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LOOKING FORWARD

Going Nowhere

Putin is using the know-how of his Soviet predecessors to keep the regime as stable as ever → Page 5

LIVING HERE

Breaking Bad

Russia's intervention in eastern Ukraine is splintering the country's neo-fascists. → Pages 12-13

Grave New World

What's next for U.S.-Russia relations → Pages 6, 11
Why Trump's improbable triumph has closed Russia's road to reform → Page 2

18+



"America will no longer settle for anything less than the best. We must reclaim our destiny." From Trump's victory speech

The Moscow Times
No. 5780

\$3Bln

valuation of Trump's net worth by Bloomberg.

Jan. 20, 2017

Donald Trump will be inaugurated.



Donald J. Trump will become the 45th president of the United States at the age of 70.

Trump Card

By **Ola Cichowlas** and **Matthew Kupfer** newsreporter@imedia.ru

A Donald Trump fan club watched the unthinkable unfold in Moscow

Tump! Trump! Trump!" the crowd chanted, raising their whiskey-filled glasses. The group of men then turned back to watch the first exit polls from the United States presidential election roll in on CNN.

It would have been an ordinary scene in Cleveland, Ohio or Jackson, Mississippi. But this venue was central Moscow, and the bar — filled with Russians, not Americans. Giant portraits of Vladimir Putin, Donald Trump, and France's Marine Le Pen — the setting for many a selfie — hung in one corner, and several television screens broadcast American news.

The "Marathon for Trump" election-watching party brought together Russian fans of the Republican nominee. The event attracted an odd mix: pro-Kremlin political scientists, ultra-patriotic politicians, "political technologists," and Russian Trump supporters dressed in campaign gear.

One of the men toasting Trump was Dmitry Drobnitsky, a Russian journalist and political scientist focused on the United States.

"Trump doesn't resemble the American leaders of the 2000s," Drobnitsky said. "We see that we're on the same side as him in the struggle between the global elite and ordinary folks fighting for their own interests."

He wasn't alone in those sentiments. Virtually all attendees believed that a Trump presidency would benefit their country and its relations with the United States. At the start of the night, they seemed like outlandish political fringe. Now, after Trump's historic and unexpected victory, they are decidedly mainstream.

Alexei Zhuravlyov, chairman of the ultra-patriotic Rodina party in the State Duma and a



One of the organizers of the "Marathon for Trump," a party for Russian Trump supporters.

man with connections to some of the organizers, hailed Trump's pro-Russian stance as he watched the early coverage. He expressed hope that Trump would join with Russia in waging war on terrorism, rebuilding something akin to the Soviet-American alliance in World War II.

"We're under no illusions that this will be easy," he said. "But if the U.S. isn't the gendarme of the world, we can hope for cooperation."

Kirill Venediktov, a political scientist and author of "Black Swan," a new political biography of Trump, praised the rise of pragmatism in American politics.

"Clinton is 100 percent ideologically motivated, but Trump is a total political realist," he said.

The gathering wasn't all political science. Maxim Shevchenko, a prominent pro-government journalist who served as master of ceremonies, asked which of the women in the crowd would be willing to kiss Trump. (No one.) He requested that someone say some-

thing nice about Clinton. ("She taught us Russian women how to act when our husbands cheat on us!")

At one point, egged on by Shevchenko, guests even fantasized about civil unrest in the U.S.

"I'd like to see the blacks come out ... then the priests come out and say they're defending democracy ..." one intoxicated attendee slurred, before being ushered back to his table.

The drunk man's outburst may have been outlandish, but it was not fully out of line with the tone of the evening. Many of the attendees were members of extreme patriotic movements — people who say what the Kremlin cannot. For months, they have been gunning for a Trump presidency. One participant, Marina Kostycheva, a member of Rodina, admitted as much: "We act as the 'spetsnaz' of the Kremlin and support Western parties loyal to Putin," she said.

As the evening began, the event seemed like the Russian Trump movement's swan song. Now with Trump's victory, Russia's authorities may begin echoing the activist's rhetoric.

When news broke on Nov. 9 that the Clinton campaign had admitted defeat, the State Duma burst into applause. Shortly thereafter, President Vladimir Putin sent Trump a telegram: in it, he expressed hope that they could help extract U.S.-Russia relations from their current crisis and build constructive bilateral dialogue.

"Trump represents the other face of the West," Drobnitsky said. Talking to Trump, he concedes, may be "more difficult" for Russia than Clinton. "But at least we won't be talking with a soulless political machine." **TMT**



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POST-ELECTION ANALYSIS

The U.S. Has Sneezed and Now Russia Will Catch A Cold

By **Mikhail Fishman**
Editor-in chief



SOFIA MIRODOVA

The U.S., the most powerful nation on earth, has just made its choice and voted for an unpredictable future. Never before in its 240 years history has America known so little of what will happen next.

What will Donald Trump's presidency look like? Will he repeal Obamacare? Will he try to put Hillary Clinton in jail? Will America deport ten millions of undocumented immigrants or ban Muslims from entering the country? What will the U.S. policy be in Syria? So far, these questions have no answers.

But the message that Donald Trump's sudden triumph sends is very clear: the U.S. political system has failed at its core. The bulwark of liberal democracy is sinking. The West is divided, full of resentment, and weak. The rules are changing. Like a shock-wave, this simple message has blasted through national borders, encouraging autocracies across the world.

When Russian parliamentarians stood and applauded the news of the Trump's victory, this was the exact sentiment they were cheering. They, along with President Vladimir Putin, didn't see it coming.

They viewed the U.S. presidential election as a zero-sum game with the West that Russia had played during the last several years. Trump's unpredictability makes it difficult to predict how

U.S.-Russia relations will now evolve and how his administration will address the major issues that Moscow has put on the table — especially Ukraine and Syria.

But Trump's victory also delivers clarity to Russia's own political future. Putin is now heaving a sigh of relief; help came, deus ex machina, at a vital moment.

These have been difficult times for Putin as a leader. Russians are finally beginning to feel the effects of its international isolation. And a fair degree of Western unity ensured that this status quo was unlikely to change. In 2003, during the war in Iraq, Putin had been able to play upon differences and disagreements among Western powers. With the annexation of Crimea, the war in Ukraine's Donbass region and now the Syrian conflict, Putin lost his ability to maneuver.

Russians are growing tired of wars that have largely dominated the national political agenda for the last two years. The Russian economy is in decline. And, what's more, the latest parliamentary election has demonstrated growing political apathy — a serious problem during the upcoming 2018 presidential election.

Should Putin decide to run, he will have to deal with all these internal challenges and — were it not for Trump's victory — serious pressure from Western capitals, particularly from Washing-

ton. Facing such challenges, being labeled as an outcast by the Western world, would he be able to remain Russia's beloved and successful leader for eight more years?

Whatever plans Putin might have contemplated for his future, he has laid some clear preparations for change at home.

Sergei Kiriyenko, the newly appointed overseer of Russia's domestic politics, maintains a reputation as a reformer and a progressive. The Kremlin has also begun snubbing ultra-conservative activists, and the reported torture of the jailed activist Ildar Dadin has become an issue at the highest levels of government.

In short, there was a fresh sense in the air that the regime might start loosening its grip. Political circles in Moscow had shyly begun anticipating a new "thaw."

Now, with Donald Trump as the new president of the United States, this is no longer the case. This new Trumpworld is a global mess, and taking advantage of the disorder looks much more rational as a strategy. An outcast yesterday, Putin might even start seeing himself as the first among equals on the global scene. If he ever had doubts about running for another presidential term, now he will not hesitate.

