

## **Introduction**

1. Scholars at Risk (SAR) is an international network of higher education institutions dedicated to protecting threatened scholars, preventing attacks on higher education communities and promoting academic freedom worldwide. SAR has Special Consultative Status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (2013), and welcomes the opportunity provided by the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights to comment on conditions relating to academic freedom and attacks on higher education communities in Russia.
2. This submission is the product of a joint effort between Scholars at Risk's Academic Freedom Monitoring Project and the Academic Freedom Advocacy Clinic of McGill University's Centre for Human Rights and Legal Pluralism (CHRLP) in Montréal, Canada. SAR gratefully acknowledges the substantial research and drafting work of McGill University faculty and students.<sup>1</sup>
3. This submission focuses on Russia's compliance with its obligations under international law to respect, protect, and fulfill academic freedom and related rights. Already in a precarious situation before the war,<sup>2</sup> academic freedom has deteriorated further following Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Legislation and administrative measures targeting dissidence have profoundly affected scholars, students, and institutions. In addition to publicly available information, this report draws on the direct experience of former professors at Russian universities and documented violations throughout the country. SAR asks States to urge Russian authorities to take every available action to reverse the current course and ensure that academic freedom and related rights are protected henceforth. We likewise urge academic institutions and international organizations worldwide to take any available action to support Russian scholars and protect academic freedom at higher education institutions throughout the country.
4. This submission is based in part on information and insights collected during interviews conducted in March 2023 with Russian scholars now living in exile in Europe and North America. These scholars, some of whom agreed to be named herein, provided firsthand accounts of the violations of academic freedom that they experienced in Russia. SAR thanks them for their invaluable contribution to this submission.

## **Applicable Legal Standards**

5. Russia has ratified and is bound by several relevant international human rights instruments, including most prominently the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)<sup>3</sup> and the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).<sup>4</sup>
6. Academic freedom is a human right independently and interdependently grounded in the rights to freedom of opinion and expression, the right to education, and the right to the benefits of science, as articulated, respectively, in ICCPR Article 19, ICESCR Articles 13 and 15(3). Violations of academic freedom also manifest as violations of other rights,

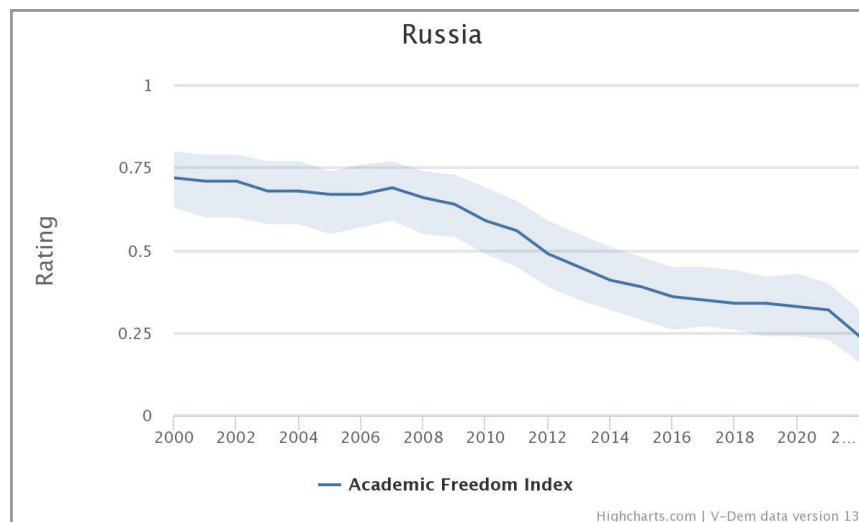
including liberty and security of person, freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, and freedom of association.<sup>5</sup> All these rights are guaranteed in the same instruments to which Russia is bound.<sup>6</sup>

