*Russian to render the Russian word *rossiskii* denoting citizenship of the \*Russian Federation or more generally to affairs of state as opposed to ethnic identity. Without the asterisk, the English translates a different Russian word that implies ethnic or cultural identity (that is, *russkii*). Use of the asterisk avoids the confusion and the misreading that can result from the fact that English uses just one word to capture two quite different Russian words. Thus, Tatars and Chechens may be \*Russian but not Russian. Some émigrés may be Russian but not \*Russian. Russian uses different words to speak of the \*Russian Federation on the one hand and of Pushkin as a Russian poet who used the Russian language on the other. The Federation is always referred to as \*Russian, that is, without ethnic implications. When the country is referred to as “Russia,” that is, not as the Federation, the reference carries ethnic implications. Without this distinction it is difficult to make sense of contemporary politics in the RF. Very briefly, there has been deep and bitter contest over whether the state and its representative citizens are *russkii* or *rossiskii* (Russian or \*Russian) and whether the federation is, or should be, a nation state or a collection or equally entitled citizens of different ethnicities. The use of one or the other words in different contexts speaks volumes about the attitude of the speaker. We have seen over the last two decades increasing use by Putin (and many others) of the ethnic term, a shift that marks an increasing appeal to Russian nationalism as a justification for the authority to govern, among other things. In the texts presented here there is heavy use of \*Russian, bespeaking a broad and inclusive vision of society. (The distinction made here is roughly akin to that occasionally made in English by linguists and anthropologists to distinguish “Lettish” from “Latvian”).

[Note on translations: Many of the letters were accompanied by original translations. In a few cases the translator was identified. In most, however, there was no such indication. In some cases it was clear that the translation had been done by an automated facility. Only in the rare cases where the message was obscured have the original translations been modified. The personal reactions were all translated by the editor as explained later.]

### **1) *Absence of rational justification***

The most prominent theme in the letters is the charge that Putin’s invasion lacks legitimate purpose, rationale, or motivation. The authors in the main refuse to credit any arguments for the need to de-Nazify Ukraine. The issue of NATO is raised just once, by General Ivashov, speaking for the Association of Retired Officers, and then only to reject the notion that NATO constitutes a threat to Russia.

The Congress of \*Russian Intelligentsia framed their response this way:

“Such a war is devoid of legitimacy.” “Russia does not need a war with Ukraine and the West. No one is threatening us, no one is attacking us.”

The letter of \*Russian Scientists and Science Journalists put it this way: “There is no rational justification for this war.” “Attempts to use the situation in Donbas as a pretext for launching a military operation inspire no confidence. It is clear that Ukraine does not pose a threat to our country.”

Russian mathematicians noted that “Our long-standing efforts to strengthen the reputation of Russia as a leading mathematical centre have been completely devalued in consequence of *unprovoked military aggression* initiated by our country.” “The responsibility for unleashing a new war in Europe lies entirely with Russia.” [All emphasis added, here and below.]

General Leonid Ivashov, writing on behalf of the Association of Retired Officers, says of external threats, that “they, of course, exist. But, in our expert opinion, today, they are not critical; they do not directly threaten the existence the \*Russian state or its vital interests. Overall, strategic stability prevails, nuclear weapons are under reliable control, the NATO powers are not expanding, and they are not engaging in any threatening behavior.”

[Note: General Ivashov’s background lends weight to his observations. He is no friend of Western democracy, of the US, or of NATO. He is best known in the West for his role in the standoff at the Pristina airport in June 1999, when Russian forces attempted to deny access to NATO troops in the aftermath of the war in Kosovo. Within Russia he is regarded as a hardline Stalinist nationalist. His nationalism runs along Eurasian lines, in keeping with old Soviet imperial ambitions. Of all signatories, he is probably the one most intimately familiar with the facts, the Russian players and their ambitions, and the rules of the game.]

The Rock Climbers of Russia put it quite simply: “We don't want this war ... it is horrific and repulsive, *without justification*” [Emphasis added] while the cameramen observed that “the goals announced for the “operation” fail categorically to align with reality.”

Curiously, faced with the absence of any motivation or provocation, of the letters reviewed only one, that of the Retired Officers, speculates as to the possible motivation for the launch of the war. The response is curious, particularly in light of its authorship.

“The question arises: *What is the real purpose of provoking tension to the brink of war and the possible unleashing of large-scale hostilities.* ... In our opinion, the leadership of the country -- realizing that it is unable to lead the country out of its systemic crisis, which could lead to the uprising of the people leading to a power shift in the country -- with the support of the oligarchy, corrupt officialdom, feted media and security forces -- has decided to activate a political line for the destruction of Russian statehood and the extermination of the native population.... the war is the means to solve this problem in order to keep their anti-national power for a while, and to preserve the wealth looted from the people. We cannot entertain any other explanation.”

## **2) *The sense of cross-border or international solidarity***

It is not surprising that those opposing the war should share a sense of identity that reaches across borders. They are more likely than others to have colleagues in Ukraine or to have traveled there. Judging from the letters this seems to be the case.

Listen to the voices of the scientists and of science journalists:

“Having unleashed the war, Russia has doomed itself to international isolation, to the position of an outcast. This means that we, scientists, will no longer be able to do our job normally; after all, conducting scientific research is unthinkable without full cooperation with colleagues from other countries. The isolation of Russia from the world means further cultural and technological degradation of our country with the complete absence of positive prospects.”

And to those of the mathematicians:

“We, mathematicians working in the \*Russian Federation, strongly protest the military invasion of Ukraine launched by the \*Russian army on February 24, 2022.”

...[Our] goals, of course, cannot be achieved in the current condition, when the lives of our closest colleagues – scientists in Ukraine, with whom we have been connected by many years of successful joint work, are daily exposed to danger ... and when Russia finds itself in isolation, without the possibility of intensive scientific exchange and cooperation with scientists from other countries.”

The voices of the geographers are particularly poignant:

“We want to live under a peaceful sky, in a country that's open to the world and in a world that's open to our country, to continue our research for peace and for the well-being of all humanity. Hostile actions must cease immediately”. And --

“Hostilities render meaningless our long-standing efforts as geographers and other specialists to preserve our landscape, our efforts to cope with climate change, efforts to create special wild-life reserves, and the efforts to understand and promote the development of the economies of both Russia and Ukraine.” And

“We cannot turn away from our mission to advance the peaceful and harmonious growth of our country, from her integration into the world economy.”

The Rock Climbers sound similar notes:

“In our sport, borders and countries don't separate us. We scale the same rocks. We meet friends from all over the world. We entrust our lives to each other, even when we can't speak the same language. At events we cheer for our own ... then we cheer for the others. “

The medical profession likewise asserts solidarity across borders:

“Today the hearts of peaceful citizens are aching. ... On the territory where the “special operation” is being conducted are our dear ones, our friends, our patients, our colleagues.”

The chess masters add this note:

“In these days we are thinking of all those who find themselves at the center of this terrifying conflict. We share the pain of our Ukrainian colleagues and call for peace.”

### **3) *The pain, suffering, and costs of the war for both Ukraine and Russia***

The voices of the chess masters and the mathematicians are almost interchangeable:

“We rise to oppose the military actions on the territory of Ukraine and call for the most rapid possible cease-fire.... It is unbearably painful to witness the catastrophe befalling our peoples today.” [Chess Masters]

“[Our] goals, of course, cannot be achieved in the current condition, when the lives of our closest colleagues – scientists in Ukraine, with whom we have been connected by many years of successful joint work, are daily exposed to danger” and “We are convinced that no geopolitical interests can justify casualties and bloodshed.” [Mathematicians]

The members of the \*Russian Congress of Intelligentsia observe that “... the price -- the huge bloody price -- will be paid by the common Russian people.”

The doctors, nurses, and paramedics contribute painfully to this narrative:

“We, \*Russian doctors, nurses, and paramedics, stand forth decisively for (deleted in accordance with the demands of the RKN/Censor, the Codex of Administrative Crimes, the Criminal Code of the RF) ...) “Any grenade, any bullet, even one which fails to reach its target or to kill, brings fear, panic, and pain, seizing the heart. Today the hearts of peaceful citizens are aching. ... On the territory where the special operation is being conducted are our dear ones, our friends, our patients, our colleagues.

Among them is not a single individual whom the action of [deleted at the demand of the RKN...] would benefit. We cannot stand back from the pain and sufferings which every minute in this world are multiplying. “ And

“Whatever positive ends one might invoke in seeking to justify this use of deadly weapons, those weapons remain deadly. Deadly, painful, and merciless.”

“Therefore, in keeping with our oath and to preserve humane and equitable regard for all lives, we demand an immediate halt to all use of deadly weapons.”

The Chess Masters look to future costs: “It matters not how one seeks to justify the invasion by \*Russian troops, all \*Russians and future generations will bear its costs.”

Psychologists and psychiatrists assert deep historical echoes: “War is concentrated destruction that weighs on the human psyche: total insecurity, uncertainty, and helplessness, and the loss of close ones. This is axiomatic not only for specialists but for all those living in our country who know its history.” And

“The pandemic of coercion has already inflicted a deep wound. The collective trauma of this February will long weigh on the relations between our two countries and those close. Already it will take colossal effort to restore what has been destroyed.”

“It is he who has initiated the coercion who must call a halt. Stop the War.”

Distress at Russia as the source of the trauma of war was expressed most recently and most vividly by Dmitry Muratov, who, as editor of *Novaya Gazeta*, long, courageously and cunningly, managed to continue to fortify Russian citizens’ grasp of the truth of what was happening in Ukraine. Best known to Western audiences as the recipient of the 2021 Nobel Prize for Peace, Muratov commented recently:

“It’s impossible to live as you lived before when the bombers and artillery of your own country are nearby demolishing the cities of a foreign country,” (Interview with *The Washington Post* reported by Paul Sonne and Mary Ilyushina, March 22.)

The mathematicians echo this line of thought:

“...[Our] goals , of course, cannot be achieved in the current condition, when the lives of our closest colleagues, scientists in Ukraine, are daily exposed to danger, the source of which is the Russian army.”

Add to these the voices of the retired officers:

“A great war is a huge tragedy, someone’s heavy crime. As it happens, at the center of this impending catastrophe is Russia.”

## THE LETTERS

### ***\*Russian Historians Oppose \*Russian Military Operations in Ukraine***

We, \*Russian historians -- scholars, instructors, students, graduate students, and graduates of history departments – unambiguously protest the hostile actions which Russian armed forces are now executing on the sovereign territory of Ukraine.

The entire experience of the twentieth century tells us that wars end in catastrophe for all participants. The use of weapons leads to victims among the peaceful population, to the destruction of homes and communication systems, and, as a result, to humanitarian catastrophe. People leave their homes and turn into refugees. Important economic, cultural, and personal bonds are disrupted. War destroys our most valued monuments of the past, monuments we have committed to preserving for our descendants. On the territory of Ukraine we find such monuments of world heritage as the Church of St. Sophia, and the Golden Gates of Kiev, the Pyatnitsky Church of Chernihiv, and more.

Ukraine has been and remains for Russia a genuinely brotherly country, bound to us by ties of family, friendship, profession, and shared historical experience. We speak of our nations' triumph at the time of the Great Patriotic War. Our ancestors fought that we – their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren – might never be touched by war.

In the future we will have to answer to our children and grandchildren as for the reason for the catastrophe unfolding before our eyes. All of us, all \*Russian society will have the enormous task of acknowledging our responsibility for these events.

We demand an immediate halt to this war.

### ***Open Letter from Cameramen Protesting the War with Ukraine***

We \*Russian camera operators are opposed to the military aggression with respect to Ukraine. We demand a cease-fire and the withdrawal of troops from her territory. On February 24, 2022 the \*Russian Federation unleashed a war with Ukraine. No geopolitical presumptions, no formal goals are worth human lives – and no propaganda should persuade you to the contrary. The goals announced for the “operation” fail categorically to align with reality: the war is being conducted across the entire territory of Ukraine, people are dying, leaving their homes, and spending their nights in bomb shelters. How is it possible, in concrete terms, to justify this? For the sake of what grand goals are Ukrainians learning to distinguish the sounds of a mine from those of a hail of bullets, the sound of a howitzer from that of the “Tornado”? In the world of real people there is no such goal. This so-called “operation” will for many decades isolate Russia from the rest of the world, cast her beyond the pale of civilized international space, lead to disastrous economic outcomes, and cover us and our children with shame – and this we deserve. We have not done enough to prevent this war, but we do not want it.

We demand that war with Ukraine be brought to a halt.

***Petition of the Yabloko Party***  
***No to \*\*\****  
***Collection of Signatures***

Yabloko began to collect signatures in opposition to the \*\*\* on February 13. In the course of the ten days remaining before the \*\*\* of Ukraine by Russia we were able to collect more than 22 thousand signatures from citizens of the \*Russian Federation and are still continuing to collect them now as the \*\*\* action on foreign soil has begun.

We will do all that is in our power to bring the \*\*\* to a halt and to achieve peace between our countries. Join us. Distribute the link to this petition on your social networks and your correspondents. Come out against \*\*\* wherever you can.

No to \*\*\*  
For Peace

*The (following) petition was published on February 13, 2022*

The \*\*\* with Ukraine, which Putin launched, will bring grief to people, destroy families, and destroy thousands of lives. In this \*\*\* there will be no victory. Any outcome will be a catastrophe for Russia. Life in our country -- health and education -- will deteriorate. Housing will become more unaffordable, the ruble will depreciate, prices will inflate.

Russia will find herself fully isolated, all her international ties will be destroyed. Russia will become an outcast.

A new round of arms war will start up and the Cold \*\*\* will heat up – all that led to the breakup of the USSR, the likelihood of world \*\*\* will rise sharply.

And most important – on both sides of the Russian-Ukrainian border there will be graves and funerals, the grief of mothers, wives, children! And this will never be set right.

Each of us, each of us carries the full responsibility to avoid such an outcome.

No to \*\*\* with Ukraine.

***Letter of Students and Faculty of Moscow State University***  
***Protesting the War***

We -- students, doctoral candidates, instructors, research collaborators and graduates of the oldest Russian university, Moscow Lomonosov State University – categorically condemn the war which our country has unleashed in Ukraine.

Russia and our parents have given us a strong foundation whose true value rests with the ability to evaluate critically contemporary events, to weigh arguments, to listen to each other, and to be devoted to truth – scientific truth and humanitarian truth. We know how to call things by their true names and we cannot stand on the sidelines.

The actions taken in the name of the \*Russian Federation, actions which its leaders are calling “a special military operation”, are war, and in this situation there is no room for euphemisms nor for efforts at justification. War is violence, cruelty, death, the loss of loved ones, impotence, and fear, which cannot be

justified by any goal. War is dehumanization, which, as we learned in school and at our university, should never be repeated for any reason. The values of the absolute of human life, of humanism, of diplomacy, of peaceful settling of differences on which we were nurtured at the university have been trampled and discarded in a single moment when Russia faithlessly invaded the territory of Ukraine. The lives of millions of Ukrainians have been threatened hour by hour since the invasion of Ukraine by the military forces of the \*Russian Federation.

