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"If they block Whatsapp, people will take to the streets. You can't do that before elections." **Leonid Volkov**, founder of the Society Protecting the Internet

5 Mln

the number of users LinkedIn has in Russia.

400 Mln

the number of users LinkedIn has around the world.

"We filed a legal claim and won." Roskomnadzor's official representative **Vadim Ampelonsky**



LinkedIn Faces Russia Ban

By **Matthew Kupfer** newsreporter@imedia.ru

The social networking site may be the first to be blocked by the Roskomnadzor watchdog for not playing by the rules

In China, LinkedIn was the only major social network not banned by the Chinese government. The company's management agreed to play by the rules and censor politically objectionable content. Ironically, in Russia, LinkedIn may be the first social network to be banned by Russian media watchdog Roskomnadzor for not playing by the rules.

That's what will happen on Nov. 10 if a Moscow city court sides with Roskomnadzor and upholds a lower court's decision to block the social networking site. LinkedIn stands accused of failing to comply with a 2014 federal law requiring Internet companies that process Russian citizens' personal information to store their user data on servers located in Russia.

Roskomnadzor's move on LinkedIn came as a surprise: Many sites gather, process, and share Russian citizens' user data. But no one — not Facebook, nor Twitter, nor WhatsApp — actually complies with the 2014 law.

The media watchdog explained its targeting of LinkedIn as a response to the company's history of security problems. The site is infamous for a massive 2012 hack in which 6.4 million usernames and passwords were stolen.

"They have a bad track record: Every year there's a major scandal about the safety of user data," Roskomnadzor representative Vadim Ampelonsky told The Moscow Times.

But many analysts argue the case is a show trial intended to demonstrate that the previ-



Roskomnadzor explained its targeting of LinkedIn as a response to its history of security problems.

ously untested 2014 law will be enforced. Many have suggested that law was implemented as a response to the 2011-2012 Moscow street protests, in which communication over social networks played a major role. Roskomnadzor wants greater control over these sites, but, so far, hasn't been able to put the new law to work.

"You can't be a regulatory agency if you don't regulate," says science writer Andrei Konyaev.

Leonid Volkov, head of the Internet Defense Society NGO, suggests that Roskomnadzor is trying to improve its negotiating position on data localization.

"They want to show [other companies] that they can block someone," Volkov says. "But they won't ever be able to block Facebook."

Both analysts agree that LinkedIn was chosen for its "second tier" status. As of 2015, only 5 million of 400 million registered LinkedIn users worldwide are Russian.

"If you block Whatsapp, there will be protests in the streets. You can't do that before an election," says Volkov. "LinkedIn isn't popular [in Russia] ... but it's important internationally."

The move on LinkedIn may also stem from the company's weak relations with Roskomnadzor. According to representative Ampelonsky, his agency meets with Facebook and Twitter at least twice a year. The steps that these companies are taking satisfy Roskomnadzor, and the agency is not planning sanctions against the companies, he says.

LinkedIn, on the other hand, does not have a representative in Moscow and did not provide Roskomnadzor with information about localizing user data in Russia, Ampelonsky said.

However, in a statement to The Moscow Times, LinkedIn said it had "been in touch" with Roskomnadzor about data localization, but had "not been granted a time to meet."

Analysts believe LinkedIn will probably be blocked but Roskomnadzor's next steps are still unclear. Volkov thinks the attack on LinkedIn is intended to push major players like Facebook to negotiate. But since Roskomnadzor will never be able to deliver on this veiled threat to block Facebook, he says the case's meaning for other companies is clear: "Nothing." **TMT**



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THE OPPOSITIONIST

After the Duma Election, the Opposition Must Clean House

By **Ilya Yashin**
Opposition politician and activist



The State Duma's new convocation has begun, but something is different. Although the Kremlin has always maintained strict control over the parliament, Russian society was accustomed to hearing a few independent, opposition-minded deputies' voices within the Duma's chambers.

Not anymore. Despite the democratic opposition's optimism and the hopeful start of its campaign, the new Duma lacks even a single politician who consistently opposes President Vladimir Putin.

Russia's so-called "managed elections" undoubtedly played a key role in handing democracy such a resounding defeat, but the blame also lies on the shoulders of the opposition.

The role of the authorities in undermining the opposition is clear: The intelligence agencies exerted a major influence on election campaigns by abusing their authority and conducting illegal surveillance of candidates opposed to the authorities. They even installed a hidden video camera in the bedroom of former prime minister and Parnas party chairman Mikhail Kasyanov and aired the compromising footage on television.

The authorities also carried out gross election fraud. A striking example took place in Saratov, home to the new State Duma Speaker, Vyacheslav Volodin, where 100 polling stations all submitted identical results giving United Russia exactly 62.2 percent of the vote. In several regions, independent electoral observers recorded instances of ballot box stuffing and the Central Elections Commission was forced to annul the results.

Finally, a new law greatly limited the rights of those observ-

ers by requiring them to register beforehand at a single polling place, thus preventing them from monitoring multiple sites. This enabled the authorities to end a practice employed in previous elections in which mobile teams of observers shuttled between problematic polling stations in an effort to prevent electoral violations. This year, officials knew in advance which polling places wouldn't have observers. It's no surprise that these stations reported significantly higher results for the ruling party.

But the democratic parties themselves made a number of serious mistakes that contributed to their pathetic election results.

Parnas started strong by forming a Democratic Coalition with anti-corruption activist Alexei Navalny and other independent politicians under a single banner. However, the task of choosing a leader for the party list proved insurmountable and the coalition ultimately split. Navalny and others jumped ship, and the dubious Saratov blogger and populist Vyacheslav Maltsev stepped in to fill their place.

Maltsev's outlandish behavior on television and his tendency toward anti-Semitism only scared away the democratic opposition's supporters. As a result, Parnas garnered less than 1 percent of the vote on Sept. 18.

The Yabloko Party, headed by liberal stalwart Grigory Yavlinsky, had a much better chance of rallying supporters of the opposition. Yavlinsky wisely invited prominent politicians Lev Schlossberg, Dmitry Gudkov and Vladimir Ryzhkov to join his party list. However, he failed to inform voters of the deal. Yavlinsky campaigned as if he alone spoke for the party, solitarily grin-

ning on Yabloko posters and single-handedly representing the party on televised debates. The result was predictable: Yavlinsky's party received less than 2 percent of the vote.

After these unfortunate results, pro-democracy parties have once again called for unity. However, in my view, the key objective today should not be unity, but renewal.

The only way the Russian opposition can mobilize supporters is to offer them new leadership. Supporters of democratic reforms have no desire to vote for opposition leaders who have lost every single election since the 1990s. The low turnout during these latest parliamentary elections can be explained in part by one key fact: people who didn't want to vote for the ruling party saw no viable alternatives in the opposition.

The 2018 presidential elections could offer a way out of this crisis. If a politician capable of mounting a challenge to Putin were to emerge from the democratic opposition, the political contest would undoubtedly mobilize the opposition. Such popular support would give the opposition candidate a chance to stand for the presidential election and make a strong showing at the polls. This happened during the 2013 mayoral elections in Moscow, when Alexei Navalny defied predictions by managing not only to register as a candidate, but also to earn almost a third of the vote and nearly force a second round of voting.

The task before the opposition is to run at least as strong a presidential campaign as Navalny did in the mayoral race. For that to happen, the "veterans," who have lost election after election, must step aside and agree not to interfere. **TMT**

A New Era of Supplemental Medical Insurance

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insurance

“Can we help scientists to cure, prevent or manage all diseases within our children’s lifetime?” Mark Zuckerberg asked on his Facebook page in September as he announced the creation of a foundation to develop advanced tools for medical research. The purpose of the foundation is to defeat all the world’s major diseases by 2100 using modern technology.

In October, the FutureMed conference was held in St. Petersburg. It was also

West, has some controversial implications, of course, but it places great importance on preventive measures and a comprehensive approach to health problems. For example, in the United States, a complete annual check-up is normal practice, and European resorts and hotels offer their guests a day or two for a complete examination at a convenient time during holidays or business trips. So a lack of time for yourself is no longer a real excuse.

to the website HeadHunter, 60 to 80 percent of employees get involved in such programs. Thus, corporate supplemental medical insurance has, in fact, become a trendsetter in healthcare, as it is often among the first to have access to advanced medical technologies.

Under these conditions, supplemental medical insurance can no longer limit itself to the standard package — outpatient, dental and hospital care, doctor on call and emergency care at home. For corporate voluntary health

of health data on the client, we plan to launch a mobile app that will give individual advice and make the monetization of health possible. People with the right lifestyle who are rarely ill will receive bonuses — for example, a discount on fitness club membership or a fitness bracelet, or bonuses on purchases from partner companies,” said Vladimir Tinyakov, vice president of Renaissance Insurance.

As clients have less and less free time, the convenience of healthcare takes on paramount importance: making an appointment, making an office visit, evaluating a caregiver, scheduling a housecall — all online. Although telemedicine is only just beginning in Russia, and has a long way to go, there are ways to make life easier for private and corporate customers. For example, the Renaissance Insurance HR portal allows the HR departments of client companies to manage the entire contract online. Reconciliation, correspondence with the insurance company on the addition or subtraction of employees as they are hired or dismissed, is a thing of the past. To reduce the workload of HR departments in the future, the HR portal can be synchronized via secure channels with the HR systems of client companies and steps such as registration of supplemental medical insurance policy for newly hired employees will occur automatically.

