



KIRILL ELIZAROV'S PROJECT WAS AWARDED IN THE CATEGORY "STATE"  
FOR THE NATIONAL AWARD IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS  
"SILVER ARCHER"

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# PORT ARTHUR

AND OTHER MILITARY MEMORIALS OVERSEAS  
AS AN INSTRUMENTS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF RUSSIA'S INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION

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# 1. SUMMARY OF THE PROJECT

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Четверг 7 мая 2009 №81

Коммерсантъ

www.kommersant.ru

## мировая практика

### Дмитрию Медведеву ГОТОВЯТ ПАМЯТНЫЙ ВИЗИТ

К его поездке в Китай восстановят  
русские воинские мемориалы Порт-Артура

Как стало известно „Ъ“, одним из пунктов намечающегося на сентябрь 2010 года визита в Китай президента РФ Дмитрия Медведева может стать участие в церемонии открытия памятника российским военным, павшим во время Русско-японской войны при защите Порт-Артура, а также советским солдатам, погибшим в 1945 году в Северо-Восточном Китае. Восстановлением захоронений уже занимаются МИД РФ и Минобороны на деньги гуманитарного фонда «Поколение» депутата Госдумы Андрея Скоча.

О подготовке визита Дмитрия Медведева в Китай в сентябре 2010 года „Ъ“ сообщили источники в МИД РФ. По протоко-

всего, визит состоится в сентябре, когда в Шанхае откроется международная выставка „Экспо-2010“. По словам источника „Ъ“, некоторые пункты повестки визита готовятся сейчас. «Конкретные политические вопросы будут ясны ближе к делу. Но у визита будут какие-то символические составляющие, о которых нужно подумать заранее. Например, в 2010 году будет 65-летие Победы во Второй мировой войне, где мы сражались вместе. Возможно открытие какого-нибудь совместного мемориала», — говорит он.

По информации „Ъ“, таким мемориалом может стать памятник русским и советским воинам в городе Люйшунь на северо-востоке КНР — в бывшем Порт-Артуре. Дмитрий

„Ъ“ Станислав Муромцев, возглавлявший тогда посольство РФ в Китае. Шэньяне и организовал поездку господина Медведева по Северо-Восточному Китаю. Первый вице-премьер России участвовал в захоронении российских военных, павших во время обороны Порт-Артура в годы Русско-японской войны 1904–1905 годов, а также в захоронении советских солдат, освобожденных из плена в августе 1945 года.

В настоящий момент в Порт-Артуре существует мемориал защитникам Порт-Артура, роенный в 1945 году. Живаеваемый в хороших условиях. Рядом с ним находится около 1,6 тыс. памятников и обелисков, пред-



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Как сообщили „Ъ“ на Смоленской площади, МИД РФ и Минобороны начиная с 2004 года вели с китайской стороной переговоры о возможности восстановления военного кладбища. В 2008 году партнером российских министерств стал гуманитарный фонд «Поколение» депутата Госдумы от «Единой России» Андрея Скоча, который решил профинансировать работы.

Кстати, фонд «Поколение» уже не первый раз выступает партнером Минобороны в благотворительных акциях. В 2008 году фонд закупил для ветеранов Великой Отечественной войны в Белгородской области автомобили, полагавшиеся им от государства в соответствии с 14-й статьей закона РФ «О ветеранах». «Государство заботится о ветеранах, но им нужна и сыновья поддержка, поэтому наш фонд от лица гражданского общества решил оказать помощь в этой ситуации», — заявил „Ъ“ глава фонда «Поколение» Андрей Скоч.

В «Поколении» предполагают, что расходы

Кирилл Елизаров. — Мы уже начали сбор денег, собрано 18,9 млн руб. Всю разницу между собранными деньгами и реальными затратами мы покроем из средств фонда». По словам господина Елизарова, для проекта восстановления уже существует юридическое оформление: в ноябре 2008 года фонд «Поколение» подписал соглашение об этом с Международной ассоциацией содействия развития экономики и культуры города Даляня. По условиям соглашения, фонд представит проект восстановления и оплатит весь процесс, а ассоциация займется организацией работ непосредственно на месте.

По информации „Ъ“, на имя президента Медведева уже были направлены обращения ветеранов войны с предложением включить открытие мемориала, планируемого на август–сентябрь 2010 года, в перечень мероприятий оргкомитета «Победа», курирующего

Глава фонда «Поколение» Андрей Скоч (на фото) решил помочь МИД РФ и Минобороны восстановить памятник русским и советским воинам в бывшем Порт-Артуре  
ФОТО ВИТАЛИЯ ДУПЛИЧА





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## TITLE

**Port Arthur** and other military memorials overseas as an instrument for the advancement of Russia's international reputation.

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## THE ORDERING PARTY

The project has been implemented without a formal structure, rather, from suggestions originating from under the patronage and with the administrative assistance of the Memorialization Board of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, The First Department of the Asian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Embassy and the Military Attaché Office of Russian Federation in Beijing, as well as the Presidential Administration of the Russian Federation, and the Commission for the Countering of False Revision of Russian History.

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## EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Charity foundation "Pokolenie"

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## LEAD TIME

April 2008 – September 2010. The reconstruction is complete, yet a variety of communication activities have yet to be implemented.



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## BACKGROUND OF THE PROJECT

Over 17, 000 of our fellow countrymen, having fallen in action over the course of three wars – Russian-Japanese war, World War II and the Korean war – have been buried at the military grave-site in Port Arthur (Lüshun, PRC). This cemetery, as well as many other Russian military grave sites overseas, have fallen into decay.

Obviously, the Project's primary focus has been on the restoration of the Port Arthur memorial. A broad communication campaign, which has entailed the research and verification of the military and cultural history of the region, as well as the festivities of the 65th anniversary of the Russian victory in World War II, has been launched as a part of the Project. This campaign has revealed the significant role of the Russian and Soviet memorials overseas as both posthumous representatives and living icons of our country that have been deeply rooted in the countries of their "accommodation", effecting their development, as well. Therefore, ancillary to the above initiatives, there has been the development of a political campaign with regards to Russian relations with the Far East.

The project has been fully sponsored by the charity foundation "Pokolenie" and by other private donations. It has incorporated a broad range of NGOs and the general public for participation in the restoration of Russian military memorials overseas, and for the proactive development of influential tools for the advancement of Russian global and intercultural relations in the future.

The Project faced a range of problems caused by the particular nature of Russian-Chinese relations. That included the information embargo, the ban to use state sources, and certain diplomatic and business complications. These issues have been solved by either complying with the restrictions, without detriment to the goals of the Project, or, by getting over it. Or by accepting the indefinite limitations imposed by them.

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## THE AUDIENCE INVOLVED

All mentioned above make it obvious that the leaders of both countries were the primary target audience. They, as well as other target audience members for this outreach, are the following:

- The Chinese Communist party, including the state authorities, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the provincial authorities of the free economic zone of Dalian, municipal government and the population of the cities of Dalian and Lüshun, the management and the employees of the local contractors;
- The government and the society of the former Soviet republics, where there are Russian military grave sites;
- The war veterans (the veterans of the hostilities in the Far East as the pivotal audience), the Russian militaries and the relatives of those buried abroad (incl. Port Arthur);
- The government and the population of the Russian regions bordering with PRC;
- The experts communities in the field of military cooperation, world and military history, international relations, cultural history of the region, tourism etc.;
- The Russian business community and middle class as the potential donators for similar projects.



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## PROJECT BREAKDOWN

**The reconstruction of the memorial** became the cornerstone of the project. It was aimed at saving the memorial and turning it into a site of great historical and cultural value that would meet the top international standards.

**The information was distributed to the general public** through the press-services of the “ordering party”, through the main information partners like VGTRK ( TV programs “Vesti”, “Alexander Sladkov’s Military Program”, “Ochevidnoe-Neveryatnoe”/“The obvious yet incredible” etc.), RIA Novosti, “Radio Rossii”, TV channels “Zvezda” and REN TV, newspapers “Komsomolskaya Pravda” and “Kommersant”; the information about the memorial has also been included into the tourist guides and other information leaflets throughout Russia as well as throughout China.

**The structural relations have been managed** through direct contact, negotiations and presentations (e.g. for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC), with the inclusion of expert reports within the printed materials about the Project. This was done with the assistance of the Russian-Chinese Friendship Society and the International Dalian Economic and Cultural Development Association, as well as through the press-services of the “ordering party” and inside the ordering party organizations.

**The communication with the individuals involved** (about several thousand people, from individual donators to the war veterans, who were invited to take part in the opening ceremony) has been carried out through direct advertisement (limited, in the beginning of the Project, in order to find the interested parties), and then later through individual correspondence, including the exchange of documents, materials etc. The communication with the experts and business communities has been carried out through the personal meetings and discussions (word-of-mouth).



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## RESULTS

Asia's largest memorial of military history, having over 1800 monuments and sculptures, **has been rescued from the planned "site development" and fully restored**, meeting the highest international standards. According to the Russian Society of Military History, the Port Arthur Battlefield site is among the top 10 military history museums in the world. Further development of the memorial is planned for 2011.

We've demonstrated the attention Russia pays to its military memorials overseas. On the instruction of the President of Russia, the State Target Program "For the Preservation and Reconstruction of Military Grave Sites in 2011 - 2015", has been worked out. This Program includes military memorials overseas as well as those on the Russian territory. **Yearly grants for these projects overseas, including reconstruction, certification and studying the grave sites, will be raised from 150 mln. RUR to 500 mln. RUR.**

We've managed to significantly raise public interest in the historical role that Russia has played in the Far East. **The day of Japan's surrender 'to Russia' has been put back in the Russian memorial date records as the end of the World War II.** The President of the Russian Federation has attended the opening ceremony of the memorial in Port Arthur. This ceremony has become the key event in the celebration of the 65th anniversary of the Victory in the East.

This project has demonstrated the will of both Russia and China to overcome their negative experiences in bilateral relations with one another, and it has become the first large-scale humanitarian project on the non-governmental level, which has let us work out **a joint celebration program for the 65th anniversary of the Victory in World War II.**

The Project has stimulated public discussions of the problems that have arisen as a result of the memorialization of the fallen, as well as numerous public initiatives that have formally remained outside the framework of the Project. The Russian Embassy in Beijing received several offers from the potential sponsors, who were ready to take part in similar military memorial activities. This let us start working on a number of similar memorial restoration projects.

According to "Artifact" DB ([www.integrum.ru](http://www.integrum.ru)), documents from 1975 connected with the Project have been published despite the information embargo. In 2010 over 1.5 hours of air time on different TV channels had been devoted to this Project. It has also become very popular with the bloggers. According to Yandex research, in 2010 key words associated with the project had been found in 658 blogs. The Project enjoyed their full appreciation and support despite the traditionally negative perception of the bloggers community. The small amount of criticism from the bloggers focused on the fact that the project had been realized 'abroad', while there were still other numerous grave sites in Russia that remained in a sad plight.



## 2. BACKGROUND OF THE PROJECT

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## 2.1 RUSSIAN MILITARY MEMORIALS OVERSEAS

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According to the Russian Ministry of Defense, the Russian and Soviet military grave sites are located on the territories of 49 countries. The Ministry of Defense has been carrying out a very complicated task of certifying such sites. By 2010, over 15 000 of such grave sites have been certified in the former Soviet republics and about 20 000 sites are to be certified. About 5 000 have been certified in other countries.

The majority of the grave sites date back to the period of the Great Patriotic War. Such memorials are located in the Baltic States and in the East-European countries, as well as in other countries, where Soviet and Russian citizens fought against fascism in foreign regular armies or as a part of foreign guerilla detachments. Such grave sites can also be found in the countries where Soviet captives were kept. After the collapse of the USSR, the former republics have gained their own statehood and national identity, which has led to the fact that the grave sites of the Soviet period are now being perceived as specifically “Russian”.

During World War II about 9 mln. Soviet citizens were buried abroad. But it isn't a complete list of Russian military grave sites overseas. The Patriotic War of 1812 – 1814 and previous military expeditions of Russian troops in Europe and Asia have scarred the land of other countries with Russian graves. The most famous memorial of that time is, probably, the Stone of Suvorov at St. Gotthard pass representing the wars against the Ottoman Empire (there are 5 to 12 thousand Russian soldiers buried on the territory of modern Turkey, and about 300 thousand buried in Bulgaria, who fell to free the country from the Turkish yoke); the 1st World War, the Civil War in Spain and the Anti-Japanese War in China 1937 – 1942, where Soviet citizens fought along with international troops; The Finnish war. Khalkhin Gol; The wars in Korea and Vietnam. And finally there was Afghanistan and the so-called “invisible wars”, in which our fellow-countrymen took part one way or the other.

The Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are currently working on bilateral agreements with China that would allow us to properly maintain military grave sites. By the time the Project started, such agreements had been signed by Hungary, Germany, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Finland, Czech Republic and Japan. China and Latvia joined as the Project was being implemented - Twelve countries in total. Experts are currently working on the agreements with Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Serbia and Turkey. There are almost 50 countries, where there are Russian military grave sites. The process of bringing these countries on board still has a long way to go.

In addition, through the official approach, we can only provide a minimum of services, and so we cannot really make the Russian military memorials a substantial part of such a bi-lateral negotiations, either cultural or historical, given the current regime. In the future it can be done only by involving all activist organizations and the general public in our respective countries.

## 2.2 MILITARY MEMORIALS AS A FACTOR OF INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

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Russian cemeteries, military memorials in particular, are the most deeply-rooted representatives of Russia within in the history of other nations, as well as often being determinants for the territorial boundaries of those countries. As such, they direct us, not only into the past but also into the future. The memorials are those “anchors” that maintain the high level of intercultural relations between Russia and other nations. They can also become the backdrop for the strengthening and development of the international reputation of our country. It is not for nothing that the military memorials have become a part of “big politics”. They've always been drawing the attention of different political forces. But in the last 20 years they have turned into an international political battlefield. The Monument to the Liberators of Tallinn, fighting against the Third Reich, for example, was first blown up by the nationalists back in 1946. In 1998 the first President of Estonia Lennart Meri awarded the participants of that attack with the Order of the Eagle Cross for “fighting against communism”.

The story of relocating the monument from Tallinn downtown Tonismagi Hill to the outskirts of the city (on the resolution of the government of Estonia in April 2007) has become very infamous and provoked a crisis in Russian-Estonian relations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation has declared in its note of protest, that Russia regards these actions as “reinterpreting the role of the Anti-Hitler coalition in the Victory over fascism in World War II, which is in contradiction, not only with the standards of international law, but with the simple norms of morality and humanitarianism”. Numerous Russian politicians have made their statements in the same strain: “The ashes of the soldiers





of the great country are sacred for us... when Estonian politicians shake the bones of Russian soldiers out, it's a test... **we're being tested, if we do feel like a great country, as the heirs of the national endowment** of Great Russia. We're being tested to see, if we really can defend ourselves as well, as the blood of Russian history".

A similar intense struggle ensued regarding the monument of the Soviet soldiers-liberators in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, better known as "Alyosha". Back in 1989, there were suggestions that the monument should be dismantled; however the government of the country did not approve it. In April 1996, the city Parliament of Plovdiv adopted the decision to dismantle "Alyosha", yet the Supreme Court revoked that decision.

The above mentioned participants and events confirms **the role that the Russian military memorials overseas have had as instruments of intercultural (public and civil) and international (political and institutional) relations.**

**The attempts of the politicians of the East-European countries to re-write the history of their relations with Russia in general, and the history of the period of the Great Patriotic war,** in particular, only increased the attention that the Russian military memorials overseas received.

Over 600 thousand Soviet soldiers fell liberating Poland during the Great Patriotic War. Yet in May 2007, the Polish Ministry of Culture initiated a draft on a bill, according to which it should be allowed to dismantle monuments that mainly symbolized the "foreign domination" of Russia over Poland. This would allow the local authorities to seal the fate of the statues, memorial boards and memorial sites. Notably, the leaders of Poland stand on the point of view that all symbols of "communist dictatorship" must disappear. Back in 2001, the city council of Katowice adopted the decision to relocate the monument to the Soviet soldiers from the city downtown to the military grave site. In February 2007, the citizens offered to put a statue of the former President of the United States Ronald Reagan in the place of the monument. Neither of the decisions has been put into practice yet for the lack of funding.

