

# **Russian aggression against Ukraine in the perception of Ukrainian and Russian society**

Dr Iryna Pawlowska

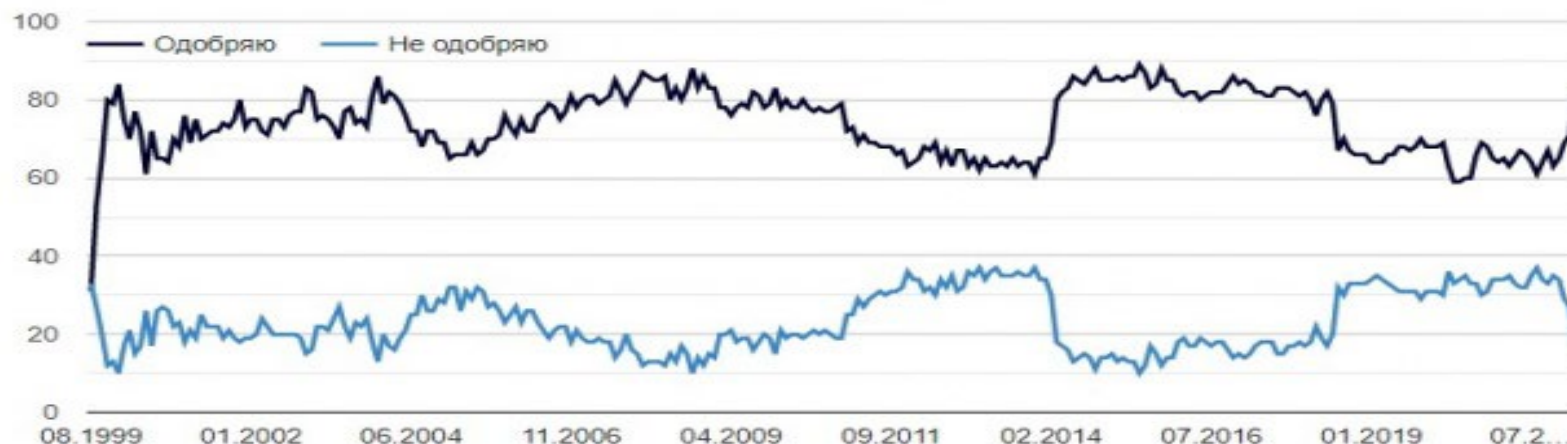
Centre of Eastern Europe, Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin

The war against democracy and civil  
society: voices from Ukraine, Russia and  
Poland

**28 April 2022**

# Support for the actions of the army and the president of Russian Federation by the Russian sociological agency Levada Center as of March 31, 2022

## ОДОБРЕНИЕ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ ВЛАДИМИРА ПУТИНА



Вы в целом одобряете или не одобряете деятельность Владимира Путина на посту президента (премьер-министра) России?

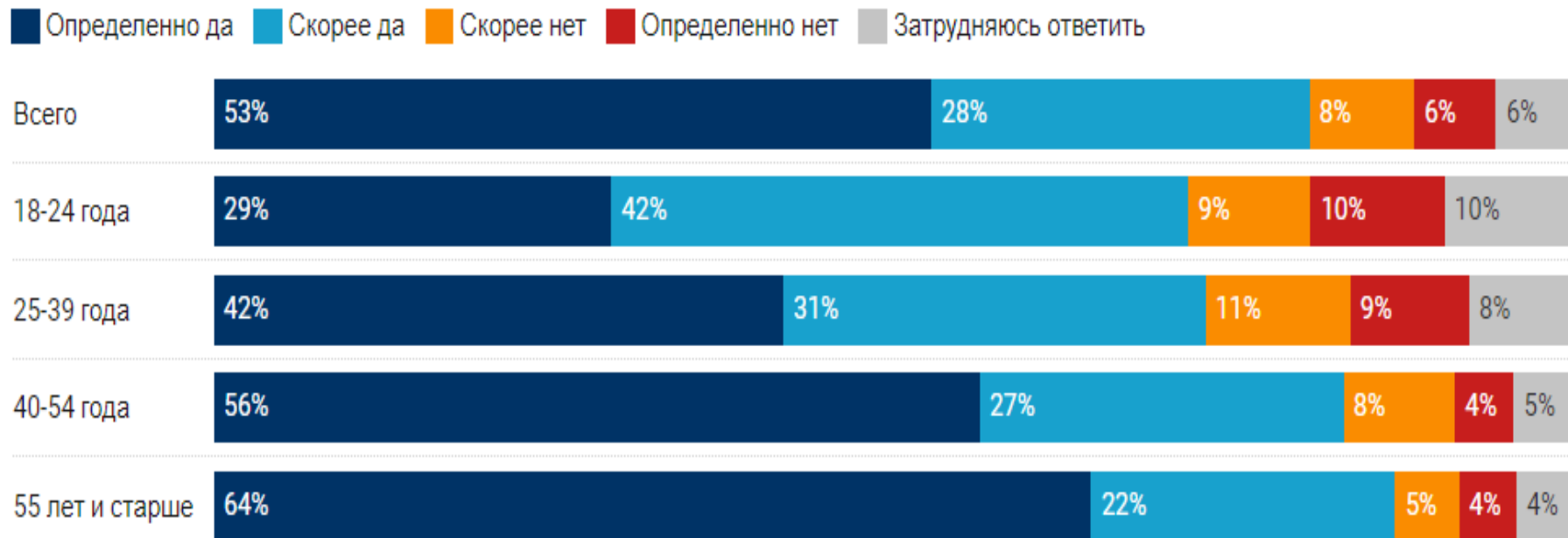
	10.2021	11.2021	12.2021	01.2022	02.2022	03.2022
Одобрять	67	63	65	69	71	83
Не одобряю	33	35	34	29	27	15
Нет ответа	1	2	1	2	1	2