Deciphering Genes

Another aspect of future supplemental medical insurance is personalization. Mario Krause, founder and director of the German Center for Individual Prevention and Performance Enhancement, said “A person can easily live 60 years more. Even among the current generation of 40-year-olds this is possible. But this can be achieved only with the transition to a personal approach for each person.” The Medkorp company, owned by Renaissance Insurance, can already create personal health programs, and go beyond a purely medical framework. It is also a matter of nutrition, rest and physical activity. Experts predict that this service will soon be in demand on the mass market and will be an integral part of supplemental medical insurance.

In the near future, supplemental medical insurance will probably provide access to the cutting-edge medical technologies, such as genetic testing. “Deciphering each gene provides an understanding of what risk factors there are in the patient. Comparing them with the eating habits, smoking and past illnesses and medications taken by each patient, the physician receives a detailed navigation system of the body, and can figure out the nature of a disease. One and the same disease can manifest itself in very different ways in different people and, as a consequence, have completely different treatment. This is the essence of genetic medicine,” Krause explained.

These studies are not yet available to everyone, but with the growth of their popularity and falling costs, the next step will be individualized medication, taking into account all the characteristics of the body. Probably supplemental medical insurance policy holders will be among the first to have access to this innovation.



A healthy employee costs the company less. Renaissance Insurance’s experience has shown that current supplemental medical insurance programs can achieve a significant reduction in morbidity among personnel (40-50 percent), increase the detection of chronic diseases (10-15 percent), reduce the number of sick days by 20 percent and reduce average sick time 30 percent. The savings from this can be 15-30 percent.

dedicated to medical technologies of the future. Russian doctors, scientists and specialists in medical education discussed telemedicine, biotechnology, digital health projects, big data and robotics in healthcare. None of this would have been possible without a fundamental change in people’s thinking, a shift in the understanding of personal responsibility for one’s health. The cult of health, which originated the

Trendsetter

Less than 20 percent of Russian citizens have supplemental medical insurance, and 80 percent of them are corporate clients. There is a growing number of Russian companies with a fitness center and incentives for quit smoking and weight loss. This reduces the risk of behavioral illnesses caused by bad habits and disregard for sound health practices. According

insurance, the future is competent employee health management through specially designed service programs.

E-health

These services, falling under the collective concept of digital health, were created to change the thinking of patients and the principles of medical service. “With accumulation



The Kuznetsov is Russia's only aircraft carrier. Its sister ship was sold to the Chinese, and efforts to build a larger carrier in the late 1980s were scrapped with the fall of the Soviet Union.

8

the number of ships in the Kuznetsov battlegroup.

30

the age of the Kuznetsov, the last aircraft carrier built by the Soviet Union.



The most powerful ship in the group is the Peter the Great, a ship considered by Western observers worthy of the label battlecruiser.

Putin's Great White Fleet

By **Matthew Bodner** m.bodner@imedia.ru | Twitter: @mattb0401

Moscow finds the limits of its military messaging campaign

In 1907, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt had a message to send to the international community: America was no longer a regional backwater, but a great power in global affairs.

To deliver the message, the jingoistic Roosevelt commissioned the construction of 16 brand-new warships. He had their hulls painted a stark white, rather than the customary dull gray, to better catch the eye. And with that, Roosevelt's Great White Fleet — as the grouping came to be known — spent the next two years audaciously parading the oceans in a global publicity cruise.

Reportedly a keen student of history, President Vladimir Putin may have had Roosevelt's publicity stunt in mind when signing off on his navy's largest deployment since the end of the Cold War: eight ships, including two of Russia's most prominent warships, en route to Syria. And they are cruising slowly off the coasts of every NATO nation they pass.

But when the group, led by the Russian navy's flagship — the Admiral Kuznetsov aircraft carrier — entered the British Channel, it was not met with the alarmism typically prompted by Russian military maneuvers over the past two years. Instead, the Kuznetsov's dramatic, billowing smoke — hardly the image of a modern aircraft carrier — was ruthlessly mocked. The battlegroup, it seemed, failed to impress.

"The Russian Defense Ministry is not as good at image making as it claims to be," a source close to the ministry told *The Moscow Times* on a condition of anonymity. "If they knew that this was going to be the international community's reaction, I am sure they would have thought twice about this publicity stunt."

But the lashing Kuznetsov received in the international press missed the point. The ship is traveling with some



The timing of Kuznetsov's deployment has rattled defense circles in the West, who have speculated that the ship is en route to destroy what remains of the Syrian opposition.

where a significant portion of Russia's 20 trillion ruble (\$350 billion) military modernization drive is focused. But Kuznetsov's performance in Syria could tip money in favor of a new carrier.

In sending Kuznetsov to Syria, Russia is also promoting its defense industry. Russia sold Kuznetsov's sister ship to the Chinese, and refitted another old Soviet aircraft carrier for the Indian navy. It is hoping to sell Sukhoi and MiG aircraft outfitted for service on these types of ships to India for use on that ship.

Aircraft Carrier Diplomacy

The timing of Kuznetsov's deployment has rattled defense circles in the West, who have speculated that

the ship is en route to destroy what remains of the Syrian opposition. A short-lived cease-fire intended to allow civilians to escape the encircled opposition stronghold of Aleppo last week did little to change the dynamic there. In the absence of renewed dialogue, all sides are digging in.

Given the Kuznetsov's limitations, it is hard to imagine the deployment is purely about Aleppo. The ship's MiG and Sukhoi aircraft are less effective than the ones already fighting in Syria, because the ship is unable to launch its planes with full fuel and bomb loads. Even if it could, Russia has a shortage of pilots capable of tricky carrier flights. Their performance in Syria remains an open question.

Instead, the strength of the Kuznetsov battlegroup is not the aircraft carrier, but the battlecruiser that accompanies it — the Peter the Great. The ship is loaded to the brim with anti-ship guided missiles, radar-aimed cannons, and is generally designed to destroy American ships in an all-out naval war. It is a very serious ship capable of dealing significant damage, but not to land targets in Syria.

"Sure, you can use the Peter the Great to fire some cruise missiles into Syria, but this is a very expensive way of bringing misery to a few huts somewhere," says Mark Galeotti, an expert in Russian military affairs. "But sending that ship is symbolic. It's about demonstrating to NATO that it should not be too confident about its ability to control the Mediterranean."

The ship's deployment also coincides with renewed discussions in Washington favoring potential military solutions to the raging civil war in Syria. Peter the Great is a deterrent to American carrier groups, which could conceivably be involved in some kind of action against Assad.

At the moment, little dialogue is taking place between Russia and the U.S.

Two weeks ago, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry suggested that Russia should be investigated for war crimes over its actions in Syria. On Oct. 24, after rebels in Aleppo rejected an extended cease-fire proposal, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Ryabkov said Moscow now sees a cease-fire as irrelevant.

So, when the Kuznetsov battlegroup arrives in Syria — presumably sometime in the next two weeks — it will be inserting a massive amount of Russian firepower into an increasingly volatile and intractable situation. Putin may yet have an opportunity to impress the world with his Great White Fleet. **TMT**

of Russia's heaviest hitting warships. Their arrival off the coast of Syria will represent a major upgrade to the Kremlin's available firepower in the region. The journey is also being used by the navy to evaluate Kuznetsov's abilities, and train its crew in combat situations.

Internal Motivations

Although the Kremlin clearly intended to use the Kuznetsov's battlegroup as an important outward projection of strength, the motivations behind the deployment are largely internal. The ship has never seen combat before. Syria, already serving as a testing ground for Russian military hardware, gives the navy an opportunity to train and evaluate the crew.

"There is no operational necessity to send the ship there, since we already have an airbase in Syria," the Defense Ministry source said. Instead, beyond training the crew, it provides the navy with an excellent opportunity to evaluate the Kuznetsov's overall performance. The navy has been embroiled in a heated debate over the actual utility of the ship for years.

Kuznetsov has been a financial burden since it was commissioned in 1990. Despite several major overhauls to keep the ship operational, it has spent most of its life in port. And it is due for another overhaul after completing this current deployment to Syria. That should happen early next year, since Kuznetsov has never spent more than six months at sea.

Russian navy brass and politicians see Kuznetsov as an important component of Moscow's claim to great power status. Over the past two years, they have been lobbying for the construction of a new ship to rival American designs. But others within the military see no real role for aircraft carriers in the Russian navy, which is oriented toward national defense rather than power projection abroad.

"Aircraft carriers are a waste of money for the Russian navy," says retired Russian navy captain Maxim Shepovalenko, now an expert at the Moscow-based Center for the Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST). They require the construction of large battlegroups to escort them, and far-off destinations worth sending them to. Russia can make do with land-based airfields.