Under the pressure of the local authorities the ashes and the monument of General Cherniakhovsky (from Vilnius), and those of the intelligence officer Kuznetsov (from Lvov) and others, have been evacuated to Russia to avoid desecration. The Monument to the Liberators of Riga has been violated repeatedly. In Latvia this has been followed by the legal prosecution of those still alive, who served in the Red Army. In the meantime, the governments of the Baltic states maintain the monuments of the SS soldiers with dramatized care: in Parnu, Estonia, in Limbazi, Latvia etc. In December 2009, Georgian authorities have demolished the Memorial of Glory in Kutaisi.

A growing despondence and lethargy in the Baltic region, with regards to historical influences, has de facto legitimated common vandalism towards the memorials and graves of the fallen Soviet soldiers. Clear acts of vandalism – sanctioned by the state as well as marginal groups – have been recorded in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Moldavia, Georgia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Germany, France, and Hungary.

The Government of Russia has faced the necessity to pay more attention to the protection and restoration of the Soviet and Russian military memorials overseas. The Military-Memorial Center of the Armed Forces of the Ministry of Defense has been granted a higher status by the Memorialization Board of the Ministry of Defense; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has started coordinating the memorialization restorations with the embassies of the Russian Federation abroad.

The well-balanced approach – which means attracting civil society in solving these problems, and turning the memorials into centers of cultural and historical relations – can make these memorials the background with which Russia may shape its' role in the global community.

The important role of civil society in solving such problems has been stressed by the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin. When commenting on the demolition blast of the Monument of Glory in Kutaisi, he suggested that the Monument can be rebuilt in the capital city of Russia. He expressed confidence that there are enough people in Russia, who would sponsor this project from their own funds, and that the representatives of the Georgian Diaspora will take active part in it.





AMERICAN WAR MEMORIAL IN NANJING (CHINA)

### 2.3 FAR EAST

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The “eastern branch” of our history has constantly been lacking the attention of the State, a reality in which has recently become even worse. Suffice it to say that prior there was only one regional festivity planned here, devoted to the 65th anniversary of the Victory over fascism. It should have been carried out by the administration of Sakhalin. The history of Russian military presence in the Far East is still a very “local” topic, mostly evoking the interest of local authorities and the general population. This makes the role of civil society in coming onto the scene and helping to preserve, restore and develop the memorial complex all that more important. There are Russian and Soviet military memorials in Vietnam, China, Korea, Mongolia, and Japan. Mostly, those Far-Eastern museums and memorials, built in the times of the USSR, have now fallen into despair.

An exception is the memorial complex opened in December 2009 in Kamran, Vietnam, and dedicated to the memory of Soviet, Russian and Vietnamese soldiers that gave their lives during the hostilities in this region against the United States of America. The opening of the memorial was also tied with the problem of the status of the Russian military base in Kamran. Memorial sites can naturally be regarded as an instrument of strengthening of military cooperation, and, as such, they do not suggest the involvement of the civil society as the crucial factor of their creation and development.

Geopolitically, the Pacific theater has historically not been any less important for Russia, than for the United States. But the differences between the efforts put to maintain the military and historical memorials and museums in this region are drastic.

According to the American Battle Monument Commission that manages the military grave sites, there were over 93 thousand American soldiers who had fallen in World War II buried outside the US. This is about one fifth of America’s casualties in the war against fascism and militaristic Japan (about 405 thousand people). The military cemeteries are being perfectly maintained and visited by approximately 850 thousand Americans every year. These memorials are an important means of demonstrating the contribution of the US in the liberation of several countries. The American military cemetery in Nanjing, China, as a point of reference, let the State Department of the US argue that Americans played the most important part in defeating Japan and liberating China. **Several museums of World War II in China, that demonstrate to the population the historical influence that the USA had on the fate of their motherland have received sponsorship by the US. These sponsorships are a very important part of the reputation that the US has fostered in China.**

### 2.4 RUSSIAN MILITARY MEMORIAL IN PORT ARTHUR, HISTORY

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Russia’s long expansion to the East finished in the end of the XIX century, as she reached the Yellow Sea. Upon signing the Lease Agreement with China on March 15th, 1898, Port Arthur (now Lüshun, PRC) had become the main Russian naval base in the Pacific. Consequently, there was the necessity to locate a cemetery there, as well. The portent of misfortune came for its justification in January of 1904, when the Japanese navy suddenly attacked a Russian squadron remaining in the harbor of Port Arthur. This is how the Russian-Japanese war began. The defense of Port Arthur lasted 11 months. During that time the Japanese sustained casualties of 70 thousand, Russian casualties were 25 thousand.

The Russian-Japanese war ended in 1905. Russia was defeated. The Portsmouth Peace Treaty was signed by Russia and Japan in the summer of 1905. Under this treaty, Port Arthur and the surrounding territories along with the leasing rights passed to Japan. The long and hard struggle for Port Arthur and the enormous casualties incurred, have scarred the memories of both nations. The heroism of the Russian soldiers, who defended the city, astonished the Japanese that much, that they decided to pay tribute to them and built a memorial at the Russian military cemetery in Port Arthur. A decision was made to pay tribute equally to the soldiers that fought on both sides. Besides the military cemeteries, on the tops of the peaks of the bloodiest battles obelisks have been erected. The Japanese started the project as soon as the war was over.

The Japanese brass, high ranking heads of state, as well as those within the senior ranks of the local Japanese administration formed the members of the Japanese Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of War. This Society had raised great funds among the Japanese population, which were used not only to found the Japanese cemetery,





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ARRANGING A NEW CEMETERY FOR THE DEFENDERS, THE JAPANESE BURIED THEM MOSTLY IN MASS GRAVES. 1908.



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1913

but to properly bury the Russian soldiers fallen at the siege of Port Arthur, as well. When organizing the cemetery, the Japanese buried the soldiers in the communal graves. On the graves of the soldiers they put heavy crosses of cast iron with the inscriptions: "1785 ashes", "749 ashes", "1490 ashes". The crosses on the officers' graves were made of white marble; the numbers on them are somewhat smaller: "the bed of honor 15th ESR 41 ashes", "the bed of honor 28th ESR 28 ashes", "the bed of honor 14th ESR". In total 48 graves. Letters "ESR" mean "East-Siberian (rifle) Regiment". Some individual graves were also arranged, where the heroes of the Russian defensive were buried – Major General Tserpitsky, Colonel Iolshin, Lieutenant-Colonel Butusov, Captain Shemetillo and many others.

The opening and consecration ceremony was held in 1908 on the initiative of the "Imperial Japanese Government". It was hosted by the former Port Arthur siege-army commander General Nogi (who himself lost two sons and was badly wounded in that siege). The Japanese invited a Russian delegation. Lieutenant General of the General Staff Chichagov, General Volodchenko, Admiral Matusevich and General Gerngross were the heads of the delegation.

Later on, the Russian government joined the memorialization movement. Nicholas II issued an edict to send a special commission for arranging the Russian military cemeteries in Manchuria in the former battlefields of the Russian-Japanese war. Those monuments deemed adequate for the memorization of heroic deeds accomplished were designated to be put up. For this purpose there was founded a Committee under the chairmanship of the grand duchess Olga Alexandrovna for the Memorialization of Russian Soldiers Fallen in 1904 – 1905. The allocated funds were rather moderate, thus the monuments couldn't be compared with those, put up by the Japanese in Port-Arthur and in Korea. This fact was very sad and provoked deep concern among the Russian officials. In the end, the treasury spent over 30 000 gold rubles, which included the donations from Nicholas II and the other members of the royal family. 18 monuments had been put up in 16 locations. The Commission had been working in Manchuria for 4 years until World War I broke out in 1914, yet the works had still not been finished.

In 1913, on the bottom of the sea the Japanese divers had searched the armor-clad "Petrovavlovsk", in which the commander of the Russian squadron in Port Arthur admiral Semyon Makarov and an artist Vasily Vereshagin fell in March, 1904. The remains of some unknown sailors have been found on the ship. After the funeral service in the Russian church in Dalny the coffins, with their ashes, had been brought to Port Arthur with the guard of honor and buried at the Russian cemetery. Till now we don't know if admiral Makarov and Vasily Vereshagin were among them. Russia was represented by the guard of honor led by admiral Yakovlev.

After the end of the Russian-Japanese war all military memorials in Manchuria were under the supervision of the Russian diplomatic mission and the military administration in Beijing. It lasted till September, 1924, when their activity was officially ceased. The further maintenance of the grave sites was laid upon the Soviet ambassador in China, but the Soviet embassy distanced itself from the duty. The cemeteries in Port Arthur and in Korea were in care of the Orthodox eparchy in Dairen, Korea. In 1928, General Mikhail Khanzhin and a group of Russian emigrant-officers founded a Board of Guardians that took the responsibility to preserve and maintain Russian military memorials in Manchuria. After the defeat of Japan in 1945, general Khanzhin was arrested and sent to exile in Kazakhstan. The Board was abolished.

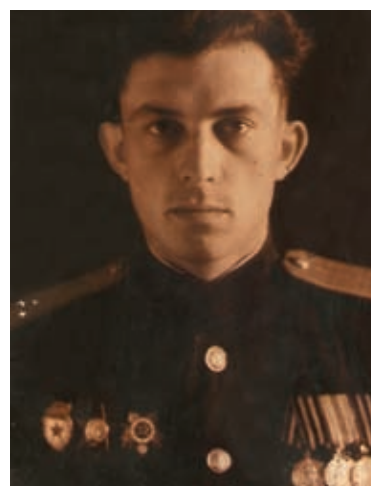
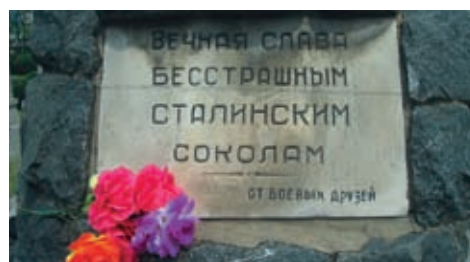
When the Soviet soldiers and officers that entered Port-Arthur in 1945 went to the Russian cemetery, the first initiative they took was to pay tribute to their fellow-countrymen, fallen defending the city in 1904. A witness of the events described it for the news-paper "Vo Slavu Rodini" ("To the Glory of the Motherland): "The next day after the Japanese surrender, the people of the village, squeezed in by the rocks on one side and the river on the other, were startled by an unusual noise. A Soviet tank was moving along the street grinding its tracks. Several soldiers were standing behind its turret. They were holding a big roll. The tank division that entered the fortress believed it to be their duty to pay the tribute to the graves of their fallen comrades. The Colours of the 21st Armored Brigade of Guards were waving next to the Marble Cross – the central monument of the Memorial. In solemn silence they laid a wreath with the inscription over the scarlet silk: "To our valiant ancestors from the armor guardsmen and airborne troops, who took the city on August 22nd, 1945. Marshals Vasilevsky, Meretskov and Malinovsky were standing bare-headed." The navy guards lost 174 soldiers in active duty. They were buried in the Russian cemetery, next to those fallen in Port-Arthur in 1904 – 1905.

In 1950 the war in Korea began. In fact, it started as a direct clash between the USSR and the USA. To avoid an





«Настал день, когда в Порт-Артур пришли сыны Макарова, сыны комендоров с Электрического утеса. Вот они. Это наши русские матросы. Они первыми после сорокалетней разлуки ступили на порт-артурскую землю, омытую кровью наших отцов и дедов и водрузили военно-морской флаг нашей Родины».



1949. KOREAN WAR HERO LT. V.S SHOEMAKERS.  
1954. N.S KHRUSHCHEV, IN PORT ARTHUR

all out war between the USSR and the US, the Soviet pilots were quartered in China and wore the PLA uniform. Korean pilot Lee Hwar shared his account of serving with the Soviet aviators with the correspondent of "Izvestia": "Soviet fighters were accommodated in China, but we worked together in the skies of Korea. Your pilots were very competent and fought boldly. I remember the Heroes of the Soviet Union Kamarenko, Pepelyaev, Stelmakh. Unfortunately, some of your brave pilots were laid in the bed of honor. They have been buried in Port Arthur."

After the Korean War, since July 1953 China and Soviet Union had been using the naval base in Port Arthur together for almost two years. In 1954, on Stalin Square in Dalny (Dalian) there was erected a great monument to the Soviet soldiers-liberators. Its granite foundation served as a tribune at the parades and demonstrations. Under the tribune there were three halls, where the wreaths were kept. In the beginning of October 1954, Nikita Khrushchev decided to give Port Arthur back to PRC, and our countries signed the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the Soviet troops. The last soviet echelon left the city in May 1955.

According to the incomplete data, over 17 thousand Russian and Soviet citizens (according to some data even up to 50 thousand) have been buried in the Russian cemetery in Port Arthur during the whole period of its existence, incl. (according to the confirmed data):

- Participants of the defense of Port Arthur in 1904 – 1905: 14631;
- Participants of the military actions against militaristic Japan in 1945: 763;
- Soldiers fallen on duty in the units quartered in Port Arthur in 1946 – 1949: 645;
- Soldiers fallen in the Korean War in 1950 – 1953: 241 (incl. 107 pilots, 3 of which are Heroes of the Soviet Union).

Today, the total area of the Russian cemetery is 4.8 ha, which makes it the biggest military memorial complex in Asia. It has over 1850 monuments and sculptures.

In the 1950-ies a Museum of Military History was opened in the centre of Port Arthur. It had a large section devoted to the Sino-Soviet friendship. Numerous documents, materials and photographs telling the story of the liberation of the city in 1945 and of the Soviet presence in the region were put on exhibition there. In 1999 the Museum had all but been forgotten. It had not been rediscovered until now.

## 2.5 RUSSIAN MILITARY MEMORIAL IN PORT ARTHUR, POLITICS

The controversial history of Sino-Soviet relations (incl. such phenomena like "cultural revolution", irregular borders, conflicts in the frontier zone in the end of 1960-ies etc.) was bound to be reflected in the attitudes that the Chinese had towards Russian influence, now and then. It naturally affected the fate of the memorials. China's economic growth and the development of big cities influenced the process of transforming of bilateral, cultural, and historical relations. Notwithstanding, remaining faithful to respecting the dead (which is typical for the oriental mentality), the Chinese authorities started relocating the monuments of Soviet soldiers from the centers of the cities to the outskirts. In 1999, the Monument of the Soldiers-Liberators of Dalian from Japanese occupation was relocated from the centre of the city (namely, to the cemetery in Lüshun). The other military memorial – the Soviet military cemetery in Harbin – has also been relocated to the suburb of Harbin – Huangshan.

The actions of the Chinese government in Dalian were scarcely different from those of the Estonian government with respect to the monument on the hill of Tonismagi in Tallinn. And yet those monuments were in Estonia, Ukraine and Georgia, countries that shared far more pervasive relations with the Soviet Union. Sadly, There were no significant reaction in Russian society.

**Today, the economic power and influence of China in the world are rising, and "the national identity of the great nation is in need of a great history". The Chinese authorities are unofficially, yet consistently, reviewing historical interpretations. The artifacts that evidence the role that the USSR played in the formation of Chinese statehood do not comply with this policy.**

The attitude of the Chinese establishment to the Russian-Japanese war 1904 – 1905 is a more negative one than shared by Russia with regards to their role. It is officially proclaimed a "war between two imperialistic predators", which would only have brought the Chinese nation nothing but misery, whatever the outcome. The fact that Russian presence in China was not achieved with the help of military force is being ignored, and that the Russian, as opposed to Soviet, presence there at the time was consistent with nothing more than usurpic occupation. On the contrary,





Chinese and Russian communities in Harbin, Shanghai, Lüshun, Dalian and other cities were neighbors, their cultural interaction was very intensive, their ethnic differences did not come into conflict, but rather accommodated each other. Russians didn't practice racial segregation or assimilation in China. Quite the opposite, they started educational activities and missionary work, built Chinese schools and temples in "Russian cities", which cannot be said about Japan that implemented the policy of oppression of the "aboriginal" population in Manchuria with the help of its army. Port Arthur was the keystone of Zheltorossia (Yellow Russia, by analogy with Belorussia - White Russia, Malorossia – Small Russia, Velikorossia – Great Russia) – a very popular name in the beginning of XX century, which is naturally no longer used – "Kronstadt of the East", and together with the port of Dalny – a "window to Asia".