# Support for the actions of the army and the president of Russian Federation

Do you personally support or not the actions of the Russian armed forces in Ukraine?

## Вы лично поддерживаете или нет действия российских вооруженных сил в Украине?

в %% опрошенных по каждой возрастной группе



Левада-центр, @levada\_center, принудительно признан иноагентом

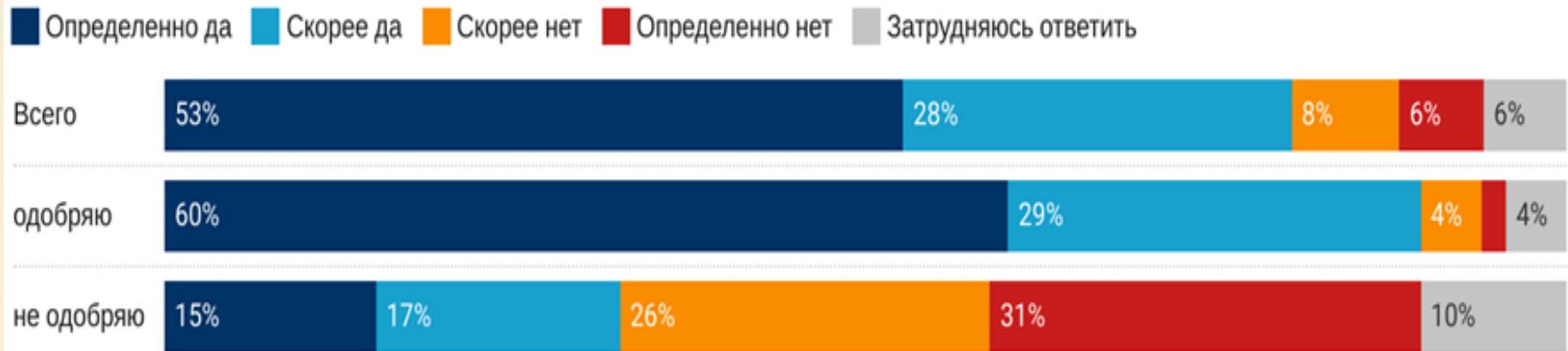
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# Support for the actions of the army and the president of Russian Federation

Do you personally support or not the actions of the Russian armed forces in Ukraine (among respondents who approve of the activities of the President of the Russian Federation)?