Instead, given Russia's economic crisis, the navy should focus on its competitive advantage: a strong tradition of nuclear submarines, Shepovalenko says. This is, indeed,



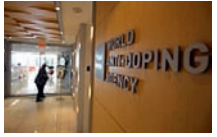
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"In several of his regular meetings with Nagornykh to discuss the cover-up scheme, Rodchenkov was told that Mutko was aware of everything that they were discussing." (WADA report July 2016)

9

Deputy prime ministers, including Mutko.

"Mutko is seen as being on the frontline in defending Russia as a great sports power." Analyst **Konstantin Kalachyov**



6

Olympic medals won by new sports Minister and ex-fencer Pavel Kolobkov.

The Penance-Free Purge of Russian Sport

By **Eva Hartog** e.hartog@imedia.ru | Twitter : @EvaHartog

Does the removal of top officials mean that national sport is ready for reform?

No stranger to scandal, Vitaly Mutko has always said that he would step down as sports minister only at the Kremlin's bidding. And so when he resigned on Oct. 19, President Vladimir Putin must have decided it was time.

A day later, Mutko's deputy Yury Nagornykh was dismissed "at his own request," according to Russian state media. Meanwhile, Alexander Zhukov, the head of Russia's Olympic Committee, has publicly announced his intention to resign too.

Within a short period, the Russian sports elite appears to have silently undergone the purge that sports and anti-doping authorities have pushed for ever since the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) confirmed suspicions of a state-sponsored doping program for Russian athletes in 2015.

It means that those named in the WADA reports have been removed from their posts. The motivation is clear: Russia's failure to convince sports officials that it is committed to changing what WADA claims is a "deeply rooted culture of cheating" has already cost it full participation in the Rio Olympics and led to a complete competition ban for the Paralympic Games.

The removal of Mutko, the spider at the center of the doping web if WADA's reports are to be believed, has long been a silent demand if Russia wants to be reinstated ahead of its hosting of the World Cup in 2018 and that same year's Winter Olympics, according to inside sources.



PAVEL COLOVKIN / AP

In his new position as deputy prime minister, Mutko will likely have more control over funds and sports infrastructure.

But while the recent staff reshuffles may suggest reform, the Kremlin "is giving international sports authorities the middle finger," says Yevgeny Slyusarenko, the deputy editor-in-chief of sports website Championat.com.

Rather than risk appearing weak by caving in to international pressure, Putin has dealt with Mutko on his own terms, adds political analyst Konstantin Kalachyov. "Instead of getting rid of someone, you give him a promotion," he says.

In the newly created position of deputy prime minister for sport, tourism and youth policy, Mutko will likely have more control, not less, over funds and sports infrastructure.

Mutko's deputy Nagornykh has been easier to throw under

the bus. Nagornykh was suspended after a WADA-commissioned investigation by Richard McLaren in July described him as "critical" to the cheating scheme.

That same report said it appeared "inconceivable" that Mutko would not have been aware of the extensive cover-up.

However, Nagornykh is not widely known and his dismissal on Monday went widely unnoticed. "He wasn't interesting to anyone, so they took him down," says the government source.

So what's next? WADA told The Moscow Times it would "work with the new sports minister as RUSADA continues in its efforts to regain compliance with the world anti-doping code."

Having been Mutko's deputy for six years, the freshly appointed sports minister Pavel Kolobkov, has been dubbed "Mutko's man." But other than his former boss, who is known for his fiery temperament and clumsy charisma, Kolobkov has so far excelled at remaining unnoticed. "He was never given key tasks and was an unremarkable figure," according to Slyusarenko. Russian media report Kolobkov's nickname is "The Quiet One."

For lack of real change, Russia's strategy appears to be largely symbolic. Like the head of the International Olympic Committee Thomas Bach, Kolobkov is a former Olympic fencer. "There's a sort of brotherhood among global fencers," the head of Russia's fencing federation, Alexander Mikhailov, told the TASS agency.

"It'll be easier for them to find a common language." **TASS**

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"To deceive a GPS signal on this frequency, you need to imitate the signal of a satellite, spoofing its real position." Blogger **Grigory Bakunov**

69 acres

the area of
the Moscow Kremlin.

2013

a helipad was
constructed within
the Kremlin walls.



The Moscow Kremlin and Red Square fall under a special security regime controlled by the Federal Security Service, which ensures the safety of Russia's top officials.

The Kremlin's GPS Scramble

By **Kevin Rothrock** and **Matthew Kupfer** newsreporter@imedia.ru | Illustration by **Katerina Lobanova**

Calling an Uber in the heart of Moscow has become a challenge

For the past several months, Muscovites have been complaining on social media that their GPS-powered mobile apps are malfunctioning. Users of the Yandex.Navigator mapping app have run into frequent problems, for example, watching their vehicles' locations bounce all over the map. When the popular, GPS-based Pokemon Go game arrived in Russia earlier this year, Moscow's geolocation issues only worsened.

Everyone experiencing these problems reports one thing in common: devices start acting strange near the Kremlin, at the very center of Moscow. It doesn't happen constantly, but the problems are frequent enough to demonstrate a pattern. Often, the GPS "teleports" you to one of Moscow's airports.

This strange effect causes many difficulties, and geolocation-based services like Uber are dealing with the fallout.

"While in an Uber, [the app] first transported us to Vnukovo Airport, then turned back, as if we had traveled a total of more than 60 kilometers," says Andrei Shepelev, a Muscovite who, in reality, had traveled less than 10 kilometers.

"I wrote to Uber and they reimbursed me," Shepelev told The Moscow Times.

Popular blogger and podcaster Grigory Bakunov decided to investigate these troubles firsthand. Bakunov says he got so fed up with speculation about what was happening that he loaded a backpack full of devices that use GPS and GLONASS, hopped onto a segway, and set off to do laps around central Moscow, measuring the strength and accuracy of his geolocation signals. He spent three hours rolling around the Kremlin, starting at 9 a.m. and wrapping up at noon.

But unlike the people complaining about the problem online, Bakunov mapped his entire experiment. He was able to measure, in blue and red, where his GPS and GLONASS devices succumbed to location-spoofing. Take a look at his map, and you'll see that the epicenter of the geolocation interference is somewhere inside the Kremlin.

Bakunov says he believes there is a powerful transmitter op-



erating at random intervals inside the Kremlin, spoofing geolocation signals on the L1 frequency, which is what civilian devices rely on for geolocation.

He believes the transmitter is also jamming the L2 and L5 frequencies, which militaries use for increased accuracy and reliability.

When Bakunov's devices came under the influence of the spoofing transmission, they suddenly thought they were at the center of Vnukovo Airport, roughly 30 kilometers southwest of the Kremlin. He speculates that the transmitter is meant to convince quadcopter drones, which come programmed to stop operating near major airports, that they are actually at an airport and thereby prevent them from entering the Kremlin.

Bakunov cites a recent case when the anti-corruption activist Alexei Navalny used a drone to investigate a dacha reportedly belonging to Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev as an exam-

ple of why the Kremlin might be concerned.

"They're doing battle with drones in a very strange way," Bakunov says. "It's not about politics, but about this very humdrum concern."

So far, no government agency has come forward to take responsibility for the GPS jamming. But Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov confirmed he personally experienced the same problems while driving by the Kremlin.

"On my smartphone, Yandex.Navigator suddenly moved me to some other place," he said. "I didn't pay much attention, though I was surprised."

Meanwhile, commentators are criticizing the Kremlin's attack on geolocation.

"This innovation is hardly practical," journalist Andrei Babitsky wrote in the Vedomosti newspaper. "The Russian president's security hardly depends on the ability of a Chinese drone

to take photos of Red Square."

Bakunov agrees. "GPS is used to accurately geolocate a device," he says. "But 'accurate' doesn't mean 'military grade.' There's a range of 30-40 meters, so I don't think there is any practical threat."

But Alexei Gilyazov, PR manager at the Garmin technology company's Russian office, believes there may be legitimate concerns behind the Kremlin's GPS interference. While he cannot speculate on the government's exact motivations, he says that devices equipped with GPS, Internet connectivity, cameras, and microphones could pose a threat. Many people in the Kremlin are using these types of devices, and they can be infected with viruses and malware without the user's knowledge.

"There are some viruses that gather information about a person's movements," Gilyazov says. "That could be used in a very bad way." **TMT**

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Out & About



October 27 –
November 2, 2016

7

Weekly round-up of all that's new, delicious and fun in Moscow.



ZOO BEER & GRILL



The restaurant, as the name would suggest, specializes in fish and meat grilled, smoked or roasted in the restaurant's wood oven.

Feeding Time at the Zoo (Beer & Grill)

By **Ciara Haley** artsreporter@imedia.ru

Novikov expands in a new direction — craft beer

Be assured, dinner time at this new restaurant is certainly a more civilized affair than it would be across the road at Moscow Zoo. The only nod to the wildlife attraction is the eatery's name and a panoramic roof terrace which overlooks the site.

Zoo Beer & Grill is the latest offering from restaurateur Arkady Novikov, whose tentacular reach has seen him open more than 50 restaurant projects in Russia and further afield. The stylish decor is masterminded by popular interior designer Natalya Belonogova of Mendelev fame. Think concrete walls, cast-iron lampshades, heavy furni-

ture and lots of low-hanging lighting. Due to the season the terrace is currently a "winter garden."