The hope for change in Russia has just been buried in the voting booths of Florida, Michigan, and North Carolina. **TMT**

SAFMAR pension fund: A New Name with Extensive Experience

The effect of consolidating private funds: an increase in reliability and the quality of pension services


SAFMAR

 pension
fund

npfsafmar.ru

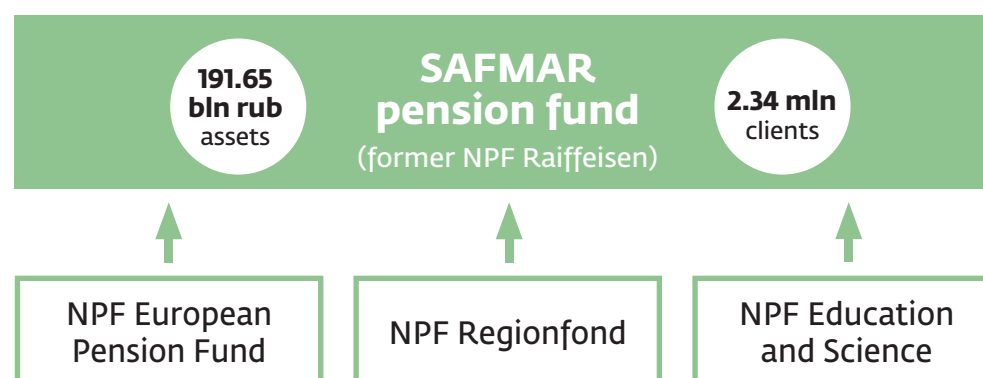
There have been significant changes on the non-state pension fund (NPF) market in the past two years. Funds are becoming larger, improving their financial stability, increasing transparency of investments and offering new pension products. All of this has led to a growth of interest in NPFs not only from ordinary Russian citizens, but also from large and medium-sized businesses, who are starting to consider corporate pension programs an effective motivational tool for Russia, while such programs are quite customary for the Western world.

Growth of the pension market

First of all, most of the pension funds on the Russian market have been reorganized from non-profit organizations into joint stock companies over the past two years under strict Central Bank of Russia oversight. This greatly increased the transparency of the NPFs. A system to guarantee the rights of the persons insured, analogous to the bank deposit protection system, was put in place. Regulation of NPFs was tightened by the Central Bank of Russia. The funds have become serious institutional investors. Increased confidence in NPFs is seen from such indicators as the growth of pension assets under management: they are almost 20 times greater than in 2004. (Chart 1)

People are choosing NPFs, entrusting the future of their nonstate pensions to private business.

"Saving for retirement in private pension funds, either with an employer or privately, is a way of making sure that one can make ends meet during retirement. Private retirement savings have a long tradition in Western countries and now Russia is gradually coming around to embracing this concept. International companies operating on the Russian market are on the forefront of structuring and offering retirement related benefits to their employees. Essentially, global employee benefit standards are gradually taking hold in Russia both as retention tools and as a way to make sure that employees don't end up in poverty once



they retire from their employer," chairman of the SAFMAR pension fund board of trustees Alexander Lorenz said.

The latest trend on the pension market is the consolidation of pension funds. As the market matures and Central Bank of Russia oversight becomes more stringent, larger funds are becoming increasingly professional offering solid customer service as well as improved financial transparency. In this sector, 2015 and 2016 were dedicated to the consolidation of pensions funds into a handful of larger groups. "Consolidation of market participants continued, and the position of the main pension groups set up by state and large private financial holdings was strengthened," Pension and Actuarial Consulting wrote in its recent market research. "We expect pension groups to further merge and integrate their funds in the near future."

SAFMAR pension fund: consolidation

One of the most striking examples of consolidation in 2016 was the reorganization of the SAFMAR pension group.

Very recently, in September 2016, the process of merging three NPFs (namely, NPF European Pension Fund, NPF Regionfond and NPF Education and Science) with JSC SAFMAR non-state pension fund (herewith SAFMAR pension fund) was completed. The name may be new to some, but in fact the fund has

decades of history. SAFMAR pension fund is the former NPF Raiffeisen. The fund was created in 1994. In 2004, Raiffeisenbank Russia became a shareholder and built the fund into Russia's most prominent foreign-owned pension fund. In 2015, the BIN Financial Group acquired NPF Raiffeisen and the fund was renamed.

SAFMAR pension fund is not the only fund with a long history. The three other funds joined SAFMAR pension fund have been on the market for over 20 years in the Russian pension industry.

In teaming up with the other pension funds, SAFMAR pension fund retained the best practices instilled by the Raiffeisen Group and additionally integrated valuable best practices and achievements from the other funds. The European Pension Fund for example was a leader on the mandatory pension insurance market in profitability and number of clients. NPF Regionfond has had extensive experience with large industrial enterprises that introduce pension plans for their employees. NPF Education and Science developed pension plans for students, teachers, professors and researchers at universities. Finally, SAFMAR pension fund itself works with large Russian and international companies on corporate pension plans.

"We treat every person with respect"

"SAFMAR" is derived from the names of Mikhail Gutseriev's parents, Safarbek and Marem, my

grandparents," head of B&N Bank (which is also part of the SAFMAR Financial Group) and beneficial owner of the fund Mikhail Shishkhanov said in the group's corporate magazine. "This branding is essentially intended to be a tribute to my ancestors. We treat every person who trusts us with their savings and future retirement with the same reverence."

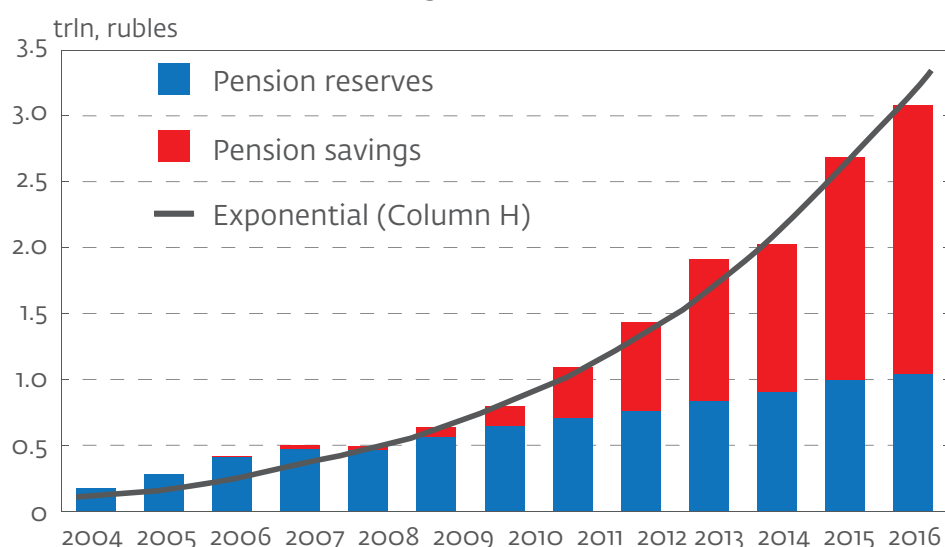
According to the SAFMAR pension fund management, the main objective of the reorganization of the funds was to improve the management of pension money and the level of customer service. The merger of the funds will result in greater control over risk, operational processes and costs. The fund is continuing to fulfill all obligations to clients of the affiliated funds. All terms and conditions of mandatory pension insurance contracts and nonstate pension coverage contracts remain in force and in effect.

The volume of pension assets under the SAFMAR pension fund management at the end of the third quarter of 2016 was 191.65 billion rubles. The number of clients — insured persons or participants — was 2.34 million.

The fund not only protects its clients' pension money, it also invests it in high-quality assets that generate additional revenue, which can influence the growth of pension payments. Among SAFMAR's pension fund largest clients are Chelyabinsk Pipe-Rolling Plant, Raiffeisenbank, Caterpillar, Hochland and the Caspian Pipeline Consortium.