## Вы лично поддерживаете или нет действия российских вооруженных сил в Украине?

в %% опрошенных по уровню одобрения президента



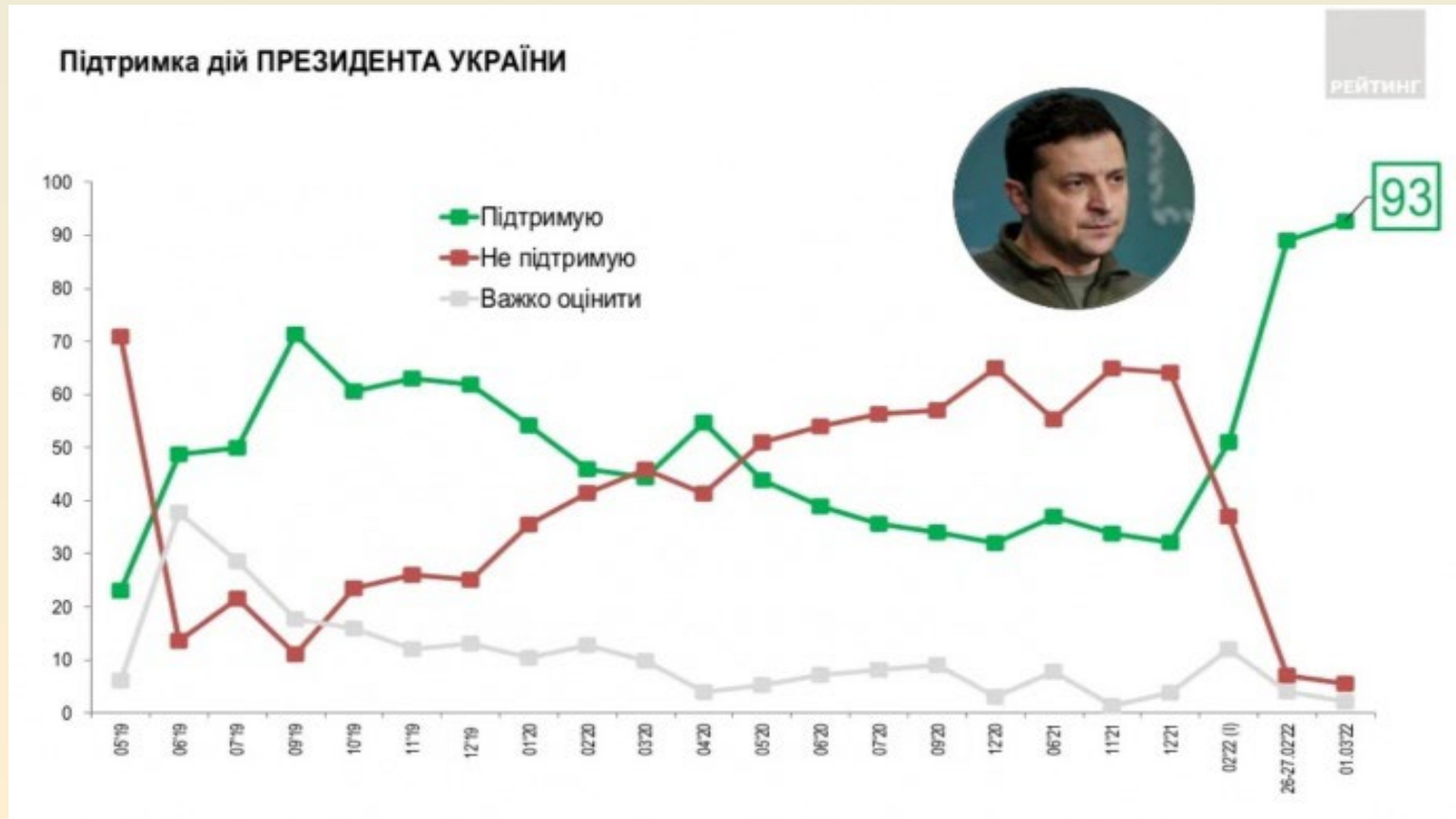
Левада-центр, @levada\_center, принудительно признан иноагентом

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Levada centre forcibly recognized by a foreign agent

# Rating of the President of Ukraine

As of March 3, 93% of Ukrainians support the activities of President Volodymyr Zelensky (survey was conducted by the Rating Sociological Group). The rating of Volodymyr Zelensky as of February 23 was 41%.



# Stigmatization in Russia

Committee for the Protection of National Interests of the Russian Federation Created the website "Traitors" (inagency.ru). The website created a list of "enemies" (red mark) and "traitors" (yellow mark) who opposed the special operation in Ukraine. All of them are popular persons and influencers. As of April 2, there were 128 Russians and Ukrainians in that list.