We express our support for the people of Ukraine and categorically condemn the war which Russia has unleashed against Ukraine.

As graduates of the oldest institution of higher learning of Russia we know that the losses inflicted in the course of six days of blood-shedding war – first and foremost human losses, but also social, economic, and cultural losses – are irreplaceable. We know, too, that war is a humanitarian catastrophe, that we cannot imagine the depth of the wound that we, the people of Russia, are inflicting on the people of Ukraine as well as on ourselves at this very moment.

We demand of the leaders of Russia to cease fire immediately, to leave the territory of the sovereign state of Ukraine and to bring this shameful war to a halt.

We ask all the citizens of Russia who are not indifferent to her future to join in the movement of those on the side of peace.

We Are Against War.  
#netvoine

***Letter from Music Journalists of Russia  
to Vladimir Putin, President of the \*Russian Federation, and to All Plenipotentiary Persons***

We, music journalists of Russia, are opposed to war with Ukraine. We demand an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of \*Russian troops from its territory. On February 24, 2020 troops of the \*Russian Federation invaded Ukraine. This has been confirmed by many witnesses with different perspectives. Most importantly, this is confirmed by living people, our friends, relatives, and colleagues across the whole of Ukraine, with whom we are in contact and who are at the moment subject to shelling.

State television in Russia speaks of “the conduct of a military operation conducted for the liberation of the Donetsk and Luhansk Republics”, however bloody battles are being conducted across the entire territory of Ukraine. And as homes are blown apart, thousands of people perish, while children shiver alongside their elders in cellars – this is not a “special peacekeeping operation” but the very essence of war. War against our closest neighbors. Death, grief, and destruction.

Our present and our future are being taken from us. Not only our work – to write or think of music at this moment is not possible – but our future in the broadest sense. The future of Russia as a political entity, is being taken from us, as is our collaboration not only with Ukraine but with all the rest of the world.

These events will have horrific consequences, not only for Ukraine but for Russia as well, which for many years will find itself in cultural, economic, and political isolation. The degradation of all walks of life, the impoverishment of our population, and the growing cruelty of our political regime – everything we are experiencing today – will assert itself with new strength. But above all, ordinary Ukrainians will never forget, and will never forgive us for this war.

We are opposed to this criminal and fratricidal war. Before it's too late, we call upon the leadership of our country and all thoughtful citizens of Russia to bring this nightmare to an end.

***Open Letter of the Rock Climbers of Russia Against the War in Ukraine***

In our sport age does not divide us. Children, adults and elderly people train and climb together. Children grow up next to their elders, and old people grow younger next to children.

In our sport achievements do not separate us. World champions and beginners climb in the same gyms. We belay each other, we cheer for each other, we are friends. We don't really care who's better in sport.

In our sport international borders do not separate us. We climb the same rocks. We meet friends from all over the world. We entrust our lives to each other, even if we can't speak the same language. We understand each other without words, by sign language. We cheer for our athletes at competitions, and immediately after that we cheer for athletes from other countries.

We have the best sport and the best people, the best relationships without borders.

But today the war divides us. It is impossible to look at it and it is impossible to look away. We do not want this war, it is terrible and repulsive, there is no excuse for it. The attack on Ukraine poisons the soul and breaks the heart. It poisons our sport and breaks our dreams. We demand an end to this war.

***An Open Letter to the President of the \*Russian Federation from Russian Doctors, Nurses and Paramedics with a Demand to [deleted at the request of the \*Russian Supervisory Committee, the Administrative Code of the \*Russian Federation, the Criminal Code of the \*Russian Federation] on the Territory of Ukraine.***

We, \*Russian doctors, nurses and paramedics, strongly [text here deleted at the request of the \*Russian Supervisory Committee, the Administrative Code of the \*Russian Federation, the Criminal Code of the \*Russian Federation] carried out by \*Russian armed [have deleted at the request of the \*Russian Supervisory Committee, the Administrative Code of the \*Russian Federation, the Criminal Code of the \*Russian Federation]. We are not looking for the guilty and we do not judge anyone. Our mission is to save human lives. It is difficult to imagine a profession more humane than that of a doctor. And now, at this difficult time for both countries, we call for the immediate cessation of hostilities and for the resolution of all political issues exclusively by peaceful means.

As always, we do not divide people into friends and foes. We swore to help any human, regardless of nationality, religion or political views. But today our help is not enough. The war will take many lives and cripple so many destinies that we will not have time to help despite all possible efforts. Everyone will scream in pain and cry out to mothers in the same language. Any projectile or bullet, even if it does not reach its target and does not take someone's life, still brings fear, panic and pain. Pain which seizes hearts. Everyone's heart is hurting now. Civilians'. Soldiers'. Soldiers' mothers' and wives'. Children's. Nobody deserves this fear. Nobody deserves to be killed or injured. Accidentally or intentionally.

Our relatives, friends, patients and colleagues are located in the attacked territories. There is not a single person among them who would benefit [deleted at the request of the \*Russian Supervisory

Committee, the Administrative Code of the \*Russian Federation, the Criminal Code of the \*Russian Federation]. We cannot stay away from pain and suffering, which are increasing every minute.

Human life is priceless. It takes but a moment to be killed in action, while the treatment and recovery of the victims can take years. And for the moments of today's war, we will pay for many years thereafter. No matter how the use of lethal weapons is justified, they remain deadly. Deadly, causing pain and suffering. Therefore, following our oaths and maintaining a humane and equal treatment of all lives, we demand an immediate suspension of all operations with the use of lethal weapons.

***Geographers Against Military Action in Ukraine  
Addressed to President of the \*Russian Federation Vladimir Putin***

We, as citizens of the \*Russian Federation, geographers, instructors, scholars, students, doctoral candidates, and graduates, who have signed this letter, recognizing our responsibility for the destiny of our country, stand forth in categorical opposition to the military actions against the territory of the sovereign state of Ukraine and demand immediate cease-fire by all sides and the withdrawal of all \*Russian troops to \*Russian territory. We find it amoral to remain silent when every day and every hour people are dying as a result of military actions. Hostile actions threaten such vulnerable sites as the Chernobyl Atomic Energy Plant, hydrostations on the Dniepr, and the unique biospheric reservations of Ukraine. In the twenty-first century it is unacceptable to seek solutions with weapons in hand. All disagreements within Ukraine and between our two countries must be settled by way of negotiation. It matters not how one might seek to justify the invasion by \*Russian troops, \*Russian citizens and future generations of residents of Russia will pay.

The Military operations render senseless the efforts over many years of geographers and other specialists to preserve our landscapes and to cope with climate change, to preserve natural territories, and to engage in the analysis and planning of the peaceful territorial development of the \*Russian and Ukrainian economies and their cross-border collaboration. We cannot stand back from our mission to continue the peaceful and harmonious development of our country and its integration into the world economy.

We want to live under a peaceful sky, in a country open to the world and in a world open to our country, to continue scientific research for the sake of peace and for the well-being of our country and all humanity.

Military actions must come to an immediate halt.

***Letter of Mathematicians against War  
To the President of the \*Russian Federation V. V. Putin***

*Mr. President!*

We, mathematicians working in the \*Russian Federation, strongly protest the military invasion of the territory of Ukraine launched by the \*Russian army on February 24, 2022.

The standard of living in a country and its position in the world are largely determined by the level of its science. Scientists around the world are working on problems that have no national and territorial restrictions, for the well-being of all mankind. International cooperation, border-free dissemination of knowledge, and humanistic values are the foundation on which science is built. Our long-standing efforts to strengthen the reputation of Russia as a leading mathematical center have been completely devalued in consequence of unprovoked military aggression initiated by our country.

Mathematics has always been one of the few areas of fundamental science in which Russia has maintained a leading world position. As confirmation of this, Russia was supposed to host the most prestigious mathematical conference in the world, the International Congress of Mathematicians, in the summer of 2022. The International Mathematical Union cancelled this decision in connection with the Russia's attack on Ukraine. In a situation where our country has become a military aggressor and, as a result, a rogue state, Russia's leading positions in world mathematics will be irretrievably lost.

In the orders of the President of December 4, 2020, mathematics was named a priority area for the development of the \*Russian Federation; goals were identified both in the field of fundamental science and in education. These goals, of course, cannot be achieved in the current conditions, when the lives of our closest colleagues – scientists in Ukraine, with whom we have been connected by many years of successful joint work – are daily exposed to danger, the source of which is the \*Russian army, and when Russia has found itself in international isolation, without the possibility of intensive scientific exchange and cooperation with scientists from other countries.

We are convinced that no geopolitical interests can justify casualties and bloodshed. War will only make the country lose its future, for which we work.

We demand an immediate cessation of military actions and the withdrawal of \*Russian troops from the territory of Ukraine.

***Open Letter from \*Russian Scientists and Science Journalists  
In Protest of the War***

We, \*Russian scientists and science journalists, strongly protest the hostilities launched by the armed forces of our country on the territory of Ukraine. This fatal step leads to huge human losses and undermines the foundations of the established system of international security. The responsibility for unleashing a new war in Europe lies entirely with Russia.

There is no rational justification for this war. Attempts to use the situation in Donbas as a pretext for launching a military operation inspire no confidence. It is clear that Ukraine does not pose a threat to the security of our country. The war against her is unfair and frankly senseless.

Ukraine has been and remains a country close to us. Many of us have relatives, friends and scientific colleagues living in Ukraine. Our fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers fought together against Nazism. Unleashing a war for the sake of the geopolitical ambitions of the leadership of the \*Russian Federation, driven by dubious historiosophical fantasies, is a cynical betrayal of their memory.

We respect Ukrainian statehood, which rests on genuine democratic institutions. We treat the European choice of our neighbors with understanding. We are convinced that all problems in relations between our countries can be resolved peacefully.

***An Open Letter from the \*Russian Congress of Intellectuals  
To the \*Russian Leadership, February 4, 2022***

Our position is simple: Russia does not need a war with Ukraine and the West. Such a war is devoid of legitimacy and has no moral basis. Russian citizens are becoming de facto hostages of a reckless adventurism that has come to typify Russia's foreign policy. Not only must Russians live with the uncertainty of whether a large-scale war will begin, but they are also experiencing a sharp rise in prices and a devaluation of their currency. Is this the sort of policy \*Russians need? Do they want war—and are they ready to bear the brunt of it? Have they authorized the authorities to play with their lives in this way? But no one asks \*Russian citizens for their opinion. There is no public debate. State television presents only a single point of view — that of the warmongers. Direct military threats, aggression and hatred are aimed at Ukraine, the US, and the West. But the most dangerous thing is that the war is being depicted not only as permissible, but as inevitable. This is an attempt to deceive the population, to impose upon them the idea of waging a crusade against the West, rather than investing in the country's development and improving living standards. The cost of the conflict is never discussed, but the price—the huge, bloody price—will be paid by the common Russian people.

We, responsible citizens and patriots of Russia, appeal to Russia's political leadership. We openly and publicly call out the Party of War that has been formed within the government.

We represent the viewpoint of those in \*Russian society who reject war, who consider unlawful the use of military threats and the deployment of a blackmailing style in foreign policy.

We reject war, whereas you, the Party of War, consider it acceptable. We stand for peace and prosperity for all \*Russian citizens, whereas you put our lives on the line for the sake of political games. You deceive and manipulate people, whereas we tell them the truth. You do not speak in the name of the \*Russian population—we do. For decades, the \*Russian people, who lost millions of lives in past wars, have lived by the saying: “if only there were no war.” Have you forgotten this?

Our position is quite simple. Russia does not need a war with Ukraine and the West. No one is threatening us, no one is attacking us. Policies based on the idea of such a war are immoral and irresponsible and must not be conducted in the name of the Russian people. Such a war is devoid of legitimacy and has no moral basis. \*Russian diplomacy should take no other position than a categorical rejection of such a war.

Not only does such a war not reflect Russia's interests, but it also threatens the country's very existence. The senseless actions of the country's political leadership, which is pushing us in this direction, will inevitably lead to a mass anti-war movement in Russia. Each of us will naturally play a part in it.

We will do everything in our power to prevent this war, and if it begins, to stop it.

Signed,

Lev Ponomaryov, human rights activist  
Valery Borshchev, human rights activist  
Svetlana Gannushkina, human rights activist  
Leonid Gozman, politician  
Liya Akhedzhakova, actress and People's Artist of the Russian Federation  
Andrey Makarevich, musician  
Garri Bardin, director  
Viktor Shenderovich, writer  
Tatiana Lazareva, TV presenter  
Andrey Zubov, historian and politician  
Andrey Nechaev, politician  
Alina Vitukhnovskaya, writer  
Alexander Belavin, physicist  
Nikolai Rozanov, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences  
Natalia Evdokimova, executive secretary of the Human Rights Council of St. Petersburg  
Efim Khazanov, academician of the \*Russian Academy of Sciences

Ilya Ginzburg, physicist and professor  
Zoya Svetova, journalist  
Grigory Yavlinsky, politician  
Lev Shlosberg, politician  
Boris Vishnevsky, politician  
Lev Gudkov, sociologist and professor  
Igor Chubais, philosopher  
Tatyana Voltskaya, poet and journalist  
Boris Sokolov, historian and writer  
Mikhail Krieger, civic activist  
Veronika Dolina, poet  
Vladimir Mirzoev, director  
Ksenia Larina, journalist  
Andrey Piontkovsky, publicist  
Mark Urnov, Professor, National Research University Higher School of Economics  
Mikhail Lavrenov, writer  
Nikolai Prokudin, writer  
Elena Fanailova, poet and journalist  
Grigory Mikhnov-Vaytenko, clergyman  
Lev Levinson, human rights activist  
Sergei Germann, member of the Writer's Union of Russia  
Vladimir Alex, civil activist  
Yuri Gimmelfarb, journalist  
Yuri Samodurov, human rights activist  
Evgeniy Tsymbal, civil activist  
Vitaly Dixon, writer  
Natalya Mavlevich, translator  
Ashraf Fattakhov, lawyer  
Viktor Yunak, writer  
Valeria Prikhodkina, human rights activist  
Elena Grigorieva, children's poet  
Vera Shabelnikova, editor  
Mair Makhaev, philosopher and linguist  
Grigory Amnuel, producer, director, publicist, and politician.  
Sergei Krivenko, human rights activist  
Yaroslav Nikitenko, environmental and civil activist and scientist  
Tatyana Yankelevich Bonner, human rights activist  
Nikita Sokolov, historian  
Anatoly Golubovsky, historian  
Nikolai Rekubratsky, researcher  
Vitold Abankin, human rights activist  
Elena Bukvareva, doctor of biological sciences  
Igor Toporkov, human rights activist  
Evgeniy Kalakin, director  
Liudmila Alpern, human rights activist  
Nina Caterly, writer  
Vladimir Zalishchak, municipal deputy  
Olga Mazurova, doctor  
Oleg Motkov, director  
Natalya Pakhsaryan, professor at Moscow State University  
Elena Volkova, philologist and culturologist  
Valery Otvavnykh, director and journalist  
Georgy Karetnikov, civil activist

Marina Boroditskaya, writer  
Sergey Lutsenko, animation supervisor  
Alexey Diveev, programmer  
Tatyana Vorozheykina, lecturer at the Free University of Moscow  
Tatyana Kotlyar, human rights activist  
Anatoly Barmin, pharmacist  
Valentin Skvortsov, professor at Moscow State University  
Lev Ingel, physicist  
Mikhail Mints, historian  
Leonid Chubarov, professor  
Katya-Anna Taguti, artist  
Elena Efros, civil activist  
Anna Shapiro, director  
Tatyana Dorutina, member of the Human Rights Council of St.Petersburg  
Arkady Konikov, programmer  
Sergei Pechenkin, civil activist  
Anatoly Razumov, historian  
Alexander Sannikov, colonel of the Russian Armed Forces (ret'd)  
Anatoly Tsirlin, professor  
Karen Hakobyan, professor

The \*Russian Congress of Intellectuals is a civil society group comprising scientists, academics, politicians, writers, journalists, and human rights advocates.