If you're a beer-lover you've come to the right place—Zoo has latched on to the Moscow craft-beer revolution with gusto. Alongside 20 different beers on tap, there are over 50 different bottled beers, hailing from Ireland to Japan. The tap beer itself is cooled in a glass chamber on the second floor of the restaurant and transported to the bar through a piping system. It's like an adult Willy Wonka's Chocolate Factory.

The house brew — "Original ZOO" — is worth some attention while you wait for your order

to be taken (300 rubles). The restaurant, as the name would suggest, specializes in fish and meat grilled, smoked or roasted in the restaurant's wood oven. Head chef Andrei Revunov, previously of Blackberry and GQ bar, surveys proceedings.

The pork ribs, halibut and many other items on the menu are prepared by the chef in the onsite smokehouse. The lamb and beef shish kebab is particularly good (from 500 rubles) and beautifully presented with a fresh and zesty salsa. Feel yourself getting the meat sweats? Pair your main with the refreshing house salad (300 rubles) which is crisp, light and tasty.

Thumping background music makes this a fun place to gather with a group of friends, but probably not the best spot for an intimate romantic date as you'll find yourself shouting at one another across the table. Ignore the self-declared "masculine spirit" of the restaurant, and trust us, it's a nice, relaxed spot for drinks and eats — zoo visit optional. **FMT**

+7 (495) 114 51 93
novikovgroup.ru/restaurants/zoo-beergrill/
34 Konyushkovskaya Ulitsa
Metro Krasnopresnenskaya

NEWS & OPENINGS



COFIX

Cofix

Cheap and cheerful coffee

Starbucks better watch its back: the successful Israeli coffee chain has just opened up a new branch in Moscow, selling each item on the menu for only 50 rubles. The food is nothing to write home about, but offers incredible value for money, especially if you are on the go. The coffee (from Lavazza) is nice and strong, and at 50 rubles for a double espresso, you can hardly go wrong.

+7 (495) 287 4268

facebook.com/cofixrussia
Okhotny Ryad Shopping Mall
Metro Okhotny Ryad, Teatralnaya



L'ECLAIR DE GENIE

L'Eclair de Genie

A taste of Paris

It's fitting that the fanciest eclairs in the city should be sold in the upmarket Tsvetnoi Central Market shopping mall. Hailing from pastry masters in France, L'Eclair de Genie offers beautifully crafted eclairs in indulgent flavors like caramelized pecan and praline-almond to Muscovites with a sweet tooth. At 350 rubles a pop, they're not cheap, but as a one-time treat you won't regret it.

facebook.com/leclairdegenierussia
15 Tsvetnoi Bulvar
Metro Tsvetnoi Bulvar



MOREMANIYA

Moremaniya

Sea food on the cheap

Moremaniya has been open for a while outside of Moscow, but the new location on Kutuzovsky Prospekt means it makes sense to go two stops from the circle line for the incredibly cheap prices. Fresh, medium-sized dorado for 200 rubles and a simplified version of Marseille's famous fish soup bouillabaisse for 370 rubles. On a health kick? Try the seared tuna salad (369 rubles).

+7 (977) 960 1578

oceania.ru/catalog/moremany
57 Kutuzovsky Prospekt
Metro Slavvansky Bulvar



SHIKARI

Shikari

"Planeta Sushi" gone pan-Asian

Shikari is the latest effort to rebrand "Planeta Sushi." The restaurant combines Indian, Japanese, Vietnamese and adapted Chinese cuisines. The Vietnamese hot pot "lau" is the main attraction — dip pieces of fish, shrimp, chicken, and vegetables into the boiling broth (1350 rubles for two). Alternatively, opt for the butter chicken (399 rubles), the dim sum or sushi.

+7 (495) 250 95 25

shikary.ru
38 Ulitsa Tverskaya-Yamskaya
Metro Mayakovskaya

Take it and go!

Four pages packed with the best places in Moscow to eat, drink, walk, shop, listen, watch, dance and sightsee. A new walking route and listings every week! **Take it, use it, save it!**

The Quietest Corner of Moscow

Walk Out of the City and Into A Medieval Moscow Courtyard

By [Michele A. Berdy](#) m.berdy@imedia.ru | Illustration by [Ilya Kutoboy](#)

This ancient church residence is a window on the distant past and an oasis of peace and quiet

6. Church of the Resurrection

The last building attached to the Metropolitan's Palace was the Church of the Resurrection, with parts of the structure dating back to 1516. However, most of the building was destroyed when it was made into living quarters, and the restoration specialists could not make much sense of the mess it had become. But despite all the destruction and partial reconstruction, as you stand in the courtyard modern Moscow seems to disappear completely, and you get a tiny glimpse of medieval Moscow. Pause to take it in, and then go through the Holy Gates under the Terem to see other side of the Metropolitan's Palace. Note the elegant double staircase and decorative brickwork around the windows in the shape of single points and triple-pointed horns. To the left with your back to the Gates were the gardens.



Krutitskaya Nab.

7. Chambers of State Administration

With your back to the Palace, walk up the steps towards the long brick building with a half-restored roof. This might not look like much, but it was built in the 17th and 18th centuries as an administrative building — what in today's government is a ministry or agency. There aren't many examples of this early state architecture extant in Russia, and this building is being restored and re-restored: note places where windows were bricked over in previous reconstructions. After taking it all in, walk back through the gardens and courtyard of medieval Moscow into modern Moscow.



1

2

3

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4

7

Krutitskaya Ulitsa





1. Stone and Wooden House

This walk begins at the Proletarskaya metro station. Take one of the exits to 3rd Krutitsky Pereulok, and follow it toward the river, passing a mix of housing and commercial buildings in this working class neighborhood where nothing looks older than your grandmother. Before you reach the river, turn left onto Krutitskaya Ulitsa and pass through iron gates. On the other side you find yourself in another century. This is Krutitskoye Residence, founded — by legend — in 1261, when the Muscovy lands were under the rule of the Golden Horde from the Mongolian steppes. Alexander Nevsky requested that a diocese be opened in the Sarai (camp of the Horde) for the Russian believers imprisoned there. The diocese of Sarai and the Don (River) was formed, and a decade later Prince Daniil of Moscow donated land by the high, steep (крутые) banks of the Moscow River for a residence to be used by visiting clergy from the Sarai and Don Diocese. Eventually, this became the Residence of the Bishop (later elevated to Metropolitan), a religious academy and monastery, and part of the series of fortresses that protected the southern road into Moscow. As you walk in, notice the very old cobbled streets and the white building on the left with a stone first floor and wooden second floor. This is what most of Moscow looked like in the 19th century.

11 Krutitskaya Ulitsa

Novospassky Proezd



1st Krutitsky Pereulok



2. Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God

But it's hard to look down at the ancient cobblestones or at the tidy little houses lining the street when the massive brick Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God is rising up before you, topped with five delicate drums holding up cupolas, which represent Christ and the four Evangelists. Of course, if you've been paying attention to these walking routes, you'd know that this isn't the original 17th century church, but rather a reconstruction done in the 19th century after the fires and destruction of the war of 1812, and then reconstructed again after the ravages of the Soviet period, when it was used as a club and warehouse. But all the same, it's an amazing structure, and one of the city's relatively rare double churches: the top summer (unheated) church is dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God, and the first-floor winter (heated) church is dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul. When the Catholic Poles were in the Kremlin under the rule of the False Dmitrys, this church was the country's main place of worship. Reconstructed and re-consecrated in the 1990s, and filled with icons purchased in antique shops or donated, the interiors of both churches are grand. Outside, look at the brick work to find the parts salvaged from the 17th century. Hint: the more uneven the brick, the older it is.



3. Dormition Passage

The structure attached to the church is something very rare: a covered passage that leads from the church to the Terem and Metropolitan's Palace. Built in the late 17th century, the passage is decorated with fancy brickwork and ceramic tiles. It was built in the late 1600s under Metropolitan Pavel II, who presided over the period when the Residence grew and flourished. At the time, visitors called it a "corner of heaven" in Moscow: it had one of the first decorative gardens in the capital, dotted with fountains fed by a spring, along with vegetable gardens and orchards. A few fruit trees and gardens remain on the far side of the Passage.



5. Metropolitan's Palace

The Terem connects to the Metropolitan's Palace, a two-story residence built in 1655 during the Residence's heyday. In the 18th century, the Residence became increasingly less important and was finally eliminated completely. Its library, livestock, carriages and other property were transferred to the Kremlin Chudov Monastery, and in 1788 all but the Dormition Church was handed over to the military. For the next century military garrisons lived here, used the cemetery as a football field and hung their laundry out to dry in the courtyard. Although the Residence was given to Pyotr Baranovsky for restoration and preservation in 1947, it took another 50 years before the spaces ceased to be used as warehouses, offices or living quarters. In fact, this was a detention center for the Moscow military garrison right up until 1996, and it is rumored — though probably not true — that Lavrenty Beria was held here in 1953 for a day.