ЛОБОДА СВЕТЛАНА СЕРГЕЕВНА  
Певица



МАДЕР МИХАИЛ  
Организатор распространения  
антироссийских материалов



МАКАРЕВИЧ АНДРЕЙ ВАДИМОВИЧ  
Музыкант



МАРТЫНОВ КИРИЛЛ  
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МИРЗОЕВ ВЛАДИМИР  
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МИХАЙЛЕНКО ИГОРЬ ВЛАДИМИРОВИЧ  
2-й командир полка «Азов»



МОЛОЧНИКОВ АЛЕКСАНДР  
АЛЕКСАНДРОВИЧ  
Актер



## **Stigmatization in Russia - “Foreign agents”**

The concept appeared in 2012 in the law „About non-commercial „Foreign agents” have turned in the public consciousness from a legal concept into a label of an „Accomplice of the enemy”. Now individuals can also be added to the register of foreign agents. If at first the foreign agent had to submit data to the register himself, now the authorities can do it for him. An organization/person from the registry is required to publicly declare that they have the status of a „foreign agent” (on profiles, pages on the Internet, articles, interviews, etc.)

# Stigmatization in Russia - “Foreign agents”

A foreign agent must put such message wherever information about him appears publicly.

**“This message (material) was created and (or) distributed by a foreign media outlet acting as a foreign agent and (or) a Russian legal entity acting as a foreign agent.”**

The screenshot shows the Medusa website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the URL `meduza.io/pages/contacts` and several utility links. Below the navigation bar, there is a dark header with the Medusa logo and the text "Мы всегда на связи" and "Скачайте приложение «Медузы» прямо сейчас". The main content area features a navigation menu with categories like "НОВОСТИ", "ВОЙНА", "ИСТОРИИ", "РАЗБОР", "ШАПИТО", and "МАГАЗ". A red banner below the navigation menu reads "ПОМОГИТЕ «МЕДУЗЕ». СЕЙЧАС". A large white box with a red border is overlaid on the page, containing the following text:

МЕДУЗА  
**О «Медузе»**

Данное сообщение (материал) создано и (или) распространено иностранным средством массовой информации, выполняющим функции иностранного агента, и (или) российским юридическим лицом, выполняющим функции иностранного агента.

Нам нужна ваша помощь. Пожалуйста, поддержите «Медузу».

**Medusa Project SIA**  
«Медуза» — международное русскоязычное издание



# List of persons who pose a threat to the national security of Ukraine

Ukraine also maintains a register of persons who pose a threat to the country's security or support the Putin regime. There are two such registries:

1 is official from the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy.

МІНІСТЕРСТВО КУЛЬТУРИ ТА ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ УКРАЇНИ

## Україна переможе!

ПРО МІНІСТЕРСТВО ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ДЛЯ ГРОМАДСЬКОСТІ ОГолошення

Головна > Діяльність > Інформаційна політика та безпека > ООС > Інформація > Перелік осіб, які створюють загрозу нацбезпеці > 26/03/2022 23:08:00

Законом України «Про внесення змін до деяких законів України щодо захисту інформаційного телерадіопростору України» внесено зміни до Закону «Про кінематографію», яким передбачено, що Держкіно відмовляє у видачі або припиняє дію вже виданого державного посвідчення на право розповсюдження і демонстрування фільмів зокрема, якщо одним з учасників фільму є фізична особа, включена до Переліку осіб, які створюють загрозу національній безпеці.

Перелік осіб, які створюють загрозу національній безпеці, складає Міністерство культури України на підставі звернень Ради національної безпеки і оборони України, Служби безпеки України, Національної ради України з питань телебачення і радіомовлення.

На виконання вимог Закону України «Про внесення змін до деяких законів України щодо захисту інформаційного телерадіопростору України» Служба безпеки України надала Міністерству культури список діячів культури, дії яких створюють загрозу національній безпеці України, а саме:

1. Айгумов Айгум Ельдарович
2. Алентова Віра валентинівна (з 28.05.2021)
3. Александров Євген (з 28.05.2021)
4. Александров Олексій Євгенійович (з 11.02.2021)
5. Алфьорова Ірина Іванівна (з 22.10.2018)
6. Аліна Альона Євгеніївна (з 25.01.2021)
7. Бабкіна Надія Георгіївна (з 20.09.17)
8. Бакалов Євген Васильович (з 01.02.2018)
9. Барінов Єгор Валерійович (з 01.02.2018)
10. Батуріна Олена Миколаївна
11. Баширов Олександр Миколайович (з 08.03.2018)

# List of persons who pose a threat to the national security of Ukraine



















2 - created already after February 24 by Ukrainian blogger and producer - a list of actors, singers, journalists, scientists, and politicians - citizens of Russia and Ukraine living in Russia, who either openly support the war or take a silent position.