7. ICCPR Article 19 guarantees “the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.”
8. ICESCR Article 13 binds Russia to “recognize the right of everyone to education” and “agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,” and that education “enable[s] all persons to participate effectively in a free society.” The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) has likewise noted that the right to education “can only be enjoyed if accompanied by the academic freedom of staff and students.”<sup>7</sup>
9. ICESCR Article 15(3) similarly binds Russia to “respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity.” This “indispensable freedom” not only excludes censorship, but also imposes a positive obligation on the State to encourage “scientists, artists and others to take part in international scientific and cultural research activities.”<sup>8</sup>
10. Institutional autonomy is an integral part of academic freedom and a precondition for the proper functioning of institutions. Institutional autonomy includes self-governance concerning academic work, curricula, standards, and management.<sup>9</sup> It thus encompasses “decisions regarding administration and determination of policies of education, research, extension work, allocation of resources, and other related activities,” allowing for the active participation of the academic community.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, “[e]xternal interference in the selection, appointment and dismissal of leadership and professors,” and the deprivation of an autonomous organizational structure constitute limitations on academic freedom.<sup>11</sup> “States are under an obligation to protect higher education institutions from threats to their autonomy coming from any source.”<sup>12</sup>
11. UNESCO, like the CESCR, defines academic freedom as inextricably linked to institutional autonomy. As described by the UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel (1997), “[autonomy] is the institutional form of academic freedom and a necessary precondition to guarantee the proper fulfilment of the functions entrusted to higher-education teaching personnel and institutions [...]”<sup>13</sup> Russia remains an executive board member of UNESCO.<sup>14</sup>
12. Academic freedom includes both academic expression in traditional fora, such as the classroom or lab; and so-called extramural expression -- expression in one’s expertise, *outside* traditional fora. Institutional punishment such as termination for protected activity (e.g. public expression *outside* one’s expertise) also constitutes a violation of academic freedom.<sup>15</sup>
13. Russia’s domestic law also provides baseline guarantees for the academic freedom of teachers and students. As defined in Article 3 of the Federal Law “On Education in

Russia,” academic freedom comprises the freedom of teachers to “present the subject at their discretion [and] to freely choose research topics,” while students are “to be free to obtain knowledge in accordance with their inclinations and needs.” As it relates to academic expression, the same provision imposes a responsibility upon the State “to create optimal conditions for a free search of truth and free expression and dissemination of its results.”<sup>16</sup>

## Discussion

14. Academic freedom in Russia, while declining for years, has significantly decreased during this review cycle, especially since the beginning of the 2020 constitutional reform and the war in Ukraine. Indeed, according to the most recent update of the Academic Freedom Index (AFi), which assesses levels of respect for academic freedom in 175 countries and territories based on surveys of more than 2000 country experts around the globe, Russia has fallen in the past two decades from the top quartile to the bottom 10-20% of states worldwide.



15. The attacks on and erosions of academic freedom described herein represent just a fraction of the overall pressures on Russian higher education. Many attacks go unreported, and academics self-censor to avoid governmental and institutional retribution.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, quantifying the breadth and impacts of attacks is difficult. However, primary sources interviewed in connection with this report corroborate the chill that recent measures have wrought on the overall academic environment in Russia.

### ***Legislative/Regulatory Pressures***

16. Recent laws and regulations directly impacting scholars, students, and academic activity,<sup>18</sup> together with broadly applicable legislation purportedly intended to protect national security, have gravely harmed higher education across Russia.
17. “Reforms” passed in 2021 banned educational activities and engagements with foreign academics not approved by the government, severely curtailing international academic

exchange and damaging Russian scholars' relationships with scholars and institutions abroad.<sup>19</sup> Related legislative changes permit Russian authorities to regulate (including prohibit) "educational activities" occurring *outside* formal academic programs, which are deemed to constitute anti-Russian propaganda; "educational activities" is broadly defined to include activities undertaken with the intention of "disseminating knowledge, experience, the formation of skills, value systems, or competence" – in other words, routine, extramural academic expression.<sup>20</sup>

18. Russia's Foreign Agents law, which was signed by President Putin in July 2022 and went into effect later that year, also profoundly impacts higher education. The law defines "foreign agents" to include any person or entity that has fallen under foreign influence of any kind (not simply those receiving foreign funding). The law imposes major administrative burdens on anyone designated a foreign agent, and mandates that their names, birthdates, and other identifying information be placed on a government website. In addition, the law bars individuals deemed foreign agents from teaching at state universities.<sup>21</sup>
19. These laws, together with expansive national security measures<sup>22</sup> and related political developments create significant pressures on Russian higher education. The laws have been interpreted to prohibit anti-war expression or require teaching of pro-war propaganda.<sup>23</sup> Institutional protections for university autonomy have also deteriorated,<sup>24</sup> and reports of students, educators, and educational leadership reporting their colleagues' anti-war and anti-government expression to authorities have become commonplace.<sup>25</sup> These factors, coupled with individual arrests and prosecutions, terminations<sup>26</sup> and expulsions<sup>27</sup> have driven many academics to flee the country.<sup>28</sup>