Soviet soldiers in China are called "internationalists", and the Russians, fallen defending Port Arthur, are called "invaders". Hence, the situation at the cemetery in Lüshun reflecting the history of three wars was rather awkward: the population and authorities didn't consider the Russian part of the Memorial worth maintaining. Only the Soviet part, where the graves and monuments were more or less preserved, was regarded as a memorial. The larger "Russian" part didn't enjoy the attention of either Russians or Chinese and turned into a desolate patch of "dear land" away from the Motherland( Russian diasporic memorials being regarded as part of Russian soil.). But for the restoration, the last signs of its existence would have disappeared in a few years from now. The territory was designated for a housing development.

The necessity of the reconstruction of the cemetery in Port Arthur was first mentioned in Russia back in 2004, when the delegation of the MFA, the MD, Federal Archive Agency and Russian State Military Historical-Cultural Centre visited military grave sites in China. The head of the Memorialization Board of the RF MD Alexandre Kirillin published his impressions in "Kommersant": "I was struck by the ruins of that cemetery. The ranks all around, no graves, the icon on the central cross and the monuments are broken. Upon getting back to Moscow we contacted our seniors, and they appealed to the government."

Dalian (Dalny), located 60 km away from Lüshun (Port Arthur) is one of the 14 free economic zones of China. It has deserved the name of "Northern Hong Kong". It is one of the biggest business centers of the country, China's main port in the North and a big tourist and health resort. At the same time, that is one of the most visited places by Russian tourists. On a yearly basis over 450 thousand guests from Russia come to Dalian (to a large extent due to the simplified visa-free exchange – the so-called "group visa" – China has become the main country, where Russian tourists go to: over 2 (mil. tours a year). **For those of them, who visited Lüshun, the abandoned Russian cemetery was a strong indication of the attitudes of Russia and China towards their mutual history.**

### 3. THE “ORDERING PARTY” AND THE EXECUTIVES

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### 3.1 THE STATE AS THE “ORDERING PARTY” AND THE NON-STATE FUNDS

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The Project didn't have a formal ordering party that would offer a contract. But among the organizations that determined the essence and the general direction of the works, providing the necessary ideological, legal and administrative support and patronage there were:

- Memorialization Board of the RF Ministry of Defense
- The First Department of the Asian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Embassy and the Military Attaché Office of Russian Federation in Beijing
- Presidential Administration of the Russian Federation
- Commission for countering false revision of Russian History (on the last stages of implementing the Project).

The reasons that wouldn't let us to employ the contracts with the state and state funds in the Project were dubious.

First, it has a formal reason. **The Chinese authorities agreed to the restoration of the “Russian” part of the Memorial in Port Arthur on certain conditions. According to one of them, only non-governmental organizations had the right to sponsor the Project.** The official Chinese interpretation of the events from the Russian-Japanese conflict implies that both Russia and Japan were the invaders. Using the resources of state, diplomacy, or other state institutions, according to the Chinese party, would lead to the contradiction between the official position of the Chinese government and the intended purposes of the Project. For the same reason the Chinese party insisted on the participation of the relatives of the buried in Port Arthur in the Project and laid restrictions on the coverage that the Project would have in Mass Media (!). Thus, the Chinese party regarded the Project as solely allowable within humanitarian and public domain, which, as it happened, quite complied with the view of the authors of the Project.

Secondly, the **amount of money needed for the reconstruction of the Russian cemetery went far beyond the budget that could be provided by the State** for such kind of works. We had to attract the sponsors. That also corresponded to the intentions of the authors to make the Project public and to attract the business community to it, as well. Besides, the authors of the Project developed too broad a cultural-informational depository, that couldn't be sponsored by the State for the reason of very limited budget assigned for such purposes.

In October 2007 President Putin signed decree # 1313 “On the Representatives of the Ministry of Defense Overseas, Where There are Russian Military Grave Sites”, which became the regulatory system for the Ministry of Defense activity in that field (the federal law “On Memorialization of the Fallen Defending the Fartherland” signed in 1993 is very general). According to the data from the Ministry of Defense, the Government spends slightly more than 5 mil. USD on maintenance and restoration of the military burial sites abroad. Keeping in mind that the reconstruction of the Memorial in Port Arthur, alone, cost about 13.5 mil. USD, it, therefore, becomes obvious that the State doesn't have enough funds to sponsor such projects.

### 3.2 CHARITY FOUNDATION “POKOLENIE” (“GENERATION”) AS THE EXECUTIVE

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Charity foundation “Pokolenie” is a non-commercial organization, created by Andrei Skoch, who used to be one of the owners of the Oskolsky Electric Metallurgy Plant (now a part of the biggest Russian mining and metallurgical holding company “Metalloinvest”). In 1999, Andrei Skoch became a single-mandate deputy in the State Duma from Belgorodskaya Oblast, which he has represented in the Lower House of the Legislative Assembly of the Russian Federation until now.

At the same time Andrei Skoch is the President of the charity foundation “Pokolenie”, established in 1996. The main source of the income of the foundation are the dividends from “Metalloinvest” that Andrei Skoch was entitled to as a shareholder. According to item 2.1. of article 6 of Federal Legislation of the Russian Federation “On the Status of the Member of the Federation Council and the status of the deputy of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation”, Andrei Skoch's shares have been placed into trust.



The projects implemented by "Pokolenie" include the foundation of the yearly independent literature award "Debut", a car grant program for the veterans of the Great Patriotic War (the cars should have originally been granted by the state, but were not distributed for the lack of funds. "Pokolenie" have raised about 12 mln. USD and have granted the veterans 2 000 cars), preparation and publishing such books as "Names on the Soldiers' Tags", "The Great Patriotic: unclassified. The Book of Losses", opening of the All-Russia "Memory Watch" in Belgorod, etc.

The interests of the Foundation in the problem of construction and restoration of the military memorials can be traced back to one of the previous projects. Once, "Pokolenie" received a letter from a woman, who lived in Belgorodskaya Oblast. She wrote that several partisans had been shot on her land at the time of fascist occupation. For over 50 years she had been trying to insist on their reburial, yet failed. "Pokolenie" defrayed all expenses and held the ceremony of reburial for the partisans' ashes. That is how Andrei Skoch established relations with the Memorialization Board of the Ministry of Defense that later asked the Foundation to participate in the reconstruction of the Russian military memorials abroad.

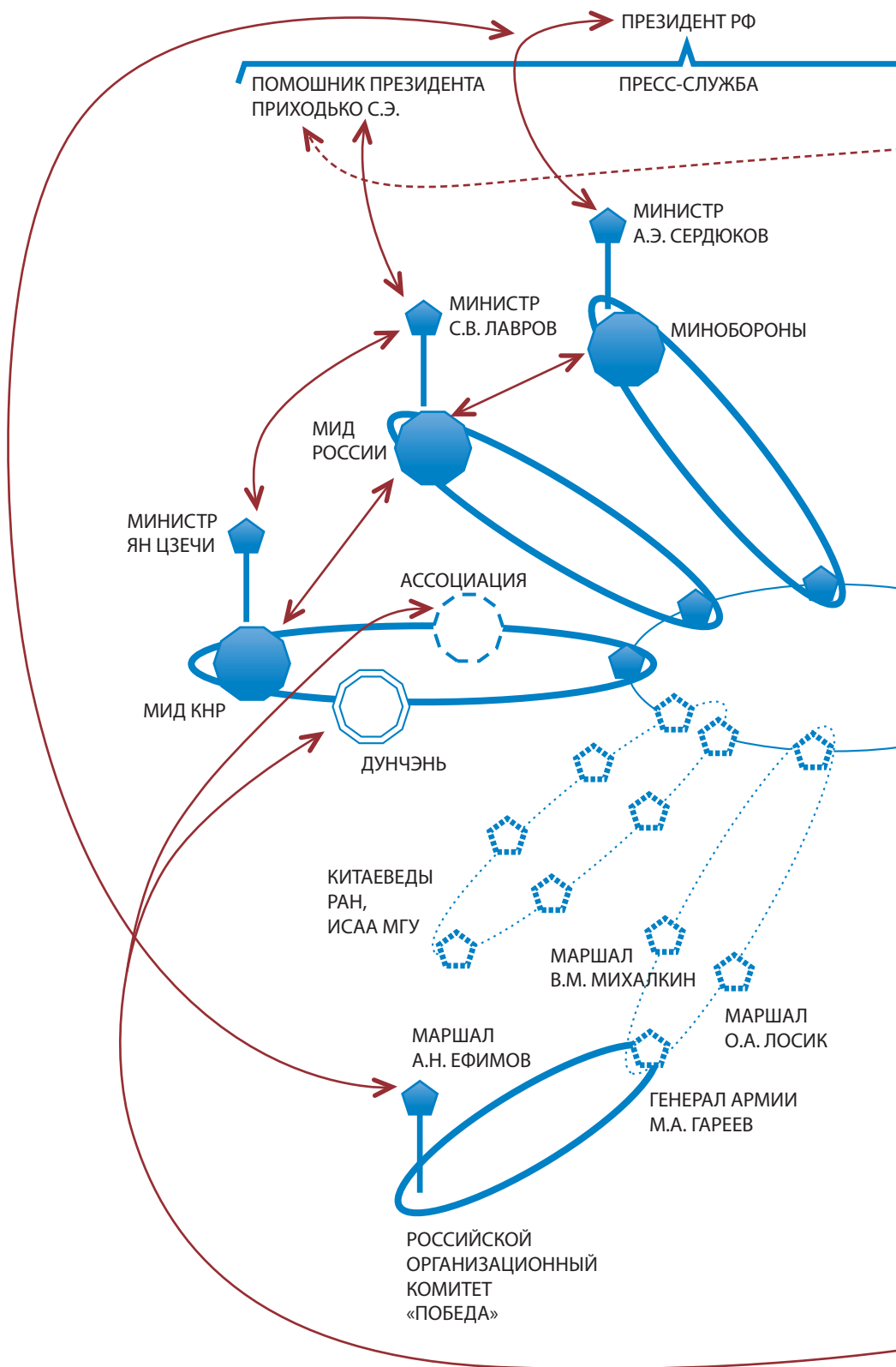
After consulting the ordering party and the experts, a list of those memorials was made that needed to be taken under greater patronage than others. The memorial in Port Arthur was chosen as the most "desolate", the biggest in the Far East and crucial for the development of the intercultural relations between Russia and its main counteragent in the region – China. In 2008, Andrei Skoch's foundation "Pokolenie" undertook the implementation of the project and started the complete restoration and capital improvement of the Russian military cemetery in Port Arthur.

### 3.3 THE WORKING GROUP

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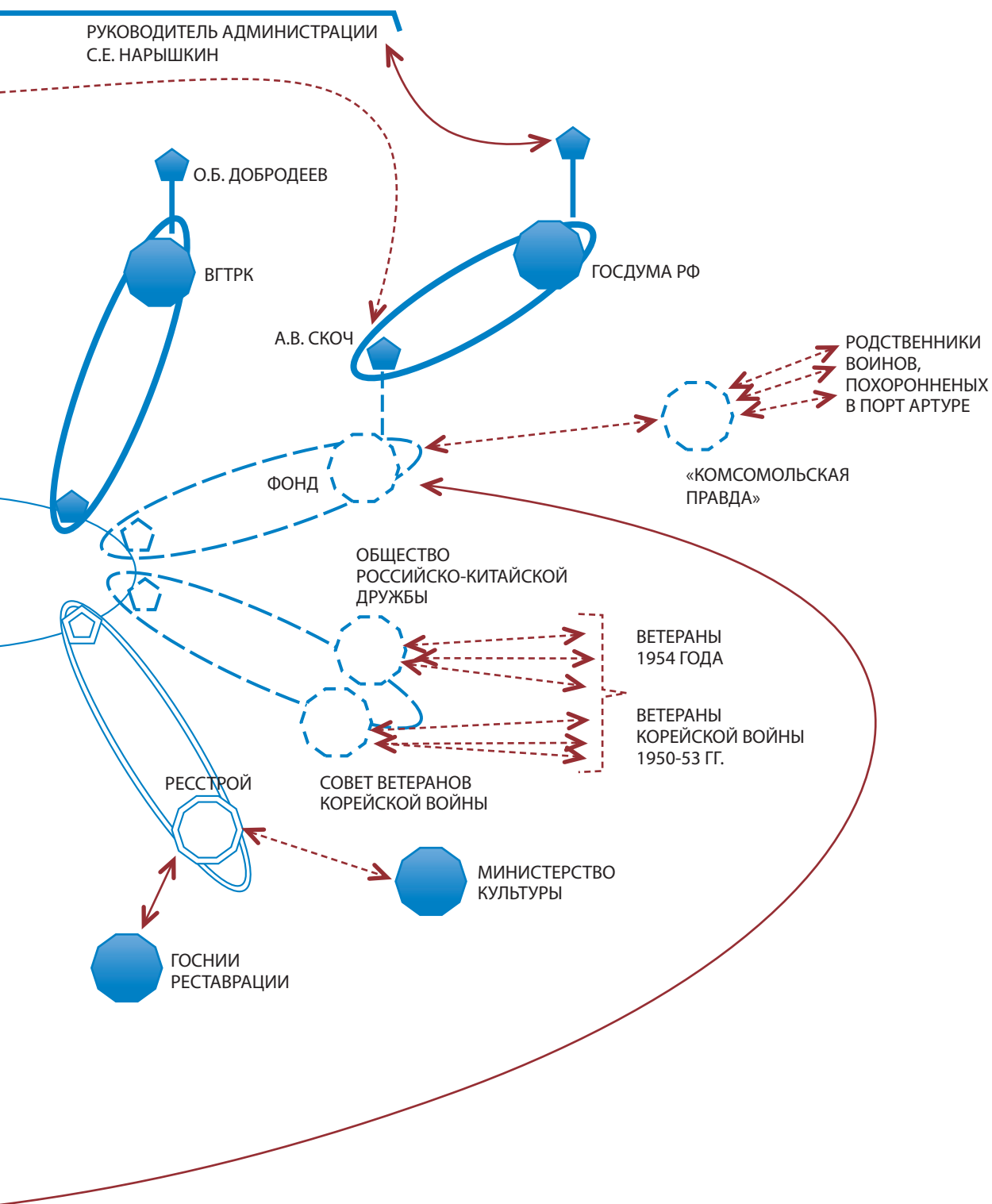
The working group of the Project has united representatives of various social entities, state and professional organizations and has become an example of an efficient public-private partnership. It united the members and employees of "Pokolenie" as well as the members of the Memorialization Board of the MD, the representatives of the Embassy of the RF in Beijing, The Russian-Chinese Friendship Society, The Korean War Veterans' Society, The Institute for Asian and African Studies, TV channels VGTRK and "Zvezda", and, of course, the organizations that were in charge of the reconstruction works. The Chinese party was represented by the Foreign Affairs' Office of Dalian.

The coordination of works was carried out by the Vice-president of the foundation "Pokolenie" Kirill Elizarov. The members of the working group are presented in the "Authors of the Project" department.



THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PROJECT CAN BE DESCRIBED AS PUBLIC-GOVERNMENT PARTNERSHIP. THE TOP LEADERS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION, SUCH AS THE PRESIDENT, MINISTERS, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS AS WELL AS PRIVATE CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS, BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS, MASS MEDIA, VETERANS AND SCHOLARS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED INTO THE PROJECT. THE DAY-TO-DAY MANAGEMENT HAS BEEN EXECUTED BY THE WORKING GROUP INTRODUCED IN THE CHAPTER "THE AUTHORS OF THE PROJECT".