Сервиси Скачать YouTube в... Тести | Англо-русский пер... Спряжение глагол... Sentence starters, tr... Жилье в аренду бе... Польські серіали... » Список для чте

АРТИСТИ INFLUENCERS ПОЛІТИЧНІ ДІЯЧІ СПОРТСМЕНИ

ОСОБИ, ЯКІ ПІДТРИМУЮТЬ ПУТІНА ТА ВІЙНУ ПРОТИ УКРАЇНИ

### АРТИСТИ

  <b>Мот</b> Підтримка путінського режиму.	  <b>Діма Білан</b> Мовчазна підтримка путінського режиму. Замовчування агресора та реальної ситуації в Україні.	  <b>Регіна Тодоренко</b> Замовчування агресора та реальної ситуації в Україні.	  <b>Влад Топалов</b> Підтримка путінського режиму.	  <b>Ані Лорак</b> Замовчування агресора та реальної ситуації в Україні. Мовчазна підтримка путінського режиму.	  <b>Стас Міхайлов</b> Пропаганда путінського режиму та підтримка війни проти України.
					

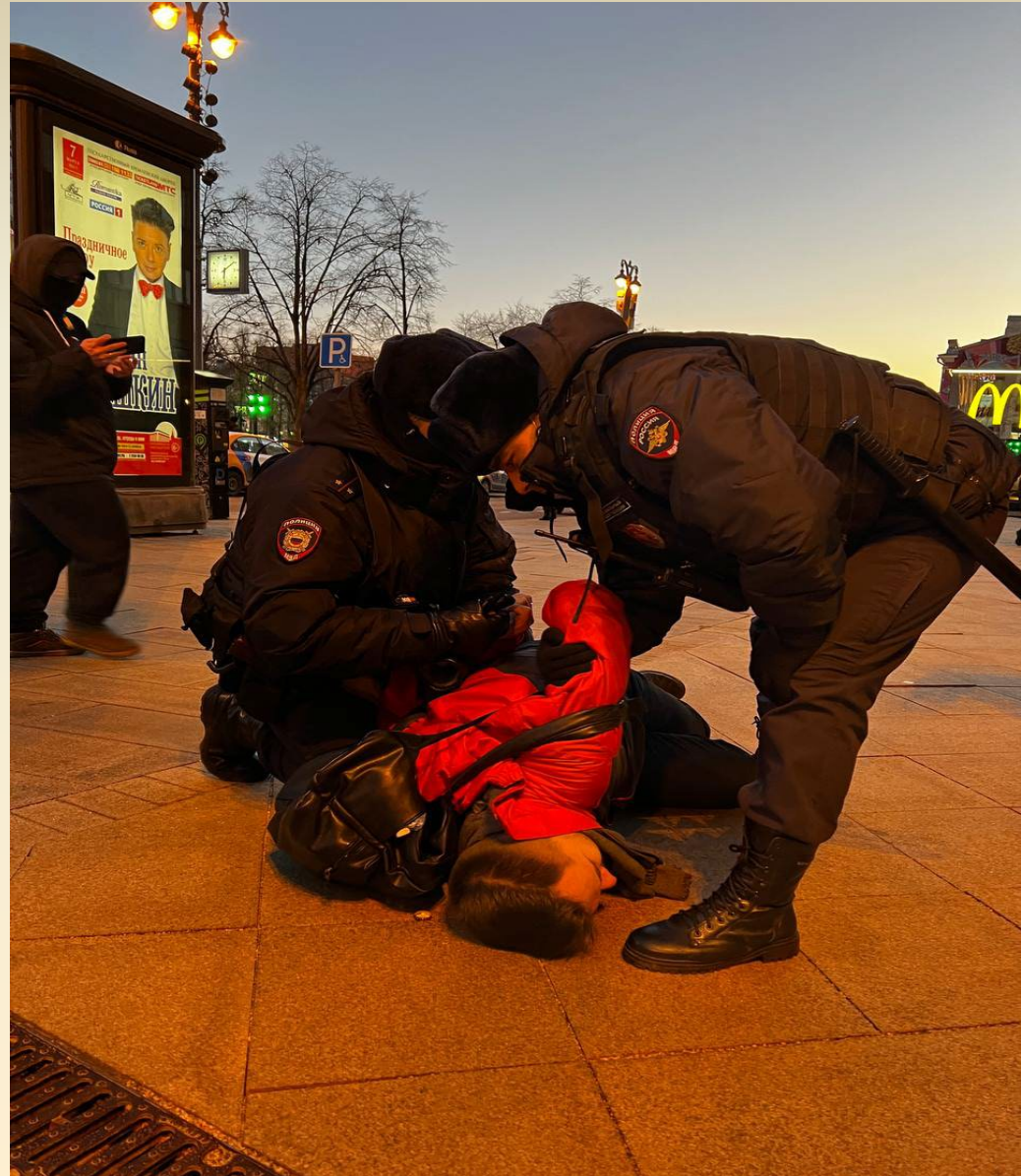
# Protests in Russia

Between February 24 and March 13, protests took place throughout the Russian Federation. They were not numerous - from a few hundred to a couple of thousand participants. For example, February 26 - Actions were held in 27 cities.



# Protests in Russia

According to human rights activists, almost **15,000** people have been detained at anti-war demonstrations (data as of 1 April 2022). Often people were detained for the word "peace" on the poster, children's drawings, and even for a poster with quote by **Vladimir Putin**:  
*“War makes it easier to cover up your failures in the economy and social policy, it’s easier to rob your people and state.”*



# Protests in Russia

On February 27, the Russian Prosecutor General's Office issued a warning that "the provision of financial, logistical, consulting or other assistance to a foreign state, international or foreign organization or their representatives in activities directed against the security of the Russian Federation contains elements of a crime (Article 275 Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (high treason)". **This article provides for imprisonment for up to 20 years.**