### *Violence*

20. On August 30, 2020, a prominent student activist at the **Higher School of Economics** in Moscow reportedly published a video on his YouTube channel, announcing that the school was preventing him from enrolling in a master's program, despite his having been accepted, apparently in response to his activism. In the video, the student also spoke critically of President Putin. Hours after the video was published, two unidentified individuals reportedly beat the student in front of his home, causing severe injuries.<sup>29</sup>

### *Arrest and Prosecution*

21. On March 21, 2020, police arrested and detained a professor in the faculty of mechanics and mathematics at **Moscow State University**, for holding a peaceful, one-person demonstration on campus, in support of a detained student activist.<sup>30</sup>
22. On April 14, 2021, authorities raided the offices of **DOXA Student Magazine** and arrested four of the magazine's editors, after they posted a video on the magazine's website advocating students not fear being expelled for participating in on-campus protests. The authorities had ordered the editors to take the video down, which they did. However, the editors filed a lawsuit challenging the order, apparently leading to the authorities' actions.<sup>31</sup>

23. On March 28, 2022, a local court found a lecturer at **Amur State University** guilty of discrediting the Russian Armed Forces, after a March 10, 2022 lecture in which she criticized Russian military actions in Ukraine. She was ordered to pay a fine of 30,000 rubles.<sup>32</sup>
24. On April 19, 2022, a scholar was dismissed from his associate professor position at **Volgograd State University (VSU)**, where he had taught law for twenty-five years, for allegedly engaging in “immoral” conduct by sharing posts denouncing the Russian invasion of Ukraine. He was also convicted of disseminating false information and fined 30,000 rubles.<sup>33</sup>
25. On June 30, 2022, Russia’s Federal Security Service (FSB) arrested Dmitri Kolker, a **Novosibirsk State University** scientist for treason, based on his academic exchanges with Chinese scholars following a lecture series he gave in collaboration with the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAN). The FSB reportedly reviewed Kolker’s lectures, and a state agent followed Kolker during the academic exchange. Kolker died in custody two days after his arrest, shortly after being removed from a clinic where he was being treated for pancreatic cancer.<sup>34</sup>

### *Loss of position*

26. On June 14, 2019, **St. Petersburg State University (SPBU)** administrators reportedly expelled a graduate student, visiting from the Free University of Berlin, after he conducted academic research including interviewing local environmental activists in two Russian cities – activities local authorities alleged constituted illegal journalistic activity that violated the terms of the student’s visa. The student was deported shortly thereafter.<sup>35</sup>
27. On September 17, 2019, administrative authorities at **Ural State Economic University** reportedly summoned a student to a meeting on campus, where they threatened him with expulsion based on suspicions regarding his sexual orientation. The institute’s director reportedly told the student that the university had established a group to monitor students’ social media activity, and that they had seen that the student belonged to an LGBTQ group.<sup>36</sup>
28. On December 1, 2020, the **Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia** expelled a student activist for his participation in a nonviolent demonstration in front of Russia’s Federal Security Service (FSB) building.<sup>37</sup>
29. On January 30, 2021, **Astrakhan State University** expelled three students for participating in a January 23 protest supporting imprisoned opposition politician Alexei Navalny.<sup>38</sup>
30. On February 25, 2022, the **Higher School of Economics (HSE), Moscow** refused to renew the contract of an associate professor, internationally renowned scholar and human rights activist, in apparent retaliation for his long-time criticism of Russian policy.

Despite his department's recommendation that his contract be renewed, and positive teaching reviews, two university commissions refused to recommend renewal on grounds including the subject of his doctoral degree, his interest in a temporary appointment at a foreign university, and disputed accusations of grade inflation. The commissions refused to provide further information regarding their decisions. Soon after, on April 8, Russian authorities added the professor to a list of foreign agents.<sup>39</sup>