***Address of the All-\*Russian Officers' Assembly  
To the President and Citizens of the \*Russian Federation  
About the Situation in Ukraine.***

This is the actual address of the All-\*Russian Officers Assembly President Colonel General Leonid Ivashov.

Today mankind lives in expectation of war. But war is the inevitable loss of human life, destruction, suffering of large masses of people, the disruption of habitual ways of life, the destruction of the ways of life of nations and peoples. A great war is a huge tragedy, someone's heavy crime. It so happens that at the center of this impending catastrophe is Russia. And, perhaps, for the first time in her history.

Previously, Russia (the USSR) has been compelled to wage war (justly) and as a rule when there was no alternative, when the vital interests of the state and society were at risk.

And what today threatens the existence of Russia itself? And are there such threats? It can be argued that there are indeed threats - the country is on the verge of coming to the end of its history. All vital spheres, including demography, are steadily deteriorating, and the rate of population decline is breaking world records. And the deterioration is systemic in nature, and in any complex system, the loss of one of the elements can lead to the collapse of the entire system.

And this, in our opinion, is the main threat to the \*Russian Federation. But it is an internal threat, coming from the model of the state, the quality of government, and the state of society. And the reasons for its formation are internal: the unviable state model, complete incompetence and the lack of professionalism of the system of government and administration, passivity and disorganization of society. No country will long survive under such conditions.

As for external threats, they certainly exist. But according to our expert assessment, they are not critical today, nor do they directly threaten the existence of \*Russian statehood or its vital interests. On the whole, strategic stability prevails, nuclear weapons are under reliable control, NATO force groupings are not building up, nor do they present any threatening action.

Therefore, the situation around Ukraine is primarily artificial and self-serving in nature for certain internal forces, including the \*Russian Federation. As a result of the breakup of the USSR, in which Russia (Yeltsin) played a decisive role, Ukraine became an independent state, a member of the UN, and in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter has the right to individual and collective defense.

The leadership of the RF has not yet recognized the results of the referendum on the independence of the DNR and LNR, and has repeatedly emphasized at official levels, including the Minsk negotiations, that their territories and population belong to Ukraine.

It also repeatedly stated at high levels that it wishes to maintain normal relations with Kiev without singling out the DPR and LPR for special relations.

The issue of genocide on the part of Kiev in the south-eastern regions was never raised either at the UN or at the OSCE. Naturally, for Ukraine to remain a neighbor friendly to Russia, it was necessary for Russia to demonstrate for Ukraine the attractiveness of the \*Russian state model and its system of governance.

But the RF's model of development and its foreign policy mechanism for international cooperation repel practically all its neighbors, and not only.

Russia's acquisition of Crimea and Sevastopol and the international community's failure to recognize them as \*Russian (which means the vast majority of the world's states still consider them as belonging to

Ukraine) convincingly show the lack of substance of \*Russian foreign policy, and the unattractiveness of its domestic policy.

Attempts through ultimatums and threats of force to make people "love" the \*Russian Federation and its leadership are pointless and extremely dangerous.

The use of military force against Ukraine, first, will bring into question the existence of Russia itself as a state. Second, it will make Russians and Ukrainians mortal enemies forever. Thirdly, on both sides there will be thousands (tens of thousands) of young, healthy young men killed on one side and on the other, which will certainly be reflected in the future demographic situation of our fading countries. On the battlefield, if turns out this way, the \*Russian troops will face not only Ukrainian soldiers, among whom there will be many young Russian fellows, but also soldiers and equipment of many NATO countries, and the member states of the alliance will be obliged to declare war on Russia.

The President of the Republic of Turkey, R. Erdogan, has clearly stated on whose side Turkey will fight. And we can assume that Turkey's two field armies and navy will be ordered to "liberate" Crimea and Sevastopol and possibly invade the Caucasus.

In addition, Russia will be unambiguously listed in the category of countries threatening peace and international security, subject to the heaviest sanctions, will become an outcast of the international community, and will probably be deprived of the status of an independent state.

The president, the government, and the Ministry of Defense cannot fail to understand such consequences; they are not that stupid.

The question arises: what are the real purposes of provoking tension to the brink of war and of the possible unleashing of large-scale hostilities? The fact that there will be such a war is clear from the number and composition of the troops formed by both sides - at least 100,000 servicemen from each side. Russia, exposing its eastern borders, is redeploying units to the borders of Ukraine.

In our opinion, the leadership of the country, realizing that it is incapable of leading the country out of the systemic crisis, one which could lead to an uprising of the people and a change of governance in the country, has, with the support of the oligarchy, corrupt officialdom, feted media, and security forces, decided to activate a political line for the final destruction of \*Russian statehood and the extermination of the its population.

And the war is the means to solve this problem in order to keep their anti-national power for a while, and to preserve the wealth looted from the people. We cannot entertain any alternative explanation.

We, the officers of Russia, demand that the President of the \*Russian Federation, renounce his criminal policy of provoking war, in which the \*RF would stand alone against the united forces of the West, create the conditions for the realization in practice of Article 3 of the Constitution of the \*Russian Federation, and resign from office.

We appeal to all reserve and retired servicemen and to citizens of Russia to be vigilant and organized, to support the demands of the Council of the All-Russian Officers' Assembly, to actively oppose propaganda and the unleashing of war, to prevent an internal civil conflict with the use of military force.

Chairman of the All-Russian Officers' Assembly Colonel General L. G. Ivashov.  
January 28, 2022.

The Chairman of the All-Russian Officers' Assembly Colonel General L. G. Ivashov appeared with this Declaration in regard to the public reaction to the Declaration All-Russian Officers' Assembly

***Open Letter from Representatives of the \*Russian IT Industry  
Against the Military Operation on the Territory of Ukraine***

We, employees of the \*Russian IT industry, are categorically opposed to the military actions on the territory of Ukraine initiated by the armed forces of the \*Russian Federation.

We consider any manifestation of force that leads to the outbreak of war unjustified and call for the cancellation of decisions that will inevitably entail human casualties on each side. Our countries have always been close to each other. And today we are concerned for our Ukrainian colleagues, friends, and relatives. We are distressed and morally oppressed by what is happening in the cities of Ukraine now.

In our work we make the best products, provide the best service. We sincerely do everything to make it possible to be proud of \*Russian IT solutions. We want our country to be associated not with war, but with peace and progress.

Progress and development of technologies for the benefit of humankind are impossible under conditions of war and threats to peoples' lives and health. They are possible only under conditions of cooperation, diversity of points of view, information exchange and open dialogue.

***Residents of Sakhalin Write Putin a Letter  
Calling for a Halt to the War in Ukraine***

*March 2, 2022*

We, the residents of the Sakhalin region, stand forth for the immediate halt to military operations on the territory of Ukraine. Russia declares itself the foundation of peace and goodness yet now the world is collapsing in front of our eyes. We are confident that the \*Russian Federation can resolve all international political questions without resort to weapons. And we believe, that the leadership of our country is not only capable but also obligated to do so. The Sakhalin Region – is a wealthy region. For many years a large share of the income of our region has been allocated to the country's budget. We have not agreed to give up these funds for the production of the bombs now destroying the cities of Ukraine. We do not know how real was the external threat to our country of which our leaders speak. But we see that the military actions on the territory of Ukraine have become just such a threat on their own. We do not want to live in international isolation, we do not want to send off our citizens to death in an undeclared war, we do want to take on ourselves the standing of the military aggressor as the result of decisions in which we had no part. The residents of the Sakhalin Region oppose war. We, the undersigned, call on Vladimir Putin and those around him to bring to an immediate halt the bloodletting and to withdraw our troops from the territory of Ukraine.

***Statement of the Independent Rights Defenders against the War  
No to War!***

The President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, today launched a war with Ukraine. War, no matter how beautifully described, is mass murder. It is the deprivation of entire peoples of their rights and freedoms, their wealth and hope for the future. There are already dead on both sides, including civilians. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians have become refugees and the economies of both countries have suffered enormous damage.

A war with Ukraine could be the beginning of a much larger conflict – and it will affect all of Europe. Considering the poorly concealed threats to use nuclear weapons which have been heard more than once from the lips of the Russian leadership, we can say frankly: the world is on the verge of a nuclear

catastrophe, just as it was during the Caribbean crisis. Even with a speedy end to hostilities Vladimir Putin's adventure will have grave and enduring consequences for the people of Ukraine, Europe, and neighboring countries.

We, independent human rights defenders, oppose war.

We have devoted our lives to defending the rights of every person we can help, in order to work together to uphold the rights of all mankind.

War is the most massive and most barbaric way to deprive not just individual citizens of their rights, but millions of people at once. In our history there are no examples of greater civil lawlessness than what has arisen in the process or as a result of wars.

By attacking Ukraine, the \*Russian authorities have committed a crime not only against the Ukrainian people, but also against all humankind. They violated the right of each of us to live in peace without fear for our future. We promise to do everything possible so that this crime is not forgotten.

#No war.

***Letter of \*Russian Authors, Critics, & Book Dealers Opposing the War***

We, \*Russian publishers, book merchants, editors, translators, critics, designers, typesetters, librarians, and boukinistes protest the war launched in Ukraine by the authorities of the \*Russian Federation. The war must be brought to a halt immediately and its perpetrators and the participants in military aggression must be discharged from their posts and brought to justice.

The book is one of the basic forms for the preservation and transmission of human experience. All the experience accumulated over centuries teaches us: War is a crime. The value of human life is unconditional. The war must be brought to a halt!

(As of March 5, 2022 the number of signatories exceeds 1600).

***Open Letter from the Psychologists and Psychiatrists of Russia  
To President of the \*Russian Federation Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin***

We of the Society of Psychologists and Psychiatrists of Russia are speaking out for the immediate halt to the military operations in Ukraine.

War is the concentration of all that is destructive, of all that can oppress the human psyche – the complete absence of security, uncertainty, violence, helplessness, the loss of close ones. This is axiomatic not only for specialists caring for psychic health, but for all those living in our country and knowing its history. The spreading pandemic of violence has already struck a deep blow to tens of millions. The collective trauma of February 2022 will for many years weigh on the relations between our countries and close ones. Even now, it will require colossal efforts to reconstitute what has been destroyed.

The violence must be brought to a halt by the one who initiated it. It is never too late to put forth the best that is in each of us.

Stop the war.

## PERSONAL REACTIONS

### *Personal Reactions of Prominent Russians to the Start of War A Sample Collected by Meduza*

Just as the Russian invasion of Ukraine was being launched the following expressions of anger and anguish were solicited or collected by Meduza, the independent online news website that now operates from Riga. The voices sampled here are all familiar to Russian audiences. They belong to prominent journalists and literary figures, to names from the world of entertainment -- comedians, film directors, actors and actresses, rappers, authors, and musicians. At least two of the novelists, Boris Akunin and Dmitry Glukhovsky, are known to Western audiences in translation.

Following the excerpts there is a short who's who that provides a very brief summary of the roles and accomplishments of the respondents, of the sort that would be familiar to many Russians. And while this glossary will surely help the reader gain some insight into the individual accomplishments of the respondents, it cannot give the feel, the sense of personal familiarity they enjoy in Russia. The reader might better think of them as George Saunders, Eminem, Brian Greene, A. O. Scott, Stephen King, Oprah Winfrey, Steven Spielberg, Elizabeth Kolbert, Noam Chomsky, and Ezra Klein. This match is far from perfect but should give the reader a feel for how our respondents figure in the lives of today's Russians.

Many of the same themes are sounded here as in the more polished letters of protest presented earlier: the lack of any justification for the invasion, the inhumanity, the violation of fellowship, and professional loss. As the journalist Karen Shainyan says, "the war is fratricidal, senseless, and unforgivable." The science fiction writer Dmitry Glukhovsky writes that it is "impossibly strange to imagine a full-scale war, especially one launched by one's own side, under false and contrived pretexts."

Still, these short expressions of opposition to the war differ from the letters of protest presented earlier in that they are couched in language that reflects the raw, immediate, often intimate reactions of individuals rather than in the more polished tones of the professional groups.

These short clips sound personal notes -- the anguish of a mother (the actress, Kseniya Rappoport) faced with the challenge of explaining the war to her young daughter. Or Karen Shainyan who wonders how he will answer his son's query when his son grows up and asks what his father had done when the Russians attacked Ukraine.

The most prominent theme that differentiates the reactions illustrated here from the more elaborate letters of protest is a deep sense of personal vulnerability, of loss of autonomy and agency. Vladi, the rapper, says he feels himself "in the grips of an inhuman tyrant". Ekaterina Varnava, the actress, reports that "we are clearly hostages to someone's ambition." Sergey Smirnov, the editor-in-chief of Mediazona reflects "You just want to scream and wake up ... Why have we all become hostages to this madness? Boris Akunin offers the observation that "Russia is ruled by a psychically abnormal dictator" and that "it is terrifying for sensible Russians who are under the power of a maniac."

An additional theme rings of shame and guilt. Karen Shainyan expresses it this way: "And not just anybody is doing the killing. We are. And there is no way to escape by saying that this is the work of a mad Putin or of some bloodthirsty regime. No, Russia is us. And Russia has attacked Ukraine. And as long as we, ourselves, don't take responsibility for this, \*\*\*\*\* will continue." Dmitry Muratov, the Nobel Laureate for Peace commented "And along with the grief we are ashamed." Viktor Shenderovich, the noted writer and publicist, observed that "this is, of course, Russia's crime. We are all partners in this. All of us who allowed this moth to grow into a dragon capable of threatening the world. Shame and horror." The film director Kantemir Balagov adds: "Let's not pretend that just one man is responsible for all this. That would be too convenient. We are all guilty that we did nothing to prevent this."