# Protests in Russia

But even in such circumstances, the Russian intellectuals finds the strength to express its position:

- more than **250 Russian scientists** called for an end to military aggression against Ukraine in an open letter
- more than **2,400 employees** of Russian IT companies signed an open letter "against the military operation on the territory of Ukraine." Among the signatories are employees of **Yandex, VK, VTB, Avito, Beeline, Ozon, Wildberries, Aviasales, Skyeng** and others.
- February 24 - **Syndicat-100**, an association of journalists, which includes Novaya Gazeta, Meduza, Dozhd, and about 30 other independent media, made an appeal against the war with Ukraine.

# Appeals of the President of Russian Federation to the people of Russia

There were only 3 such public appeals to the people: on February 23 from the Kremlin with the announcement of the invasion of Ukraine, on March 5 - a video recording of a meeting with women of the flight crew of Russian airlines, on March 18 - a meeting-concert “Crimean Spring” in Moscow at the Luzhniki stadium.



# Appeals of the President of Russian Federation

About 203 thousand people gathered in Luzhniki on March 18.

Girls take cute selfies in front of war-era Russian symbols while Russian bombs kill their peers in Ukraine.





# Appeals of the President of Russian Federation

Similar events were held on March 18 in other cities of Russia, including Vladivostok, Rostov-on-Don, Yekaterinburg and Novosibirsk. Woman holds flag with Putin's slogan „We do not abandon our people”



# Appeals of the President of Ukraine to the people of Ukraine

Volodymyr Zelensky daily makes a video message from Kyiv. Volodymyr Zelensky is in his Office in Kyiv at Bankova street during one of his everyday appeals.