31. On March 2, 2022, **St. Petersburg State University's** (SPBU) website notified students that anyone attending mass demonstrations without a state-issued permit could face expulsion. One week later, Russia's Ministry of Internal Affairs ordered SPBU to expel 13 students who had reportedly participated in anti-war demonstrations following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.<sup>40</sup>
32. On February 28, 2022, **Plekhanov Russian University of Economics** expelled two students for expressing opposition to Russia's invasion of Ukraine on social media. The university's head of security had allegedly been monitoring their social media accounts and reported concerns about the posts with the vice-rector. In August 2022, a Moscow district court ordered the university to reinstate one of the students.<sup>33</sup>
33. On June 22, 2022, the **St. Petersburg State University** administration published an order excluding a university administrator, lecturer in the Arts, and IT specialist, from the university's academic council.<sup>41</sup> The individual was affiliated with Bard College, which had recently been declared an undesirable foreign organization by the General Prosecutor's Office of Russia.<sup>42</sup> (*See* para. 36, *infra*)
34. On October 20, 2022, an associate professor of political philosophy and photography studies in **St. Petersburg State University's** Liberal Arts and Sciences faculty (Smolny College) was fired for "immoral behaviour," after participating in an anti-war rally – an act for which he was imprisoned for 10 days.<sup>43</sup>

### ***Attacks on Institutions***

35. On October 4, 2020, Russian prosecutors ordered the **Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration** to provide data on students engaged in pro-democracy activities, projects promoting "American and European democratic and liberal values on campus," information about student protesters and organizers, and about students participating in international exchange programs and international projects.<sup>44</sup>
36. On June 21, 2021, Russia's General Prosecutor declared **Bard College** (U.S.) an undesirable organization.<sup>45</sup> Bard had been in close collaboration with the Faculty of Liberal Arts and Sciences (Smolny College) of St. Petersburg State University since 1996.<sup>46</sup> Bard's designation as "undesirable" led to the exclusion of Smolny College affiliates from SPBU's academic council<sup>47</sup> and the removal of all academic materials and books mentioning Bard College from university premises.<sup>48</sup>

### ***Travel Restrictions/Designation as Foreign Agents***

37. On November 27, 2019, Russian authorities denied entry to Carine Clément, a French sociologist and researcher who had lived in Russia for 20 years, and who was seeking to enter the country to present research comparing French and Russian protest movements at an academic conference. Upon arrival, she was informed that she was subject to a ten-year travel ban issued on national security-related grounds, and deported shortly thereafter.<sup>49</sup>
38. On April 1, 2022, Ekaterina Schulmann, a political scientist, journalist, and commentator based in Moscow and affiliated with the Moscow School for the Social and Economic Sciences was designated a foreign agent, while on a one-year fellowship at the Robert Bosch Academy in Berlin. While abroad, she received “foreign agent” status by the Justice Ministry for allegedly engaging in “political activities” while being under “foreign influence” – taking salaries from Russian institutions that received foreign funding.<sup>50</sup> The new law “On control over the activities of persons being under foreign influence,” requires individuals to identify themselves as foreign agents when speaking or writing for a public audience. She is already being prosecuted by the Justice Ministry for failing to do so when posting online. This designation also jeopardises her ability to return to Russia to continue her academic career because individuals designated as foreign agents are prohibited from conducting any educational work with minors or teaching at state and municipal educational institutions.<sup>51</sup>

### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

39. As noted above, levels of respect for academic freedom in Russia have dropped precipitously over the last decade. Russia is now among the worst performing countries when it comes to protecting this vital right, in clear violation of its international legal obligations. Accordingly, SAR respectfully urges UN member states to call on Russia to take immediate action to reverse this dangerous pattern by:
- a. Reversing prosecutions of scholars, students, and other members of the higher education community based on the nonviolent exercise of the rights to academic freedom and free expression;
  - b. Taking immediate action to restore international academic exchange between Russian scholars, students, and universities and their counterparts abroad;
  - c. Aligning national legislation with international standards stating that university autonomy includes autonomy in curricula, teaching, research, and management; and
  - d. Refraining from direct or indirect attacks on academic expression or other nonviolent expressive activity by scholars and students.

<sup>1</sup> This submission may not reflect the views of the CHRLP, McGill University, its law faculty and students, or Scholars at Risk Network member institutions, or participating individuals.

<sup>2</sup> Dmitry V Dubrovskiy, “War and The Academic Community in Russia” in Ninna Möerner, ed, *Baltic Worlds*, volume 15:1-2 (Huddinge: Centre for Baltic and East European Studies, 2022) 38.