4. Terem

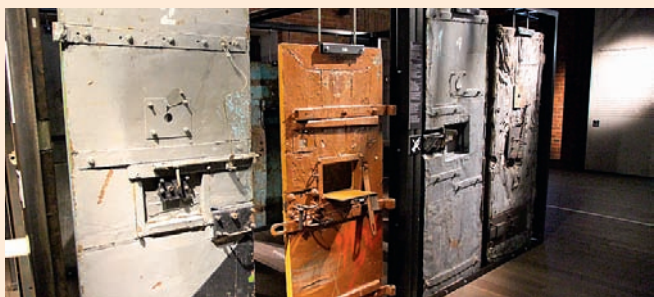
The Passage leads to the Terem: a small space over the Holy Gates that opened into the church courtyard. The Terem is the most curious structure in the Residence, too small to have much of a function but spectacularly decorated with about 2,000 colorful ceramic tiles. Legend has it that the Metropolitan and other high clergy would stand at the large window and bless the crowd below, distribute aid to the needy, and enjoy the view of the Residence, the river and city beyond (now blocked by trees and buildings). The Gates were painted with frescos of the Dormition, Christ and saints, and if you look closely, you can still see their ghostly images.





Justin Varilek, Founder HackPack.press

"The one spot I always crave in Moscow is the Georgian chain **Khachapuri**. The accordion player, warm lighting and complimentary shots always set a good mood. But it's the cheesy, buttery, eggy Adjarian khachapuri that really wins my heart."



GULAG HISTORY MUSEUM

Remembering Soviet Repression

More than two decades since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the subject of state-sponsored repression under Stalin remains a controversial topic in Russia. Yet in the midst of these contentious debates, a number of interesting initiatives, exhibits and events have emerged that examine Russia's past through a critical lens. In preparation for the Day of Remembrance for Victims of Political Repression on Oct. 30, here is our list of places you can visit to remember and reflect on the not-so-distant past.



GULAG HISTORY MUSEUM

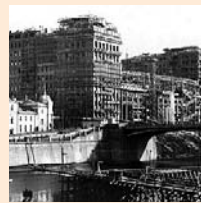
The Gulag History Museum

Remembering the Soviet forced labor camps

Housed in a newly redesigned building since 2015, the Gulag History Museum is Moscow's main exhibition space and educational center devoted to the Soviet Union's sprawling network of forced labor camps. From the Great Terror (1937-38) to the birth and development of the Gulag system to the difficult reintegration of prisoners in the post-Stalin era, the museum documents decades of Soviet repression in meticulous detail. Among the highlights are interactive touch screens, video interviews with survivors and a large collection of artifacts from former camps and prisons. Admission to the museum is free on Sunday, October 30.

+7 (495) 621 73 10

gmig.ru
9/1 1st Samotechny Pereulok
Metro Dostoyevskaya, Novoslobodskaya



WIKICOMMONS

The House on the Embankment

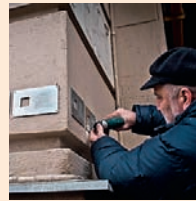
The residence of the Soviet intelligentsia

Just across the river from the Kremlin stands one of Moscow's largest apartment complexes with a dark past. Built between 1928-1931 to accommodate the Soviet elite, it housed hundreds of victims of Stalin's Great Terror whose tragic fate was immortalized in Yury Trifonov's novel "The House on the Embankment." The author himself lived in the building as a child from 1931-1939 when his own father was executed

at the height of Stalin's purges. For 100 rubles, visitors can peruse display cases, photo collages, book collections, and antique objects related to the building and its former residents.

+7 (495) 959 49 36

museum-dom.ru
2 Ulitsa Serafimovicha. Metro Borovitskaya



LAST ADDRESS PROJECT

Last Address Project

The victims return home

Walking through downtown Moscow, an attentive observer might occasionally notice small silver plaques attached to the entrances of apartment buildings. These memorials are part of the Last Address project commemorating the life and last residence of ordinary people murdered during Stalin's purges. Inspired by the brass cobblestone project in Germany that pays tribute to Holocaust victims, each plaque contains a person's name and the dates of his or her birth, arrest, execution, and rehabilitation. These plaques are part of a growing civic initiative to restore the identity of terror victims "one name, one life, one marker" at a time.

poslednyadres.ru

has organized an annual event called "Returning the Names" on Oct. 29 to commemorate the tens of thousands of victims of Soviet terror. The public gathering at the Solovetsky Stone — a relic from the infamous Solovki labor camp in Russia's Far North that was installed as a memorial in October 1990 — intends to raise public awareness about Russia's totalitarian past. This Saturday, victims' names will be read aloud from 10 a.m. through 10 p.m. and Russian and English-language walking tours will be offered. (See page 11 for further details)

+7 (495) 699 97 76

october29.ru
Lubyanskaya Ploshchad. Metro Lubyanka



SHALAMOV.RU

A Tribute to Varlam Shalamov

The tragic life of a Gulag survivor

Few individuals encapsulate the experience of repression better than Varlam Shalamov, a Russian writer who spent nearly two decades in Soviet labor camps. This year, the International Memorial Society is hosting a special exhibit on Shalamov, whose famous collection of stories "Kolyma Tales" remains one of the most powerful literary portrayals of life and death in the Gulag. A poster exhibit on Lubyanskaya Ploshchad explores his life in Moscow and in exile. The indoor exhibit at Memorial will remain open every weekday from 11 a.m. through 7 p.m. until Feb. 1, 2017, so you have plenty of time to catch it.

+7 (495) 650 78 83

shalamov.ru
5/7 Karetny Ryad
Metro Chekhovskaya, Tsvetnoi Bulvar,
Mayakovskaya



RETURN OF THE NAMES

Returning the Names

Honoring victims of Soviet terror

Since 2006, the International Memorial Society

The Moscow Times CONFERENCES

DECEMBER 14
MARRIOTT ROYAL AURORA

TAX RESULTS OF THE YEAR

The conference called Tax Results of the Year will allow you to learn about the latest amendments to Russian legislation, tax strategies, and practices of major Russian companies. Experts will present their up-to-date reviews of recent case law and law-enforcement practice, and share their recent experience in assessing tax risks and changing business processes, taking into account the new laws.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- New amendments to tax legislation: the main amendments in 2016.
- Taxation direction in the short and long term perspectives. What should we expect: stability or drastic changes?
- Transfer of administrative insurance fees to the Federal Tax Service: what awaits businesses.
- Implementation of BEPS Action Plan standards in the Russian reality: influence on the taxation system and consequences for the business.
- Practical implementation of tax legislation amendments.

Payment: 25 000 rubles + VAT

Producer
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16+
Реклама

The Moscow Times CONFERENCES

DECEMBER 13
MARRIOTT ROYAL AURORA

TOP 10 LEGAL DISPUTES: PAST AND PRESENT PRACTICES OF CIVIL DISPUTES

The annual Top 10 Disputes: Past and Present Practices of Civil Disputes conference is the traditional meeting place for professionals, heads of legal departments, and heads of leading Russian and international law firms who gather to share their experience in solving legal disputes, discuss innovations in legislation, review the main issues of judiciary practices, analyze the subtleties of reference documents and so much more

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- What's new in arbitration record management.
- The best practices of labor disputes.
- Intellectual property: modern judicial practice.
- Legal entity bankruptcy — a review of judicial practice.
- The most talked-about corporate disputes.
- Review of anti-monopoly and civil law judicial practices.
- A detailed study of real proceedings from 2015–2016.

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For government officials, employees of state research institutions, faculty and students of state universities participation cost — 10 000 rub. (without VAT)

Payment: 20 000 rubles + VAT

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16+
Реклама



“We are reading names because it is about people and not about the state and its glory.” **Arseny Roginsky**, chair of Memorial

~1,500

names are read out each year, over 12 hours.



Historian Pavel Gnilorybov has placed several paper plaques on Moscow buildings saying how many people from these buildings were arrested and executed.

>40,000

people were executed in Moscow during Soviet political repression campaigns.



OCTOBER29.RU



OCTOBER29.RU

People are given notes with a person's name, age, profession and the date of execution. They read them at a tribune with microphones, often adding the names of their own relatives that had been executed. Foreign ambassadors often attend.

Keeping the Record Straight

By **Daria Litvinova** d.litvinova@imedia.ru | Twitter: @dashalitvinovv

Every year on Oct. 29 hundreds of Muscovites line up in front of the FSB headquarters and read out names of victims of Soviet terror

On Oct. 29, the eve of the Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Political Repression, hundreds of people will gather on Lubyanskaya Ploshchad near the Solovetsky Stone. They will patiently wait in line for hours, and then, one by one, read out the names of people executed in Moscow during the darkest days of the Soviet Union.

The reading will last at least 12 hours and some 1,500 names will be read in front of the Federal Security Service (FSB) headquarters, the former home of its predecessor, the dreaded KGB secret police.

Titled “Returning the Names,” the event is organized by the Memorial human rights group. It has been held every year since 2006. This year it will take place despite the fact that Memorial was declared a “foreign agent” earlier this month — a label that, ironically, has strong associations with Soviet repression.

Under the 2012 law, NGOs which receive foreign funding and engage in loosely defined political activity must register as “foreign agents” and be subject to additional scrutiny from the government.

At a time when the government is trying to construct its own narrative of the past, and more people approve of Josef Stalin's brutal regime, such work — preserving the historical memory about victims of repression — is now more important than ever, says historian Pavel Gnilorybov.