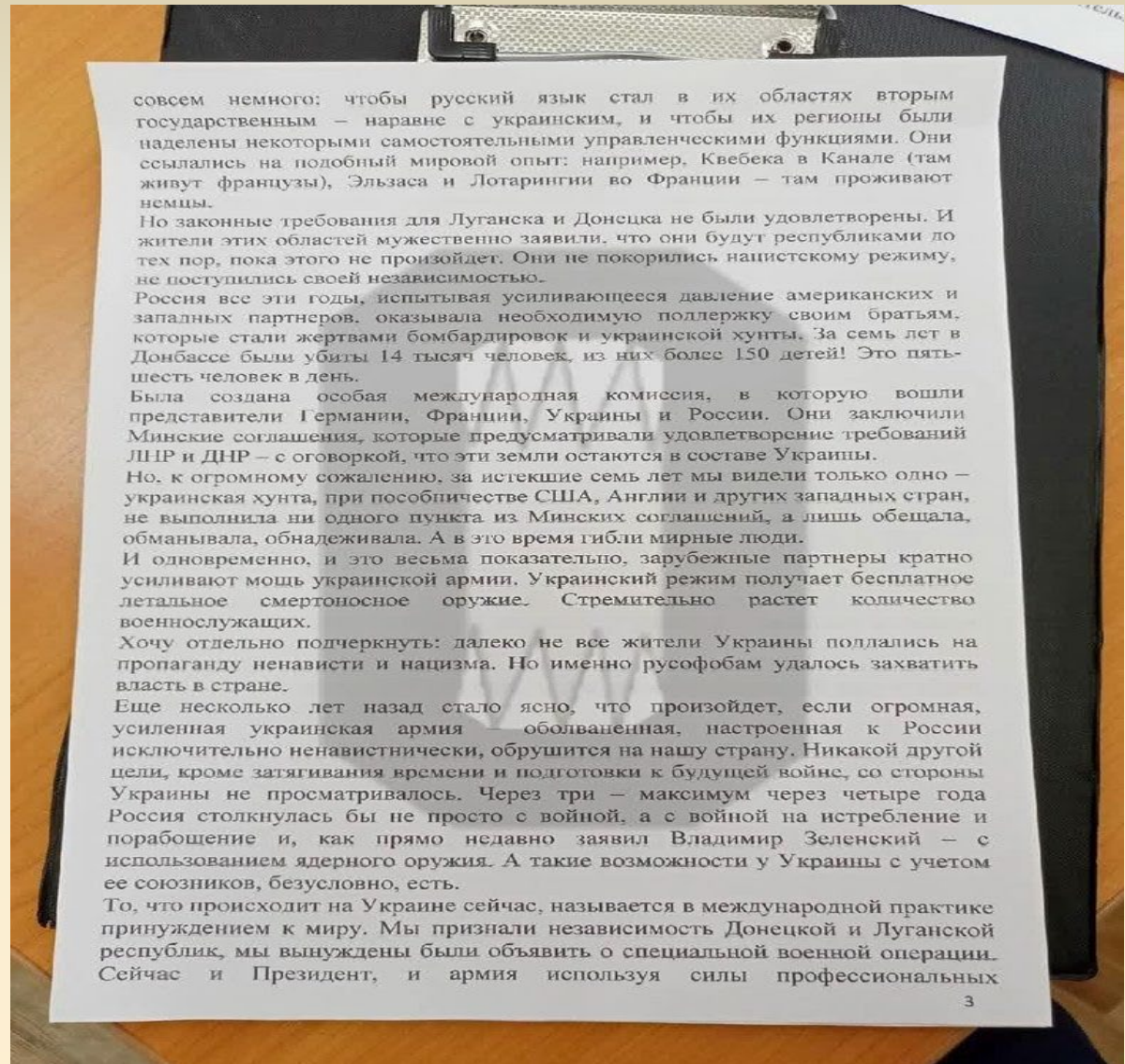
# Propaganda in Russian schools after February 24

## Actions from above:

The Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation has developed

**Methodological material** for the lesson of patriotism in all schools in Russia with the main theses that children need to be told why Russia is conducting a special operation on the territory of Ukraine.

*The material contains the thesis, for example, that „the words of the Ukrainian anthem propagate hatred for the Russians, which is pure fascism“.*



# Propaganda in Russian schools after February 24

**Actions from below:** in schools in Krasnodar (southern Russia), parent committees and teachers organize flash mobs with children. Adults post photos of these actions on social networks with hashtags #forrussia #wedonotabandonourpeople. Children of all ages are involved, even from 1st grade and kindergartens (5-7 years old).



# Propaganda in Russian schools after February 24

Novovoskresensk, Novosibirsk district. Kids from kindergarten “Sunny”



# Propaganda in Russian schools after February 24

Ushakovo in Omsk district and school #31 in Beloglinski district, Kuban region



# Propaganda in Russian schools after February 24

**Self organized events:** About **60 terminally ill children**, parents, and administration from a private hospice in Kazan (Autonomic republic of Tatarstan) lined up with the letter Z in support of the Russian military special operation.



# All of Ukraine is Euromaidan

Talking to Ukrainians on the seventh day of the war, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky said that during this time, citizens have united for more than 30 years of independence.

The men on the roof – are residents of Kherson during anti occupation protest in March 2022.