## 4. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES, TARGET AUDIENCE

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1955年5月26日，旅大市党政  
举行欢送苏军回国大会。





军民10万人在斯大林广场（今人民广场）





## 4.1 THE GOALS

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The goal of the Project was to turn the military memorial in Port Arthur into a modern tool for promoting the reputation of Russia and an instrument of public relations and intercultural relations between Russia and China. This includes the following:

- To demonstrate the attention Russia pays to its military memorials abroad, especially after the widely known attempts to review the role of our country in a history that enabled the turning of a blind eye to the vandalism of Russian and Soviet monuments.
- To raise public awareness and underscore the significance of the historical events in the Far East, especially those of World War II: to draw attention of the public and emphasize the role of these historical events in forming equal and friendly relationships between Russia and China, to confirm the ability and eagerness of both countries to overcome their negative perceptions.
- To encourage national pride and self-respect in our people through the grateful attitude of those who inherit the memory of the heroic deeds of their ancestors. To demonstrate to today's soldiers the attention and responsibility that the State should have to the memory of the fallen.
- To make the cemetery in Port Arthur culturally and historically interesting and attractive for the visitors from Russia as well as for the citizens of the PRC, especially when we consider the fact that the attitude towards the memory of ones ancestors is a tentative issue in China.
- To raise funds and promote similar projects among the citizens and sponsors,- projects for turning sites of historical interest into modern complexes that would become one of the "factors of presence" and strengthen the international image of Russia through the funding restoration projects and the maintenance of thousands of Russian military grave sites abroad.

## 4.2 THE OBJECTIVES

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The objectives can be divided into two groups: "technical tasks" and "communication".

The technical tasks include the problem of having to have arranged the process of reconstruction for the Russian military memorial in Port Arthur. The construction, financial and administrative aspects involved, are not being discussed in this paper, but, in summation, the "communication", or Public Relations involved the above includes the following:

- To develop good relations with the **Chinese party in general**, incl. cooperation with the government, provincial authorities and authorities of the free economic zone, the municipal governments of Dalian and Lüshun, local contractors, and with the population of the cities.
- To practically demonstrate the efficiency of private funds and non-governmental management in solving governmental problems to the so-called **"institutional" audience** in our country: to the senior management, administration and regional authorities, as well as to the experts in different fields, connected with the implementation of the Project. Among the later being the military experts, historians, the experts in the field of international relations, cultural exchange, cultural history, tourism, business management, etc.
- To collaborate with the veterans and the families of the buried with regards to their involvement with the numerous Russian and Soviet military cemeteries overseas. To directly involve those related to those historical events, be they relatives or those of fallen comrades, and raise the awareness and activity of these individuals for the defense of this project and its historical treasures, and to get their "informed agreement" to the actions of the State in this matter.
- To broadcast the historic truths about Port Arthur, and all that they represent in deserving the full attention of the public from a historical, patriotic, educational, and civil perspective, to give testimony of Russia's commitment to the fair and modern principles of cherishing the memory of the heroic deeds of the past.
- To broadcast the information about **the non-governmental charitable nature of the Project**, its financial transparency and the efficiency of the application of funds to the potential sponsors of the projects for historical restoration.





### 4.3 TARGET AUDIENCE AND THE MEANS OF INTERACTION WITH IT

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“Russian authorities” and the “Russian population” can undoubtedly be identified as the target audience. But communication with them had to be done through, either external regulatory bodies, or their derivative. For example, the members of the Project could inform the Presidential Administration of their intentions only in accordance to the existing chain of legislature. Such communication could not be very creative, yet was necessary in order for the Project to succeed. Any communication with the population was little more than a reflection of these imposed channels. The sanctioned Media would then carry out their end of the process by either questioning the authors of the Project (over 100 interviews with the members of the working group have been published in the top Russian mass media), or getting the information through the other sources (press-service of the Administration of the President, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense etc.). Overall, the process was less than ideal.

The authors of the Project have been carrying out communications, approaching the following target groups, using the following proactive instruments of interaction:

- Direct information distribution
- Negotiations and presentations for the PRC MFA
- Preparation of all sorts of expert reports
- Cooperation with the veterans’ organizations in China (through the Russian-Chinese Friendship Society and International Dalian Economic and Cultural Development Association)
- A familiarization tour for the Chinese veterans of the World War II, their meeting with the President of the Russian Federation
- Word-of-Mouth communications
- The government and the society of the former Soviet republics, where there are Russian military grave sites.
- Information distribution to the local mass media through:
  - Press-services of the Russian State institutions engaged in the Project
  - Press-service of the Administration of the President of Russian Federation
  - The Project progress tracking by RIA Novosti
  - The Project progress tracking by VGTRK (international broadcast)
  - The Project progress tracking by “Komsomolskaya Pravda” in the former Soviet Republics (CIS countries)
- Regional authorities (mostly of the regions bordering with the PRC) and Russian citizens visiting China (mostly from the regions bordering with PRC as well).
- Information distribution through:
  - The Project progress tracking by RIA Novosti – distributing the information to the regional mass media
  - The Project progress tracking by VGTRK — distributing the information to the regional mass media
- Press-conference (upon completing the project)
- Special album on the history of the site and the plans of its reconstruction
- General media coverage of the project
- Inclusion of Port Arthur into the tourist programs throughout the travel agencies in the Far East (Blagoveshchensk, Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Irkutsk, Chita) (closing stage of the Project)
- Chinese party’s tourist guides in the Russian language (through the Dalian International Economic and Cultural Development Association)
- Experts in the related fields of military cooperation, world and military history, international relations, cultural history of China, tourism ,etc.
- Special edition of the TV show “Ochevidnoe – Neveroyatnoe” / “The obvious yet incredible” (also as a generator of public interest.)
- Provisioning of necessary materials for the military editions of the album and editions on military history (upon request)
- Preparation of a variety of expert reports
- Special album on the history of the site and the plans of its reconstruction
- Presentations of the Projects and distributing the information about it to the managing institutions (administrative offices, scientific organizations, professional associations)
- Press-conference on the web-site of the Russian Public Relations Association
- Broadcasting the information through the Russian Sinologists’ Association RAS
- Veterans and families of the fallen and buried abroad, incl. Port Arthur.
- Joint project with “Komsomolskaya Pravda” appealing to the families of the soldiers buried in Port Arthur to send their





stories and photographs for the Project Memorial

- Direct advertisement ("Komsomolskaya Pravda", "Kommersant", "Vesti" VGTRK)
- Hour long promotional broadcast of the Project on "Radio Rossi"
- Special album on the history of the site and the plans for its reconstruction
- Direct correspondence (letters and other more traditional media)
- A familiarization tour for 150 veterans and their relatives, including a meeting with the President of the Russian Federation.
- The military men of the Russian army.
- Special issue of "Alexander Sladkov's military program"
- Distribution the information through the press-service of the RF MD
- General coverage of the Project in mass media
- Russian business community and middle class as potential donators for the Project and similar ones.
- Word-of-Mouth
- Special meeting of the "Nikotsky club" (a club of businessmen and scholars hosted by MICEX)
- Direct advertisement ("Komsomolskaya Pravda", "Kommersant", "Vesti" VGTRK)
- Distribution of information to the Russian companies connected with China, through the Embassy of the RF in the PRC, General Consulate in Shanghai and Shenyang, RAS Russian Sinologists' Association.

## 5. INFORMATION EMBARGO AND THE SPECIFICS OF THE COMMUNICATION STRATEGY.

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ПОСОЛЬСТВО РОССИИ В КНР  
г. Пекин

7 « июля 2009 года

### ОТЧЁТ О БЕСЕДЕ, СОСТОЯВШЕЙСЯ МЕЖДУ ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЯМИ ПОСОЛЬСТВА РОССИИ И МИД КНР 2.07.2009 г.

2 июля с. г. были приглашены в МИД Китая для беседы по вопросу выполнения ранее достигнутых взаимных соглашений, связанных с реставрацией российских воинских захоронений в г. Люйшунь (Порт-Артур) периода русско-японской войны.

В беседе с российской стороны принимали участие: Томихин Е.Ю. - заместитель директора ИДА МИД России, представители Посольства России и Минобороны России (по организации и ведению военно-мемориальной работы за рубежом);

с китайской стороны: господин Цзо Сюэцзюнь - заместитель директора Консульского департамента (КД) МИД КНР и господин Хун Е - первый секретарь КД МИД.

Суть обеспокоенности китайской стороны в следующем: 23 июня в г. Люйшунь, по приглашению российского гуманитарного фонда «Поколение» прибыли журналисты ВГТРК, аккредитованные в Китае, для проведения съёмок хода реставрационных работ. С МИД Китая и местной администрацией вопрос о разрешении съёмок не решался. Журналистам были запрещены какие либо съёмки и информация об инциденте была доложена в МИД Китая.

В этой связи китайская сторона высказала сожаление о случившемся и отметила, что Люйшунь является закрытым городом, куда ограничен доступ иностранных граждан. Кроме того, никто не давал права фонду «Поколение», уполномоченному вести ремонтно-восстановительные работы



FROM :

FAX NO. :

2009.07.07 12:47 P4

на старой части кладбища, приглашать от своего имени российских журналистов.

Данные действия российской организации, по мнению китайской стороны, не отвечают договорённости о порядке проведения работ на старой части российского военного кладбища.

Нам вновь напомнили, что начало 20 века является трагическим периодом в китайской истории, когда часть территории страны была оккупирована крупными империалистическими державами. Несмотря на чувствительность вопроса, китайская сторона разрешила российскому НПО провести ремонтно-восстановительные работы на кладбище в Люйшуне с учётом дружеского характера двусторонних отношений и исходя из принципа гуманизма. В свою очередь, одним из требований китайской стороны было условие закрытости места проведения ремонтно-восстановительных работ для российских и китайских СМИ.

Вместе с тем в МИД КНР отметили, что в принципе не возражают против съёмок хода реставрационных работ, но при условии, что они будут проводиться не профессиональными журналистами, а силами реставраторов. Кроме того, здесь имеется в виду, что все съёмки, которые планирует фонд «Поколение», должны в предварительном порядке согласовываться с китайской стороной.

ПЕРВЫЙ СЕКРЕТАРЬ



В.КОЖЕМЯКО



## ПАМЯТНИК ЯПОНСКО-РУССКОЙ ВОЙНЕ КРАТКОЕ ИЗЛОЖЕНИЕ

Памятник японско-русской войне находится в центре кладбища прежней царской России. Его высота метров 6. Формовка-символ православия. Он построен из бледно-желтого мрамора. По лицевой стороне памятника на русской языке резано: «Здесь офицеры и солдаты русских войск, погибшие за защиту своей Родины и Царя, Порт-Артура (Люйшунь)». Под текстом памятника был инкрустирован портрет Христа, составленный из цветного маленького изразца. Теперь этот портрет уже разрушен. По оборотной стороне памятника на русском языке резаны номера русских войск всех родов, участвовавшие в японско-русской войне 1904-ого года. **Это историческая улика - царская Россия напала на Китай.**



The “information” embargo laid by the Chinese party has significantly affected communication for promotion and commencement of the Project. The “direct control” of media (if not censorship) is not unusual in China, but in our PR-practice that was formed in the post-soviet period it is rather rare to find a project that would encounter such restrictions. This makes the “Chinese-Russian” experience to the authors of the Project particularly interesting for those who would implement communication endeavors in societies with different “cultural codes”.

As it has already been said, notwithstanding the neutral to very tentatively positive attitudes of the Chinese government towards the monuments of the soviet epoch; perceptions of the Russian-Japanese War are very different between the Chinese and the Russians. In the opinion of the former, it was a war of two invaders competing for control over China. According to the official Chinese stance, Russia forced the building of the Port Arthur naval base in the Kwantung Peninsula upon a weak and polarized imperial China. This perception was not going to be softened when put into comparison with Japans presence, who's activity in Manchuria could scarcely be seen as anything other than the occupation of a usurper. Seen more as one common foreign element, both the Soviets and Japanese were elements regarded linked circumstance. The actions of the Japanese would only have caused disservice to any Russian influence. Therefore, officially Beijing vigorously opposed the glorification of either side.

The official position is reflected on the attitudes of the local population. The majority of the Chinese, with their reverence for the ashes of the dead, believe, however, that the soldiers of the imperialistic armies do not deserve a kind commemoration with respect to their graves.

Moreover, the political aspects of the situation become even more tentative when we review the fact that Lüshun (Port Arthur) is now the biggest navy base in the PRC, which **lays additional restrictions in terms of security**.

Working out an agreement between Russia and China on the protection of military grave sites was also very complicated, because the principle of reciprocity, usually used in agreements with other countries, could not be applied in this case. There are no Chinese military grave sites on Russian territory.

As the result of the long years of meticulous work, The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Memorialization Board of the Ministry of Defense have managed to transfer the problem to exclusively humanitarian dimensions via NGE's. By 2008, we reached the agreement that the families of the soldiers buried in China could restore the graves, monuments and memorials on a “private” level, but not at the expense of the State and not through the efforts of the Russian Embassy in China. One of the conditions set by the Chinese party was to restore the Memorial without the inclusion of distributing the information through mass media, at all (not even in Russia!).

The authors of the Project realized that it was **impossible to attract people and raise the funds, while maintaining information “silence”**. The relatives of the soldiers fallen in 1904 – 1905 and 1945 – 1955 were unknown and spread all around Russia. They could be reached only openly and publicly. That means that just to inform the relatives about the opportunity to contribute to the restoration and to get public support for the Project in Russia, we had to reach just about every Russian citizen. The authors of the Project suggested the following idea: to publish the information about the fundraising and restoration in the media within the coverage of the forthcoming celebration of the 65th Victory Anniversary.

The authors of the Project invoked the experience of joint celebration of the memorable dates for both countries. On the first stages of the Project there already was a joint program for the festivities of the 65th anniversary in opening diplomatic relationships between China and Russia (in 1949 the USSR recognized the Peoples Republic of China the next day after it had been declared). Hu Jintao arrived in Russia to celebrate that anniversary. Vladimir Putin returned the gesture with a visit to China.

The Russian-Chinese talks between the President of Russia Dmitry Medvedev and the President of the PRC, Hu Jintao, in Moscow resulted in a joint declaration. Among others it said that “both sides are determined to work closely and provide mutual assistance in arranging such important events as the 65th anniversary of the Victory in World War II”. **Hence, the reconstruction of the Memorial has been covered within the framework of state-to-state relations**. The representatives of the foundation “Pokolenie” have managed to understand the importance of the Project in relation with the state mass media in Russia. First, communication was undertaken with the head of VGTRK Oleg Dobrodeev and the “Vesti” news crew, who assisted with the full coverage of the Project and all state visits. RIA Novosti and “Komsomolskaya Pravda” also helped our team on the first stage of the Project. And finally “Radio Rossii” then joined on the close-out stages.





The restoration works in Port Arthur became the major component within the framework of preparing the joint Russian-Chinese program for the celebration of the 65th anniversary of Victory in the World War II. Thus, following the decision of the “Victory” Russian organizing committee headed by the President of Russia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was authorized to work out the agenda of the opening ceremony of the Memorial in Port Arthur being presided over by Russian and Chinese heads of state by February 1, 2010. **The Project remained non-governmental in terms of structure and sponsorship yet has acquired the status of the state project in terms of its significance.**

The Presidential Administration considered having the opening of the Memorial presided over by the President of Russia, as a reminder to the global community about the inviolable outcomes of the war in reinforcement of Russia’s global position.

In terms of practical politics for Russia that would first and foremost mean yet another response to the territorial claims of Japan on the Kuril Islands, for China it would also be illicit a response with regards to its position on the territorial dispute with Japan on two Senkaku Islands. (The dispute exacerbated, at the time of preparation of the celebration program, when a Chinese trawler collided with a Japanese coastguard patrol vessel. The Chinese captain and the crew were arrested by the Japanese border patrol. The crew was released, yet the captain’s detention was extended. Beijing even declared that they would suspend some official contacts with Tokyo).

To emphasize the territorial rights of Russia, the Presidential Administration has mapped out the route of the Russian delegation headed by the President: Dalian (Port Arthur) – Beijing (Russian Cultural Centre) – Shanghai (EXPO - 2010) – South Sakhalin (that retroceded to Russia in 1945) – Kuril Islands. The timeline of the reconstruction of the Memorial in Port Arthur were coordinated with the schedule of the delegation and with the dates of the festivities in honor of the 65th anniversary of Victory.