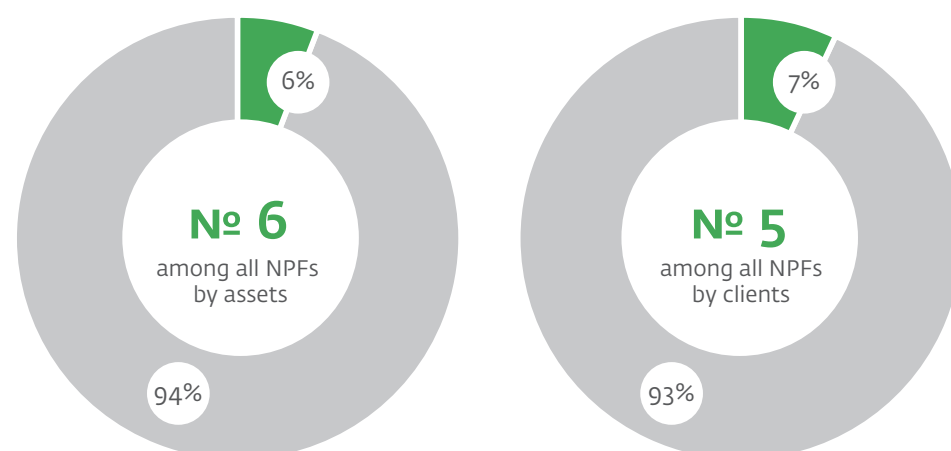
The newly merged and integrated SAFMAR pension fund is now part of the SAFMAR Financial Group, one of the largest financial groups (earlier BIN) in Russia, which includes major banking assets (B&N Bank, MDM Bank), a leading insurance group (VSK), one of Russia's largest leasing companies (Europlan), as well as major real estate and real estate development assets. The fund is a member of the system to guarantee the rights of the insured, and has the highest reliability rating of A++ from leading Russian rating agency Expert RA (RAEX). It is a member of the Association of Non-State Pension Funds (ANPF) and the Association of European Businesses (AEB).

Chart 1: The growth of pension assets under Russian non-state pension funds management 2004-2016



Source: Data of the Central Bank of Russia and FSFR

Chart 2: SAFMAR pension fund — its place on the market by assets (left) and clients (right)



Source: SAFMAR pension fund calculations based on the Central Bank of Russia data

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4 Looking Forward



"Libraries are the perfect target for law enforcement. It's their way of showing they're doing their job." **Alexander Verkhovsky**, SOVA Center

The Moscow Times
No. 5780

>1 year

time Sharina has spent under house arrest.

344

extremism-related inspections conducted in schools and libraries in 2015.



58-year-old **Natalya Sharina** spent first two nights of her arrest on a bench at a Moscow police station.



Judgment by the Cover

By **Daria Litvinova** d.litvinova@imedia.ru | Illustration by **Evgeny Tonkonog**

A library director accused of 'inciting ethnic hatred' faces 10 years behind bars as a result of a witch hunt against extremism

Natalya Sharina, the former director of Moscow's State Library of Ukrainian Literature, says she doesn't understand why she's being charged with "inciting ethnic hatred."

"I don't feel guilty. I don't understand the substance of this accusation. I would ask [the prosecution] to explain what actions I took specifically to incite hatred," Sharina said at the first session of her trial on Nov. 2. "Acting in a professional capacity, she purchased and placed on shelves accessible to public the books [that are included in the official list of extremist materials]," the prosecutor replied.

"And which of these [two things] constitutes a crime?" Sharina asked again.

The 59-year-old librarian looked confident, but exhausted. By the time of her trial, Sharina had spent more than a year under house arrest. If convicted, she could be sentenced to a decade in prison because she faces additional charges of embezzlement, brought while she was already under house arrest.

By scrutinizing libraries (many of which do have extremist books on their shelves), the police can demonstrate that they're

doing their jobs, without the dangers of tackling real crimes. "Basically, it's a way of keeping up the act," head of the SOVA Center NGO Alexander Verkhovsky told The Moscow Times.

Extremists Wanted

The crackdown on the Ukrainian library started six years ago. In 2010, the police opened the first criminal case against Sharina for allegedly distributing extremist materials: books by the Ukrainian nationalist Dmitro Korchinsky.

The case was closed within a year, and everyone was sure the director dodged a bullet. But there were new charges in 2015, and this time police raided and searched the library. Then they arrested Sharina and brought criminal charges.

Sharina's case — and the scrutiny that libraries in Russia face today — is part of the country's broader campaign against extremism, which has included blocking websites, banning books, and prosecuting people for content they post and repost on social networks. Most of all, the authorities have set their sights on materials that concern Ukraine, Crimea, and the Russian government.

One of the most prominent cases in this crackdown was the prosecution of Rafis Kashapov, who published several comments online criticizing Russia's treatment of Crimean Tatars. For this offense, a court in 2015 sentenced him to three years in prison — the harshest punishment yet meted out in Russia for "Internet extremism."

Many human-rights activists say the anti-extremist legislation Russian lawmakers adopted earlier this decade violates the basic tenets of free expression. Thanks to the way police have enforced these laws, moreover, the concept of fighting extremism has lost its meaning, and now virtually any controversy is fair game for criminal charges. The crackdown has gotten so out of control that Russia's Supreme Court recently encouraged judges to ease up and "take a less formal approach."

Simply put, human rights advocates say, it's just easier for police to look for extremists online than it is to chase them on the streets. Hassling libraries is also relatively painless, as Sharina's case shows.

Legislative Loopholes

Trying to observe both state regulations and the new laws against extremism, libraries find themselves between a rock and a hard place, Verkhovsky says. Prosecutors say having extremist books on a library's shelves constitutes the distribution of illegal materials, but older government regulations don't allow libraries

to dispose of books officially until they're worn out, damaged, or lost. This is why you can still find plenty of banned books on library shelves around Russia today.

Libraries aren't allowed to hide certain books from the public, either, Verkhovsky points out. "They need to register them in the catalogue and give them to people when they request them."

Some librarians at smaller facilities in Russia simply discard their banned books by declaring them to be worn out. This works at small libraries, but larger institutions can't get away with this trick.

"That's why there was a compromise between the libraries and the Prosecutor's Office," Verkhovsky says. "Libraries put special marks on the extremist books, removed them from public access, and gave them only to patrons who requested them. Readers also had to sign a document stating that they were aware of the fact that the book was considered extremist and prohibited by law. Until recently, this deal worked out fine, but apparently the Prosecutor's Office wants more now."

Political Background

The crackdown on Moscow's State Library of Ukrainian Literature and its director came as Russian-Ukrainian relations were getting especially bad, and Russia was in the midst of a large-scale anti-Ukrainian campaign, according to a statement by the Memorial human rights center last November, when the organization declared Sharina to be a political prisoner.

"We don't believe she is guilty," Sergei Davidis, head of Memorial's political prisoners program, told The Moscow Times. "Keeping books in a library can't be grounds for charging someone with inciting ethnic hatred."

Sharina's lawyer, Ivan Pavlov, echoed this sentiment, telling The Moscow Times that the embezzlement charges added to Sharina's rap sheet in April show that prosecutors aren't confident in their own case: "It's their safety net, in case the court doesn't find inciting hatred credible enough."

Law enforcement in Russia rarely backs down. Once the police actually launch a case, they usually see it through, Davidis says. "If they start admitting mistakes, they will have to blame someone for keeping a person under arrest, providing false evidence, imposing an incorrect charge. No one wants to be blamed for it; that's why the case goes forward, in spite of everything," he said.

Verkhovsky hopes that Sharina's case is the exception, and other librarians will not face such heavy persecution. "But these days, you never know," he added. **TMT**



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Реклама

"The collapse of the Soviet Union was the greatest catastrophe of the 20th century." **President Vladimir Putin.**



18

number of years Leonid Brezhnev was in power.



The **GDP** of the Soviet Union grew by 1.8 percent between 1980 and 1985, the twilight of Leonid Brezhnev's rule.

2024

The end of Putin's term if he runs in 2018. He will have spent 24 years in power.