<sup>3</sup> See International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 19 December 1966, 999 UNTS 171 (entered into force 23 March 1976, accession by Russian Federation 16 Oct 1973) (ICCPR).

<sup>4</sup> See International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 16 December 1966, 993 UNTS 3 (entered into force 3 January 1976, accession by Russian Federation 16 Oct 1973) (ICESCR).

<sup>5</sup> See generally Robert Quinn & Jesse Levine, “Intellectual-HRDs and claims for academic freedom under human rights law” (2014) 18:7–8 Intl JHR 898.

<sup>6</sup> See ICCPR, arts 9, 12, 21, 22.

<sup>7</sup> Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No. 13: The right to education (article 13 of the Covenant), UN Doc E/C.12/1999/10 (1999) at para 38.

<sup>8</sup> Committee on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, General comment No. 21: Right of everyone to take part in cultural life (Article 15, para. 1(a) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights), UN Doc E/C.12/GC/21 (2009) at paras 49(c), 52(e).

<sup>9</sup> UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel (1997) (RSHETP) at paras. 17-20.

<sup>10</sup> Lima Declaration on Academic Freedom and Autonomy of Institutions of Higher Education (1988) at para. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, Academic Freedom, 28 July 2020, (A/75/261) at para. 39; *Commission v Hungary*, ECJ Case C-66/18, Judgment of the Court (Grand Chamber), 6 October 2020, ECLI:EU:C:2020:792 at para. 146.

<sup>12</sup> See RSHETP at para. 19; see also Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, OHCHR, 75th Sess, UN DOC A/75/261 (2020) at para 14.

<sup>13</sup> Recommendation concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel, UNESCO, 29th Sess (1997) at paras 18–19.

<sup>14</sup> See List of Members of the Executive Board, online: UNESCO <[www.unesco.org/en/executive-board/members](http://www.unesco.org/en/executive-board/members)>.

<sup>15</sup> Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, OHCHR, 75th Sess, UN DOC A/75/261 (2020) at para 20.

<sup>16</sup> Dmitry Dubrovsky & Irina Meyer, “Academic Freedom or Freedom of Speech?”, (2022) 30:1 *Demokratizatsiya J Post-Soviet Democratization* 35 at 39–40.

<sup>17</sup> See Elizaveta Potapova, *Speaking Up at Work: Narrative Analysis of Academic Freedom in Russia* (2022) 30:1 *Demokratizatsiya J Post-Soviet Democratization* 11 at 23–25.

<sup>18</sup> See Anton Zhezmer, *Intellectual catastrophe: How Academic Freedoms are being Curtailed in Russia*, 16 May 2022, online: Sever.Real available at [www.severreal.org/a/intellektualnaya-katastrofa-kak-v-rossii-svorachivayutsya-akademicheskie-svobody/31843513.html](http://www.severreal.org/a/intellektualnaya-katastrofa-kak-v-rossii-svorachivayutsya-akademicheskie-svobody/31843513.html)

<sup>19</sup> See Moscow Times, June 1, 2021, *Russia Bans Unauthorized ‘Foreign Influence’ Educational Activities*, available at <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2021/06/01/russia-bans-unauthorized-foreign-influence-educational-activities-a74065>

<sup>20</sup> See Meduza.com, March 18, 2021, *Meduza breaks down the potential fallout from Russia’s draft law on ‘educational activity’* available at <https://meduza.io/en/feature/2021/03/18/just-say-no>; The Bell: *Russia Tightens*



*State Control over Education* March 21, 2021, <https://en.thebell.io/russia-tightens-state-control-over-education/>  
 Federal Law as of 5 April 2021 No 85-FZ “On the Introduction of Changes to the Federal Law “On Education in Russia” (Russian Federation)

<sup>21</sup> See Moscow Times, November 14, 2022, *Russia to Publicize ‘Foreign Agents’ Personal Data*, available at <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/11/14/russia-to-publicize-foreign-agents-personal-data-a79360>; Federal Law as of 14 July 2022 No 255-FZ “On the Activities of Persons under Foreign Influence” (Russian Federation); Deutsche Welle, Sergei Pomashenko, “In Russia, Social Science Laboratory Designated as “Foreign,” June 23, 2021, available at <https://www.dw.com/ru/v-rossii-laboratorija-socialnyh-nauk-priznana-inoagentom/a-58009984>.