The peculiarities of the business approaches of our foreign partners manifested themselves in the relations with the local authorities of the Dalian Free Economic Zone, with the municipal government and the contractors. The authors of the Project have faced such a significant overpricing, that they got the impression that the local authorities might have been deliberately trying to make the Project as expensive as possible in order to discourage the Russians from restoring anything else, and to spare the Chinese society any talks about the Russian military grave sites in the future. The authors of the Project have found a strategic solution. They invited the experts on Sinology, Russian scholars from IAAS MSU, to take part in the Project until its completion. Notably, academic Vladimir Myasnikov (President of the Association of Sinologists of RAS, IAAS professor) participated in the negotiations with the Chinese party. The experts assumed that the financial appetites might have been the way to solve the political problem, which couldn’t be solved directly, because the Chinese party wouldn’t like to “lose face”. The assistance of sinologists let us lower the expenses at about 3 mil. USD.

## 6. IMPLEMENTING THE PROJECT

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2006, FIRST VICE PRIME MINISTER OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION D.A. MEDVEDEV AND THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO CHINA, S.S. RAZOV IN PORT ARTHUR.



## 6.1 2008

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As it has already been said, by the beginning of the Project the Chinese party had agreed that the reconstruction would be implemented by the charity foundation “Pokolenie”, which would collect individual donations and donations from other companies, but would not use one ruble from the government.

On the grounds of this agreement, the representatives of the foundation participated in the 5th round of consultations on the military-memorial subject between RF MFA, RF MD and PRC MFA in Beijing in April, 2008. RF MFA introduced the foundation “Pokolenie” as a charity organization authorized to sponsor the reconstruction works in Port Arthur and to carry out independent negotiations. The Chinese party recommended a corresponding non-government organization – International Dalian Economic and Cultural Development Association. Thus, **it was quite easy to make the Project non-governmental... with the help of the administrative institutions: the “go-ahead” command was given from Moscow from the Beijing level.**

The foundation representatives left for Dalian immediately and started discussing the approximate scope of work, the terms of work of the Russian restorers and the approximate cost of the Chinese contractors’ services.

There are over 300 kinds of monuments in the military cemetery of Port Arthur. The Chinese party saw the “restoration” as the “unification” of all of them: they suggested that instead of restoring the old monuments, there should be installed identical headstones “like in America”. The Russian approach meant scrupulous restoring of each monument using original materials where possible. We have involved a group of the best Russian restorers guided by an architect, Olga Chyuzhikova, and experts from the State Restoration Research Institute.

During the negotiations on the future agreement and the terms of the restoration, the significance of the restoration in Port Arthur was discussed on the federal TV channel “Russia” in the weekly program by Sergei Kapitsa “The Obvious Yet Incredible”. The guests of the program – the Head of the Memorialization Board of the Ministry of Defense, Major General Alexander Kirillin, and Andrei Skoch. They discussed the significance that the restoration of the Memorial has had for Russian history, and the details of future restorations in terms of the impact they would have on the public and humanitarian aspects of international relations. Prof. Kapitsa also invited the guests to take part in the meeting of the “Nikitsky club” (a club of scholars and businessmen hosted by MICEX), of which he is the President. At the meeting they discussed the options for private business and for the families of the buried soldiers to participate in the restoration of the Memorial in Port Arthur and other memorials abroad. They also compared the situations with the military memorials to those in Eastern Europe and in the Far East. After the broadcast of this program and a detailed article in “Komsomolskaya Pravda” that followed, the foundation began receiving numerous letters from relatives, simple viewers and readers. The majority of the respondents, not only appreciated the initiative of the reconstruction, but offered their donations, as well.

In the fall of 2008, the approximate terms of the Project were coordinated with the Chinese party. By that time, the authors of the Project were sure that the Russian people needed this Project, and that it would enjoy the support of both the common citizens and the elite. Also we were sure that, due to the Russian restorers, the Memorial would be reconstructed with historical accuracy. The President of “Pokolenie” foundation, Andrei Skoch left for China to attend the official ceremony for the signing of the contract with the Chinese party.

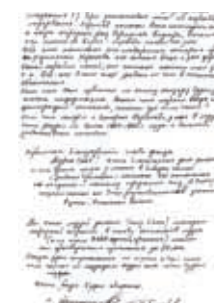
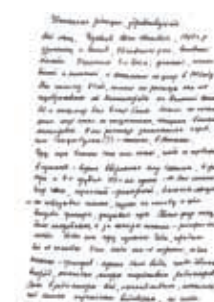
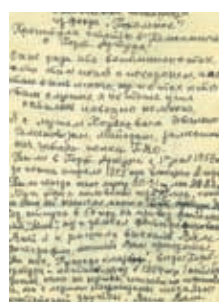
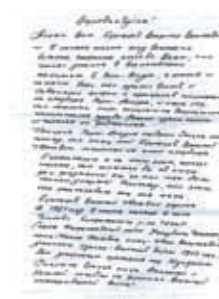
A curious thing happened at that meeting. During the unofficial part one of the meeting Andrei was shown a picture of Dmitry Medvedev visiting the Memorial in Port Arthur. The picture was taken in 2006, when the First vice Premier Minister of the Russian Government was paying a private visit to China. The Russian delegation was very much surprised. It turned out that the current President of Russia had seen the poor condition of the Memorial and knew how much work needed to be done by the restorers. The authors of the Project got an idea to present the Project directly to the President, which was later done by the representatives of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the meeting of the “Victory” organizational Committee, headed by the President himself.

Upon signing the contract, the restorers began preparing for the research. A responsible approach to the restoration, of course, implied a preliminary observation of the site, which would allow them to understand how the site gets affected by the change of seasons, ground waters, changing of flora, etc. Hence, while preparing the general plan of the restoration, the specialists devoted the end of 2008, and almost all of 2009, to the professional research.





2008, HEAD OF FUND "POKOLENIE" A.V. SCOTCH BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CHINESE SIDE.



ACCOUNT INFORMATION FOR DONATIONS AND LETTERS FROM VETERANS AND THEIR RELATIVES.

In the end of 2008, the TV channel “Russia” broadcasted a special issue of “The Military Program by Alexander Sladkov” devoted to Port Arthur and the Project for the restoration of the Memorial. Alexander Sladkov, accompanied by Andrei Skoch, visited the Russian cemetery. **In fact, that was the only “free” visit to the Memorial by an ENG crew from 1955 till now**, because since the Soviet troops left Port Arthur, China banned the journalists’ admission to the territory of the Memorial. We managed to arrange the journalists’ access only by September 2009.

## 6.2 2009

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In the second quarter of 2009, when the approximate time needed for the restoration became clear, we opened a special account in “Sberbank” for the donations. Before the fall, all information about the fundraising had been distributed mainly through the personal connections each participant had in the business community. In autumn, when the general plan of the reconstruction was ready, the authors of the Project placed ads in “Komsomolskaya Pravda”, “Kommersant” and on VGTRK in “Vesti” news-program, thus covering not only Russia, but the CIS countries, as well.

To be honest: the private donations could not have covered the costs. But the other two results of those publications, which made advertisement a subordinate element in the management of public relations, were much more important for the authors of the Project. First, the fact, that the citizens would make a contribution. The majority of individual donations didn’t exceed 100 rubles per person, but there were over 5 000 of them. Second, the advertisement gave us something much more valuable – **the feedback**. We’ve found the relatives of the soldiers buried in Port Arthur of all the combat veterans in the Far East; we’ve received documents, photographs and memoirs of the participants in the military actions.

The group of military historians, engaged in the project to work with historic materials, (led by Alexander Koval - one of the leading Russian scholars who has studied the history of Port Arthur for almost 30 years) has collected a unique archive of relics from Port Arthur spanning all three wars.

Later, those materials became the essential part of the exhibition, which was presented at the opening ceremony of the Memorial. They also became the background of a number of special editions, devoted to Port Arthur. In particular, in the fall of 2009, an album was published, “The Project of the Restoration Works at the Russian and Soviet Soldiers Memorial in Port Arthur” that cited the condition of the monuments before restoration and supplied documents and comments that revealed the historical significance of each. This album has become the historical-cultural presentation of the Memorial and of the restoration plan. It was distributed mainly in the institutions (in the administration among the experts and office authorities) and in the business community (published only in Russian). It helped make presentation of the Project at meetings very explicit.

Historical materials, collected by Alexander Koval in the course of his correspondence with the veterans and relatives of the participants at the hostilities in the Far East, let the Project expand beyond the “technical” restoration and turn the Russian cemetery in Port Arthur into an efficient source of patriotic reference as a backdrop for developing cultural-historical relations.

In August 2009, the Kremlin Chief of Staff (who is also the Chairman of the Commission for countering false revision of Russian History), Sergei Naryshkin said: “The historical truth, whatever it is, should be found in the original sources. The broad introduction of new, including unclassified, documents for investigative use is an efficient method for countering the falsification of history.”

In the spring of 2009, we’ve found out that the “Victory” organizational committee’s program for the celebration of the 65th anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic war had only one(!) festivity in the Far East – on Sakhalin island.

Therefore, the former Commander-in-Chief of the Far East military district, a legend in the time of Soviet Union, Armor Troops Marshal Oleg Losik and the veterans of the 39th Army’s ( Red Army) battles in the Far East asked President Dmitry Medvedev (as the Chairman of “Victory” ROC) to include the opening ceremony in Port Arthur into the program. At the same time, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggested the participation of the leaders of the country in the opening ceremony.



**ОБРАЩЕНИЕ ВЕТЕРАНОВ ВЕЛИКОЙ ОТЕЧЕСТВЕННОЙ  
ВОЙНЫ К ПРЕЗИДЕНТУ РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ,  
ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЮ РОССИЙСКОГО ОРГАНИЗАЦИОННОГО  
КОМИТЕТА «ПОБЕДА»  
ДМИТРИЮ АНАТОЛЬЕВИЧУ МЕДВЕДЕВУ**

Глубокоуважаемый Дмитрий Анатольевич!

Вторая мировая и Великая Отечественная Войны завершились освобождением Дальнего Востока СССР, Кореи и Китая. 22 августа 1945 года была освобождена Порт-Артур, ключевая военно-морская база, и предотвращена высадка десанта американских войск. Однако, значимость этих событий и мероприятий РОК «Победа» отражена не полно: только 1/10 часть по линии администрации Сахалина.

К 22 августа 2010 года будет готов к открытию восстановленный силами общественных организаций России и Китая Мемориал советским и русским воинам в «Порт-Артуре».

Предлагаем включить Торжественное открытие Мемориала в перечень мероприятий Российского Организационного Комитета «Победа» в честь 65-летия годовщины освобождения советскими войсками Дальнего Востока СССР и Китая и провести мероприятие на высшем уровне России и Китая.

Такое действие России позволит подчеркнуть значимость исторических событий на Дальнем Востоке, которым, к сожалению, ранее уделялось меньше внимания при праздновании годовщины Великой Победы, а также особые отношения России и Китая (роль СССР в становлении государственности КНР).

Проект реализуется «Гуманитарным фондом Акарея Сочи «Поколение» совместно с Минобороны и МВД России. Проект не требует средств из федерального бюджета РФ. Стоимость восстановительных работ оценивается в 86 миллионов 250 тысяч рублей (на сегодняшний день), эти средства уже привлечены фондом. Кроме того, после сообщений в СМИ о восстановлении мемориала, фонд получил тысячи предложений от частных лиц, желающих перечислить средства или оказать общественную поддержку.

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К 22 августа 2010 года будет готов к открытию восстановленный силами общественных организаций России и Китая Мемориал советским и русским воинам в «Порт-Артуре».

Предлагаем включить Торжественное открытие Мемориала в перечень мероприятий Российского Организационного Комитета «Победа» в честь 65-летия годовщины освобождения советскими войсками Дальнего Востока СССР и Китая и провести мероприятие на высшем уровне России и Китая.

Такое действие России позволит подчеркнуть значимость исторических событий на Дальнем Востоке, которым, к сожалению, ранее уделялось меньше внимания при праздновании годовщины Великой Победы, а также особые отношения России и Китая (роль СССР в становлении государственности КНР).

Проект реализуется «Гуманитарным фондом Акарея Сочи «Поколение» совместно с Минобороны и МВД России. Проект не требует средств из федерального бюджета РФ. Стоимость восстановительных работ оценивается в 86 миллионов 250 тысяч рублей (на сегодняшний день), эти средства уже привлечены фондом. Кроме того, после сообщений в СМИ о восстановлении мемориала, фонд получил тысячи предложений от частных лиц, желающих перечислить средства или оказать общественную поддержку.

Маршал артиллерии, кавалер Орденов Октябрьской Революции, Красного Знамени, Трудового Красного Знамени, Отечественной войны I и II степени, *В.М. Михалков*

Маршал бронетанковых войск, Герой Советского Союза, кавалер Орденов Жукова, Ленина, Октябрьской революции, Красного Знамени, Суворова III степени, Отечественной войны I степени, Красной Звезды *О.А. Лозин*

Генерал армии, президент Академии военных наук, кавалер Орденов Ленина, Боского Красного знамени, Красной Звезды, Отечественной войны *М.А. Гарин*

ОБРАЩЕНИЕ ВЕТЕРАНОВ ВЕЛИКОЙ ОТЕЧЕСТВЕННОЙ ВОЙНЫ К ПРЕЗИДЕНТУ РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ,  
ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЮ РОССИЙСКОГО ОРГАНИЗАЦИОННОГО КОМИТЕТА «ПОБЕДА»  
ДМИТРИЮ АНАТОЛЬЕВИЧУ МЕДВЕДЕВУ

Глубокоуважаемый Дмитрий Анатольевич!

Вторая мировая и Великая Отечественная Войны завершились освобождением Дальнего Востока СССР, Кореи и Китая. 22 августа 1945 года была освобождена Порт-Артур, ключевая военно-морская база, и предотвращена высадка десанта американских войск. Однако, значимость этих событий и мероприятий РОК «Победа» отражена не полно: только 1/10 часть по линии администрации Сахалина.

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MEMORIAL TO  
THE RUSSIAN AND SOVIET SOLDIERS  
AT PORT ARTHUR (CITY OF LUSHUN, CHINA)



At the round table discussions in “Victory” ROC, veterans quite unexpectedly raised the question of **September 3rd as being the actual date of the end of World War II, that had undeservingly been forgotten**. Very few people remembered that back in 1946 the USSR celebrated two dates: May 9th and September 3rd. Both were national holidays. Moreover, it turned out that nobody had cancelled either of the decrees by Council of Ministers, citing the official end of the war. But It is understandable why September 3rd vanished from the memorial dates’ records. Celebrating this victory at the time of the Korean and Cold wars was “politically wrong”. The world saw the ‘Allied’ triumph as achieved mainly by the potential Soviet enemy – the United States, not as a result of the Soviet defeat of the Kwantung army, later in the same year. (By the quantity of killed and captured Japanese soldiers this defeat exceeds all American achievements since 1941). That date became even ‘less’ “memorable” after complications in the relations with China arose, which even resulted in a military confrontation (border conflict on Damansky Island in March, 1969). Under this umbrella of competition and conflict September 3rd would become lost issue. But after normalization of political tensions 65 years later all these problems were no longer as acute. Therefore, veterans have offered to **put the actual end of World War II back in the memorial dated records of Russia**.

This suggestion was approved by the representatives of RF MFA, MD, the State Duma and “Victory” ROC. Later this subject was discussed in the framework of the visit of the Chinese delegation to the State Duma and Hu Jintao’s visit to Russia. The Russian party informed the Chinese party about the decision to put September 3rd back in the records and suggested that the opening ceremony of the Memorial at Port Arthur in September, 2010 should coincide with the 65th anniversary of the liberation of North-East China (Manchuria) by the Soviet troops. That would allow us to neatly band all these elements together into one narrative, giving further historical longevity to the memorial and to Russian military history.

The Chinese party suggested that to celebrate another country’s memorial on Chinese territory should be done very cautiously, and laid down a condition (quite expectedly), that the official delegation should visit and hold the ceremony only at the Soviet side of the cemetery, and only in the context of World War II, not even mentioning the history of the “Russian – Japanese occupation” of China.