Finally, while Vladi, the rapper, believes that “most Russians oppose the war”, the respondents recognize that there are those among their compatriots who support it. Ekaterina Varvara says “I am terrified by the media, and by those who say they are delighted that all this has started ... calling it “Defense” and “Liberation”. Defense against whom? Against my friends who live there?” Akunin says “It is terrifying for sensible Russians under the power of a maniac. It is also horrific to think of the Russian numbskulls who today are going to celebrate.” And finally, the words of the journalist, Sergey Smirnov, who says “Shame on all those who pressed forward with this war. All of you who are engaged in propaganda, who are promoting propaganda, who are rejoicing in the bombings. Be damned.”

Many of the texts have the raw, unpolished character of people responding spontaneously to horrific news. No effort has been made to refine them in the translation. The professional profiles of the voices have been left as they are in the original texts. Following the texts there is a short glossary that explains briefly how the respondents are known to contemporary Russians. Additional important details are, in all cases, just a click away.

The original Russian for the texts below can be found at:

<https://meduza.io/feature/2022/02/24/samoe-strashnoe-utro-v-zhizni>

## **THE REACTIONS**

### **Anton Dolin (film critic)**

Last night the most horrific and shameful event took place, at the very least in the course of my lifetime. The President of my country declared war on Ukraine. Never in my lifetime neither by word nor deed have I supported Putin and have never voted for him. Notwithstanding, for me this action is shameful and awful. Dear Ukrainians, I know that none of you has time now for individual voices, but all my thoughts are with you. If I knew how to pray, I would write “prayers.” But I don’t know how. No doubt for the first time in my life I am experiencing such destruction from the blackness of evil, of which we are now at the center. And there is no way to know on what or whom to place our hopes. I don’t write “forgive”. Forgiveness for this is impossible.

### **Valery Meladze (author)**

What happened today should never have happened, ever. History will someday judge and sort all this out. But today I want to ask, I beg you, halt the military actions and to take a seat at the negotiating table. People should be able to reach agreement – that’s why we have been given language. For this, we have been given all our capabilities. People should not perish, this must be stopped.

### **Karen Shainyan (journalist and creator of the YouTube channel, “Open Discussion with Merry People”)**

This morning at seven o’clock I picked up the phone and learned that the war had begun. I thought it’s good that my son and his mother, who live in Kiev, are right now, completely by accident, not there but in Berlin.

I wasn’t expecting this. Our brain always tricks us, tries to keep up the hope that the worst won’t come to pass. Otherwise, we could go crazy. But actually, what’s happening now is the worst possible.

In any crisis situation, we should not think about the scale of the \*\*\*\*\* and how there is nothing we can do. We need to focus on what is under our personal control. The only thing that we can do is to protest actively. Secure wherever possible the safety of dear ones. If you still have money, convert it into foreign currency. Withdraw it as cash. As to what one should do in the grand scheme of things, how to

go forward – for the moment, I have no answer. Everything that has concerned me in recent years has shriveled up against the backdrop of war. Just about everything else has lost its meaning. It impossible to think about anything when somewhere nearby they are killing people dear to us. And not just anybody is doing the killing. We are. And there is no way to escape by saying that this is the work of a mad Putin or of some blood-thirsty regime. No, Russia is us. And Russia has attacked Ukraine. And as long as we, ourselves, don't take responsibility for this, \*\*\*\* will continue.

Therefore, each of us has to consider what individually we can do to stop killing people. Of course, (protesting) is dangerous and risky. But what are the options? We don't have a big arsenal. Posts on Facebook won't help, ironic posts on TikTok won't help either. If you don't give expression to peaceful civil protest against authorities, you become a collaborator. And my son, who is living in Kiev, one day will ask me: "Dad, what did you do when the Russians attacked Ukraine?" Am I to tell him I made a post on Facebook?

We must all assess our own risks and make a decision. I am not agitating. I am simply saying that I personally intend to express my position as a citizen because I am deeply opposed to this war – it is fratricidal, senseless, and unforgiveable. Never mind that it is simply a disgrace, with gigantic economic losses, those are secondary considerations. Most important – people are being killed there. It is stupid to deny this. For eight years we have closed our eyes to what has been happening in Donbas with Russia's participation. It is no longer possible to remain neutral.

**Galina Yuzefovich (literary critic)**

This is the most horrific morning of my life. And it is all being done in my name.

**Sergei Smirnov (journalist and editor-in-chief of Mediazona)**

Alarmists were right. American intelligence was right. I will say honestly just a couple of weeks ago, I didn't believe ... you just can't make any sense of it. So let's go forward as alarmists, it seems that this is the most rational position today. Putin aims to take Kiev and Lvov. And judging by his pronouncements he is even threatening under some undefined scenario to use nuclear weapons.

So, you try to be rational and write something. But to be honest, it is not working out all that well. You just want to scream and wake up. Nothing like this should be. This should not be. What a war. Why have we all become hostages to this madness? Shame on all those who pressed forward with this war. All of you who are engaged in propaganda, who are promoting propaganda, who are rejoicing in the bombings. Be damned.

**Dmitry Glukhovsky (author)**

For anyone with any common sense, living in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it's impossibly strange to imagine a full-scale war, especially one unleashed by one's own side, under false, contrived pretexts. Notwithstanding that in the main I follow both domestic and foreign political agendas, like the rest of us, I can't help but note that tyranny here is deepening and freedom is being suppressed. All the same, it seemed that all this was a post-modern game in the spirit of Surkovism, that is, a sham, not a true dictatorship as in the USSR and Stalinism, but fake suppression. And suddenly it's all real..... It turns out that this is not paranoia or fantasy, it is astonishing and discomfoting that we are standing on the threshold of events that may entirely change the world and above all life in Russia, not to mention Ukraine.

This is a typical example of a predatory and rapacious war, which without any hesitation we can compare with Hitler's campaigns to seize the Sudetenland and with the partitioning of Poland. And it seemed that we would never find ourselves in such a reality, that it belongs to a long-forgotten past. All the same, that reality is here now. This war is fratricidal, the pretexts are all false. I am pained and ashamed by what is happening. I would like to ask forgiveness of Ukraine, as a people, for what we are doing with them. I don't know what we should all do. Who here knows? I have made clear my position on all possible social networks and will try to engage my audiences in order to make clear my position.

**Mikhail Gel'fand (bioinformatics technologist)**

I was not expecting to wake up and learn that war had started today. I turned out to be more stupid than I should have been. I am not ready to share my emotions.

The only thing that I consider right to say now consists of just two everyday observations. All of us to one extent or another are responsible for what is happening, some more, some less. Almost all. And second, I was in Kiev and Odessa after 2013, I gave some public lectures. I understand that now, apparently, this will never happen again in my lifetime. This is awful. I lack the corresponding life experience to know what to do now. But I think everyone should study the history of Germany, 1930-1940, and come up with their own conclusions. They could turn out to be quite disparate.

**Boris Akunin (author)**

Until the very end I could not believe that Putin would launch this absurd war, -- I was wrong. I always believed that in the end reason would triumph -- I was wrong. Insanity triumphed. People are dying, blood is being spilled. Russia is ruled by a psychically abnormal dictator and worst of all, most horrifying of all, Russia is submissively following his paranoia.

I know that Putinland and Russia are not the same thing, but today for the whole world there is no difference. For Ukrainians it is terrifying. It is terrifying for sensible Russians under the power of a maniac. It is also horrific to think of the Russian numbskulls who today are going to celebrate.

On February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022, for all of us a terrifying era began. How long will it last, and how many victims will it claim?

**Kseniya Rappoport (actress)**

My youngest daughter is about to wake up. And before I take her to school, I will have to explain to her that our country has unleashed a war. And I will have to answer her simple, direct questions: Why are people going to die? Who decided this? And how are we going to stop it? And I don't know how to answer her. Rather, I know, but I am ashamed to do so.

How does one explain to a child in tears that we wise grown-ups, people who have finished the same school she now attends, who have read a bundle of wonderful books, who have studied several foreign languages, who have friends and dear ones in different countries across the world, trying to help each other, -- that we cannot reach agreement with each other but rather are ready to kill. I am ashamed and fearful. I am against war. I don't want war. I don't know what I can do now to stop this horror.

I don't want to wake my daughter.

**Dmitry Muratov (editor in chief, Novaya Gazeta, Nobel laureate)**

Early this morning all of us got together in the office. We are grief-stricken. On the orders of President Putin, our country has launched a war with Ukraine. And there is nobody to stop the war. And along with our grief, we are ashamed. And the man in charge is spinning the nuclear button like the charm on a keychain to an expensive car. What is the next step? A nuclear strike? There is no other way to make sense of Vladimir Putin's words about the weapon of retaliation.

We are publishing this edition of *Novaya Gazeta* in two languages -- in Ukrainian and in Russian. Because we do not consider Ukraine an enemy or the Ukrainian language the language of the enemy. And we never will. Only the anti-war movement of Russian citizens can save life on this planet.

**Viktor Shenderovich (writer and publicist)**

I was counting on their cold cynicism. I so hoped it was all a bluff. And as before, I think it was a bluff. The slap in the face which Putin personally received required him to respond in the form of real blood. And it turned out that there was not among the entire political elite a single decent person. There was

not a single person who would try to stop this catastrophe. This war is the product of one man's sick, wounded pride. This is, of course, Russia's crime. We are all partners in this. All of us who allowed this moth to grow into a dragon capable of destroying the world. Shame and horror. "Forgive us poor murderers."

**Vladi (rapper and member of the group "Kasta")**

I was sure that war was impossible. I truly consider the Ukrainians and us to be brothers and near ones between whom war is impossible. Still with my own eyes I saw the confirmations of the current regime. Such confirmations came only recently. I feel myself in the grips of an inhuman tyrant who has it in for all whom he does not like.

I hope we all will survive until such time when Russia will officially count all the crimes of today's authorities and acknowledge them.

**Evgeny Roizman (politician and former mayor of Ekaterinburg)**

I consider that our leaders have betrayed their own country. This is a tragedy. War has broken out. No one was expecting it. No one believed that this could happen. In the Third Reich, of course, there were also many skeptics. I have not yet sorted this all out in my head, but I consider that the decision to invade Ukraine is first of all a betrayal of our brothers and a betrayal of our own country.

**Roman Volobuev (theater director)**

It was clear how all this would end. Already yesterday it became clear that the President of Russia had lost his mind and that he is surrounded by cowards and idiots, so all we could do was to hope for a miracle. But there was no miracle. This is a horrific day. All the more horrific since as citizens of our country we have had over 20 years to prevent this. But we didn't. I don't know what more to say.

**Mikhail Khodorkovsky (politician)**

Putin has started a war against Ukraine. This is a crime against humanity. It is a heavy criminal action under \*Russian law, and it is a betrayal of \*Russian national interests. But we must clearly recognize that the war has been unleashed by Putin himself and by his circle for the purpose of retaining power, and not by the \*Russian people. Unfortunately, the government and its security structures are under their control. The unleashing of aggressive war, the use of military force for personal interests, means that power in Russia has been seized by a junta with Putin at its head.

Anyone who by word or deed, of his own free will, assists this junta will be a war criminal.

The war against Ukraine must be brought to a halt at any price. The war will become a fatal component in the development of \*Russian society and a critical factor for \*Russian statehood. Putin's threat to use nuclear weapons which he aired in his negotiations with the West has brought the world to the threshold of catastrophe.

As a \*Russian citizen and as a patriot, I consider it my duty to do everything to bring this unjust, aggressive, imperialist war to a halt. Participation in the anti-war movement, sabotage of the orders of the junta supporting the war, are the duty of every decent human being. Friends, compatriots, I call upon you to use every means to oppose this war.

**Sergei Lazarev (singer)**

A week ago my son awoke in the night in tears. When I asked him what was wrong, my seven-year-old son answered: “Daddy, I am afraid of the war.” I answered, “My sunshine, what’s wrong with you? Don’t worry, relax, there’s not going to be any war.” Then, son of a bitch, today a real war began! \*\*\*\*\* {Devil, what are they doing?} Right now, I am bawling like a young kid. \*\*\*\*\* because I am fed up with the powerful of this world who continue to take the measure of themselves by arms and weapons and \*\*\*{damn it} there is only one life and it is passing us by. And no one will be able to breathe for years or to plan anything even for tomorrow because the politicians have other plans.

**Viktor Kosakovsky (film director)**

I hope that no cinematographer supports this unconscionable war. I hope that none of them will take part in the propaganda to support it. I hope that no one will take fake shots and films. Just film reality! No to war!

**Ekaterina Varnava (actress)**

For several hours, I have been unable to understand in what parallel world I find myself. I am very distressed. I am very worried for my family, my friends, my colleagues. I have been receiving, one after the next, messages on my social networks about what is happening now. All very different. From requests not to remain silent to personal accusations and threats. I watch the videos of your homes and streets and I read the comments about how frightening it is. And believe me, we are no less terrified. We are shocked, in pain, and ashamed. Why is all this happening? To what end? If everything continues like this, there will be no winners.

I am terrified by the media, and by those who say that they are delighted that all this has started, who note with pride, and who support what is happening, calling it “Defense” and “Liberation.” Defense against whom? Against my friends who live there? We are clearly “hostages” to someone’s ambitions and you rejoice at this? I am terrified at the ease with which our authorities are ready to retreat from relationships with the whole world and give no consideration to us. Without asking us.

Everyday citizens are suffering, and I don’t understand: What is the logic? I simply don’t believe that people can’t reach agreement in a civilized way. That the diplomats have exhausted all means and that there are no compromises, that the people at the top have no desire to live in peace. Does history really teach us nothing? How can that be? Lord, why is all this happening? Who can stop this horror? NO ONE WANTS WAR. AS FOR MYSELF, I WANT ONLY PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

**Danila Poperechny (comedian)**

You can look at our authorities in different ways. Some people in this country actually voted for him, some not. But fact is fact, this is our reality, this is our government, this is our current president, and these are his actions and his decisions. In the meantime, as we can confirm, our politicians and the ministers of our country stutter and tremble with shaking hands and can do nothing other than nod obediently. Responsibility for at least some words rests with us.

**Liya Akhedzhakova (actress)**

Glukhovsky, in one of his powerful novels, *The Post*, describes an epidemic that has taken possession of all of Russia – it’s called “Obsession.” What is this terrifying infection? Words. People are hammering nails into their ears to save themselves from this savage disease, so as not to fall ill with it. Where people bite each other’s throat, bleed, and die in pain.