Putin's System — Here for the Long Term

The current regime is proving to be as resilient as that of Leonid Brezhnev



Op-Ed by **Dmitry Travin**
Head of Center of Modernization Studies at the European University in St. Petersburg

Just how long can President Vladimir Putin's political system remain in place? On one hand, the destructive nature of the corrupt ruling authorities is too obvious for thinking people to hold out any hope of progress. On the other hand, the lack of mass protests after the Sept. 18 elections indicates the Russian authorities can do whatever they please.

But for how long? Until the West applies new sanctions? Until presidential elections in 2024? Until the Second Coming?

There are obvious differences between the current system and the late Soviet system constructed by former leader Leonid Brezhnev. But it is worth analyzing why the Soviet Union remained so stable despite being led by a tragicomic gerontocracy. There were, in fact, three main reasons for that stability.

First, economic problems in modern Russia have never been as bad as they were in Petrograd in February 1917, when the first, or February Revolution, took place. The Soviet people suffered from a very low standard of living, but those problems were never bad enough to prompt mass protests. People managed to get by with their meager lot and were unwilling to risk their freedom by engaging in a conflict with the KGB for the

sake of mythical hopes of somehow improving their situation.

Second, the Soviet authorities constructed an effective system for suppressing dissent.

The mechanism that former Soviet leader Yury Andropov introduced in the late 1960s was based on keeping "troublemakers" in check. The offending dissident would find himself invited to an interview with "the authorities" — meaning members of the security forces — where it was impressed on him that if he continued looking for trouble, he would undoubtedly find it.

After such an encounter, the vast majority chose to keep their opposition-minded thoughts to themselves, while the occasional hero — unwilling to compromise with the regime — ended up in a labor camp or psychiatric hospital. This approach enabled the authorities to nip disobedience in the bud without having to create a cannibalistic system such as the Stalinist Gulag.

Third, the unity that the Soviet elite maintained — at least ostensibly, despite considerable infighting — played an important role. Nobody overthrew Brezhnev, even though he rarely regained consciousness during the last several years of his rule. All of the elder statesmen waited their turn — some even dying before that time came. Others were terminally ill by the time they ascended the "throne" and passed to the other world soon after.

It was a quiet and steady process, and only a new generation — Gorbachev, Ligachev, Yakovlev, and others — managed to shake things up and introduce radical political changes.

Now Putin is repeating all three conditions of the Brezhnev-

era stagnation. Russians' standard of living has begun to decline steadily over the past two years, although there is no reason to expect it to fall drastically unless the price of oil plummets to \$5-\$10 per barrel. Just as people were willing to tighten their belts and wait under Brezhnev, Russians are even more willing to wait today, given the fact that they now live in a market economy and store shelves are stocked with a range of consumer goods.

The old Andropov-era system of dealing with dissent is back in operation today. Anyone who challenges the authorities gets slapped with criminal charges. Ordinary Russians have no one to tell them how miserable their lives are becoming.

No new Gorbachev-like figure has appeared within the ruling elite. Then-President and now Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev tried to raise a Fronde of sorts, but Putin took him so firmly in hand that he now barely utters a peep about modernization.

Those who rank lower than the president and prime minister have even less power to mount a serious protest. They moment they speak up, they are summarily dismissed. They cannot even get television airtime. Putin has no qualms about firing his erstwhile friends such as former presidential chief of staff Sergei Ivanov or former Russian Railways head Vladimir Yakunin.

Thus, despite its weaknesses, Putin's system looks set to endure for many more years. **TMT**

Dmitry Travin is the author of the book "Will Putin's System Survive Until 2042".

THE ITALIAN
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"Russia wants constraints on NATO forces while the U.S. wants more transparency in military exercises." **Vladimir Frolov**

9,364

killed by Russian airstrikes in Syria by Sept. 30.

June 2016

"America is a great power. We accept that." Vladimir Putin



The Russian government has threatened to ban U.S. observers from Russian elections after three U.S. states refused to allow Russian observers into local polling places.

The Shape of Things To Come

By **Matthew Bodner** m.bodner@imedia.ru, Twitter: @mattb0401 | Illustrations by **Iliya Kutoboy**

What to expect in U.S.-Russian relations during the Trump presidency

Donald Trump will be the next president of the United States.

A Trump presidency is perhaps the least predictable in American history, but one thing seems certain: a sea-change in U.S.-Russia relations is on its way.

Relations between the two historical superpowers are the worst they have been at any point since the end of the Cold War. Successive crises in Georgia, Syria and Ukraine have put the two on collision course.

Hillary Clinton's widely anticipated victory was expected to double down on an adversarial policy. An experienced hand on Russia, Clinton did not approach Moscow with any sense of optimism or naiveté. She was expected to revisit the issue of arming Ukraine, and play hardball with the Kremlin across Europe and the Middle East.

Trump was less specific about his policy in these regions, but he regularly praised President Vladimir Putin and talked of the need to work together with Russia. In a way, Trump is likely to attempt his own version of Barack Obama's failed 2009 "reset" in relations with Russia. While Trump and Putin may see eye-to-eye on a lot, there are areas where they might butt heads.

The Moscow Times looked at several areas that will define U.S.-Russia relations under President Trump.



Syria and the Middle East

The most dramatic change under President Trump may come in the Middle East. Russia's military operations there severely limited President Barack Obama's options. Moscow has staked significant domestic and

international reputation on its support for Syrian President Bashar Assad. Trump, like Obama, won't change that. But, unlike Obama, he is likely to embrace it.

Efforts to work with Russia in Syria over the past year were highly personalized. Any chemistry between Secretary of State John Kerry and Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov failed to bring results. Dialogue is virtually non-existent. Trump, however, has different priorities and is a very different beast to the Obama administration.

"You're not fighting Syria any more, you're fighting Syria, Russia and Iran, all right? Russia is a nuclear country," Trump told Reuters two weeks ago, warning U.S. intervention would spark World War III.

The president elect is likely to accept whatever fait accompli Russia presents him with as he enters office in January. This, more than likely, will be a military victory for Assad over the opposition, says Russian foreign affairs expert Vladimir Frolov.

Trump's own vision on how to combat the Islamic State remains unclear, and he declined to elaborate on it during the campaign. That said, at a rally in early September, Trump pledged to "convene [his] top generals and give them a simple instruction: 30 days to submit to the Oval Office a plan for ... defeating Islamic State."

"Any nation who shares in this goal will be our friend in this mission," he said.

Trump will have to reconcile obvious contradictions in his approach to the Middle East. He has slammed detente with Iran, and specifically said the Iran nuclear agreement was a bad deal. But he will need to work with Russia and Iran in Syria. Meanwhile, his Islamophobic rhetoric on the campaign trail, if turned into policy, may undermine relationships with Arab allies in the fight against the Islamic State.



Ukraine and Sanctions

When Russia shocked the world by starting military operations in Syria in September of last year, it did so with an eye on Ukraine. By leveraging influence over Assad, the Kremlin thought it might be able to persuade Washington to make concessions over Ukraine and sanctions.

That turned out to be a miscalculation. Obama stressed Ukraine would be treated as a separate issue; and in diplomatic circles, "compartmentalization" became the new buzzword. Russia was told in no uncertain terms that sanctions would only be dropped if the February 2015 Minsk Agreement was implemented in full.

So far, this line held in both Washington and in Europe. But much of the West's commitment to the policy has hinged on the dual leadership of the American president and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who may herself be on her way out. Across Europe, commitment to the policy of sanctions against Russia is faltering.

Trump is certain to reassess America's commitment to Ukraine. In July, the president elect was asked if he would recognize Crimea as Russian territory. Yes, he replied. He "would be looking (sic) into that."

If campaign positions are any indication, Trump is also likely to ask European leaders to assume most of the burden in Kiev. "Where's Germany?" He asked in an August 2015 interview. "I mean, we're like the policemen of the world."