During the complicated negotiations in the political stratosphere the Russian restorers started the detailed exploration and studying of the memorial. They had discovered that the names of the Soviet soldiers fallen in the Korean War were absent from the last edition of the “Memory Book” (published by “Patriot” in 1999). We’ve found out that the total number of the buried exceeded the figures published before. Unfortunately, in addition to the decay caused by time there was also evidence of vandalism found, likely caused by the locals.


In the beginning of July, in Beijing, there were consultations held between RF MFA and PRC MFA on the informational coverage of the reconstruction in Port Arthur through the mass media. However, the sides didn’t find a solution as to how best provide the journalists’ access to the memorial (note, that Lüshun is a PRC navy base). Thus, when the VGTRK Beijing office’s ENG crew tried to make an outside broadcast featuring the Memorial on August 23rd, they were cut off. The RF Embassy in Beijing received a note from PRC MFA, and the International Dalian Economic and Culture Development Association told the foundation that the terms of the agreement on the Project would be “revised” if there was another attempt by Russian mass media to enter the site without clear agreements between RF MFA and PRC MFA.

As the result of the long process of negotiating, the parties agreed that shooting at the site would be allowed only after September 2009 and **only if the camera man and the reporter would be a part of the official group of Russian restorers. The Russian party could shoot the “process of restoration” and the Chinese party agreed “not to notice”, if the restorers appear in the picture**. But of course, nothing more. In addition, any media taken could only be done for the informational purposes and the archives of the foundation. No “propaganda”. Hence, until the opening ceremony the journalists were formally legalized as the members of the official group of Russian restorers.

Subsequent to the results of the research in the fall of 2009, a general plan for the restoration of the military memorial in Port Arthur was worked out. It was presented to the Memorialization Board of the MD and to the Defense Minister Sergei Serdyukov, who informed the RF President about the state of things at the Memorial. We had received a preliminary approval from the President to visit the opening ceremony. The authors of the Project assumed that the visit back in 2006 by Dmitry Medvedev (the fact that he saw the cemetery “before the restoration”) had played its part.

In December 2009, on “Radio Russia” there was an hour of questions and answers about the Project and the history of Port Arthur in general. The Vice President of the “Pokolenie” foundation Kirill Elizarov answered the questions from the radio listeners (over 100 questions were received).

DD : Przedstawicielstwo w RP NR TELEFONU: 02 Lts. 2009 17:20 P1

  
МИНИСТЕРСТВО ОБОРОНЫ  
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ  
(МИНОБОРОН РОССИИ)  
МИНИСТР ОБОРОНЫ

Президенту Российской Федерации  
Д.А.МЕДВЕДЕВУ

г. Москва, 119160  
23 октября 2009 г. № 205744996  
На № \_\_\_\_\_

**О восстановительных работах на российском мемориальном кладбище в Порт-Артуре**

Уважаемый Дмитрий Анатольевич!


Гуманитарным фондом Андрея Скоча «Поколение» в течение нескольких лет при поддержке Минобороны России и МИДа России за счет средств данного фонда осуществляются восстановительные работы на российском мемориальном кладбище, расположенном в Порт-Артуре (ныне г. Далинь, Китай), которое в августе 2006 г. посетил Президент Российской Федерации.

Указанное воинское кладбище является самым крупным мемориалом российской воинской славы в регионе (далее – мемориал), где покоится прах более 14 тыс. российских и советских воинов, погибших в ходе Русско-японской войны, Великой Отечественной войны 1941–1945 годов и корейской войны.

Завершение работ и открытие отреставрированного мемориала запланировано на 3 сентября 2010 г.

Учитывая изложенное, полагается целесообразным открытие мемориала включить в Перечень основных мероприятий по подготовке и проведению празднования 65-й годовщины Победы в Великой Отечественной войне 1941–1945 годов, утвержденный Президентом Российской Федерации 16 января 2009 г. № Пр-90.

Прошу рассмотреть.

С уважением,  
 А.Сердюков

Вх. № 12287  
25.10.09  
Министр обороны Российской Федерации

  
РОССИЙСКИЙ  
ОРГАНИЗАЦИОННЫЙ  
КОМИТЕТ «ПОБЕДА»  
Сторонники: А.А.  
Сердюков, А.А.  
Михаилов, А.А.  
Михаилов, А.А.  
Михаилов, А.А.  
Михаилов, А.А.

Служба оперативных инспекторов  
Министерства обороны  
Российской Федерации  
Маршрут организации  
В.А.МИХАИЛОВ  
ул. Зоицкая, д.17А,  
(Москва, 119160)

Уважаемый Владимир Михайлович!

Ваше обращение к Президенту Российской Федерации по поручению рассмотрено в Российском организационном комитете «Победа».

Действительность по увеличению числа погибших при защите Отечества находится в сфере постоянного внимания Президента Российской Федерации.

Вопрос о Мемориале российских и советских воинов в Порт-Артуре рассматривался 14 октября 2009 г. на 29-м заседании Российского организационного комитета «Победа». Было принято решение рекомендовать МДЦ России совместно с Минобороны России осуществлять до 1 февраля 2010 г. комплекс мероприятий по его торжественному открытию.

Этот, безусловно, важный и важный международный проект будет реализован в рамках вышеуказанного отдельного поручения Российского организационного комитета «Победа».

Внесены изменения в Перечень основных мероприятий по подготовке и проведению празднования 65-й годовщины Победы в Великой Отечественной войне 1941–1945 годов, который был

«23 октября 2009 г.»  
№ 205744996  
А.А.СЕРДЮКОВ

На № 205744996 от 23.10.2009

Уважаемый Анатолий Захарович!

Ваше обращение к Президенту Российской Федерации по поручению рассмотрено.

Перечень основных мероприятий по подготовке и проведению празднования 65-й годовщины Победы в Великой Отечественной войне 1941–1945 годов, был разработан с участием всех федеральных органов государственной власти, субъектов Российской Федерации и общественных организаций, основан на общении с источниками финансирования и утвержден Президентом Российской Федерации 16 января 2009 г. № Пр-90.

Вопрос о мемориале в Порт-Артуре рассматривался 14 октября 2009 г. на 29-м заседании Российского организационного комитета «Победа». Было принято решение рекомендовать МДЦ России совместно с Минобороны России осуществлять до 1 февраля 2010 г. комплекс мероприятий по торжественному открытию мемориального кладбища, расположенного в Порт-Артуре.

Согласно необходимому реализовать этот, безусловно, важный и важный международный проект в рамках вышеуказанного отдельного поручения Российского организационного комитета «Победа», без внесения изменений в Перечень.

 О.Михайлов



### 6.3 2010

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In January and February of 2010, over 3000 architectural-engineering documents, maquettes, drawings and site plans were translated from Russian into Chinese. A large group of translators from the MSU Institute for Asian and African Studies, composed of professors and doctorate students, was engaged with the Project. In March, those materials were forwarded to the Chinese party.

Upon having sent the documents, the foundation's representatives and the members of the restoration group left for China to make sure that the translations were clear and that there was no misunderstanding. Construction blue prints are very different in China than from Russia, thus sometimes – also keeping Asian mentality in mind – materials' work methods and other technical details must be "discussed" precisely.

As said, the approach to the restoration itself is different as well. The Chinese understand the restoration as the complete demolition of the existing piece of architecture with the building of modern copy of it in its place. Admittedly, this is sometimes the case in some Russian cities as well. But it was absolutely unacceptable for the authors of the Project. Each and every monument needed to be restored by hand and properly. The labor intensity and the costs rose dramatically. The Project started in 2008 at the appraised value of 1.5 – 2 mil. USD, but the detailed calculations announced by the contractors exceeded 15 mil. USD. Having studied the presented cost sheets, the authors of the Project found many interesting details. For example, **the cost of the hand labor of a Chinese worker was estimated based on American wages.**

The authors of the Project asked the Head of the Russian Sinologists Association prof. VI. Myasnikov to join the negotiations. He managed to gain the support of certain local officials, whose careers might have been dramatically influenced by the success of the Project, which by then had become of international significance, while remaining non-governmental de jure. As a result, negotiations were switched onto a positive track and the demands of the Chinese contractors have been reduced to 12 mln. USD. Moreover, **the Chinese party agreed to start the works without a deposit, which was an unprecedented case for China, where all works start only upon receiving a 90% advance payment!**

The publicity the memorial restoration project gained in Russia, and the promised participation of the top leaders of the State in the opening ceremony, made it the key event in the celebration program of the 65th anniversary of Victory. In the beginning of 2010, it became clear to either institutions outside of the organizing party and the executives. Related ministries and public organizations began to demonstrate their interest in the development of the Project. RPRA offered to hold an on-line press-conference on the course of the Project. Religious organizations suggested that the representatives of the Muslim and Judaism communities should be invited to the opening ceremony as well as the Orthodox priests. They also offered to put the so-called Port Arthur icon of the Triumph of the Most Holy Theotokos at the Memorial. In March, the RF Minister of Regional Development Viktor Basargin arrived to Dalian for a monitoring visit. Such attention confirmed that the RF President's promise to be at the opening ceremony would be kept. The Chinese leader Hu Jintao visited Moscow on May 9th, and a reciprocal visit to China in September 2010 became a part of the official schedule of the RF President. On July 2nd, 2010, the proposal for granting the memorial date status as being for the end of the World War II was submitted to a vote in the State Duma and approved. Three weeks later, Dmitry Medvedev signed a Federal law introducing the changes to article 11 of the law "On the Days of Military Glory (Victory Days) of Russia" and proclaimed a new memorial date for Russia – the End of the World War II – September 2nd. (Why not September 3rd? Because the world celebrates it on September 2nd. When in the foggy morning the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Shigemitsu Mamoru, along with General Umezu Yoshijiro, were mounting the deck of the USS Missouri to sign the instrument of surrender, it was still the evening of September 2nd in the US, and this date is written in the Japanese Instrument of Surrender).

Starting April 2010, the large-scale restoration works began at the memorial site, and the bulk of it was completed by the end of July. On August 6th, in Life-giving Trinity Church on Vorobyovy Gory (Sparrow Hills) in Moscow a consecration ceremony was held for the mosaic icon of St. Nicolas the Wonderworker, which was then sent to China and inlaid into the body of the Great Poklonny Cross (the Cross of Respectful Salutation) at the Memorial instead of the icon broken by the vandals at the time of "Cultural Revolution", from which it came. The representatives of the Memorialization Board of MD, RF MFA and public organizations were at the ceremony. On August 28, the foundation gave full approval of all restoration works at the Memorial.





**On September 2nd**, in Moscow there was a press-conference held that presented the completed project for the restoration in Port Arthur. RF Ministry of Defense, the restorers, the RAS sinologists, the Russian-Chinese Friendship Society reported the completion of the Project and presented a new memorial date to the general public.

The opening ceremony of the Memorial was scheduled for the end of September. A special "advance party" of the Presidential Administration, RF MFA and RF MD visited China in order to put the ceremony on the RF President's official schedule.

The "public nature" of the Project created the necessity for the participation of veterans from the Great Patriotic and Korean Wars, and descendents of the defenders of Port Arthur in the opening ceremony. Respectively, the foundation "Pokolenie" arranged a special flight and accommodation for 150 veterans and relatives of the soldiers buried in Port Arthur. It also provided the doctors with all necessary equipment. ( Many of those attending were in need long term medical assistance.) The Chinese party invited the veterans of the Liberation of North-East China and of the Korean War.

**On September 26th**, in the framework of the official state visit to China RF President Dmitry Medvedev attended the restored Memorial and officially opened it. The president also met with Russian and Chinese veterans. At the meeting he emphasized that it is very important not to allow the perversion of history: "Together we should take care of the memory of the succeeding generations, not allowing for any falsification of historical events. We should contend for the truth about that war, especially when we consider that there are forces trying to corrupt this historical truth."

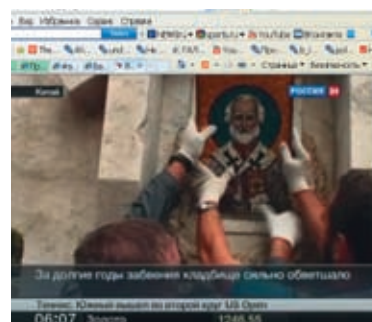
Anything that might remotely suggest, even indirectly, the role that Russia and the USSR played in the formation of statehood for the PRC, prevented Hu Jintao to take part in the opening ceremony. In informal conversations the Chinese party expressed their disquiet over the possibility that the Russian leader might have attended the Russian part of the Memorial, where the soldiers of the Russian – Japanese war are buried, as well. Therefore, the Chinese leader preferred to meet the RF President the next day in Beijing. The Chinese party tried to reinvigorate their strict distinctions between the Soviet and Russian parts of the Memorial. For instance, the night before the opening ceremony hundreds of planters with Abies appeared at the memorial standing closely to each other and dividing the cemetery into two parts. In his speech at the meeting with the veterans, Dmitry Medvedev openly acknowledged that Russia and China are at odds over certain historical interpretations, but that Project should still serve a background for smoothing out the differences. "During the visit of the PRC President to Moscow in May and during my visit to Beijing there had been, and still are to be discussed, the declarations on our evaluation of the events of that time."

Dmitry Medvedev's participation in the opening ceremony at the military cemetery in Port Arthur drew the attention of the Russian and CIS ' mass media. In terms of the mission and the background of the Project, it is also important that journalists from Estonia, Japan, Finland and the USA have also asked for accreditation.

The interests of the international mass media for the Project was stimulated not only by the restoration itself and the opening ceremony, but by the position of Russia in Russian-Japanese relations. After visiting Dalian, Beijing and Shanghai, the RF President was going to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. On September 27th, 2010 mass media announced these plans. The very same day at his press-conference the Japanese Prime-Minister Naoto Kan emphasized, that the position of Tokyo regarding the Kuril problem "remained unchanged". On September 29th the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Seiji Maehara said that "Dmitry Medvedev's trip to our Northern Territories can directly affect the relations between the two countries". The Japanese Government Press-Secretary Yoshito Sengoku said that Japan had asked the Russian President to refuse the invitation to visit the islands. According to Mr. Sengoku, "Tokyo has let Moscow know their point of view." Dmitry Medvedev's trip was cancelled...

... but only due to below zero weather. The RF President 'did' visit the Kuril Islands on November 1st. His visit to Kunashir provoked a strident reaction from Japan, but it did help in solving important domestic problems and reaching international objectives. In fact, taking part in the opening ceremony of the memorial (where 80% of the buried are soldiers of the Russian-Japanese war), and the adjoining trip to the Kuril Islands have demonstrated that Russia remembers the attack of Port Arthur and is proud of its defenders to this day. That we remember the humiliating defeat in 1905 and are proud of our soldiers, who restored justice in 1945. The "ancestor line" is being held and will be held by the descendents. When commenting on the indignation of the Japanese authorities, the RF MFA had every reason to declare: "This is our land, and the Russian President visited Russian land, Russian territory, Russian region."







## 6.4 AFTER SEPTEMBER, 2010

The opening of the completely restored Memorial by the RF President signified the end of the Project. The Memorial will remain on the balance sheets of the International Dalian Economic and Culture Development Association and the pool of building organizations till August 2011. This is when the contractor's guarantee expires. If the joint commission of the foundation and the Russian Embassy in PRC gives the joint confirmation for the quality of the work in spring – summer 2011, the Chinese party will receive the final payment. By that time, the RF and the PRC Ministries of Foreign Affairs should define the exact status of the Memorial in China and the party responsible for its qualitative exploitation.

In December 2010 a consecrated copy of the icon known as the Port Arthur icon of Triumph of the Most Holy Theotokos was put in the "Russian chapel" at the Memorial. The history of this icon is very symbolic. According to the legend, in December 1903 an aged sailor who was one of the last defenders of Sevastopol during the Crimean War came to the city of Kiev to pray before the holy relics of the Lavra of the Caves. One night some strange noise woke the old man up and he saw the Theotokos with angels around her, among them the Archangel Michael and the Archangel Gabriel. The Theotokos was standing upon two discarded and broken swords on the shore of a bay, with her back turned to the water. She was holding a white aer with blue fringe, upon which was an Image of the Savior, "Not-Made-By-Hands." Angels in the clouds of blinding light were holding a crown above her head and the Lord of Sabaoth was sitting still higher on the throne of glory, encircled with the blinding radiance.