More than anything, I fear these words, this propaganda, after which begins the epidemic of obsession. Still, I call on all cultural agents: the moment has come when we must speak out. This is our last chance.

The war is raging. And this war and this lie are overflowing so that the sea is flooded. Nature can no longer put up with our lie, with our meanness and that we have dirtied everything we possibly could, with words, action, and corruption. And with this foul relationship with our neighbors, with the earth, with the oceans, and with the seas. The volcanoes cannot survive. Typhons erase whole cities from the face of the earth. This is because we are all enemies, because we hate everyone around. We have come to hate Ukraine. And I can't understand why. Why do we hate Ukraine? We fought, together, we did time in the gulag together, in Sandarmokh....

When will this hate for all around us come to an end? Only we are white and fluffy. And everything dirties us. This will end badly. The world will not stop. I have traveled over the whole of Belarus and Ukraine. They are my followers – one does not find in them this hatred of a neighbor for the simple fact that he is from Belarus, or Georgia, or Moldova. This does not exist among the people. And now they are bombing Ukraine via Lukashenko. This will never wash off. And bombing with delight, with applause. And for eight years now people have been dying.

**Kantemir Balagov (film director)**

What is happening now is simply some sort of nightmare. It is shameful and painful. With each new event, it becomes more and more complicated to love one's country. And let's not pretend that just one man is responsible for all this. That would be too convenient. We are all guilty that we did nothing to prevent this.

**Boris Grebenshchikov (musician and leader of the group "Aquarium")**

What is happening is pure insanity. Those who have unleashed this war have lost their minds. They are a disgrace to Russia.

**Miron Fyodorov (rapper, "Oxxxymiron")**

Today I won't limit myself to the words that I am for peace and against war. Because in words, everybody is for peace and against war, however, this does not prevent us from waging rapacious wars. I want to say specifically that I am against this war, the war that Russia is unleashing against the people of Ukraine. I find this a catastrophe and a crime....

I have given performances in Ukraine a bunch of times. We were always received with great warmth and hospitality. I love that country very much.

Now I want to specifically address my followers. I am postponing my six concerts in Moscow and St. Petersburg indefinitely. Whoever wants to can get their money back. I am confident that you will understand me: I can't entertain you while \*Russian rockets are falling on Ukraine, while the residents of Kiev must hide in cellars or in the subway. And as long as people are dying.

Generally, I cannot remain silent. I know that the majority of those living in Russia are against this war. I am confident that the more people speak out against the war, the sooner we will be able to bring this nightmare to a close. And finally, I know that the natural reaction to what is happening now is despair. Total disorientation. A sense of inevitability. But I remind you: if you stand up in opposition, don't do it with a sad face.

## Glossary -- Who's Who of the Respondents

Anton Dolin is a Russian film critic, journalist, radio host, blogger, and podcaster. He was the editor in chief of *Iskusstvo Kino* Magazine. -- *The Art of Film* . Fled to Latvia in March 2022 after death threats.

Valery Meladze is a Russian singer of Georgian descent. He is the brother of composer and producer Konstantin Meladze, who writes songs for him. Honored Artist of the Russian Federation.

Karen Shainyan, born in Siberia the son of two scientists, is a journalist, producer, and TV presenter. Gay rights advocate who ran the YouTube channel, Straight Talk with Gay People, and is a cofounder of the Future History studio.

Galina Yuzefovich is an award-winning literary critic who writes for Meduza online news and teaches contemporary literature. Called Russia's #1 literary critic – “the person on whose verdict the fate of a writer depends.” Winner, in 2017, of the Revizor prize awarded by the Russian book industry. Fled to Turkey on Feb. 24, 2022.

Sergey Smirnov is a political journalist and editor-in-chief of Mediazona, an influential independent news website whose reporting focuses on political persecutions and human rights violations in Russia. Fled to Vilnius, Lithuania on March 4, 2022.

Dmitry Glukhovsky, a popular author and journalist, has 44 books on Goodreads with 207,949 ratings. His most popular book, *Metro 2033*, a post-nuclear dystopia set in the Moscow subway. His novels have been translated into English and other languages. In June 2022, a warrant was issued for his arrest for discrediting the Russian army. He now lives outside of Russia.

Mikhail Gel'fand is a bioinformatics specialist. Well-known in the international scientific community, his work focuses on comparative genomics and systems biology, among other topics. He is a Fellow of the International Society for Computational Biology and director of the Center for Molecular and Cellular Biology at the Skolkovo Institute of Science and Technology,

Boris Akunin, a philologist, critic, essayist, and translator of Japanese, is one of the most widely read writers in Russia. He has 178 books and more than 150,000 reviews on Goodreads. He is the author of a multi-volume history of the Russian State.

Kseniya Rappoport is an actress and director, best known for her roles in *The Seagull*, *Streets of Broken Lights*, and *Anna Karenina*. She is an Honored Actress of the \*Russian Federation.

Dmitry Muratov is a journalist, TV presenter, and the editor-in-chief of *Novaya Gazeta*, which advocated for democracy and freedom of expression in Russia. In 2021, he won the Nobel Prize for Peace for his work with *Novaya Gazeta*.

Viktor Shenderovich is a prominent satirist, author, scriptwriter, and radio host. He writes a column for the *New York Times*.

Vladi leads the Russian rap group Kasta, which has produced many albums and musical videos and won many awards, including best hip-hop (Russian Music Awards MTV, 2004) and best acoustic (Russian Street Awards, 2010).

Evgeny Roizman is a politician and former mayor of Ekaterinburg (2013-18). He campaigned against corrupt police and supported drug rehabilitation. He was reported detained for referring to the “special operation” as an “invasion”. (*NIT*, Aug. 24, 2022.)

Roman Volobuev is a Russian film and TV director, writer, and producer, best known for his eight-year stint as film reviewer at *Afisha* magazine and for writing and directing two popular Russian TV series.

Mikhail Khodorkovsky was once Russia's wealthiest oligarch and is sometimes termed "Putin's oldest enemy." After founding a reform-oriented organization, he was jailed for eight years, subsequently pardoned, and today lives in London.

Sergey Lazarev is a singer, dancer, and actor. He represented Russia in the Eurovision Song Contest in 2016 in Stockholm, finishing in third place.

Viktor Kosakovsky is an innovative documentary filmmaker whose films have received more than 100 awards at national and international festivals.

Ekaterina Varnava is a TV actress and presenter known for her role in the Russian comedy show *Double Trouble*. She has over seven million followers on Instagram.

Danila Poperechny is one of the most popular Russian stand-up comedians, as well as a cartoonist, YouTuber, actor, and podcaster.

Liya Akhedzhakova is a Soviet and Russian film, stage, and voice actress who received the title of People's Artist of Russia in 1994.

Kantemir Balagov is a young filmmaker and cinematographer who was named Best Director at the Cannes Film Festival in 2022.

Boris Grebenshchikov, a singer, song writer, and musician, is a prominent member of the generation that is widely considered to be the "founding fathers" of Russian rock music. In part for his leading role in the band Aquarium, he is a household name in Russia.

Miron Fyodorov, known by the stage name Oxxxymiron, is one of Russia's most popular rappers. He was cast into the media spotlight when he cancelled a series of shows in Moscow and St. Petersburg to protest Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

**'They Are Aware That They Fought for Nothing'**  
**An Interview with Dmitry Glukhovsky.**

*This interview was conducted by Ruslan Suleymanov and Roland Bathon  
For IPS – International Politics and Society.*

*Why aren't greater numbers of Russian citizens in Russia protesting the war in Ukraine unleashed by Vladimir Putin? Is it because they are not as directly in danger as the Ukrainians are in their air-raid shelters?*

First of all, it must be said that the Russians, unlike the Ukrainians, have thus far always lost their conflicts with officials. All attempts to somehow influence the government's policy through peaceful demonstrations, to annul the results of falsified elections, to force the resignation of top politicians, to reverse changes that were not in the interest of the general population – all of these proved unsuccessful. They ended only in punishment for some of the activists and their organizations. When tens of thousands of Russians took to the streets against the war in Ukraine, I was sure that they didn't expect to end the war by doing so. They were united by a feeling of helplessness, because in situations like this, the Russian state has never made concessions. It has always reacted with an iron fist, without compromises; it considers protests unacceptable.

In this context, I must also point out the unprecedented cruelty with which the authorities have suppressed these current protests and punished their participants. 16,000 people were arrested in just a few days. Moreover, draconian laws newly introduced by the regime are also acting as a deterrent. You can get up to 15 years in prison for simply 'liking' or forwarding 'false' information that contradicts Russian propaganda. By participating in a peaceful protest, the punishment can be up to six years. This is all very discouraging, of course, but the bottom line is that people don't feel that their actions are making a difference – and this comes at a high personal cost. The only thing the Putin regime has succeeding in doing well in recent years is intimidating, suppressing, and manipulating its own people with the propaganda of corrupt media.

*Have people resigned themselves to this 'total state propaganda' after the last relatively free media outlets in Russia such as Ekho Moskvy and Dozhd were shut down once the war began?*

In my opinion, it is still too early to draw any far-reaching conclusions. The war began just three months ago. The propaganda campaign launched by the Russian state is unprecedented in its massive aggression and intolerance of dissenting opinions. In connection with the mobilization of the population, those opposed to the war are not only defamed and ostracized, but truly harassed. That's why people with different opinions no longer dare to express them. One strategy for adapting to this atmosphere is an easily explainable conformism. Individuals prefer to take the view that they believe the majority holds when it concerns issues that are not of fundamental importance to them.

If the authorities were then to say that if you don't support a campaign for cannibalism, that makes you a traitor, people themselves wouldn't necessarily eat other people, but they wouldn't have anything against that campaign either. And when necessary, in order not to attract attention, people like this sometimes wave a flag or paint a 'Z' somewhere.

At the same time, however, we see that people's real willingness to make sacrifices for the war is very low. We don't see queues of volunteers waiting to go to the front lines to fight the alleged Ukrainian Nazis. We don't see any major fundraising for the soldiers who are at war. All public support comes down to a willingness to mark a letter 'Z' on the dusty rear window of cars or to hang a Ribbon of St. George

somewhere. We're not talking about hysterical enthusiasm like the Nazi campaigns, or a truly patriotic mobilization, as was actually to be expected on the basis of the propaganda.

*Does this mean that even this massive, aggressive propaganda is ineffective?*

It is effective, in that it creates the illusion of public approval. The propaganda is based on two pillars: first, anti-Americanism and anti-Westernism in general. Both of these stem from the feeling that our country was defeated as a superpower in the confrontation with the West and from a kind of envy of the inhabitants of the empire that prevailed. From this, there follows an unwillingness to come to terms with the result of this defeat, which also remained largely virtual, intangible. Propaganda must actively spread this image, since the West did not impose humiliating conditions for peace, such as reparations, nor did it install an occupation regime, but instead provided humanitarian aid. This defeat is therefore a subjective, purely emotional feeling of the elites, who use imperialist nostalgia and resentment and spread them among the people like parasites. Just as Hitler did after the defeat in World War I and in the chaos of the final period of the Weimar Republic.

The second pillar as the basis of the propaganda is, of course, in a complete distortion of reality, that the current fratricidal war of aggression is a continuation of the Great Patriotic War, the German-Soviet War. This one is a sacred cow for everyone who lived in the Soviet Union and thereafter on its former territory, except perhaps the Baltics. There can be no doubt as to the truth behind the Soviet Union's stated intentions and its role in World War II, with 27 million Soviet citizens killed.

Thus, here we have a very convenient tool to put the populace into a state of obedience and to justify even the most dubious undertakings of the current government. This was already tried out with the conquest of Crimea: The annexation was explained by the fact that the Nazis were supposedly in power in Ukraine and were oppressing the Russian population there, who therefore needed to be protected. As if World War II is still going on, and no Ukrainians are living there with whom we have always lived side by side for thousands of years – including mutual interpenetration of culture, families, and political elites. And suddenly Nazis are supposed to have come from somewhere and the fight against them justifies the appropriation of entire territories. Because that strategy worked, the technology has now been used to justify the current, inhumane, bloody, and otherwise almost inexplicable campaign. It relies on key stimuli that almost all post-Soviet people respond to, and it succeeded, at least on a rhetorical level.

*Why are the mothers of Russian soldiers whose sons were killed in this war silent? After all, that's several thousand dead.*

For one thing, the number of dead and wounded on the Russian side is being kept top secret. That is why Putin created the law on special operations, which makes 'peacetime' casualties in special operations state secrets. That's why the war is not a war for Russian officials. In a war, such figures must be made public. Only once, two months ago, was it said that 1,500 soldiers had died – while Ukraine is now talking about 30,000 dead Russian soldiers. But the worst thing is that the mothers of the dead are not reliably informed and live in the belief that they will see their sons again.

It is mainly people from poor regions who fight, for whom war is the only way to feed their families. This also explains the appalling looting at the front. The standard of living in eastern Ukraine is something of a revelation for these people. The death of soldiers continues to be compensated with money, several million rubles, which the state can still afford.

Disinformation, obfuscation, and bribery are thus the temporary guarantors of stability as we see it. The dead and wounded come mainly from remote regions of Russia, which are invisible to the Russian media

– of course, they are also deliberately ignored. Everything is fragmented, so people don't see the connection to anywhere else. So, the sense of a catastrophe is lacking.

Nevertheless, there will be tens of thousands of soldiers returning home with obvious injuries; with 30,000 dead there will also be 100,000 wounded. And these people cannot be fooled either, they saw death around them, they themselves were forced to kill. They are aware that they fought for nothing and were not taken care of. Even if they were brainwashed by propaganda in the beginning, afterwards they saw what they really faced. They will be hardened by the loss of their health and their comrades: what impact that will have on the power structure is difficult to predict.

*Did the conquests, for example of Kherson or Mariupol, revive people's longing for a new USSR?*

There has always been Soviet nostalgia. It has not been revived, but rather it is the fuel of the neo-imperial policy of today's Russia. By exploiting this nostalgia, Crimea and the rebel Donbas and Luhansk republics were annexed. There has always been a sense of lost imperial greatness. This isn't something specific to Russia – it's the same with other empires that have lost their colonies and are in the process of dissolution. It's always painful and even exists in parts of British or French society, despite all the education there. Or with the Hungarians, who are contemptuous of some of the Balkan peoples.

In our country, ordinary Russians do not have the opportunity to feel respect for their human dignity in everyday life. They are powerless, helpless, bitter, poor, and oppressed. At the same time, they do not dare to make suggestions to the authorities, as the authorities mercilessly retaliate against any attempt at resistance. In this way, people replace their longing for human dignity with a sense of belonging to a great power and they transfer their needs to the nation. When an ordinary Russian sees how Russia instills fear in its neighbors, for example when tanks and rocket launchers thunder across Red Square on May 9, it compensates for the feeling of personal humiliation and powerlessness in one's own everyday life. This is why people are so susceptible to propaganda.