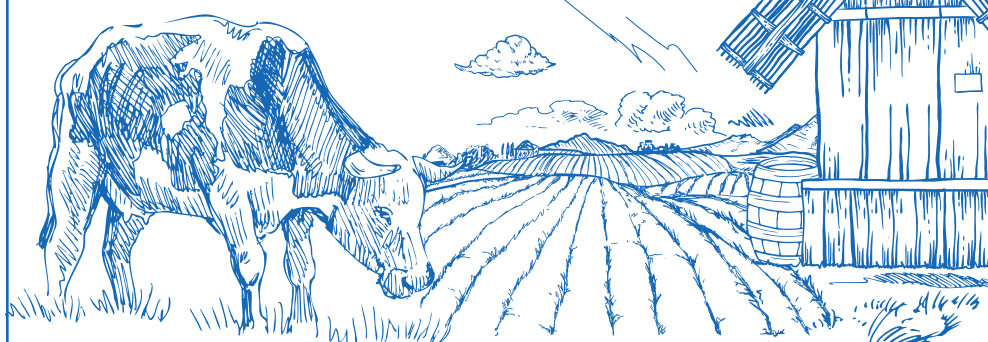
Continued on Page 11 →

Third International Agro-Industrial Dairy Forum

agromosreg.ru
17-18/11

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House of Moscow Region Government
Moscow Region

- New Approaches in the Structure and Arrangement of State Support for 2017
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Out & About



November 10 – 16, 2016

7

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

KAZBEK / FACEBOOK



These generous, comforting food given pride of place at Georgian family meals is at the heart of the authentic dining experience at Kazbek.

Georgian Charm at Kazbek

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

Dine like the guest of honor at a Georgian family feast

Kazbek is the latest offering from esteemed restaurateur Andrei Dellos, the man behind Cafe Pushkin, Turandot and the ubiquitous MuMu cafe chain. A short walk from the banks of the river, when you step inside the restaurant you might just fancy yourself in Georgia rather than northwestern Moscow.

When it came to planning the new eatery, Dellos was inspired by his childhood memories of holidays in the country. The generous, comforting food given pride of place at Georgian family feasts is at the heart of the authentic dining experience at Kazbek.

A warm welcome greets you at the door, where the host hands you an envelope containing the menu and shows you to your table.

The kitchen is led by the talented young Tbilisi chef Mamiya Jojua, who adds a modern twist to timeless recipes. The kitchen is very much a family affair, with Jojua's mother acting as sous-chef. You can admire the pair bustling around the open kitchen as you hungrily anticipate your meal.

Let's get the obvious out of the way first. It would be a crime not to order one of the traditional-recipe khachapuri (from 420 rubles) which are baked in a large wooden stove and served in

all their golden, cheese-laden glory straight from a wooden paddle to your plate.

The rest of the menu features classics like the spinach "pkhali" — herb, spinach and walnuts balls — and garlic-dressed "lobio," a dish composed of beans and various types of herbs. The pork ribs marinated with spicy adjika sauce are particularly good, as is the "odzhahuri" with pork (600 rubles) which provides a little kick for your palate. Pair with a glass of fruity Georgian red or opt for one of the many bottled beers.

Despite the nostalgia associated with the food, there is nothing outdated about Kazbek's design.

Think deliberately "aged" wallpaper covered with pictures of family life from years gone by, textured wooden floors, intricately carved heavy wooden screens and an eclectic mix of low hanging lampshades.

During the day, the restaurant is flooded with natural light, while in the evening it becomes cozier and more intimate. The waitstaff dressed in traditional costume add to the spirit of old Georgia. **TMT**

+7 (495) 651 8100

facebook.com/MyKazbek

2 Ulitsa 1905 Goda. Metro Ulitsa 1905 Goda

NEWS & OPENINGS



ADRI BBQ / FACEBOOK

Adri BBQ

Wine, dine and unwind

Adri BBQ is the perfect contemporary dining spot to indulge or entertain after a day at the office. A glance at the menu immediately tells you that the focus is on wine — with a huge selection available by the glass — but the food is really too good for a bar. Try the lamb ribs with sweet ratatouille (680 rubles).

+7 (903) 258 4888

facebook.com/Adri-BBQ-Restaurant-1105018359563722
7 Lesnaya Ulitsa
Metro Belorusskaya



I LIKE GRILL / FACEBOOK

I Like Grill

Stylish, contemporary cooking

I Like Grill is the food-orientated brother of I Like Wine and I Like Bar. An enormous open grill forms a focal point for the dining room while beautiful chandeliers play the light off the walls and tables. After feasting on a steak prepared before your eyes, head to the Tolstoy House Museum, a stone's throw from the restaurant.

+7 (903) 253 4141

facebook.com/ilikegrill/
18 Ulitsa L'va Tolstogo
Metro Park Kultury



PHO FIGHTERS / FACEBOOK

Pho Fighters

Vietnamese street food

Pho Fighters is a small joint with limited bar seating, but at 230 rubles a bowl you'll be tempted to lunch there every day. The menu is select but true to its name. There are three selections of pho — a warming Vietnamese noodle soup — as well as chicken curry noodles, beef chili noodles and a selection of salads.

+7 (916) 279 3890

facebook.com/PhoFightersMoscow
Tverskaya Ulitsa
Metro Mayakovskaya



BRUSSEL

Brussel

Belgian gastropub

Brussel (Brussels) is a new spacious two-story cafe and the first foray of St. Petersburg's Italy Group into Moscow's restaurant market. Try the excellent half farmer's smoked chicken (560 rubles) with sweet chili eggplant (350 rubles) and don't miss the beer tasting — a "carousel" of five small glasses of beer for 640 rubles.

+7 (495) 410 9018

italy-group.ru/bruxelles
18A Ulitsa Malaya Dmitrovka, Bldg. 3
Metro Chekhovskaya, Pushkinskaya

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!**

Visiting Novodevichy Cemetery

The Strange Beauty of Russia's Preeminent Necropolis

By **Michele A. Berdy** m.berdy@imedia.ru | Illustration by **Elena Rasputina**

At the Novodevichy Cemetery, you may learn more about people after their death than when they were alive



6. Nikita Khrushchev

Back in the new cemetery, turn right just past Nikulin's grave and walk almost to the very end of the seventh section. You'll pass bust after bust of Soviet generals, ministers and Politburo members, facing each other across the aisles as if they were at a party congress. At the very end on your right is the grave of Nikita Khrushchev, who died in 1971. The grave marker was sculpted, remarkably, by Ernst Neizvestny, the non-conformist artist whom Khrushchev lambasted — and then talked with — at the famous Manege Exhibition in 1962. Khrushchev's son asked the artist to create the monument. The bronze head of Khrushchev between abstract blocks of black and white stone represents the "antagonism between two principles, one is bright, progressive, dynamic; the other is dark, reactionary, static" — a duality Neizvestny saw in Khrushchev.

New cemetery, section 7 row 20

6

7. Raisa Gorbachev

Walk back toward the entrance along the far wall to the right (facing the entrance) which serves as a columbarium. When you get to the middle of the expanse, you'll see a delicate bronze statue of a young woman between the wall and rows of graves. This unusual monument was done by the artist Frida Sogoyan and is not intended to look like the person whose grave it marks, but perhaps only to convey something of the person's spirit. It is on the grave of the first lady of the Soviet Union, Raisa Gorbachev, who died of leukemia in 1999.

New cemetery, between the columbarium and section 8, near row 24



1. Boris Yeltsin

For this walk, take the metro to Sportivnaya station and then use the exit to Ulitsa 10-letiya Oktyabrya, turn right and walk to Novodevichy Convent. Follow the walls to the left along Luzhnetsky Proezd to the entrance of Novodevichy Cemetery. If you've never been in a Russian cemetery, you may be taken aback. Here, the deceased still live in busts, etched portraits on stone, and photographs engraved in ceramic tiles. But it wasn't always this way. The convent, founded in 1524, was the final resting place of important state and religious leaders. In 1919, the cemetery was given to the local party committee, who used it for burials of residents, but in 1927 it was designated as the burial ground for state VIPs. This caused a flurry of exhumations and reburials of important people, most with their image on their new grave markers. Today it is the final resting place of many state figures, including the first president of Russia, Boris Yeltsin. But his grave breaks tradition. After getting a map near the entrance, walk straight between sections six (on the left) and five (on the right). Where they end, look across the space beyond section six. You won't see a bust or statue. You'll see an enormous unfurled Russian tricolor made of red porphyry, white marble and blue glass mosaics, created by the sculptor Georgy Frangulyan. This is the grave of Boris Yeltsin.