<sup>22</sup> See President of Russia, Order No 400 “On the Strategy on National Safety in Russia,” July 2, 2021, available at [publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202107030001?index=1&rangeSize=1](https://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202107030001?index=1&rangeSize=1); BBC News Russia, March 16, 2022, *Court finds in RANEPa ‘Destruction of Traditional Values’* available at [www.bbc.com/russian/news-60763950](https://www.bbc.com/russian/news-60763950)

<sup>23</sup> See Natalia Zotova, BBC News Russia April 4, 2022, *‘I will now leave for 15 years’: How Students ‘give up’ Teachers for Anti-War Messages*, available at [www.bbc.com/russian/news-60985018](https://www.bbc.com/russian/news-60985018); Meduza.com, April 7, 2022 *The War comes into Russian Universities: Instructors are Being Watched, Forced to Teach Propaganda Lectures—Students are Being Punished for Anti-War Posts*, available at <http://meduza.io/feature/2022/04/17/rossiyskie-vuzy-pereshli-na-voennoe-polozhenie-za-prepodavatelnyimi-sledyat-ih-zastavlyayut-chitat-propagandistskie-lektsii-a-studentov-travyat-za-antivoennye-posty>.

<sup>24</sup> See Mikhail Sokolov, “Faculty Self-Governance, Professorial Power, and Academic Freedom in Russia” (2022) 30:1 *Demokratizatsiya J Post-Soviet Democratization* 59.

<sup>25</sup> See Zotova, *supra* note 23.

<sup>26</sup> See Dmitry Dubrovsky & Irina Meyer, *Academic Freedom or Freedom of Speech?* (2022) 30:1 *Demokratizatsiya J Post-Soviet Democratization* 35 at 55.

<sup>27</sup> See Fariza Doodarova, *Novaya Gazetta*, January 21, 2021, *Lists will be sent to the Ministry*, available at [www.novayagazeta.ru/articles/2021/01/21/88818-spiski-poydut-v-ministerstvo](https://www.novayagazeta.ru/articles/2021/01/21/88818-spiski-poydut-v-ministerstvo); see also Ivan Voronin, *Radio Liberty*, September 15, 2019, *‘Students feel personally threatened’: Campaigns in support of Igor Zhukov*, available at [www.svoboda.org/a/30165414.html](https://www.svoboda.org/a/30165414.html)

<sup>28</sup> See Dmitriy Rudenkin, *Redaktor* May 10, 2022, *‘The Possibility of Return to Russia is not Considered Seriously by Almost Anyone’: What a Survey of Russian Scholars who Left the Country Shows* available at <https://republic.ru/posts/103850>

<sup>29</sup> SAR Academic Freedom Monitoring Project (AFMP), August 30, 2020, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2020-08-30-higher-school-of-economics/>

<sup>30</sup> SAR AFMP, March 21, 2020, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2020-03-21-moscow-state-university/>

<sup>31</sup> SAR AFMP, May 14, 2021, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2021-04-14-various/>

<sup>32</sup> Telegram, Blagoveshchensk City Court of the Amur Region, March 28, 2022, *A teacher at an Amur university was subjected to administrative punishment...*, available at [t.me/blg\\_sud/164](https://t.me/blg_sud/164); see also Jeanne Whalen, *Washington Post*, April 10, 2022, *Russian students are turning in teachers who don’t back the war*, available at [www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/10/russia-war-dissent-opposition-crackdown/](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/10/russia-war-dissent-opposition-crackdown/); see generally Marina Ostroumova, *sm.news*, March 28, 2022, *A teacher of the Amur university was prosecuted for discrediting the Armed*

*Forces of Russia*, available at <https://sm.news/prepodavatelya-amurskogo-vuza-privlekli-k-otvetstvennosti-zadiskreditaciyu-vs-rf-63007-u3t5/>

<sup>33</sup> SAR AFMP, April 19, 2019 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2022-04-19-volgograd-state-university/>; see also Amnesty International, May 12, 2022, *Russia: Educators fired, students indoctrinated — academia is the latest victim of the ongoing crackdown*, available at [www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/05/russia-educators-fired-students-indoctrinated-academia-is-the-latest-victim-of-the-ongoing-crackdown/](http://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/05/russia-educators-fired-students-indoctrinated-academia-is-the-latest-victim-of-the-ongoing-crackdown/); Agence France-Presse, June 13, 2022, *Fired Over Ukraine Posts, Russian Lecturer Fights To Keep Teaching*, available at <https://www.rfi.fr/en/fired-over-ukraine-posts-russian-lecturer-fights-to-keep-teaching>