The old man was moved and experienced the uttermost awe, but the Theotokos comforted him and said, "Russia will soon be involved in a very difficult war on the shores of a far sea; many a woe is awaiting her. Paint an







icon showing my appearance as it is now and send the icon to Port Arthur. If the icon is in that city, Orthodoxy will triumph over paganism and Russian warriors will attain my help, my patronage, and their victory." The blinding light filled his room and the vision disappeared. Unfortunately, the icon was never delivered to Port Arthur. In 2003, an iconographer Mikhail Osipenko made a copy of the icon, and the copy was put into the Church of Port Arthur Mother of God in Vladivostok. After over a century, the icon has finally found its place in Port Arthur patronizing the fallen in three wars and signifying the succession of the heroism and the historical unity of the "Russian" and "Soviet" parts of the Memorial.

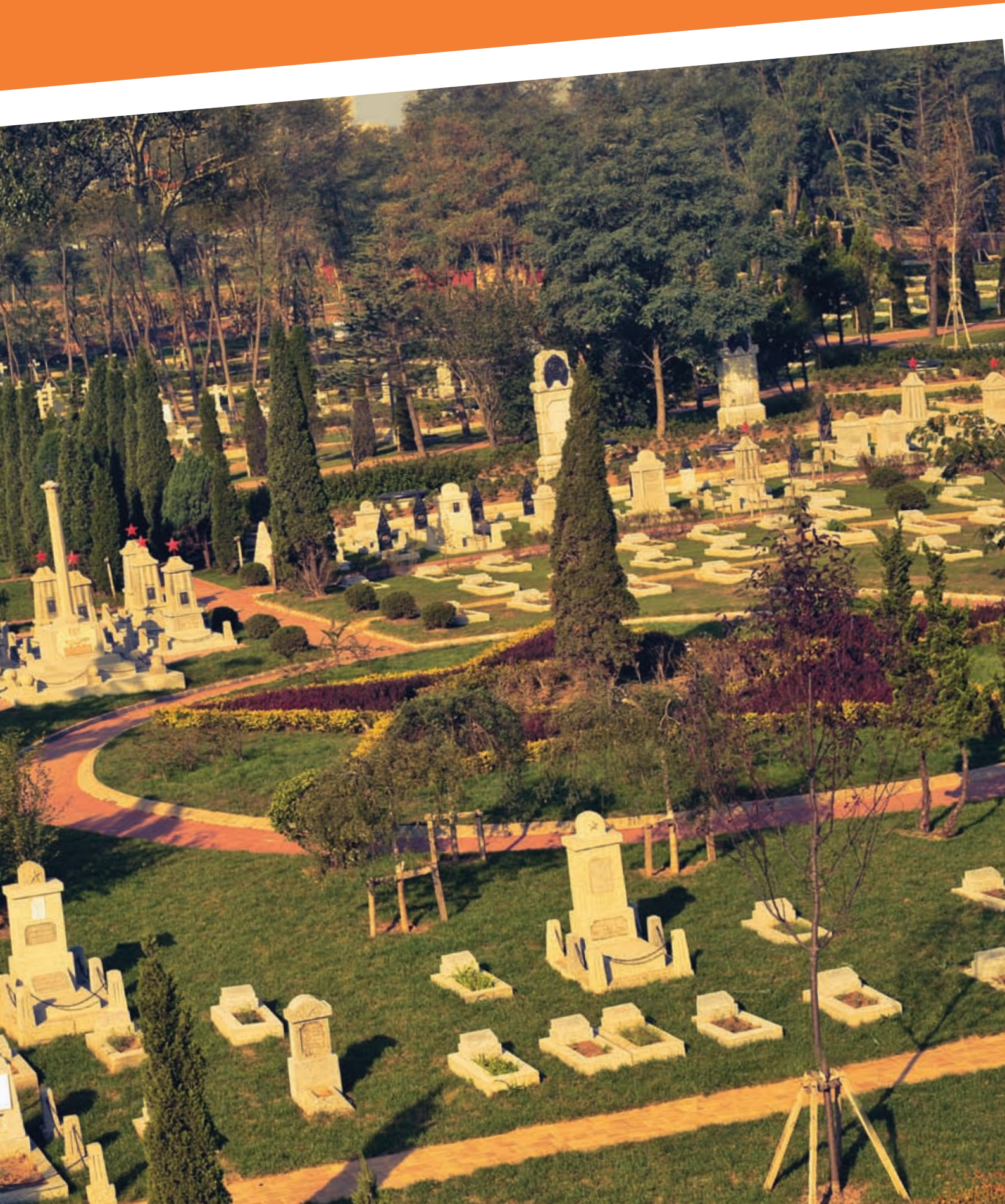
There is an exhibition based on the artistic photo session at the Memorial. It is planned to be arranged, also, in Moscow, Beijing and New York in 2011, as well. The pictures were shot by a number of enthusiasts at the Memorial in September 2010. They took reference from the letters and were dedicated to the soldiers' wives, brides, girlfriends and mothers, whose heroic deeds, grief and sorrow usually stay in the shadow of the feat of arms. The authors tell us about their pain, their joy and hopes. The artistic concept is also meant for the young additionally implying the display of the Memorial as an art-object, which should help attract the attention of those, who, to say the least, don't show much interest to the traditional "genres" of "patriotic education". The military memorial in Port Arthur is becoming a modern instrument of communications, not only between cultures, but between generations.

In the spring of 2011, the RF Ministry of Foreign Affairs and RF Ministry of Defense should determine the fate of the historic exhibition, which had its' full purpose realized only within the events and framework of the opening ceremony. By that time, at the Memorial there should also have been installed a memorial board with the names of all who donated to the restoration, engraved on it.











BEFORE



AFTER





## 7.1 RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MEMORIAL

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Russian and Soviet parts of the Memorial in Port Arthur (now Lüshun, PRC), previously desolate, have been tidied and restored. **It is Asia's largest memorial of military history having over 1800 monuments and sculptures that had been rescued from the planned "site development" and fully reconstructed, meeting the highest of international standards.**

The Project has stimulated a public discussion about the problems involved in the memorialization for the fallen and numerous public initiatives that have formally remained outside the framework of the Project. The Russian Embassy in Beijing received several offers from the potential sponsors, who were ready to take part in other military memorial projects. This has allowed us to start working on a number **of similar memorial restoration projects.**

## 7.2 MAIN GOALS AND MAIN RESULTS

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The "Implementing of the Project" chapter gives the details about the role the Project played as an instrument of practical politics and about the consequences as well for international relations, with Japan in particular, it has triggered, as well. Hence, there can be no exaggeration in saying that we've surpassed the target reactions in **demonstrating the attention Russia pays to its military memorials overseas**, even amid the well known attempts to demonize the role that our country has played in world history. In these terms, it's important to consider the often limited perceptions of Russia from media in other countries, where negative attitudes to the Russian and Soviet monuments of history are common.

Not with standing negative perceptions, the project has solicited the intended responses. On the instruction of the President of Russia, in September 2010, the Ministry of Defense worked out and presented to the Government a project for the State Target Program "For the Preservation and Reconstruction of the Military Grave Sites in 2011 - 2015", which includes both overseas and domestic memorials. Yearly grants for the military-historical projects overseas, including reconstruction, certification and studying the grave sites, will be raised from 150 mil. RUR to 500 mil. RUR.

The involvement of the RF President with the Project and the turning of the opening ceremony into an event of public and political significance **have dramatically raised public interest in Far Eastern and Russian history** (the feedback we've received along with that from mass media participation prove this). The fact that the Project has become a key event of the joint program for the Victory anniversary celebration, as well as having the date of the end of World War II put back in the memorial dates' records of Russia, together, confirms the growing of importance of this subject and of the long overdue attention that has been drawn to it.

This project, indeed, has demonstrated the will of both Russia and China to overcome their negative experiences in bilateral relations, and while showing how difficult this transition actually is. The Project has become an example of a new pattern of relations between the two countries on a non-governmental level. In fact, this very Project has started humanitarian cooperation between Russia and China. The leading Russian expert on Sinology, a member of RAS Vladimir Myasnikov has recently said: "Moscow has recently hosted the Russian-Chinese Economic Forum, where both Prime Ministers Vladimir Putin and Wen Jiabao emphasized the importance in the other countries mutual development. This is a great goal. But there are other, not any less important objectives within our humanitarian goals. I would call them the questions of soul pain. If we learn to heal these pains together, it would be a great achievement."

BEFORE



AFTER





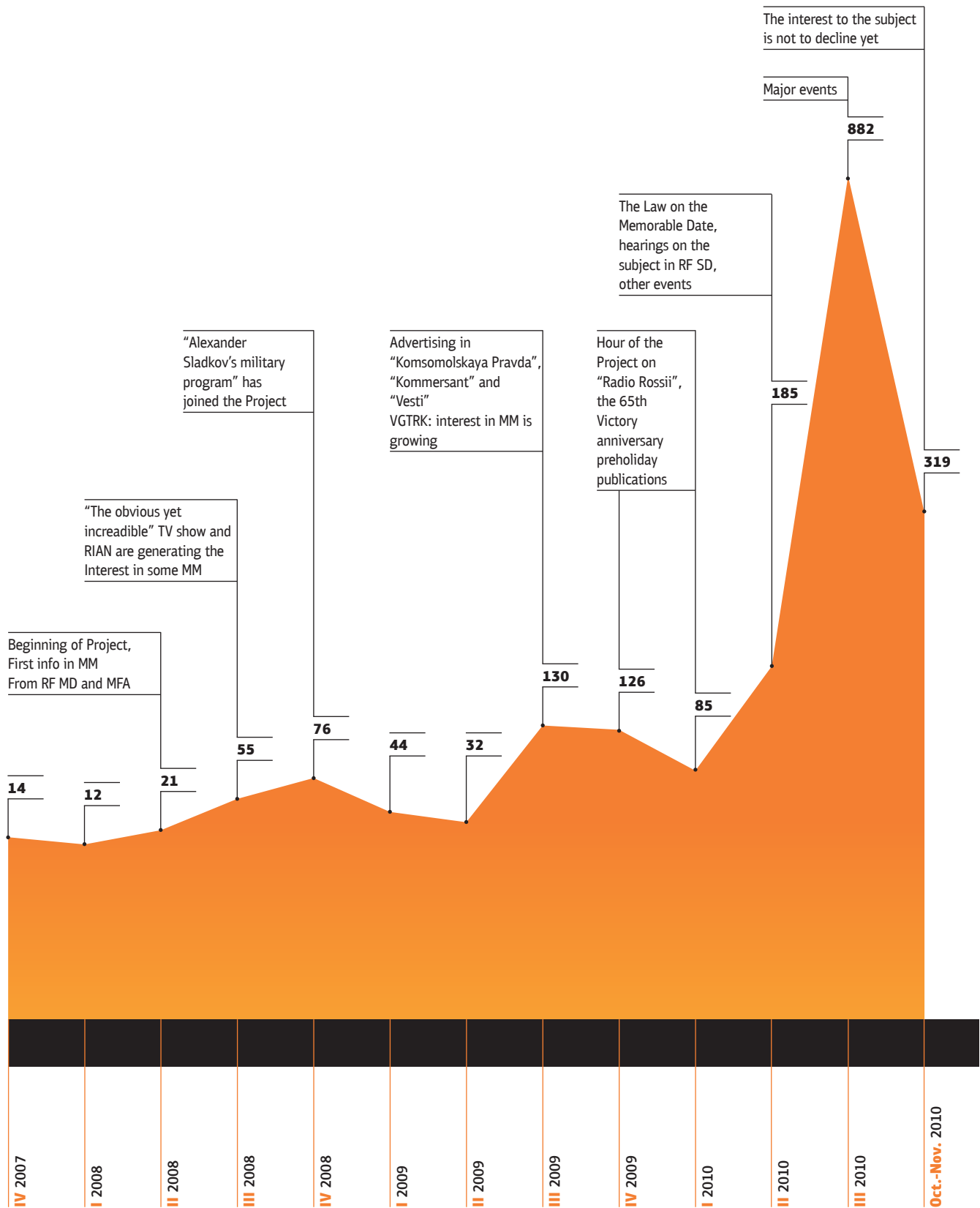
The Project has received the gratitude from the descendents and inheritors of the heroic deeds of their ancestors, it has demonstrated how the state has come to realize the importance of how giving attention to the memory of the fallen can, yes even to this day, inspire such levels of volunteerism and patriotism. We attribute these results in the first place to the attention given by the war veterans and their families, and, to the military men to which the Project has been devoted. The quality of the responses is shown by the number of the individual donors, the amount of the artifacts received, the interest of the audience at the press-events held by the authors of the Project, as well as certain initiatives taken by the veterans' organizations and military units that were motivated by the Project. The latter, for example, the special parliamentary hearings in the Veterans Committee of the State Duma in June 2010, as well as the previously mentioned initiative of setting back the grave site memorial dates to coincide with those for World War II, as well as other public initiatives that formally remained outside the framework of the Project.

The fact that according to the Russian Society of Military History the Port Arthur Battlefield site is now among the top 10 museums of military history in the world (along with the Imperial War Museum in London, the Tank Museum in Bovington, Shaolin monastery and other famous historic military sites - the rating is based on the number of bookings by the tourist agencies, on the number and quality of the exhibit items, and on other criteria) proves, that the military cemetery in Port Arthur is becoming culturally and historically relevant for visitors from Russia as well as for the citizens of the PRC. The Dalian Administration has already revised their tourist routes adding the Memorial into their tourist leaflets.

We've managed to **increase the fundraising**. According to the First Secretary of the Russian Embassy in PRC Vladimir Kozhemyaka, after the opening ceremony the Embassy received dozens of offers from the representatives of the Russian business community and NGOs, who would like to patronize similar projects in China. Over 12 000 Soviet soldiers and officers have fallen in action for the liberation of the North-East China. Many grave sites need care. In the nearest future, the Embassy is planning to form a pool of the Russian business organizations to restore another cemetery in Dalian, where the graves of the Soviet soldiers are the majority (90%). "Transneft" that opened the "East Siberia – Pacific Ocean" oil pipeline in 2010 is expected to become one of the main members of the pool.

## PROJECT COVERING IN FEDERAL PRINTED AND INTERNET MEDIA QUARTERLY DYNAMICS

"ARTIFACT" DB ON REQUEST OF KEY WORD PORT ARTHUR (WITH REFINING)





### 7.3 MASS COMMUNICATION RESULTS

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Before discussing the results the project has held in mass media, we have to emphasize three major points. First, that the terms of the information embargo have been fulfilled (see the chapter “Information Embargo and the Specifics of Communication Strategy”).

Second, we are going to discuss the results in MASS media, and therefore the tools of direct cooperation with certain target groups (from meetings and presentations to the direct correspondence with veterans and relatives) do not belong here. The direct advertisement (a series of announcements about the beginning of fundraising) played secondary role in the Project. It generated the feedback and triggered the media information enquiry. It is not being discussed here either.

Third, the information about the Project has been distributed by the ordering party and administration offices engaged in it, by the presidential administration and other sources, as well as by the executives.

According to “Artifact” DB ([www.integrum.ru](http://www.integrum.ru)), 1975 documents connected with the Project have been published in federal printed and Internet media in Russia. This has been the result of online requests for the key word “Port Arthur” with some refining (such as “memorial”, “cemetery”, “burial site” etc.). The larger portion of them has naturally been connected with the close-out stage of the reconstruction and the opening ceremony led by the President of the Russian Federation during his official visit to the PRC. In the accessible mass media archives TV and radio are presented anarchically, which suffice it to say, that in September 2010 the federal TV channels 1TV ORT, VGTRK (“Russia 1” and “Vesti 24”), NTV, REN-TV and “Zvezda” devoted over 1.5 hours of air time to Port Arthur.