New cemetery, section 6, in front of row 23

Novodevichy Cemetery

3-hour walk

9

4. Vladimir Mayakovsky

Wander toward the first section closest to the convent walls, and you'll see a magnificent bust of Vladimir Mayakovsky, who died by his own hand in 1930. He was cremated and buried in Donskoi Monastery, but his ashes were moved to Novodevichy in 1952 after his sister Olga, now at rest next to him, and his former lover and great friend Lily Brik spent years petitioning for it. To the left of his grave is the resting place of the two Tretyakov brothers, Pavel and Sergei. They had been buried in the family crypt in the Holy Danilov monastery, but were moved here with just one grave marker — for Pavel and his family — with Sergei added on the side of it. The fate of Sergei's marker is unknown.

Old cemetery, section 1, row 14

5

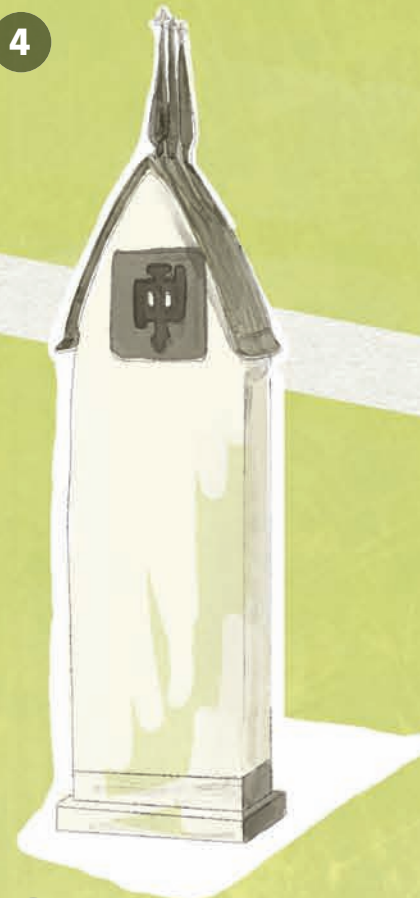


5. Alexandra Kollontai

Near the convent walls are many graves of the Soviet elite, including Vyacheslav Molotov and his wife, Polina Zhemchuzhina-Molotova. Across from them is a demure figure of a young woman carved in white stone, seated on a stone chair. This is the revolutionary feminist heroine Alexandra Kollontai, famous for being one of the first female ambassadors in the world — and for a great number of misattributed statements about free love. As you wind your way back toward the new cemetery, it's impossible not to imagine the busts and stone figures coming to life at night and continuing their literary and political quarrels — or happy carousing — until dawn.

Old cemetery, section 1, row 46

4



3

3. Anton Chekhov

Continue through the gates into the old part of the cemetery. Turn right and walk along the path, past the bronze cross marking the grave of writer Nikolai Gogol, who died in 1852 and was buried in the Holy Danilov Monastery. When that was turned into a prison in 1929, the Soviet state began to exhume the graves of prominent citizens and rebury them in Novodevichy. Gogol was moved in 1931. A few aisles further you'll see the gravestone of Anton Chekhov, done in the style moderne of the Moscow Art Theater. Near him are the graves of other Moscow Art Theater stars, including founder Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko in the same row, and actor and director Konstantin Stanislavsky in row 17.

Old Cemetery, section 2, row 15

2

1

2. Yury Nikulin

Turn to the right toward the convent and the gates to the old part of the cemetery. On the left side of the broad aisle is a very traditional cross marking the graves of Mstislav Rostropovich and Galina Vishnevskaya. On the right side are several grave-stones depicting singer Lyudmila Zykina, ballerina Galina Ulanova and then Yury Nikulin, director of Moscow's old circus for many years and one of the country's favorite performers. Sculptor Alexander Rukavishnikov portrayed him after a hard day's work, sitting on a wall to have a smoke as one of his beloved Riesenschnauzers lies at his feet.

New cemetery, section 5, row 22



7

8. Velimir Khlebnikov

Continue to walk down the aisle by the wall, and just before you reach the end, look for a strange and lovely pagan stone woman, lying on her side almost under a bush. This peaceful grave marker is for the Futurist poet Velimir Khlebnikov, who died of an undiagnosed ailment in 1922 while visiting a friend near his native village of Ruchi. He was buried in Ruchi, but in 1960 some of his remains were moved to Novodevichy and marked with this stone woman, apparently as a symbol of his fascination with Slavic mythology. His Ruchi grave remains, so Khlebnikov is one of the few people with two graves. Ponder that curiosity, and wander among the markers, reading inscriptions, and imagining all the lives lived and people celebrated and mourned, before heading back into the city.

New cemetery, section 8, row 6

8





Georgina Agnew, Teacher and Translator

"As the wintry winds begin to whistle, I love to curl up by the huge open fireplace in Oblomov with a steaming bowl of borscht and a plate of home-made pirozhki!"



Where to Satisfy Your Sweet Tooth

It's officially cold and we're all burning off more calories than usual stomping our feet as we wait for the bus or penguin-stepping to avoid slips on the icy pavements. All of which means we have a ready excuse to indulge a little over the coming months. From Soviet-inspired confectionery shops to a chocolate museum and the fanciest macarons in the city, here's where you can find us loading up on sugar this winter.



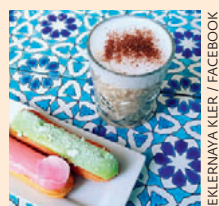
Cafe Bolshevik

Retro chocolate treats

The official store and cafe of the famous Moscow "Bolshevik" brand opened last year on the historical premises of the former plant. Located in one of the red-brick buildings next to the Museum of Russian Impressionism, you can purchase all the Soviet era confectionery hits, like kartoshka (potato) cake (100 rubles), honey-based medovik cake (179 rubles) or ptichye moloko (bird's milk) (179 rubles). Western classics like panna cotta (149 rubles) or cheesecake are also available (179 rubles). The waitstaff is decked out in the height of 1960s restaurant fashion which adds to the charm. It's well worth a visit after you've finished browsing the selection of Serov paintings next door.

+7 (495) 666 5613

torty.ru/page/kafe-bolshevik
15 Leningradsky Prospekt, Bldg. 3
Metro Belorusskaya



Eklernaya Kler

Upmarket coffee and cake

Eklernaya Kler is a tiny corner shop where three tables jostle for space alongside a flower shop. Eclairs — elongated cream puffs — come in all the familiar flavors, such as chocolate, vanilla or caramel, as well as less orthodox fillings like tarragon or pear and chestnut (170 rubles each). Feeling adventurous? Try the popsicle — a piece of soft cake shaped like a Popsicle. Either order a box of eclairs to share at your office or grab one

on your morning coffee run — the shop also serves delicious espresso-based drinks.

+7 (495) 917 2630

facebook.com/klerekler
39/1 Ulitsa Zemlyanoi Val
Metro Kurskaya, Chkalovskaya



Alyonka Shop

Chocolate "it" girl

Instantly recognizable for her sweet blue eyes, baby face and rosy cheeks, Alyonka is one of the most enduring vestiges of Soviet marketing. Some say that Alyonka was inspired by the daughter of the first woman in space, Valentina Tereshkova, while other sources suggest she was chosen after a competition in which people sent in pictures of their children as suggested Alyonka wrapper girls. Whatever the truth, take it from us that Alyonka chocolates are pretty darn tasty. There are a number of Alyonka chocolate shops dotted around the city, the biggest is on Nikolskaya Ulitsa. Here you can buy the eponymous chocolates as well as meringues, toffees and other sugary delights from the Red October factory.