On the day of “Returning the Names,” Gnilorybov guides tours around Lubyanka devoted to the events and personalities of the Great Terror.

“We live in a country of absolute reticence. We haven't talked about so many historical events — be it what happened in 1917, [the war in] Afghanistan, or [the war in] Chechnya,” Gnilorybov told *The Moscow Times*. “At some point we will have to talk about all those events, and [by holding events like “Returning the Names”] we are preparing the grounds for it, the foundations for this discussion that will make it civilized instead of just squabbling.”

10 Years and 40,000 Names

“Returning the Names” was launched ten years ago, in 2006.

“We wanted to give people the opportunity to participate, instead of just attending a rally and listening to speeches,” Alexei Makarov, a Memorial historian and one of the organizers of the event, says. “We decided to compile a list of people executed in Moscow, with small biographical notes that we could hand out to people who would read them aloud and thus make them public.”

During the past ten years, almost half of the list, which includes more than 40,000 names, has been read aloud.

Every year, more and more people take part in “Returning the Names.” People come to Lubyanskaya Ploshchad and are willing to spend hours in line no matter what day of the week it is or what the weather is like. “At first, we were afraid that the chain of readers would break on weekdays — we thought that no one would come to the event in the middle of a workday, but people were coming at all times,” Makarov says.

The process of reading is very simple. People are given notes with a person's name, age, profession and their date of execution. They read them at an improvised tribune with microphones, often adding the names of their relatives that had been executed. Some say that no one from their family was executed during the terror era, but that their relatives were involved in the persecution of those repressed, and they apologize for that.

“Every year we have several of those confessions,” Makarov says. “It demonstrates that people from both sides need to talk about it, to make their personal memories public.”

Moscow is not the only host of “Returning the Names.” In 2016, the event will also take place in a dozen Russian cities including: St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Murmansk, Komsomolsk-on-Amur, Tomsk, Tula, Vladimir, Orenburg, Rostov-on-Don, Penza, Biisk, Bryansk, as well as several cities abroad such as Warsaw, London and Washington. In every city, Makarov told *The Moscow Times*, separate lists of victims were compiled.

Opposing Memories

The last few years have proved a strange time for “Returning the Names.” On the one hand, the growing number of people coming to the Solovetsky Stone every Oct. 29 shows that society is willing to remember victims of terror. The government seems to be willing, too: the authorities have already approved a large-scale monument to victims of political repression to be installed in the center of Moscow.

On the other hand, polls demonstrate a growing approval of Stalin's rule; monuments to the dictator are being installed across Russia, and law enforcement officers show growing reluctance to open archives that will shed more light on the atrocities of the terror era.

There is no agreed strategy in the Kremlin, believes historian Gnilorybov. “This is why opening a monument to Ivan the Terrible in their minds stands right next to the idea of a

monument to victims of political repression,” he says. “It's ideological disarray.”

Arseny Roginsky, chair of the Memorial group, disagrees. Nowadays, the Russian state imposes its own version of historical memory — one that is based exclusively on victories, he explains. The main milestone of this type of historical memory is, of course, the victory in the Great Patriotic War, which inevitably brings up Josef Stalin, the Supreme Commander, and puts him on the same positive footing as winning the war. “And there is nothing unnatural about that,” says Roginsky.

“If the memory about victories had been built in parallel with the memory about the cost of those victories, the situation would have been different. But there is no memory about the cost of the victory. Instead, there is a myth about Stalin — the master that executed members of his entourage, but was very warm to the people,” Roginsky says.

That is why reading out the names of individuals killed in the terror is a very important move: “It is about people. It is opposing the memory of the state and its glory,” Roginsky told *The Moscow Times*. **TMT**

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"For this region it's crucially important that people learn how to advance their interests in the modern world." **Dmitry Savyolov**, Change.org.

The Moscow Times
No. 5778

3,000

new petitions
registered each month.

13

petitions on the federal
platform have passed
the official threshold.



Chelobitnaya: the Russian term for the traditional petitions addressed to the Tsar, comes from combination of "bit" chelom" (to hit your forehead on the ground in humble submission.)



With Putin in Cc: How Petitions Are Changing Russia

By [Eva Hartog](#) e.hartog@imedia.ru, Twitter: @EvaHartog | Illustration by [Evgeny Tonkonogy](#)

Online petitions provide Russians with a risk-free way to protest. But can they overturn a long tradition of appealing to the country's leader?

It has been more than a decade, but Olga Rybkovskaya's voice still goes tense when she talks about her son's stint in hospital.

He was only 10 years old when he was admitted to an intensive care unit in the Siberian city of Omsk, where the hospital had implemented a strict no-visitor policy. For eight days, his increasingly desperate parents waited outside closed doors, wondering what was going on with their child.

"He was fully conscious, and couldn't understand why his parents weren't there," says Rybkovskaya. Though her son recovered, the experience scarred the family.

By law, close relatives of intensive care patients have visitation rights. In practice, however, hospitals frequently refuse access even in near-death situations, citing hygiene or other concerns.

For many Russians, such local injustices are part of daily life. Complaints tend to go ignored. "Making your voice heard is almost impossible and our politicians are completely out of reach," says Rybkovskaya. Meanwhile, taking your grievances to the streets can be risky. In Russia, attending an unsanctioned rally more than twice can land

a person in jail. Faced with these prospects, most people simply put up their hands and say, *Chto yest, to yest* — it is what it is.

But technology might provide a way out of the conundrum. Earlier this year, Rybkovskaya launched a petition on Change.org, an online platform, demanding an open-door policy for close relatives of intensive care patients. Within weeks, it had gathered more than 300,000 signatures and snowballed into a subject of national debate in the media.

Hundreds of signatories shared their own personal tragedies. "We took my father to the hospital with a hemorrhage," one person wrote. "The doctors said: only fancy hospitals let you pay your way into IC. Here, you're like everyone else. I waited outside on the stairs for five hours. Then a strange woman walks out and says: What're you sitting here for? Your father has been dead for ages."

The publicity eventually resulted in a written reminder from the Russian Health Ministry to hospitals to open their doors — "a victory," in the words of the young and enthusiastic head of the Russian-language version of the Change.org website, Dmitry Savyolov.

On average one petition every day in Russia is marked as successful, the second-highest success rate worldwide, after the U.S. This is "proof that it's working," says Savyolov. Many Russians believe so, too. Change.org's headquarters in San Francisco said this month its Russian-language site reached 10 million users — an impressive number considering it only came to the country in 2012.

The platform launched its Russian version for post-Soviet countries during a period of mass street protests against rigged elections and corruption in the Kremlin. It was a gamble, says Savyolov: Would the company's philosophy of grassroots civic action translate to Russia?

"The idea that you can communicate with your neighbors and your community and come up with solutions to problems yourself is entirely new in the former Soviet Union," he says.

Now, an average of 3,000 new petitions are uploaded to Change.org in Russia every month on complaints regarding health care, animal rights, the environment, and federal policies, in that order. Some want to clean up Lake Baikal, some want to stop a local school from being shut down, others protest Russia's involvement in Syria.

“Even ‘cheap’ forms of political action like clicking on a petition tend to reinforce one another.” Russia expert **Graeme Robertson**



10 Mln
users registered on Russian Change.org.



One of the most popular petitions on the platform was one asking the International Paralympic Committee to review their blanket ban on Russian athletes. The decision was not overturned.

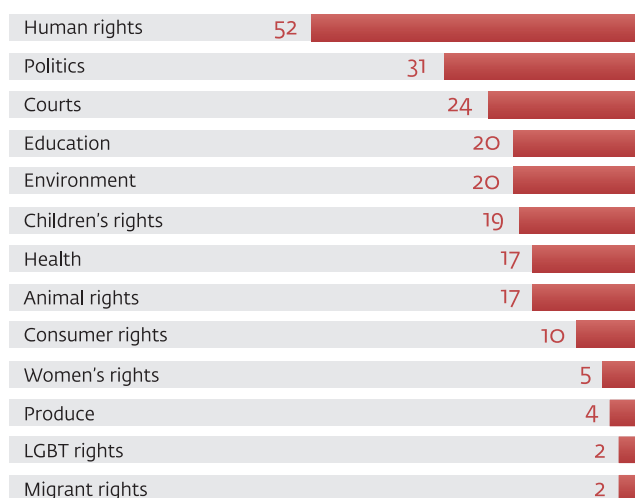
2013
Putin signs decree on creation of government petitions portal.

Breaking Down Russia's Petitions

Effectiveness of petitions (%)



Nr. of petitions per sphere (%)



Source: Levada Center

As diverse as they are, however, they almost all have one thing in common: most are addressed to Russia's most famous problem solver, President Vladimir Putin.

That gives the petitions on the sleek website an anachronistic touch. “It's part of a much longer tradition of petitioning the Tsar to correct the misdeeds of local power holders that continued during Soviet times,” says political scientist and Russia expert Graeme Robertson.

Today's Kremlin does its part to keep that ritual alive. Since 2001, Russians have been encouraged to send questions to an annual televised call-in with the president. The strictly choreographed show presents Putin as problem-solver-in-chief, and queries are solved with an efficiency that Russians rarely witness in everyday life.