<sup>34</sup> SAR AFMP, June 30, 2022, <https://scholarsatrisk.org/report/2022-06-30-novosibirsk-state-university>

<sup>35</sup> SAR AFMP June 14, 2019, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2019-06-14-st-petersburg-state-university/>

<sup>36</sup> SAR AFMP, September 17, 2019, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2019-09-17-ural-state-economic-university/>

<sup>37</sup> SAR AFMP, December 1, 2020 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2020-12-01-peoples-friendship-university-of-russia/>

<sup>38</sup> SAR AFMP January 30, 2021, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2021-01-30-astrakhan-state-university/>

<sup>39</sup> SAR AFMP, February 25, 2022, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2022-02-25-higher-school-of-economics/>

<sup>40</sup> SAR AFMP, March 9, 2022, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2022-03-09-st-petersburg-state-university/>

<sup>41</sup> See St. Petersburg State University, *On the Order to Modify from 02.04.2014 No 1742/1 On the temporary composition of the Academic Council of liberal arts and sciences SPbGU*, No 6697/1 (22 June 2021), available at [spbu.ru/sites/default/files/20210622\\_6697\\_1.pdf](http://spbu.ru/sites/default/files/20210622_6697_1.pdf)

<sup>42</sup> See The Prosecutor General’s Office of the Russian Federation, June 21, 2021, *Prosecutor General of Russia decides to designate the activities of a foreign non-government organization as undesirable on the territory of the Russian Federation*, available at [epp.genproc.gov.ru/web/gprf/mass-media/news?item=62877548](http://epp.genproc.gov.ru/web/gprf/mass-media/news?item=62877548)

<sup>43</sup> Based on an interview with the Scholar

<sup>44</sup> SAR AFMP, October 4, 2020, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2020-10-04-presidential-academy-of-national-economy-and-public-administration/>

<sup>45</sup> See The Prosecutor General’s Office of the Russian Federation, June 21, 2021, *Prosecutor General of Russia decides to designate the activities of a foreign non-government organization as undesirable on the territory of the Russian Federation*, available at [epp.genproc.gov.ru/web/gprf/mass-media/news?item=62877548](http://epp.genproc.gov.ru/web/gprf/mass-media/news?item=62877548)

<sup>46</sup> See Faculty of Liberal Arts and Sciences, “About”, available at [www.artesliberales.spbu.ru/en/faculty](http://www.artesliberales.spbu.ru/en/faculty)

<sup>47</sup> See St. Petersburg State University *On the Order to Modify from 02.04.2014 No 1742/1, On the temporary composition of the Academic Council of liberal arts and sciences SPbGU*, No 6697/1, June 22, 2021, available at [spbu.ru/sites/default/files/20210622\\_6697\\_1.pdf](http://spbu.ru/sites/default/files/20210622_6697_1.pdf)

<sup>48</sup> Based on interviews with the scholar, March 13, 2023

<sup>49</sup> SAR AFMP, November 27, 2019 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2019-11-27-ecole-des-hautes-etudes-en-sciences-sociales/>

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<sup>50</sup>See Russia, State Duma, *New law on activities of foreign agents* June 29, 2022, available at [www.duma.gov.ru/en/news/54760/](http://www.duma.gov.ru/en/news/54760/); Novaya Gazeta Europe, June 8, 2022, *Russian political scientist Ekaterina Schulmann declared 'foreign agent' for teaching and appearing on the radio*, available at [www.novayagazeta.eu/articles/2022/06/08/russian-political-scientist-ekaterina-schulmann-declared-foreign-agent-for-teaching-and-appearing-on-the-radio-news](http://www.novayagazeta.eu/articles/2022/06/08/russian-political-scientist-ekaterina-schulmann-declared-foreign-agent-for-teaching-and-appearing-on-the-radio-news)

<sup>51</sup> See Human Rights Watch, December 1, 2022, *Russia: New Restrictions for 'Foreign Agents'*, available at [www.hrw.org/news/2022/12/01/russia-new-restrictions-foreign-agents](http://www.hrw.org/news/2022/12/01/russia-new-restrictions-foreign-agents)