# Examples of outstanding unity of Ukrainians in tragic circumstances

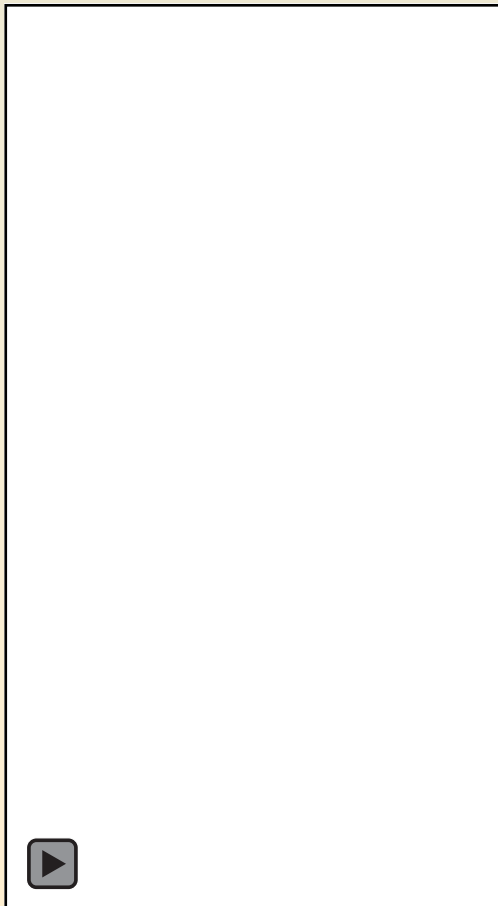
Protest in Kherson (main city of the Kherson district) under Russian occupations were held 08.03, 13.03, 21.03, 27.03, 10.04.



# Examples of outstanding unity of Ukrainians in tragic circumstances

Video from Kherson's protest

**April 22 – Go home! Kherson – is Ukraine! Go away!**



**April 22. Courage is stronger than weapons**



## Examples of outstanding unity of Ukrainians in tragic circumstances

Residents of Irpen (suburb of Kyiv) Tanya and Lesya baked bread in the closed supermarket under the lights of lanterns under fire and Russian occupation to feed those who became hostages of the Russian military.



# Examples of outstanding unity of Ukrainians in tragic circumstances

Farmers of the Komyshuvakha community on the border of Donetsk and Zaporizhia oblasts have started a sowing campaign.



# Examples of outstanding unity of Ukrainians in tragic circumstances

Volunteer Nastya Tykha and her husband took 15 dogs out of war-torn Irpen, including those with disabilities, 5 cats, a chameleon, a turtle, a hamster and a spider.



# Examples of outstanding unity of Ukrainians in tragic circumstances

Actor Oleksyi Surovtsev, who calls himself a "bearded cat mom". He traveled through the occupied city of Irpin and collected abandoned animals, mostly cats. As of April 6, he had taken out from Irpin about 150 animals.



# All of Ukraine is Euromaidan

In each city where there is no fighting, there is a headquarters for assistance to temporarily displaced persons. In each area there is a territorial defense of local residents, which protects the area, conducts defense if necessary and helps local residents. Ukrainians abroad are helping the army, Ukrainian refugees, looking for indifferent locals to find shelter for Ukrainians, to buy ammunition for troops and territorial defense, to collect humanitarian aid for people and animals in cities most affected by Russian military aggression. **Photo: Protest in Kherson**



# Conclusions

- Now it is quite difficult to objectively compare the mood of society in the Russian Federation and Ukraine.
- There is still no critical mass in Russia to attract public attention to the topic “Russian special operation in Ukraine”.



# Conclusions

- The vast majority of Russians really support the policy of the state in the international arena, share the goals of the “Special Operation” for the mythical denazification of Ukraine.
- Russians do not understand the consequences of sanctions against the Russian Federation for themselves and the country.
- They expose fellow citizens who have the opposite point of view vision through denunciations and labeling.

# Conclusions

- Ukrainians are distinguished by solidarity and self-organization, as well as courage, ability to self-sacrifice, the desire to help.
- Negative aspects - the desire to cash in on the misfortune of compatriots, harboring before serving in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, looting, cooperation with the occupiers, and even participation in punitive actions.

# Conclusions

## **Prospects for Russian people:**

- a long-term road to insight, reassessment of state policy, change of power and lustration of officials,
- the road from hatred to repentance, economic recovery after sanctions,
- establishing a dialogue with Ukraine and with countries that did not support Russia's actions in Ukraine.

## **Prospects for Ukrainians:**

- restoration of destroyed cities,
- process of returning refugees who left abroad,
- moral recovery after the horrors of war (especially children), strengthening the professional army and the national defense system, final decommunization,
- lustration among officials who supported occupants,
- strengthening the positions in the international arena (primarily the accession to the European Union),
- establishing a dialogue with Russia.

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