Even before the show ended last year, two of the callers' complaints had been solved: A factory boss miraculously found millions of rubles to pay unpaid wages, while local authorities in the city of Tomsk began to fill potholes within minutes of a resident's complaint to the president.

Such direct appeals to Putin on matters big and small are “typical of states where power is highly centralized and institutional responsibilities are not well defined,” says Robertson. “Skipping to higher political authorities may be the only strategy that works.”

Part of Change.org's mission is to wean Russians off this dependency on the ruler in the Kremlin, says Savyolov.

“It's fine if people ‘CC Putin,’ but we're trying to tell them: maybe in between you and Putin there are other institutions directly responsible for your problem.”

A study conducted by the independent Levada Center pollster and commissioned by the platform shows that people who sign a petition are likely to take follow-up action, such as further petitions, meetings, or involving the media to draw attention.

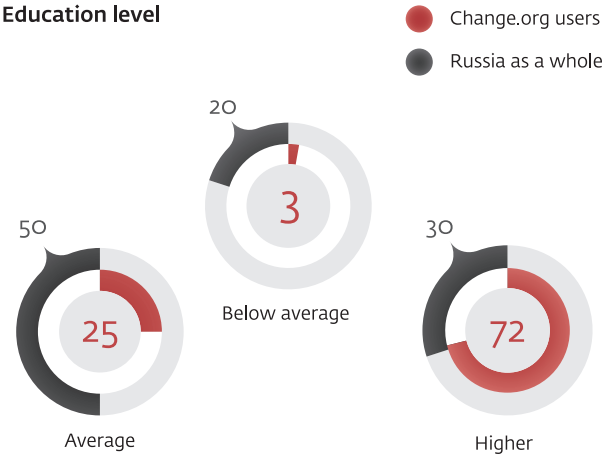
“Petitions that help people develop broadly shared understandings of political problems and injustices could well be the beginnings of a broader political movement,” says Robertson. “Online activity may be particularly important in contexts like Russia, where action on the streets is increasingly risky.”

That makes platforms like Change.org a force to be reckoned with by the Kremlin, says Yekaterina Schulmann, an expert on the workings of the Russian government.

“It's a mistake to think the authorities don't care about public opinion,” Schulmann says. With elections rigged, protests stifled and most media state-owned, petitions provide a rare mirror of what's actually going on in Russian society — one watched anxiously by the Kremlin, she says.

In 2013, the government launched its own petitions platform, the Russian Public Initiative (ROI), which promises to send petitions that gather more than 100,000 signa-

Education level



There are significant differences in the level of education: almost three fourths of Change.org users have higher education.

tures for review by a government-appointed committee.

In theory, that should make it a more effective platform than Change.org, which provides no such guarantee and has no links to the Kremlin. But only 13 petitions have passed the barrier, ROI told The Moscow Times. Only roughly half of them — on questions like limiting sound levels on TV ads, rules around switching mobile phone operators, and crosswalks — were “approved” and sent up the chain of command.

In Moscow, there is also the Aktivny Grazhdanin (Active Citizen) online platform which polls support for City Hall policies. But such government-initiated platforms have repeatedly been accused by critics of hijacking public opinion to rubberstamp uncontroversial decisions. That makes spontaneous platforms like Change.org all the more valuable — even to the rubberstampers, says Schulmann.

“The more you fence out the supposedly hostile and treacherous outer world, the more nervously interested you become in what is taking place there,” she says.

“I wanted my petition to become a real topic of discussion right away,” says Vadim Manukyan, the author of two Change.org petitions calling for caps on the salaries of Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev and State Duma deputies.

Manukyan was not prepared to take his demand to the streets and risk backlash from law enforcement. “This is the new format to deal with the Russian reality,” says Manukyan, who has a legal background. “Speak out, but stay within the bounds of the law.” He's already seen an effect, with some of the deputies elected in September signing his petition and sharing it on social media.

Change.org has another benefit: signatories are not obliged to give their full details when they register. That inspires confidence in many Russians who are wary of retribution.

But the line is thin. The Change.org team must monitor petitions to ensure they don't violate Russian laws banning the “promotion” of drug use, suicide, homosexuality or separatism. Patriotic groups meanwhile claim the platform's American roots make it anti-Russian.

“Our answer is: start a counter-petition!” says Savyolov. Indeed, the platform contains many “patriotic” petitions, including calls for statues to Stalin and against a competition ban for Russia's Paralympic team.

In Savyolov's eyes, that is precisely what makes it a success. “The point is to facilitate debate on issues that matter to people,” he says.

In today's Russia, where the State Duma is widely seen as a puppet of the Kremlin, that might in itself be considered progress. That and, as Savyolov says, “maybe one day people will no longer write to Putin if there's a light bulb that needs fixing.” **TMT**

THE WORD'S WORTH

Hanging Out in The Courtyards

Двор: yard, court, outside

By **Michele A. Berdy**
Moscow-based translator and interpreter, author of “The Russian Word's Worth” (Glas), a collection of her columns.



Thank heavens that the Russian language isn't just made up of words that are impossible to understand and translate like *жупелизация* (bogeumanization). There are all kinds of downhome, basic words and concepts — like *двор* (courtyard).

If in St. Petersburg visiting students soon learn what *парадное* is (the main entrance to an apartment building in the idiom of the northern capital), in Moscow we all learn what *двор* is: the courtyard of your apartment building. It might be covered in asphalt with a few benches, or have a patch of grass and some flowers. If you're lucky, there will be a playground and hockey-soccer pitch. No matter what's there, your *двор* very quickly becomes part of your home. It's where you pace and smoke a cigarette after a bad day at work, or where your elderly neighbors sit and gossip. It's where you try to park your car, and where you clean your carpet in the first snow. Years later when people who have lived in Moscow hear the word *двор*, this is the image that appears in their mind's eye, complete with the sound effects of kids shouting as they play and the scrape, scrape, scrape of the *дворник* (janitor, yard man) shoveling snow in the predawn hours of winter.

Of course, there are tricky bits to *двор*. Take the preposition you use: *во дворе* or *на дворе*? Answer: Both. It depends on your meaning. If you are talking about something in your specific courtyard, then the preposition is *во*: *Пацаны во дворе помогли мне поймать котов* (The kids in the courtyard helped me catch the cats.) But if you are talking about something happening outside in general — instead of inside — then the preposition is *на*: *Он выносил нищему тарелку супа с куском хлеба и говорил: “Ешь! — но на дворе”* (He brought the beggar a bowl of soup and slice of bread and said, “Here — have something to eat. But outside.”)

In Russian people often speak about the weather *на дворе* as if it might be snowing outside while a tropical storm raged inside: *Приехали в заснеженную Москву, на дворе — декабрь* (We arrived in snow-covered Moscow — it was December, literally “outside it was December.”) But it's also the standard phrase to use as you decide which coat to grab: *Как там на дворе?* (What's it like outside?)

At the *dacha*, *двор* is your yard, where you have your vegetable garden, grill *shashlyk*, and walk to another very important little building: *Удобства, как принято говорить, во дворе* (The facilities, as they say, are in the yard.)

But when talking about a Russian village, *двор* means the holdings of a family, which might include a house, shed, barn and land. *В деревне были больше десяти дворов* (The village had more than ten homesteads.)

In some cases *двор* refers to a kind of technical shop where something is made, like *монетный двор* (the mint) or *машинный двор* (engine yard). And then there is *Гостинный двор*, originally something like a caravansary — a place where *гости* (traveling merchants) sold and stored their wares.

And finally, there is *двор* in the sense of a royal court: *В былые времена в зимний Йер выезжал королевский двор* (In times gone by, the royal court traveled to Hyeres in the winter.)

From a parking spot to a royal family and retinue, *двор* covers a lot of ground. **TMT**



"When I see Baryshnikov on stage, it's a stunning sensation. I think that it's not really even ballet, what he is doing is pure body metaphysics." Joseph Brodsky

42

years since Baryshnikov left Russia.

2

The number of Emmy awards Baryshnikov has won.



In 2014 Robert Whitman held his first exhibition in Russia at St. Petersburg's KGallery. "At Work At Play" featured photos of Prince and was visited by more than 3,000 people within two weeks of opening.



ROBERT WHITMAN/LUMIERE BROTHERS CENTER FOR PHOTOGRAPHY



ROBERT WHITMAN/LUMIERE BROTHERS CENTER FOR PHOTOGRAPHY

One of the series on display was commissioned by an advertising company to promote Baryshnikov's fragrance but it is some of the rejected, spontaneous photographs that make for the most delightful viewing.

Bringing Back Baryshnikov

By Ruth Moore artsreporter@imedia.ru

Photographer reunites Russia with the greatest ballet dancer of the 20th century

On June 29, 1974 Mikhail Baryshnikov, the star dancer of the Kirov ballet, exited the Toronto stage to rapturous applause. Shortly afterward he skipped a glitzy party held in honor of the touring ballet company, hid out at a friend's house and filed a request for political asylum in Canada. Baryshnikov, who was born in Latvia — then part of the Soviet Union — never returned to Russia.