*Why do so many Russians even outside the country support this so-called 'special operation'? After all, they have access to other sources of information.*

It is not enough to have access to the truth. You must want to believe in it. The fact is that many Russians living in the West have not really been able to adjust to life under the conditions there. Due to the initial feeling of being subjects of a great empire, they then become condescending and dismissive towards the countries that they visit. They refuse to learn the language well, to adapt. In doing so, they make themselves second-class citizens. For this reason, they settle for revanchist statements from Russia. These give them the hope to feel like citizens of an empire again and to be able to take revenge.

In general, I make the observation that wherever a Russian goes – and this can also apply to Russian Germans or Russian Jews – he votes for right-wing extremist political forces – for example Trump in America or nationalists in Israel who pursue an uncompromising policy against the Palestinians. The point is that in the \*Russian Federation or Soviet Union, these people felt they were part of the power, and that conveyed emotions to them.

*A major problem for many Russians right now is the issue of collective responsibility. Are Russians responsible for Putin, even though they fought against his regime?*

On this question, in my opinion, and as suggested by philosophers, it is necessary to separate guilt and responsibility. It is clear that neither the Russians who protested Russia's metamorphosis into a totalitarian state nor those who simply remained passive are to bear the blame. The blame is attached to

a particular person who thinks much more highly of himself than he really is. A person who decided on the question of his continued existence at the cost of tens of thousands of human lives will go down in the history books for that reason. Ordinary Russians are completely misinformed because they have been misled in all sorts of ways over the last 30 years, because they are not trusted to have any real influence on politics and are at best compensated with pittance. In the worst case, they are lied to and intimidated by the police and courts. So, I don't see any clear blame on the Russian people themselves.

If we compare the situation with Nazi Germany, support for the Nazis was much higher there. And there was much more enthusiasm compared to Russian support for Putin. At the moment we don't see women crying with joy or millions in the streets like in the Berlin Olympic Stadium. On the contrary, everything is very sluggish. Up to ten million Germans took part in hostilities during World War II and were guilty, while only 160,000 Russians are fighting in Ukraine so far. If all units of the SS and other special units took part in war crimes committed by Nazi Germany, which is to say, hundreds of thousands of people, in Ukraine we are talking about a few hundred Russian military personnel at best. In other words, despite the efforts of the authorities, the previous degree of responsibility of the Russian people cannot be compared with the degree of responsibility of the German population at that time.

Putin's personal strategy for avoiding responsibility, however, is to shift that responsibility onto the people as a whole. The decision to go to war, taken by him alone at the meeting of the Russian Security Council, has thrown even his inner circle into a state of panic and resignation. The fault lies first of all with one particular person and possibly his immediate environment.

Liability, however, is a different matter. Responsibility does not arise from being a Russian citizen. However, the war is being waged in the name of all Russia and its people – something that Putin and his entourage constantly emphasize, to distance themselves from any responsibility in the future as a clique of potential suspects. That is why I believe that the responsibility of every person with a Russian passport or of Russian origin is, first, to tirelessly remind people that they do not agree with the war. And secondly, Russians must, to the best of their ability, support at least a few Ukrainian acquaintances who are in a difficult situation as a result of the war. In this way, they can at least do something to mend the colossal damage that the Putin regime is currently wreaking in its relations with Ukraine and the wider world.

*As a writer, do you feel a special responsibility towards the people of Russia? How have Russian writers generally reacted to the war in Ukraine?*

I would like to remind you that in the first days of the war, 2,000 cultural workers signed an open letter against the war. Now the officials are trying in every possible way to pretend that only a few writers such as Lyudmila Ulitskaya, Boris Akunin, Dmitry Bykov and I spoke out unequivocally against the war. In fact, hundreds of authors have said 'No' to the war. Only a few support it and serve the Kremlin. They are something like functionary dandies of the literary professional associations, who are nostalgic for the Soviet Union, but not authors.

As for me personally, I don't tend to overestimate my own impact on people's minds. I think in general that my measure of responsibility as a person who works with language and communicates with the audience through language is to articulate mood and meaning. It must be made clear that public support for a fratricidal, bloody, predatory war is based primarily on lies. You have to remind people that no one has erased the truth – it still exists.

*Regardless of the outcome, what lies ahead for Russia after the war?*

I fear that what Putin has done has set mechanisms in motion that have opened up apocalyptic scenarios for the country. Military operations in the middle of cities, executions of civilians, genocide, war crimes, and even civil wars are all taboos. The majority of those dying on both sides speak Russian. This is not a conflict with imaginary Nazis, but a postimperial civil war over the right to determine how the future of Russia and the post-Soviet space is to be controlled. The fact that a state is disintegrating and we are biting off part of it, while at the same time hostilities could also take place on our territory and be transferred to the territory of Crimea, actually removes all taboos on issues of the territory of Russia itself. Russia is violating the territorial integrity of its long-time ally, actually a co-founder of our empire, thereby legitimizing mirror-image reactions. I fear that in the long run this may lead to the disintegration of Russia itself. And this was completely unthinkable before the war began.

## A SHORT LIST OF ADDITIONAL LETTERS

[we-are-not-alone.ru / my-ne-odni.ru]

When first visited in early March this site provided links to 93 additional sites each hosting an open letter of protest together with the identity of the group responsible for the letter and the number of signatories of each. Several of the letters listed below figure among those presented earlier. By the time this list was downloaded roughly half of the original links had been suppressed or withdrawn. Of those below, many at that time were listed but not clickable. Today this site is no longer active. The record below is of interest as it identifies a large group of letters and notes the number of signatories. The numbers given here may differ from those given elsewhere as the numbers of signatories varied, of course, with time and reflect the facts at a given moment. Since this is a very early list, the eventual numbers were in available cases often considerably larger.

- W-1 IT Industries -- 33,450
- W-2 Developers of Computer Games -- 2,400
- W-3 Advertising and Public Relations Industry -- 1,450
- W-4 Business Education -- 39
- W-5 Russian Speakers -- 37
- W-6 Hotel Business -- 150
- W-7 Communication Deputies from Various Regions - 270
- W-8 \*Russian NGO's and Charitable Funds -- 550
- W-9 Players of Intellectual Games - 900
- W-10 \*Russian Citizens - 1,500
- W-11 Declaration of Law Defenders -- 200
- W-12 Advisory Federation of Attorneys of the \*Russian Federation -- 9
- W-13 Priests of the Russian Orthodox Church -- 250
- W-14 Russian Citizens in Cyprus -- 49
- W-15 Citizens with Chronic Illnesses and Disabilities -- 36
- W-16 Students, Graduate Students, & Doctoral Candidates, Higher Education Institutions – 15,100
- W-17 Specialists in the Work of William Shakespeare -- 23
- W-18 Anthropologists – 700
- W-19 \*Russian Students in Journalistic Sciences – 6,900
- W-20 Society of Educators - 1,000
- W-21 Collective of Academic Experts and Educational Specialists -- 400
- W-22 Graduates and Students of MFTI -- 3,300
- W-23 Video Address of Young Students – 44
- W-24 Teachers and Professors of Russian Literature – 400
- W-25 Moscow State University – 4,750
- W-26 Graduates of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University – 1,050
- W-27 Students and Graduate Students, Philosophy Department, Moscow State University – 150
- W-28 \*Russian Mathematicians – 350
- W-29 Historians – 1,150
- W-30 Montessori Teachers – 54
- W-31 Students, Graduates, and Co-workers of St. Petersburg University – 500
- W-32 Specialists in Digital Humanitarian Science --150
- W-33 Geologists and Workers in the Field of Geology – 100
- W-34 Workers, Graduate Students, & Students, Mechanical Mathematics,  
Moscow State University – 100
- W-35 \*Russian Students and Graduates Abroad – 100
- W-36 Architects and Urban Builders – 6750
- W-37 \* Russian Designers and Illustrators – 11,100
- W-38 – Students and Graduate Students, Presidential Fund “Talent and Success” – 93
- W-39 Russian Podcast Industry – 470

W-40 Creative Industry – 200  
W-41 Photographers and Video Photographers – 450  
W-42 \* Russian Psychologists and Psychiatrists -- 5,200  
W-43 \* Russian Psychologists – 550  
W-44 Rock Climbers -- 1000  
W-45 \*Russian Comics – 300  
W-46 Film Directors – 95  
W-47 Cinema industry - 15  
W-48 Musicians -- 95  
W-49 Animators – 900  
W-50 Writers – 1050  
W-51 Film camera workers -- 85  
W-52 Managers of Leading \*Russian Theatre and Well-known Cultural Leaders – 21  
W-53 \*Russian Workers in Culture and Art  
W-54 Editors  
W-55 Poets of Russia – 400

## **OPEN LETTERS OF PROTEST IN THE ORIGINAL RUSSIAN**

1. Mathematicians
2. Workers in the IT Industry
3. Address of the All-\*Russian Officers' Assembly
4. Medical Personnel
5. Professionals in the Book Trade
6. Scientists and Science Journalists
7. Geographers
8. Psychologists & Psychiatrists
9. Rock Climbers
10. Students, Doctoral Candidates, Instructors, Co-Workers, and Graduates of Moscow State University
11. Agents of the Arts and Culture: Artists, Curators, Architects, Critics, Art Scho-lars & Managers

### ***Учёные-Математики Президенту Российской Федерации В. В. Путину***

Господин президент!

Мы, учёные-математики, работающие в Российской Федерации, вы-ражаем решительный протест против военного вторжения на терри-торию Украины, начатого российской армией 24 февраля 2022 года.

Уровень жизни в стране и её положение в мире во многом определяются уровнем её науки. Ученые всего мира работают над задачами, не имеющими национальных и территориальных ограничений, ради благо-получия всего человечества.

Международное сотрудничество, отсутствие границ для распро-странения знаний и гуманистические ценности — основа, на которой строится наука. Наши многолетние усилия по укреплению репутации России как ведущего математического центра полностью обесценены в результате неспровоцированной военной агрессии, инициатором которой выступила наша страна.

Математика всегда была одной из немногих областей фундаментальной науки, в которых Россия сохраняла ведущие мировые позиции. Как подтверждение этого, Россия должна была принять летом 2022 года самую престижную математическую конференцию в мире — Между-народный конгресс математиков.

Международный математический союз отменил это решение в связи с нападением России на Украину. В ситуации, когда наша страна стала военным агрессором и, как следствие,

страной-изгоем, лидерские позиции России в мировой математике будут безвозвратно утрачены.

В поручениях Президента от 4 декабря 2020 года математика была названа приоритетным направлением развития Российской Федерации; были обозначены цели как в области фундаментальной науки, так и в образовании. Эти цели, безусловно, не могут быть достигнуты в текущих условиях, когда жизни наших ближайших коллег — ученых в Украине, с которыми нас связывают многие годы успешной совместной работы, ежедневно подвергаются опасности, источником которой является российская армия, а Россия оказалась в международной изоляции, без возможности интенсивного научного обмена и кооперации с учёными из других стран.

Мы убеждены, что никакие геополитические интересы не могут служить оправданием жертв и кровопролития. Война приведёт лишь к утрате страной её будущего, ради которого мы работаем. Мы требуем немедленного прекращения боевых действий и вывода российских войск с территории Украины.

***Сотрудники ИТ-отрасли опубликовали открытое письмо против «операции» в Украине — его подписало больше тысячи человек «Прогресс невозможен в условиях войны».***

Инициатор продакт-менеджер HeadHunter Наталья Лукьянчикова, она опубликовала письмо на своей странице Facebook. Всего его подписало больше 1300 человек.

Среди них сотрудники HeadHunter, «Яндекс», «Ситимобила», «ЮMoney», «Додо пиццы», Skyeng, «Сбера», АБВУ, «Циана», «Авиасейлса», «Тинькофф», JetBrains, Skillbox, VK, «ВКонтакте», «Одноклассников», «Авито», ВТБ, Semrush, МТС, Arrival, Ozon, «Билайна», Wildberries и других крупных компаний.

Мы считаем любое проявление силы, которое ведет к развязыванию войны, неоправданным, и призываем отменить решения, которые могут неминуемо повлечь за собой человеческие жертвы с каждой стороны. Наши страны всегда были близки друг другу. И сегодня мы волнуемся за наших украинских коллег, друзей, родных. Мы обеспокоены и морально угнетены тем, что сейчас происходит в городах Украины.

В своей работе мы делаем лучшие продукты, лучший сервис, мы искренне делаем все, чтобы российскими ИТ-решениям можно было гордиться. Мы хотим, чтобы наша страна ассоциировалась не с войной, а с миром и прогрессом.

Прогресс и развитие технологий во благо человеку невозможны в условиях войны и угроз жизням и здоровью людей, они возможны только в условиях сотрудничества, разнообразия точек зрения, обмена информацией и открытого диалога.

из текста письма

**Подобные письма публикуют представители и других отраслей например, от учителей, учёных и научных журналистов, врачей, работников культуры.**  
**#дирижёр**

Дорогие коллеги!

Здесь было открытое письмо представителей ИТ-индустрии, которое подписали 33,494 человека.

В связи с принятием Думой новых ужесточающих законов, 4 марта 2022 года, еще до момента их вступления в действие, прекратился прием подписей. Так же с 4 марта 2022 года

прекратилось любое распространение письма и общение со СМИ. В связи с принятием новых законов мы посчитали небезопасным оставлять это письмо в открытом доступе со списком подписантов.

До принятия законов письмо с подписями было отправлено в Правительство РФ и депутатам различных партий Государственной Думы РФ.

Спасибо всем за поддержку!

### ***Обращение Общероссийского Офицерского Собранин к Президенту и Гражданам Российской Федерации***

Сегодня человечество живет в ожидании войны. А война это неизбежные человеческие жертвы, разрушения, страдания больших масс людей, уничтожение привычного образа жизни, нарушение систем жизнедеятельности государств и народов. Большая война – это огромная трагедия, чье-то тяжелое преступление. Так случилось, что в центре этой грознщей катастрофы оказалась Россия. И, пожалуй, это впервые в ее истории.

Ранее Россия (СССР) вела вынужденные (справедливые) войны, и, как правило, когда иного выхода не оставалось, когда жизненно важные интересы государства и общества оказывались под угрозой.

А что сегодня угрожает существованию самой России, и есть ли такие угрозы? Можно утверждать, что действительно угрозы налицо – страна на грани завершения своей истории. Все жизненно важные сферы, включая демографию, устойчиво деградируют, а темпы вымирания населения бьют мировые рекорды. И деградация носит системный характер, а в любой сложной системе разрушение одного из элементов, может привести к обрушению всей системы.