+7 (495) 982 5589

shop.alenka.ru
3/5 Nikolskaya Ulitsa
Metro Okhotny Ryad,
Plushchad Revolyutsii

Museum of the History of Russian Chocolate

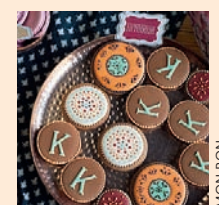
Chocolate-fueled brain gain

From the mysteries of the Mayan civilizations to the history of chocolate in Europe

and exploration of the popularity of chocolate in Russia, this cozy museum in the center is sweet in more ways than one. Perhaps the most interesting part of a trip to Moscow's chocolate museum is the chance to see dozens of boxes, posters and promotional materials from the Soviet Union. These include everything from luxurious Einem chocolate selection boxes to constructivist-inspired chocolate wrappers laden with poetry from Mayakovsky. Quite a lot of reading is involved so if you have kids, consider booking an excursion with a guide.

+7 (495) 233 82 12

chocoandcacao.ru
2 1st Brestskaya Ulitsa, Bldg. 3
Metro Mayakovskaya



Mon Bon

Macarons in every color of the rainbow

Browsing the Mon Bon website is a wonderful form of everyday escapism. The company sells picture-perfect macarons with names like "berry cheesecake" and "lime pudding" for 90 rubles a pop. You can order a box to be delivered to your home or head to one of their candy-colored counters located in several malls across the city, most notably Tsvetnoi Univermag and Atrium. If you're really looking to make a statement gift you can even ask Mon Bon to personalize your macarons with pictures and quotes. After all, nothing says "I love you" like a box of pretty pastel-colored French patisserie.

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mon-bon.ru
Various locations

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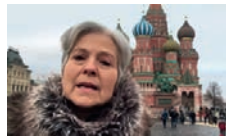
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16+
реклама



Moscow has actively courted dissenting views in U.S. politics. In December 2015, Green Party presidential candidate Jill Stein sat next to Putin at an RT dinner.

3

number of U.S. presidents Putin has worked with.

Clinton's views of Russia stood in stark contrast to Trump's. In September, Trump called Putin "a leader, far more than our president has been."

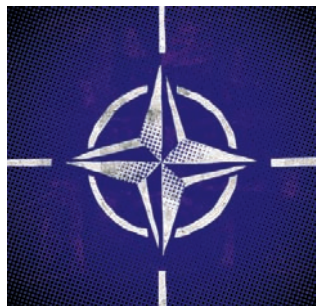


7 months

after relations collapsed over the Georgian war, Obama launched his "Reset."

← Continued from Page 6

Trump is opposed to arming Ukraine with lethal military equipment.



NATO

Trump's Ukrainian policy is tied in to his opinion of the 28-member NATO military alliance. The president-elect has openly criticized the alliance as an outdated structure too focused on Russia, and ill-suited for combating the challenges of international terrorism.

In a July interview with the New York Times, Trump suggested he would not honor Washington's defense commitments to NATO members in eastern Europe. While Obama underwrote moderate deployment costs, Trump wants members to pay up for American defense in full.

"If we cannot be properly reimbursed for the tremendous cost of our military protecting other countries," Trump said, "then yes, I would be absolutely prepared to tell those countries, 'Congratulations, you will be defending yourself.'"

Such words are music to the Kremlin's ears, which has protested against increased NATO presence near its borders. They are also likely to make nations like Poland and the Baltics more jittery. Life under the Soviet yoke remains a real and significant national memory for these nations.

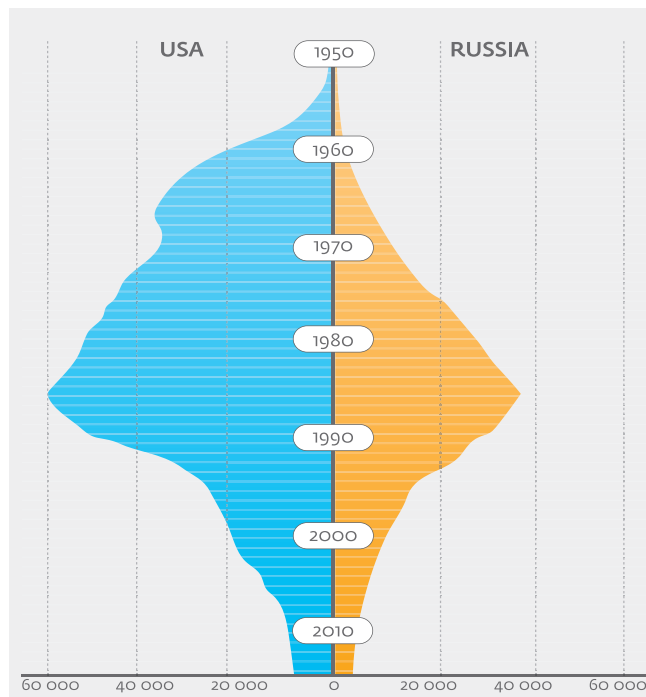
At a rally in April, Trump hinted that the U.S. might even withdraw from NATO if other members do not increase contributions. "Maybe NATO will dissolve," he said. "That is OK, [it's] not the worst thing in the world."



Counter-terrorism

If Trump abandons Ukraine and forges a relationship with Russia in Syria, it could open the door for a potentially fruitful area of cooperation: international counter-terrorism and intelligence sharing. The U.S. and Russia have tried to work together in this area be-

Nuclear Warheads: At a Glance



Source: thebulletin.org

fore, but the Ukraine crisis put a stop to it. Disagreements over Syria have only deepened the rift, despite the common threat of Islamic terrorism.

Trump owes much of his victory to promoting a hard line, of-fensive war against terrorism. In many ways, he probably looks to Putin on this issue. The Russian president has pursued ruthless counter-terrorism strategies in Russia's southern Caucasus region. Trump has said Russia would be a key partner in the war against the Islamic State.

But Trump might find himself frustrated in attempts to make a good counter-terror deal with Russia. Even before the breakdown in relations, cooperation has not been without problems and Russia reportedly only ever shared partial information on threats. After the Boston bombing, U.S. officials alleged Moscow could have helped prevent the attack if more information was shared.

Moscow has also on occasion tried to use the counter-terrorism banner to further its own aims, for example to legitimize

its tough actions in Chechnya," says Mark Galeotti, an expert in Russian security affairs.



Arms Control

A cornerstone of U.S.-Russia relations has always been arms control treaties. Every U.S. president has tried to negotiate cuts to nuclear arsenals; not all of them have succeeded.

Beyond criticizing the New START treaty signed early in Obama's presidency, Trump does not seem to have touched

on nuclear reductions while campaigning. But it is an issue his administration will have to address.

New START was the high watermark of Obama's attempted "reset" in relations with Russia. Both sides continue to work toward reducing arsenals to the agreed 700 missiles and bombers, and 1,550 warheads by 2018. But the treaty expires in 2021. Trump must, therefore, begin negotiations on the future of U.S.-Russia arms control by the end of his first term.

Trump is faced with two options: New START has a provision for extension to 2026. The alternative is harder: start from scratch to negotiate a new treaty.

To secure a new treaty, Trump will have to resolve ongoing disputes with Russia over adherence to the landmark 1987 Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. Both sides have accused the other of violating INF in recent years. The Kremlin will also likely want to see U.S. concessions on things like missile defense and hypersonic weapons.