It was a break that seemed definitive. Soviet authorities refused to even allude to Baryshnikov in cultural discourse following his decision to leave, while Baryshnikov moved to New York and focused on expanding his career in dance.

This makes "Mikhail Baryshnikov: Body Metaphysics" all the more significant. Featuring more than 60 photographs taken by Robert Whitman over a period of two decades, the exhibition at the Lumiere Brothers Center for Photography provides a longed-for link between Russian audiences and the legendary dancer.

Opening the Archives

Whitman, who has previously photographed Prince and published his work in everything from *Q* to *Esquire*, met Baryshnikov by chance.

"I had been set-up on a date with the dancer Shelly Washington, who was to be my future wife. Baryshnikov was on the stage at City Center in New York and Shelly was in the audience. Every so often Baryshnikov would come over to get corrections from Shelly and we began talking," said Whitman in an interview with *The Moscow Times*.

The pair shared mutual friends and an interest in photography and over the next two decades they met a number of times — socially as well as for work — with Whitman photographing the dancer on five separate occasions.

"Robert was completely unaware of the fact he was practically doing a documentary project on Baryshnikov during this time," said Yana Iskakova, the curator of the exhibition. Photographs for the Lumiere Center and an earlier exhibition at St. Petersburg's KGallery were selected from Whitman's contact sheets, yielding previously overlooked images.

"This is just my take on what I've shot with him. There's dance rehearsals but also photos I haven't thought about in 20 years that were in a box somewhere," said Whitman.

Photographs range from Baryshnikov in commercial campaigns to the dancer in rehearsals with Merce Cunningham, the 20th century master of modern dance.

A Human Photographer

Whitman's unique style of photography adds something personal to the photographs on display. Self-taught, Whitman picked up much of his technique through the process of shooting. Whitman freely admits that he is not a dance photogra-

pher — some of his shots crop out the extension of the arms or feet to focus on a facial expression or the dancer's hands.

"My style is trying to capture a human moment, something real," said Whitman. "For instance, I was at dinner the other night and I saw someone using their fingers to pick up the last of the cake on their plate and then licking the icing. This morning, I was walking in New York and I saw a delivery man stop on the side of the busy road and start doing push-ups. These are the things I like to photograph."

In one series Baryshnikov sits at a dining table and fixes the viewer with an enigmatic stare. "It was a very long advertising shoot and at points it became quite boring, so Robert turned to Baryshnikov while they were waiting around and said, 'Just throw the napkin at me!'" said Iskakova. The triptych shows the moment across three frames as the white lined cloth sails through air towards the camera.

Baryshnikov Is Back

The exhibition, which is accompanied by a lecture series and guided tours, is an important event for Russia.

"He's still part of our culture — people miss him because we have no access to him. We are the country of ballet and the

'Ballets Russes,' and Baryshnikov is the most celebrated ballet dancer of modernity," said Iskakova.

Born to Russian parents in Latvia, Baryshnikov began to study ballet at the age of 9 and demonstrated a prodigious talent. He entered the Vaganova Academy in Leningrad and graduated from student to principal dancer of the Kirov Ballet in 1969.

While an exemplar of the classical style, it was Baryshnikov's desire to escape the strict confines imposed by the Soviet Union on the arts that forced him to leave. After fleeing his touring ballet company, he went on to collaborate with the iconic figures of modern dance, such as George Balanchine and Twyla Tharp. He now runs his own project in New York — the Baryshnikov Arts Center — which serves as a gathering point for artists of different disciplines.

"He's an artist and a person that we lost because of the political craziness of that time. We lost a lot of people, and that loss is very sad," said Iskakova. **TMT**

"Mikhail Baryshnikov: Body Metaphysics" runs through Jan. 22 at the Lumiere Brothers Center for Photography, 3 Bolotnaya Naberezhnaya, Bldg.1. Metro Kropotkinskaya, Polyanka. Lumiere.ru

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MOSCOW OPERETTA THEATER

Oct. 27 – Nov. 2

FESTIVAL Italian Film Festival Something for everyone

The third edition of the Italian-Russian Film Festival (RIFF) arrives in Moscow Tuesday. The 13-day event will feature 25 films: from comedies like "Il Ministro," to dramas, short films and documentaries like "Night Life," the festival brings a little slice of the Mediterranean to central Moscow. All films will be screened in Italian with Russian subtitles.

Karo Oktyabr
riff-russia.ru
24 Ulitsa Novy Arbat
Metro Arbatskaya
Nov. 1-13

EVENT Woof Fest Make a furry friend

What could warm the cockles of your heart more on a chilly weekend in October than supporting Moscow's homeless animals and stroking a pooch or two while you're at it? Woof Fest comes to Artplay this weekend with the aim of raising the profile of animal adoption in the capital. All proceeds will be used to help the construction of the "Wet nose" animal center.

Artplay
woof-fest.ru
10 Nizhnaya Syromyatnicheskaya Ulitsa
Metro Kurskaya, Chkalovskaya
Oct. 29-30
from 12:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.

FESTIVAL The New British Film Festival The best British cinema

The New British Film Festival will open with "I, Daniel Blake," a new masterpiece by Ken Loach, which received the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Festival this year. The film chronicles the fight of an unlikely couple against the bureaucracy of the British welfare system. There will also be a documentary about the life and films of Ken Loach, who turned 80 this year as well as a documentary about the Britpop pioneers Oasis and BAFTA-nominated short films.

Gorizont
ukfilms.ru
21/10 Komsomolsky Prospekt
Metro Park Kultury
Through Nov.6

EXHIBITION Alexander Rodchenko Experiments for the Future

This major retrospective features more than 100 of Alexander Rodchenko's works and celebrates the 125th anniversary of the sculptor and designer's birth. Rodchenko's unique brand of photography was both experimental and groundbreaking from an aesthetic perspective. His photographs are often shot from unusual angles, providing a new perspective and a documentary-like feel to his work.

Moscow Multimedia Art Museum
mamm-mdf.ru
16 Ulitsa Ostozhenka
Metro Kropotkinskaya
Through Nov.11

'Anna Karenina' the Musical Arrives on the Moscow Stage

By **Ciara Haley** artsreporter@imedia.ru

Wrapped up warm against the autumn chill, a line of expectant Muscovites stretches along Bolshaya Dmitrovka toward the entrance of the Moscow Operetta Theater. There's a new adaptation of Anna Karenina in town — and this time it's all singing, all dancing.

There were bound to be grumbles from theater critics and devout Tolstoyans about the transformation of one of Russia's seminal novels into a two-hour musical spectacular, but if you can leave your apprehension at the door, you'll find there's more to the show than its extravagant production.

Anna Karenina is the third original musical to grace the Moscow Operetta Theater following the box office success of both "Count Orlov" and "Monte Cristo." The show — which raised its curtain to Moscow audiences at the beginning of this month — is one of the biggest and most challenging productions the theater has ever staged.

Featuring music from composer Roman Ignatyev, who wrote the score for the theater's two previous original musicals, and a new libretto by Yuly Kim, one of Russia's foremost contemporary songwriters, the sprawling novel is condensed into an intense, emotional journey which careers toward the tumultuous closing scene. The staging of the new musical is indicative of the growing appetite for productions of this nature in the country. Both "Count Orlov" and "Monte Cristo" were sell-out shows and the same high hopes



MOSCOW OPERETTA THEATER

are pinned on the theater's latest offering. "The genre of the musical is growing more and more popular in Russia," said Alexei Bolonin, the show's director, in an interview with The Moscow Times. "It is a fusion of pop music and high culture." While elements of the original story have been omitted for the stage, the show admirably captures the essence of Tolstoy's epic novel. With its grand themes of love, family and heartbreak "Anna Karenina" is emotionally demanding of both the cast and the audience.

From a visual perspective, the show is a marvel. Sets and costumes evoke the lavish excess of the 19th century Russian aristocracy while Vyacheslav Okunev's design involves an impressive physical stage which is layered with projections and video mapping. The scenery seamlessly transitions from train station to concert hall to ice rink while lighting effects add to the dramatic dance sequences. The final scene, which features complicated props such as

the turning cogs of a train, create a truly immersive musical experience worth the ticket for the world class production value alone.

The show's dynamic score is composed in the style of symphonic rock and played by a live orchestra under the direction of Konstantin Hatidza, Sergei Akimov and Arif Dadashov. The music breathes a modern vitality into Tolstoy's story and offers a robust reimagining of the timeless classic. The commendable cast navigates their way through a series of superb singing and dancing routines with apparent ease. The show is at its dynamic best during large ensemble scenes such as those in the train station or the wheat fields, where the cast combine complicated choreography with challenging vocals. Meanwhile, the peerless Anna (Valeria Lanskaya), magnificently captures the tragic vulnerability of Tolstoy's heroine, achieving a luminous intensity at the musical's denouement. Anna Karenina is a daring undertaking that seeks to reconceptualize a long established Russian cultural institution. While unconventional, it succeeds in bringing the grandiose themes of the original story to a modern Moscow audience. Bolonin summarized this succinctly when he spoke to The Moscow Times: "There is a saying in Russia 'If you don't take risks, you'll never drink champagne.'" **TMT**

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But tickets at ponominalu.ru/event/pet-shop-boys