И это, на наш взгляд главная угроза Российской Федерации. Но это угроза внутреннего характера, исходящая от модели государства, качества власти и состояния общества. И причины ее формирования внутренние: нежизне-способность модели государства, полная недееспособность и непро-фессионализм системы власти и управления, пассивность и неорганизованность общества. В таком состоянии любая страна долго не живет.

Что касается внешних угроз, они безусловно присутствуют. Но, по нашей экспертной оценке, они не являются в данный момент критическими, непосредственно угрожающими существованию российской государственности, ее жизненно важным интересам. Сохраняется в целом стратегическая стабильность, ядерное оружие находится под надежным контролем, группировки сил НАТО не наращиваются, угрожающей активности не проявляют.

Поэтому нагнетаемая вокруг Украины ситуация носит, прежде всего, искусственный, корыстный характер для неких внутренних сил, РФ в том числе. В результате развала СССР, в котором решающее участие приняла Россия (Ельцин), Украина стала независимым государством, членом ООН, и в соответствии с ст. 51 устава ООН имеет право на индивидуальную и коллективную оборону.

Руководство РФ до сих пор не признало результаты референдума о независимости ДНР и ЛНР, при этом на официальном уровне не раз, в том числе в ходе Минского переговорного процесса, подчеркивало принадлежность их территорий и населения к Украине.

Также не раз говорилось на высоком уровне о стремлении поддерживать нормальные отношения с Киевом, не выделяя в особые отношения с ДНР и ЛНР.

Вопрос о творимом со стороны Киева геноциде в юго – восточных областях не поднимался ни в ООН, ни в ОБСЕ. Естественно, для того, чтобы Украина осталась дружественным соседом для России, необходимо было для нее продемонстрировать привлекательность российской модели государства и системы власти.

Но РФ таковой не стала, ее модель развития и внешнеполитический механизм международного сотрудничества отталкивают практически всех соседей, и не только.

Обретение Россией Крыма и Севастополя и непризнание их российскими со стороны международного сообщества (а, значит подавляющее число государств мира по – прежнему считают их принадлежностью к Украине) убедительно показывает несостоятельность российской внешней политики, и непривлекательность внутренней.

Попытки через ультиматум и угрозы применения силы заставить «полюбить» РФ и ее руководство, бессмысленно и крайне опасно.

Применение военной силы против Украины, во – первых, поставит под вопрос существование самой России как государства; во вторых, навсегда сделает русских и украинцев смертельными врагами. В-третьих, будут с одной и с другой стороны тысячи (десятки тысяч) погибших молодых, здоровых ребят, что безусловно скажется на будущей демографической ситуации в наших вымирающих странах. На поле боя, если это случится, российские войска столкнутся не только с украинскими военнослужащими, среди которых будет много русских ребят, но и с военнослужащими и техникой многих стран НАТО, а государства - члены альянса обязаны будут объявить России войну.

Президент Турецкой Республики Р. Эрдоган четко заявил на чьей стороне будет воевать Турция. И можно предполагать, что двум полевым армиям и флоту Турции будет приказано «освободить» Крым и Севастополь и, возможно вторгнуться на Кавказ.

Кроме того, Россия однозначно будет занесена в категорию стран, угрожающих миру и международной безопасности, обложена тяжелейшими санкциями, превратится в изгоя мирового сообщества, и вероятно будет лишена статуса независимого государства.

Не понимать таковых последствий президент и правительство, министерство обороны не могут, не настолько они глупы.

Возникает вопрос: а каковы истинные цели провоцирования напряженности на грани войны, и возможного развязывания широко масштабных военных действий? А что таковые будут, говорит численность и боевой состав формируемых сторонами группировок войск – не менее чем по ста тысяч военнослужащих с каждой стороны. Россия, оголяя восточные рубежи, перебрасывает соединения к границам Украины.

По нашему мнению, руководство страны понимая, что вывести страну из системного кризиса оно не способно, а это может привести к восстанию народа и смене власти в стране, при поддержке олигархата, коррумпированного чиновничества, прикормленных СМИ и силовиков, решило активизировать политическую линию на окончательное разрушение российской государственности и истребление коренного населения страны.

И война является тем средством, которое решит эту задачу с целью удержать на некоторое время свою антинациональную власть и сохранить награбленные у народа богатства. Другого объяснения мы предположить не можем.

От президента РФ, мы офицеры России, требуем отказаться от преступной политики провоцирования войны, в которой РФ окажется в одиночестве против объединенных сил Запада, создать условия для реализации на практике ст. 3 Конституции РФ и уйти в отставку.

Обращаемся к всем военнослужащим запаса и в отставке, гражданам России с рекомендацией проявить бдительность, организованность, поддержать требования Совета Общероссийского офицерского собрания, активно выступать против пропаганды и развязывания войны, не допустить внутреннего гражданского конфликта с применением военной силы.

**Председатель Общероссийского офицерского собрания**

**Генерал-полковник Ивашов Л.Г.**

**28 января 2022.**



***Председатель «Общероссийского офицерского Собрания» (ООС) генерал-полковник Ивашов Леонид Григорьевич выступил с Заявлением по поводу общественной реакции на «Обращение Совета ООС» «Канун войны»:***

***Открытое письмо Президенту Российской Федерации от лица  
Российских Врачей, Медсестер, Медбратьев И Фельдшеров*** [удалено по  
требованию РКН, КоАП РФ, УК РФ]

***На территории Украины***

**Письмо опубликовано: <https://madmed.media/open-letter/>**

Письмо считается опубликованным с 25 февраля 2022 года. С 10:20 04 марта 2022 года подписи не принимаются в связи с поправками в коап рф. Требование медицинского сообщества российской федерации в лице организаторов и создателя этого письма было опубликовано и обновлялось до 10:20 04 марта 2022 года, и считается опубликованным и обновленным ровно до 10:20 04 марта 2022 года. Иные публикации, призывы, любые иные действия не считаются осуществленными от создателя и организаторов этого письма. Создатель письма и

Организаторы никогда никого не призывали к антивоенным действиям имероприятиям.

Мы, российские врачи, медсестры, медбратья и фельдшеры, выступаем решительно [удалено по требованию РКН, КоАП РФ, УК РФ], совершаемых российскими вооруженными силами на территории Украины.

Мы не ищем виновных и никого не судим. Наше призвание — сохранять человеческую жизнь. Поэтому трудно вообразить профессию более гуманную, чем профессия врача. И сейчас, в это тяжелое для обеих стран время, мы призываем к [удалено по требованию РКН, КоАП РФ, УК РФ].

Как и во все времена, мы не разделяем воюющих на своих и чужих. Мы давали клятву помогать всем людям, вне зависимости от национальности, вероисповедания или политических взглядов. Но сейчас нашей помощи недостаточно. Боевые действия заберут множество жизней, покалечат столькосудеб, что мы не успеем помочь при всех возможных усилиях. Кричать от боли, взывая к матерям все будут на одном языке.

Любой снаряд или пуля, даже не достигшие цели и не забравшие чью-то жизнь, все равно несут с собой страх, панику и боль. Боль, с которой сжимается сердце. Сейчас болят сердца у мирных граждан. У солдат. У солдатских матерей и жён. У детей. Никто не заслуживает этого страха. Никто не заслуживает быть убитым или покалеченным. Случайно или намеренно.

На территории проведения спецоперации находятся наши родные, друзья, пациенты и коллеги. Среди них нет ни одного человека, кому [удалено по требованию РКН, КоАП РФ, УК РФ] шло бы на пользу. Мы не можем оставаться в стороне от боли и страданий, которые с каждой минутой приумножаются в этом мире.

Человеческая жизнь бесценна. Чтобы убить человека, хватит мгновения, в то время как лечение и восстановление пострадавших может длиться годами. И за мгновения сегодняшних боевых действий мы будем расплачиваться долгиегоды в дальнейшем.

Какими бы благими целями ни оправдывалось применение смертельного оружия, оно остается смертельным. Смертельным и вызывающим боль и страдания.

Поэтому, следуя своим клятвам и сохраняя гуманное и равноправное отношение ко всем жизням, мы требуем немедленного прекращения всех операций с применением смертельного оружия.

Подписывая данное письмо я понимаю и согласен/согласна с тем, что моя подпись может быть и будет опубликована.

Были опубликованы ровно 17690 подписей медицинских работников Российской Федерации. Однако в связи с изменением Законодательства Российской Федерации во избежание законодательно принятых мер имена скрыты. *Российские Книжники Против Войны*

Мы, российские книгоиздатели, книготорговцы, редакторы, переводчики, критики, иллюстраторы, дизайнеры, верстальщики, корректоры, печатники, библиотекари, букинисты, протестуем против войны, развязанной властями Российской Федерации в Украине. Война должна быть немедленно прекращена, а инициаторы и участники военной агрессии должны лишиться своих чинов и званий и предстать перед судом.

Книга — одна из главных форм сохранения и передачи человеческого опыта. И весь этот накопленный за века опыт учит нас: война — это преступление, а ценность человеческой жизни безусловна. Войну нужно остановить!

Список подписавшихся составляет более 1600 человек (по состоянию на 05/03/22).

### ***Открытое Письмо Российских Ученых и Научных Журналистов Против Войны с Украиной***

24.02.2022

Мы, российские ученые и научные журналисты, заявляем решительный протест против военных действий, начатых вооружёнными силами нашей страны на территории Украины. Этот фатальный шаг ведёт к огромным человеческим жертвам и подрывает основы сложившейся системы международной безопасности. Ответственность за развязывание новой войны в Европе целиком лежит на России. Для этой войны нет никаких разумных оправданий. Попытки использовать ситуацию в Донбассе как повод для развёртывания военной операции не вызывают никакого доверия.

Совершенно очевидно, что Украина не представляет угрозы для безопасности

### ***Географы Против Военных Действий В Украине Президенту Российской Федерации Владимиру Путину***

Мы, граждане Российской Федерации, географы, преподаватели, ученые, студенты, аспиранты и выпускники, подписавшиеся под этим обращением, осознавая свою ответственность за судьбу нашей страны, выступаем категорически против военных действий на территории суверенного государства Украина и требуем немедленного прекращения огня со всех сторон и вывода российских войск на территорию России.

Мы считаем аморальным молчать сейчас, когда каждый день и каждый час в результате военных действий гибнут люди. Боевые действия угрожают таким уязвимым объектам, как Чернобыльская АЭС, гидроузлы на Днестре и уникальные биосферные резерваты Украины. В XXI веке недопустимо решать политические конфликты с оружием в руках, любые противоречия внутри Украины и между нашими государствами должны разрешаться только переговорным путём. Не важно, чем оправдывается вторжение российских войск, за него будут расплачиваться все россияне и будущие поколения жителей России.

Военная операция делает бессмысленными многолетние усилия географов и других специалистов по сохранению ландшафтов, борьбе с изменениями климата, созданию особо охраняемых природных территорий, анализу и планированию мирного территориального развития экономик России и Украины, их приграничного сотрудничества. Мы не можем

отказаться от миссии продолжения мирного и гармоничного развития нашей страны, её интеграции в мировую экономику.

Мы хотим жить под мирным небом, в открытой миру стране и открытом ей мире, продолжать научные исследования во имя мира и благополучия нашей страны и всего человечества. Боевые действия нужно немедленно остановить!

***Открытое письмо президенту Российской Федерации  
Владимиру Владимировичу Путину  
Подпись под письмом психологов***

Мы, психологическое и психиатрическое сообщество России выступаем за немедленное прекращение военных действий на территории Украины.

Война – это концентрация всего разрушительного, что может действовать на человеческую психику. Тотальное отсутствие безопасности, неизвестность, насилие, беспомощность, потеря близких людей. Это аксиома не только для специалистов, занимающихся психическим здоровьем, но для всех людей, живущих в нашей стране и знающих ее историю.

Распространяющаяся сейчас пандемия насилия уже нанесла глубокую рану десяткам миллионов людей. Коллективная травма февраля 2022 года много лет будет влиять на отношения между странами и близкими людьми. Уже сейчас нужны колоссальные усилия для того, чтобы восстановить разрушенное.

Насилие должен прекратить тот, кто его инициировал. Никогда не поздно проявить лучшее, что есть в каждом из нас.

Остановите войну.

***Открытое Письмо Скалолазов России  
Против Войны в Украине.***

В нашем спорте возраст не разделяет. Дети, взрослые и старики тренируются и лазают вместе. Дети взрослеют рядом со старшими, а старики молодеют рядом с детьми.

В нашем спорте регалии не разделяют. Чемпионы мира и новички лазают в одних залах. Мы страхуем друг друга, бодем друг за друга, мы дружим. Нетак уж важно, кто круче. В нашем спорте границы и страны не разделяют. Мы лазаем на одних и тех же скалах. Встречаем друзей со всего мира. Мы доверяем свою жизнь друг другу, даже если не всегда можем говорить на одном языке. Мы понимаем друг друга без слов, по языку жестов. Мы бодем за своих спортсменов на соревнованиях, а сразу после этого так же горячо бодем за чужих.

У нас самый лучший спорт и самые лучшие люди, самые лучшие отношения без границ.

Но сегодня война разделяет нас. На это невозможно смотреть и нельзя отвести взгляд. Мы не хотим этой войны, она ужасна и отвратительна, ей нет оправдания. Нападение на Украину отравляет душу и разбивает сердце.

Отравляет наш спорт и разбивает наши мечты.

Мы требуем прекратить эту войну.

And in Ukrainian:

### ***Відкритий лист скелелазів Росії.***

У нашому спорті вік не поділяє. Діти, дорослі та старі тренуються і лазять разом. Діти дорослішають поруч із старшими, а старі молодшають поруч із дітьми.

У нашому спорті регалії не поділяють. Чемпіони світу та новачки лазять в одних залах. Ми страхуємо один одного, вболіваємо один за одного, ми дружимо. Не так вже й важливо, хто крутіший.

У нашому спорті кордони та країни не поділяють. Ми лазимо на одних і тих же скелях. Зустрічаємо друзів із усього світу. Ми довіряємо своє життя одне одному, навіть якщо не завжди можемо говорити однією мовою. Ми розуміємо одне одного без слів, мовою жестів. Ми вболіваємо за своїх спортсменів на змаганнях, а відразу після цього так само палко вболіваємо за чужих.

У нас найкращий спорт і найкращі люди, найкращі стосунки без кордонів.

Але сьогодні війна ділить нас. На це неможливо дивитись і не можна відвести погляд. Ми не хочемо цієї війни, вона жахлива та огидна, їй немає виправдання. Напад на Україну отруює душу та розбиває серце. Отруює наш спорт та розбиває наші мрії.

Ми вимагаємо припинити цю війну.

За чуть больше сутки, мы собрали больше 1000 подписей!

Мы спрячем имена под письмом, чтобы не подвергать людей опасности.

Помните, вы не одни.