On the chart below you can see the quarterly dynamics of the Project covering and the major mass media interest drivers. Before the Project was launched in the end of 2007 to the beginning of 2008, the information about the memorial in Port Arthur could be found only in the military-historical publications or was mentioned by the representatives of the RF Ministry of Defense. This chart shows how we managed to raise interest in the Memorial in general. Moreover, in the fourth quarter 2010 (2 months’ calculated data) domestic mass media had been keeping up with the interest in the subject. This phenomenon is connected with the informational activity of the Ministry of Defense (primarily with regards to the state target program “For Preserving and Reconstruction of the Military Grave Sites in 2011 - 2015”), and with events that transpired throughout the often epochal course of development in the Russian-Chinese and Russian-Japanese relations, in general.

In addition, the Project has become very popular with bloggers. According to Yandex research, in 2010 the key words have been found in 658 blogs. Negative perception has been more common in the blogs (in printed media it is almost never found at all), yet it has referred mostly to the policies of Russian authorities. The Project itself almost never appears in a negative context. The bloggers community is traditionally dominated by “protest” moods; hence, we could expect standard allegations of stealing budget money etc. Yet there was no similar accusation found for our project. The insignificant amount of criticism in the blogs was connected with the fact that the Project has been realized abroad, while the numerous grave sites in Russia are in a sad plight as well.

### 7.4 FINANCIAL RESULTS

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The Foundation “Pokolenie” has spent 13.5 mln. USD (\$ 12 mln. for the Chinese contractors and \$ 1.5 mln. for the Russian restorers). The Foundation provided 12.8 mln. USD. The external sources provided 700 000 USD, 95% of which was donated by organizations and 5% (about 30 000 USD) was donated by the citizens as a result of social ads in Mass Media.

Working with mass media didn’t require any expenses at all except those for placing promotional advertisements.

## 7.5 BIG RESULTS

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### RESULTS #1

THE FIRST BIGGEST NON-GOVERNMENTAL HUMANITARIAN PROJECT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA HAS SOLVED A STATE PROBLEM.

#### СОГЛАШЕНИЕ О СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВЕ

МЕЖДУ ГУМАНИТАРНЫМ ФОНДОМ  
«ПОКОЛЕНИЕ», РОССИЙСКАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ, И  
МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ АССОЦИАЦИЕЙ  
СОДЕЙСТВИЯ РАЗВИТИЮ ЭКОНОМИКИ И  
КУЛЬТУРЫ ГОРОДА ДАЛЯНЯ, КИТАЙСКАЯ  
НАРОДНАЯ РЕСПУБЛИКА, О  
ВОССТАНОВИТЕЛЬНЫХ РАБОТАХ НА  
КОМПЛЕКСЕ ВОИНСКИХ ЗАХОРОНЕНИЙ В  
ЛЮЙШУНЕ

14 ноября 2008 г.

I. Гуманитарный фонд «Поколение» Российской Федерации (далее – Фонд) и Ассоциация содействия развитию экономики и культуры города Даляня Китайской народной республики (далее – Ассоциация) провели обсуждение ранее представленного Фондом перечня сле-





俄罗斯“新一代”慈善基金会  
和中华人民共和国大连国际经济文化促进会  
修缮旅顺军事基地合作协议书

2008 年 11 月 14 日

一、 俄罗斯“新一代”慈善基金会（以下简称“基金会”）和中华人民共和国大连国际经济文化促进会（以下简称“促进会”）对基金会准备好的会晤议程如下几个问题名单进行了讨论：



## RESULTS #2

THE BIGGEST MILITARY-HISTORICAL MEMORIAL IN ASIA HAS BEEN RESCUED FROM THE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AND FULLY RESTORED.





## RESULTS #3

**THE JOINT OPENING CEREMONY AT PORT ARTHUR HAS LET US EMPHASIZE THE INVIOABILITY OF THE TERRITORIAL RIGHTS OF RUSSIA IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STRATEGY TO COUNTER THE ATTEMPTS TO REWRITE THE RESULTS OF THE WORLD WAR II (THE SO-CALLED ARGUMENT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND JAPAN ABOUT THE “NORTHERN TERRITORIES” - THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE KURIL ISLANDS)**

**THE PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATION HAS PURPOSELY SCHEDULED THE ROUTE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION FEATURING THE “JAPANESE QUESTION”. THE VISIT STARTED AND ENDED ON THE TERRITORIES OF THE HOSTILITIES OF 1945 AGAINST MILITARISTIC JAPAN: DALIAN (PORT ARTHUR) - BEIJING - SHANGHAI (EXPO 2010) - SOUTH SAKHALIN (CEDED TO RUSSIA IN 1945) - THE KURIL ISLANDS.**



## RESULTS #4

THE SURRENDER OF JAPAN DAY HAS BEEN PUT BACK IN THE MEMORIAL DATES' RECORDS OF RUSSIA AS "THE VICTORY IN THE WORLD WAR II DAY".



РОССИЙСКАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ  
**ФЕДЕРАЛЬНЫЙ ЗАКОН**

**О внесении изменения в статью 1<sup>1</sup> Федерального закона  
"О днях воинской славы и памятных датах России"**

Принят Государственной Думой

7 июля 2010 года

Одобен Советом Федерации

14 июля 2010 года

Внести в статью 1<sup>1</sup> Федерального закона от 13 марта 1995 года № 32-ФЗ "О днях воинской славы и памятных датах России" (Собрание законодательства Российской Федерации, 1995, № 11, ст. 943; 2005, № 30, ст. 3109; 2007, № 10, ст. 1149; № 44, ст. 5279; 2009, № 15, ст. 1781; 2010, № 23, ст. 2787) изменение, изложив ее в следующей редакции:

**"Статья 1<sup>1</sup>. Памятные даты России**

В Российской Федерации устанавливаются следующие памятные даты России:

2 сентября - День окончания Второй мировой войны (1945 год);



Президент

Российской Федерации

Д.Медведев

Москва, Кремль  
23 июля 2010 года  
№ 170-ФЗ





# “THE DAY OF MEMORY OF THE RUSSIAN CITIZENS, WHO FULFILLED THE CALL OF DUTY OVERSEAS” HAS BEEN INTRODUCED.



## РОССИЙСКАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ФЕДЕРАЛЬНЫЙ ЗАКОН

О внесении изменений в статью 1<sup>1</sup> Федерального закона  
"О днях воинской славы и памятных датах России"

Принят Государственной Думой

17 ноября 2010 года

Одобен Советом Федерации

24 ноября 2010 года

### Статья 1

Внести в статью 1<sup>1</sup> Федерального закона от 13 марта 1995 года № 32-ФЗ "О днях воинской славы и памятных датах России" (Собрание законодательства Российской Федерации, 1995, № 11, ст. 943; 2005, № 30, ст. 3109; 2007, № 10, ст. 1149; № 44, ст. 5279; 2009, № 15, ст. 1781; 2010, № 23, ст. 2787; № 30, ст. 4001) следующие изменения:

1) дополнить новым абзацем третьим следующего содержания:

"15 февраля - День памяти о россиянах, исполнявших служебный долг за пределами Отечества";

2) абзацы третий - одиннадцатый считать соответственно абзацами четвертым - двенадцатым.

2

### Статья 2

Настоящий Федеральный закон вступает в силу с 1 января 2011 года.



Москва, Кремль  
29 ноября 2010 года  
№ 320-ФЗ

Президент  
Российской Федерации Д.Медведев



## 8. WHY WE ARE NOMINATING THE PROJECT...

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...FOR THE NATIONAL AWARD IN PUBLIC RELATIONS DEVELOPMENT:

RUSSIAN PR-INDUSTRY HAS BEEN RATHER POOR ON INTERCULTURAL PROJECTS. THE EXPERIENCE OF SUCH A CROSS-CULTURAL PROJECT (ON THE JUNCTION OF SUCH DIFFERENT CULTURES AS RUSSIAN AND CHINESE) CAN BE USEFUL FOR PROFESSIONALS IN THE FUTURE AS THE PR-INDUSTRY IN RUSSIA DEVELOPS AND AS THERE WILL BE MORE PROJECTS UNITING COUNTRIES.

THE PROJECT HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED UNDER CONDITIONS OF STRICT INFORMATION EMBARGO, UP TO FORBIDDING TV SHOOTING, DETENTION OF TV CREWS AND FILING DIPLOMATIC NOTES. THE HISTORY OF RUSSIAN PR-INDUSTRY CAN HARDLY ENCOUNTER MANY PROJECTS THAT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED UNDER SUCH HARD CONDITIONS NOT DUE TO THE ARROGATION OF CERTAIN 'SATRAPs'( DESPOTIC UNDERLORDS) OR HEADS OF CERTAIN MASS MEDIA, BUT BECAUSE THESE CONDITIONS WERE LAID BY ONE OF THE PARTIES. PERHAPS, PROFESSIONALS WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HOW THE AUTHORS OF THE PROJECT FOUND THE WAY OUT AND WHAT COMMUNICATION RESULTS THEY ACHIEVED.

FINALLY, THIS PROJECT COMBINES CIVIL INITIATIVE WITH AN ALMOST FORMAL STATE ORDER. IT IS A RARE EXAMPLE OF PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP, WHEN THE STATE AUTHORITIES, THE WORKING GROUP AND ALL PARTICIPANTS OF THE PROJECT HAVE BEEN INTERACTING NOT VERTICALLY (THE STATE AS THE ORDERING PARTY AND PROFESSIONALS AS SUBORDINATE EXECUTIVES), BUT HORIZONTALLY...FROM ONE INDEPENDENT INSTITUTION TO ANOTHER.



## 9. THE AUTHORS OF THE PROJECT

---

KIRILL ELIZAROV

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE CHARITY FOUNDATION "POKOLENIE"

---

ALEXANDER KIRILIN

HEAD OF THE MEMORIALIZATION BOARD OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

---

EVGENY TOMIKHIN

RF CONSUL AMBASSADOR IN BEIJING

---

VLADIMIR MYASNIKOV

ACADEMIC RAS

---

ANDREI SKOCH

MEMBER OF STATE DUMA, PRESIDENT OF THE CHARITY FOUNDATION "POKOLENIE"

---

ANDREI KARNEEV

IAAS MSU, VICE-PRINCIPLE

---

OLGA CHUZHKOVA

HEAD OF THE RUSSIAN RESTORERS' GROUP

---

ILIA LAZAREV

"VESTI" NEWS PROGRAM, PRODUCER

---

IRINA LOSIK

TV CHANNEL "ZVEZDA", PERFORMER

---

YANUS KANOV

KOREAN WAR VETERANS' COUNCIL, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

---







THESE PHOTOS FROM THE ART PROJECT (CREATED BY KIRILL ELIZAROV), WHICH WAS DEVOTED FOR ALL MOTHERS, WIVES, GIRLFRIENDS AND SISTERS OF FALLEN WARRIORS







# 10. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors of the Project would like to express their special gratitude to the Director of VGTRK OLEG DOBRODEEV and to the news-group “Vesti”, who have believed in the Project from the very beginning and have been helping gratis and covering the progress of the reconstruction works notwithstanding the restrictions, laid by the Chinese party, and such incidents as detention of the Beijing office news-group.

The authors are also expressing their thanks to the hundreds of people, whose participation made the implementation of the Project possible. We would like to name the following people:

- Sergei Naryshkin, Kremlin Chief of Staff, Chairman of the Commission to Counter Attempts to Falsify History to the Detriment of Russia's Interests
- Sergei Prihodko, RF President aide
- Sergei Lavrov, Foreign Minister of Russian Federation
- Anatoly Serdyukov, Minister of Defence of Russian Federation
- Sergei Razov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in PRC
- Konstantin Vnukov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Republic of Korea
- Zhanna Odintsova, Vice Press-Secretary of the President of Russian Federation
- Dmitry Bulgakov, Deputy Minister of Defence
- Igor Margulov, Head of First Department of Asia,
- Liu Yunpeng, Head of Office of Foreign Affairs of Dalian
- Julia Rakcheeva, VGTRK, Deputy Director General; “Vesti” news program, Director
- Svetlana Mironyuk, RIA Novosti, editor-in-chief
- Oleg Losik, Hero of the Soviet Union, Marshal of the Armoured Forces
- Mahmud Gareev, General of the Army, President of the Academy of Military Science
- Vladimir Mikhalkin, Hero of the Soviet Union, Artillery Marshal, Inspector General of the Ministry of Defence, RF
- Vladimir Shamanov, Lieutenant General, Hero of Russia.
- Andrei Taranov, Memorialization Board of the Ministry of Defence, Deputy Head
- Vladimir Kozhemyako, the Embassy of RF in Beijing, First Secretary
- Sergei Kapitza, professor, member of the Council on Culture and Arts for the President of Russia, President of “Nikitsky Club of Russian scholars and businessman”
- Anatoly Zolotarev, Russian military attaché in Germany
- Vladimir Dobryshevsky, Head of the press-service of the RF Rear Armed Forces
- Sergei Kramarenko, Hero of the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the Korean War Veterans' Council
- Pavel Vnukov, the MFA of the RF, 1st Department of Asia
- Sergei Kovalev, Embassy of RF in PRC, attaché
- Lev Ereimeikin, General Consulate of RF in Shenyang (PRC), attaché
- Alexei Filin, Sberbank RF Donskoe Office, executive manager
- Vladimir Stebikhov, restorer
- Olga Stefanova, restorer
- Uliana Marinina, fine art restorer
- Evgeny Sokolov, park restorer
- Wen Yongqing, “Dongchen” Co., executive manager
- Svetlana Levoshko, DA Architecture
- Boris Livshits, DA History
- Nikolai Pavlov, historian
- Mikhail Osipenko, “The Port Arthur Icon of the Mother of God” foundation
- Andrei Rumin, Chinese Centre in Moscow, coordinator
- Arkady Borisov, interpreter
- Zhanna Myasnikova, interpreter
- Alexei Andryunin, interpreter
- Valentin Golovachev, interpreter
- Mikhail Zagitov, interpreter
- Irina Granik, “Kommersant” publishing house, observer
- Maxim Troepolsky, deputy chief editor REN-TV
- Alexander Sladkov, VGTRK special correspondent
- Dmitry Sobiev, Head of “Vesti” office in PRC
- Ksenia Veretennikova, “Vremya Novostei”, commentator
- Rafael Ismagilov, TBN Moscow, producer
- Svetlana Popova, “Ochevodnoe-Neveryatnoe”, producer
- Dmitry Chernov, Wisemen Business Education's partner
- Vitaly Vlasov, design studio “Two Comrades”

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For active part in recovery and restoration of burials of Russian and Soviet soldiers fallen on the territory of the Chinese Peoples Republic is given to Elizarov Kirill Petrovich, CEO of Fun Communication, LLC



Moscow, the Kremlin  
December 29th, 2010  
#898-пр

Official Seal  
/signature/

D. Medvedev





THESE PHOTOS FROM THE ART PROJECT (CREATED BY KIRILL ELIZAROV), WHICH WAS DEVOTED FOR ALL MOTHERS, WIVES, GIRLFRIENDS AND SISTERS OF FALLEN WARRIORS









THE "SILVER ARCHER" AWARD ANNUALLY HONORS THE BEST PUBLIC RELATION PROJECT IN RUSSIA. THE EXPERT COUNCIL OF THE "SILVER ARCHER" COMPETITION CONSISTS OF THE MOST RESPECTED RUSSIAN PR SPECIALISTS. OVER 160 PR PROJECTS AND PROGRAMS IMPLEMENTED BY DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES IN RUSSIA IN 2010 COMPETED FOR THE NATIONAL AWARD. PR PROJECT "PORT ARTHUR" HAS BEATEN SUCH POWERFUL PROJECTS WITH HUGE BUDGETS LIKE EXPO 2010 IN SHANGHAI OR PR PROJECT OF THE RUSSIAN RAILWAY MONOPOLY. THE CEREMONY TOOK PLACE IN MOSCOW ON FEBRUARY 15TH AND WAS ATTENDED BY ABOUT 1000 PR PROFESSIONALS.









Номинация «Лучший проект»

НАГРАЖДАЕТСЯ

Кирилл Елизаров  
за проект  
«ПОРТ –АРТУР и другие  
воинские мемориалы  
за рубежом как инструмент  
международной репутации России»

Москва,  
15 февраля 2011г.

Игорь Писарский,  
Председатель  
Попечительского совета

Лариса Зелькова,  
Председатель жюри