### ***Сообщество МГУ имени М. В. Ломоносова Против Войны Студенты, Аспиранты, Преподаватели, Сотрудники и Выпускники***

Мы, студенты, аспиранты, преподаватели, сотрудники и выпускники старейшего университета России, Московского государственного университета имени М.В. Ломоносова, категорически осуждаем войну, которую наша страна развязала в Украине.

Россия и наши родители дали нам сильное образование, истинная ценность которого заключается в том, чтобы уметь критически оценивать происходящее вокруг, взвешивать аргументы, слышать друг друга и быть преданным истине — научной и гуманистической. Мы умеем называть вещи своими именами, и мы не можем оставаться в стороне.

Действия от имени Российской Федерации, которые её руководство называет «специальной военной операцией» — это война, и в этой ситуации нет места ни для эвфемизмов, ни для оправданий. Война — это насилие, жестокость, смерти, потери близких, бессилие и страх, которые не могут быть оправданы никакой целью. Война — самый жестокий акт расчеловечивания, который, как мы изучали в стенах школ и Университета, ни за что не должен повториться. Ценности абсолюта человеческой жизни, гуманизма, дипломатии и мирного разрешения противоречий, которые мы впитали в Университете, были растоптаны и выброшены в один миг, когда Россия вероломно вторглась на территорию Украины.

Жизни миллионов украинцев подвергаются угрозе ежечасно с момента вторжения военных сил Российской Федерации в Украину.

Мы выражаем поддержку народу Украины и категорически осуждаем войну, которую Россия развязала против украинцев.

Как выпускники старейшего вуза России мы знаем, что потери, нанесённые за шесть дней кровопролитной войны — прежде всего, человеческие, но также и социальные, экономические, культурные — невосполнимы. Мы также знаем, что война — это гуманитарная катастрофа, но мы и представить не можем глубину той раны, которую мы как народ России наносим народу Украины и самим себе прямо сейчас.

Мы требуем от руководства России немедленно прекратить огонь, покинуть территорию суверенного государства Украина и закончить эту позорную войну.

Мы просим всех граждан России, которым небезразлично её будущее, присоединиться к движению сторонников мира.

Мы против войны!

#нетвойне

Обращение подписали (5 марта 2022 года) более 7500 выпускников, сотрудников и студентов МГУ.

***Деятели Культуры и Искусств  
(Художники, Кураторы, Архитекторы, Критики, Искусствоведы, Арт-  
Менеджеры)***

«Сейчас в первую очередь нас беспокоит судьба украинцев, их жизнь и безопасность! Однако от лица профессионального сообщества нам также важно сказать, что дальнейшая эскалация войны обернется непоправимыми последствиями для работников искусства и культуры. Это заберет у нас последние возможности полноценно работать, высказываться, создавать проекты, популяризировать и развивать культуру, отнимет будущее.

Всё, что было сделано в культурном плане за последние 30 лет, сегодня оказалось поставлено под удар: все международные связи будут разорваны, культурные частные или государственные институции будут законсервированы, партнерские отношения с другими странами будут приостановлены. Всё это разрушит и без того хрупкую экономику российской культуры и существенно снизит ее значимость и для российского общества, и для международно-гособщества в целом. Заниматься культурой и искусством в таких условиях будет практически невозможно».

Подписали более 2000 человек.

## LINKS TO ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND RUSSIAN TEXTS

### ***Russian Historians Oppose Russian Military Operations in Ukraine***

<https://rus.postimees.ee/7467265/rossiyskie-istoriki-vystupili-protiv-voiny-s-ukrainoy>

### ***Film Operators of Russia Open Letter Protesting the War with Ukraine***

English Translation [by JMF]

“Otkrytoe pis'mo kinooperatorov Rossii protiv voiny s Ukrainoi,”

<https://t.me/meduzalive/52378>

### ***Petition of the Yabloko Party*** <https://www.yabloko.ru/stop-war>

### ***Letter of Students and Faculty of Moscow State University Protesting the War***

<https://msualumniagainstarwar.notion.site/0378ab0a0719486181781e8e2b360180>

### ***Letter from Music Journalists of Russia to Vladimir Putin, President of the \*Russian Federation, and to All Plenipotentiary Persons***

February 27, 2022

<https://www.zvuki.ru/R/P/82589/>

### ***Letter from Scientists and Science Journalists***

[https://theins.ru/opinions/stern/249307?fbclid=IwAR2vC3LKJctou9s\\_UnwqBrxB3kd1YTiVkJPGGftcMDmVumyITxc-2xr\\_jok](https://theins.ru/opinions/stern/249307?fbclid=IwAR2vC3LKJctou9s_UnwqBrxB3kd1YTiVkJPGGftcMDmVumyITxc-2xr_jok)

See also: Boris Shtern, “Voina protiv Ukrainy nespravedliva i bessmyslenna’. Rossiiskie uchenye ne poboialis’ vystupit’ protiv vtorzheniia,” The Insider, March 16, 2022,

### ***Open Letter of the Rock Climbers of Russia Against the War in Ukraine***

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1rcUkrHQgOAK\\_6hV1LjzWVhgz0KyQY03y/edit#](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1rcUkrHQgOAK_6hV1LjzWVhgz0KyQY03y/edit#)

### ***An Open Letter to the President of \*Russian Federation from Russian Doctors, Nurses and Paramedics with a Demand to [have deleted at the Request of the \*Russian Supervisory,***

### ***the Administrative Code of the \*Russian Federation, the Criminal Code of the \*Russian Federation] on the territory of Ukraine].***

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1rcUkrHQgOAK\\_6hV1LjzWVhgz0KyQY03y/edit#](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1rcUkrHQgOAK_6hV1LjzWVhgz0KyQY03y/edit#)

also

<https://madmed.media/open-letter/>

### ***Geographers against Military Action in Ukraine to President of the \*Russian Federation Vladimir Putin***

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1KcqOKDIIaSmbmfWbWwjzjN-/edit>

### ***Letter of Mathematicians Against War to the President of the \*Russian Federation, V. V. Putin.***

English and Russian available at:

<https://euromathsoc.org/news/open-letter-from-russian-mathematicians-against-the-war-in-ukraine-58>

Original at <https://trv-science.ru/2022/02/mathematicians-against-war/>  
No longer available.

***Open Letter from \*Russian Scientists and Science Journalists against the War in Ukraine.***

In English:

<https://www.eureporter.co/world/russia/2022/02/24/an-open-letter-from-russian-scientists-and-science-journalists-against-the-war-with-ukraine/>

In Russian:

Boris Shtern, “Voina protiv Ukrainy nespravedлива i bessmyslenna’. Rossiiskie uchenye ne poboialis’ vystupit’ protiv vtorzheniia,” The Insider, March 16, 2022,

[https://theins.ru/opinions/stern/249307?fbclid=IwAR2vC3LKJctou9s\\_UnwqBrxB3kd1YTiVkPGGftcMDmVumyFITxc-2xr\\_jok](https://theins.ru/opinions/stern/249307?fbclid=IwAR2vC3LKJctou9s_UnwqBrxB3kd1YTiVkPGGftcMDmVumyFITxc-2xr_jok)

***A Selection of Letters:***

<https://paperpaper.ru/deyateli-kultury-vrachi-uchitelya-i-stud/>

***An Open Letter from the \*Russian Congress of Intellectuals to the Russian Leadership***

February 4, 2022

In English

<https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2022/02/04/an-open-letter-to-the-russian-leadership/>

Original Russian as below no longer available:

*Лишь бы не было войны*

[https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSeJzW8QSe\\_Jrl01hQI\\_7yEF0HjcfLkAOVgpkxOf\\_3g30RYH1A/viewform](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSeJzW8QSe_Jrl01hQI_7yEF0HjcfLkAOVgpkxOf_3g30RYH1A/viewform)

*Address of the All-\*Russian Officers’ Assembly to the President and Citizens of the \*Russian Federation about the Situation in Ukraine.*

[http://www.ooc.su/news/obrashhenie\\_obshherossijskogo\\_oficerskogo\\_sobranija\\_k\\_prezidentu\\_i\\_grazhdanam\\_rossijskoj\\_federacii/2022-01-31-79?fbclid=IwAR0HeVNxHIT6D2ELCVkhYBoa-z31dpXtdBDId5YOSFKQdFSIk4baORAeIaA](http://www.ooc.su/news/obrashhenie_obshherossijskogo_oficerskogo_sobranija_k_prezidentu_i_grazhdanam_rossijskoj_federacii/2022-01-31-79?fbclid=IwAR0HeVNxHIT6D2ELCVkhYBoa-z31dpXtdBDId5YOSFKQdFSIk4baORAeIaA)

In English:

[https://www.reddit.com/r/VaushV/comments/soqx5d/address\\_of\\_the\\_allrussian\\_officers\\_assembly\\_to/](https://www.reddit.com/r/VaushV/comments/soqx5d/address_of_the_allrussian_officers_assembly_to/)

***Open Letter from Representatives of the \*Russian IT Industry against Military Operation on the Territory of Ukraine***

<https://vc.ru/flood/371332-sotrudniki-it-otrasli-opublikovali-otkrytoe-pismo-protiv-operacii-v-ukraine-ego-podpisalo-bolshe-tysyachi-chelovek>

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1rcUkrHOgQAK\\_6hV1LjzWVhgz0KyOY03y/edit#](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1rcUkrHOgQAK_6hV1LjzWVhgz0KyOY03y/edit#)

***Residents of Sakhalin write Putin a Letter Calling for a Halt to the War in Ukraine***

March 2, 2022

[https://www.sibreal.org/a/zhiteli-sahalina-napisali-putinu-pismo-s-prizyvom-ostanovit-voynu-v-ukraine/31733877.html?fbclid=IwAR13QWPpr5z84-S9pkBZCSzO-gLfhSln4886Izw0s0gZhN6iDjsMLs\\_57ig](https://www.sibreal.org/a/zhiteli-sahalina-napisali-putinu-pismo-s-prizyvom-ostanovit-voynu-v-ukraine/31733877.html?fbclid=IwAR13QWPpr5z84-S9pkBZCSzO-gLfhSln4886Izw0s0gZhN6iDjsMLs_57ig)

***Statement of the Independent Rights Defenders Against War. No to War!***

<https://dept.one/ukraine>

***\*Russian Writers, Journalists, and Directors Call for End to War***

<https://meduza.io/news/2022/02/24/eto-nash-pozor-rossiyskie-pisateli-zhurnalisty-i-rezhissery-prizvali-ostanovit-voynu-s-ukrainoy>

***Open Letter from the Psychologists and Psychiatrists of Russia***

***to President of the \*Russian Federation Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin***

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1rcUkrHQgOAK\\_6hV1LjzWVhgz0KyQY03y/edit#](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1rcUkrHQgOAK_6hV1LjzWVhgz0KyQY03y/edit#)

***Open Letter by Russian-Speaking Academic Economists***

<https://sites.google.com/view/netvoine-en>

**WE HEAR YOU  
МЫ ВАС СЛЫШИМ**



To the Russian Signatories of the Many Letters  
Protesting the Invasion of Ukraine

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Обращение к Российским Гражданам,  
Подписавшим Многочисленные Письма Протеста  
Против Вторжения в Украину

We, the undersigned, each in his or her own name, are responding here to your many letters addressed to the President of the Russian Federation in protest of the invasion of Ukraine and calling for an immediate halt to hostilities. We are struck by your extraordinary diversity. Among the Russians who have come together in this expression of distress and outrage are your scientists, your geographers, your doctors, many other health care specialists, rock climbers, mathematicians, IT specialists, journalists, chess masters, psychologists and psychiatrists, retired military officers, Shakespeare scholars, philologists, graduate students, members of the Russian Academy of Science, and many others.

We are struck, too, that your letters invoke many common themes. Most notably they express your conviction that the invasion was unprovoked and without justification. The war violates your shared commitment to a common humanity that transcends borders and cultures. It sunders bonds of family, friendship, and profession. It shrinks and darkens your futures. We find particularly poignant the desire expressed in one letter: «We want to live under an open sky in a country open to the world and in a world open to our country.» We understand and share that aspiration.

We understand, too, your sense that this war is tragically being waged, in your name, against those whose fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers fought and sacrificed alongside your own, valiantly and successfully, to resist Hitler's assault on your peoples over eighty years ago.

We recognize your anguish in the face of the pain inflicted today on Ukrainians, pain long not experienced by the citizens of either Ukraine or your own country. As one of your letters says: «Every bullet brings pain and panic.»

We cherish the values that inspire your letters: the reverence for life and the shared responsibility for our common humanity irrespective of individual identities. Although some words in your letters have been obscured by state censorship, your message survives.

We acknowledge your insights as we salute your courage in bringing them to our own and the world's attention.

Above all we echo your call for an immediate halt to the destruction.

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Мы, нижеподписавшиеся, отвечаем на Ваши письма протеста против вторжения России в Украину, адресованные Президенту Российской Федерации и призывающие к немедленному прекращению боевых действий. Нас поразило разнообразие подписавших эти письма. Среди Вас есть представители самых различных областей науки, культуры и искусства, объединившихся в выражении боли и возмущения. Среди Вас - учёные в области географии, математики, медицины и здравоохранения, IT-специалисты, журналисты, шахматисты, психологи и психиатры, военные в отставке, шекспироведы, филологи, аспиранты, члены Российской академии наук и многие другие.

Также наше внимание привлекло то, что Ваши письма затрагивают многие общечеловеческие темы. В частности, они выражают Вашу убежденность в том, что вторжение было неоправданным и неспровоцированным. Война нарушает нашу общую приверженность гуманизму, преодолевающему все границы и культурные различия. Война разрушает узы семьи, дружбы, профессиональные связи и наносит ущерб будущему. Мы разделяем Ваше непреклонное желание, выраженное в одном из писем: «Мы хотим жить под открытым небом в стране, открытой миру, и в мире, открытом нашей стране». Мы понимаем и разделяем это устремление.

Мы также понимаем Ваше возмущение тем, что эта война трагически ведется от Вашего имени против тех, чьи отцы, деды и прадеды доблестно и успешно сражались и жертвовали собой, чтобы проти-востоять нападению Гитлера более 80 лет назад.

Мы признаем Вашу боль из-за страданий, причиняемых сегодня украинцам, и давно не испытанных ни гражданами Украины, ни гражданами Вашей страны. Как говорится в одном из Ваших писем: «Каждая пуля приносит боль и панику».

Мы дорожим ценностями, которые выражены в Ваших письмах: уважение к ценности каждой жизни и коллективной ответственности за человечество независимо от индивидуальности. Хотя некоторые слова в ваших письмах убраны в соответствии с требованиями государственной цензуры, Ваши обращения выжили.

Мы признаем Ваши соображения и отдаем должное Вашему мужеству в привлечении к ним нашего личного и мирового внимания.

Прежде всего, мы присоединяемся к Вашему призыву незамедлительно прекратить войну.

---

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Created by John Francis, 2022