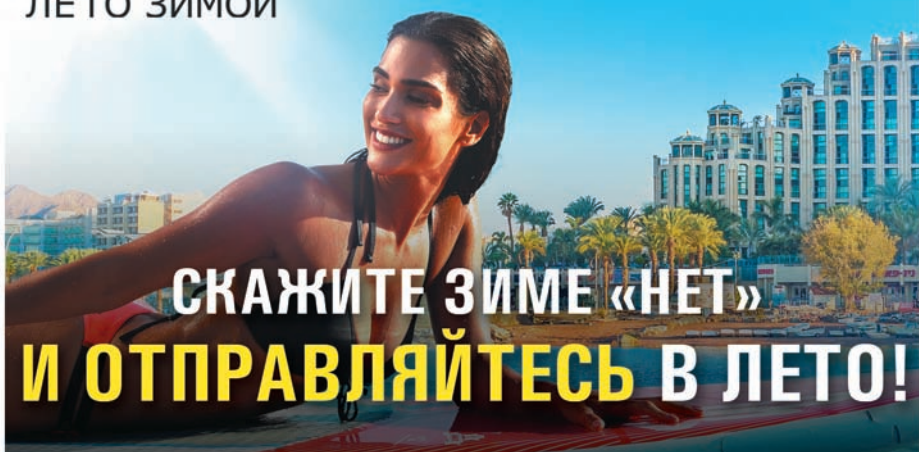
Trump considers himself a deal maker. In the 1980s, he reportedly even offered himself up as a one-man arms control negotiator with the Soviets. Considering that his stated platform devotes significant attention to military armaments and restoring a perceived loss of American strength, Putin will find Trump difficult to work with on arms control.

Trump well might prove a difficult challenge for Putin. While he adopted populist positions during the campaign, his next two months will be focused — perhaps for the first time — on forming serious policy positions. What emerges from this process depends heavily on who Trump surrounds himself with.

In many ways, the only certainty is that we are entering uncharted territory in U.S.-Russia relations. Predictable enmity is now out the window. **TMT**

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The first **Russian March** took place on Nov. 4, 2005 as a legal far-right mass meeting.

216

number of convictions for online extremism in 2015.

3895

items currently registered on Russia's Federal List of Extremist Materials.



"If you wear a t-shirt that says 'I'm a Russian nationalist and I support Putin' and then go to a protest, they'll still put you in jail." **Yegor Prosvirnin**



MATTHEW KUPFER

Only around 800 people attended this year's "Russian March" in southeastern Moscow as the nationalist movement has been decimated in recent years.

Nine Camps

By **Matthew Kupfer** and **Bradley Jardine** newsreporter@imedia.ru

Russian intervention in the Ukraine conflict has fragmented the far-right

On Friday, Nov. 4, chants rang out through the suburban neighborhood of Lyublino, in southeastern Moscow: "We are Russians! Glory to the Slavic nations! Glory to the white races!"

Soon, a crowd appeared on the horizon. Some of the

men — for they were mostly men — bore Russian nationalist tricolors and banners emblazoned with the Kolovrat, a Slavic swastika. As they made their way down Ulitsa Pererva, guarded by an equally large crowd of police officers, the marchers shouted to demand the impeachment of President Vladimir Putin. Locals stood by, oblivious to what they were witnessing.

As some found out, this was the infamous Russian March, an annual motley gathering of the Russian far right. It should have been a major celebration for Russian nationalists of all stripes. But this time it didn't seem that way. With only around 800 people in attendance, the 2016 march showcased a nationalist movement decimated by changing political realities.

Since Russia's annexation of Crimea, pro-government patriotism has grown sharply, allowing the Kremlin to co-opt nationalist sentiment to their own tune. At the same time, the far right itself has split sharply over the Kremlin's support for pro-Russia separatists in Ukraine.

So this year, the main Russian March in Lyublino, which opposed the war in Ukraine, found they had competition across town — a smaller rally in support of the "Russian Spring."

"Russia for the Russians!"

Russian ethnic nationalism emerged during the tumultuous years following the Soviet collapse, but only came into its own during the late 2000s. Labor migration from Central Asia was growing rapidly, and two Chechen wars had spread negative attitudes toward people from the North Caucasus region. As ethnic nationalists spoke out against illegal migration, they increasingly seemed to express the anger of ordinary Russians.

At its peak, Russian rightist nationalist movements received support from mainstream political figures. First to attend Russian marches were patriotic pro-government politicians like Dmitry Rogozin, now a hawkish deputy prime minister.

Then, in 2011, the anti-corruption activist and opposition darling Alexey Navalny took a central organizational role in the event. Nationalists were a significant part of the 2011 protest movement.



YEGOR PROSVIRNIN / FACEBOOK

Nationalist Yegor Prosvirnin helped direct volunteers to join the separatist ranks in the Donbass and says those who supported Ukraine are "white racists."

With Russia's annexation of Crimea and the start of the war in the Donbass, however, any nascent nationalist unity collapsed. Suddenly, public attention reoriented itself on Ukraine and the Russian populace largely lost interest in the labor migration issue. Nationalists were unable to react decisively.

Some took the side of the Kremlin; others Ukraine. In the aftermath of the Ukrainian revolution, there were even violent clashes between different Russian nationalist factions.

Some nationalists decided to move the fight to Ukraine, and split along the same lines. Part travelled to fight with separatists in the unrecognized Donetsk and Luhansk people's republics, while others joined pro-Ukrainian militias. Alexander Verkhovsky, director of the SOVA Center, estimates that several hundred fought with the separatists, while around 100 fought for Kiev.

This division still leaves a bitter taste in Yegor Prosvirnin's mouth. A prominent nationalist and editor of Sputnik & Pogrom, a right wing news site, Prosvirnin has helped to direct volunteers to join the separatist ranks, fundraise, and send humanitarian aid to the Donbass. He has little tolerance for the other side.

"Those who supported Ukraine are Nazis, skinheads, and white racists," he says. "Real Russian nationalists



реклама



Black Hundreds — the name of a highly influential Russian nationalist movement in the early 20th century.

119

propaganda offenses on VKontakte in 2015.

“There’s a sense that the authorities want to fully push us underground.” **Yury Gorsky**



13 Oct. 2013

Biryulyovo riots — nationalists protested the stabbing of a Russian man by a migrant.

aren’t National Socialists. They don’t believe in one people’s full humanity and another’s half-humanity. They are focused on Russian national interests.”

But Yury Gorsky, a Russian nationalist with monarchist views who led the Lyublino Russian March, saw the war in Ukraine as “brothers killing brothers.”

“A Russian nationalist cannot accept that Ukrainian citizens with Russian last names are killing Russian citizens with Ukrainian last names,” he says. “We have the same roots.”

As the Ukraine conflict began, the Russian authorities also began to put greater pressure on the far right. In June 2014, the Duma passed a law criminalizing online support for extremist activities — making sharing or even liking extremist content on Facebook a jailable offense.

One by one, ethnic nationalists found themselves in trouble. In August, Russia sentenced nationalist leader Alexander Belov to 7.5 years in prison for embezzlement and extremism. This month, just days before the Russian March, Russia placed Dmitry Dyomushkin, one of the march’s organizers, under house arrest due to extremism charges. According to SOVA Center research, convictions for online extremism increased from 103 in 2013 to 216 in 2015.

But perhaps the bigger problem was that the far right had found itself in direct competition with state nationalism.

“There was only going to be one winner in this competition,” says Verkhovsky.

Filling the Gap

Russia’s new state-sanctioned nationalism mixed patriotism, great power might, and hostility to the West.

One of its leading proponents was the National Liberation Movement (NOD), a nationalist group determined to fight Russia’s “enemies from within.” Founded in 2011 by ultra-patriotic Duma deputy Yevgeny Fyodorov, NOD aggressively protested against Russia’s perceived enemies: the U.S. Embassy, opposition politicians, artists criticizing state censorship, and even foreign audit firms working in Russia.

NOD pushes to repeal laws that limit the power of Putin — laws which Fyodorov says were drafted by the United States. It rails against a “fifth column” in the Russian government. A recent copy of NOD’s newsletter claims that when Putin left the Federal Security Service (FSB) to become Russia’s prime-minister in 1999, he told his FSB colleagues, “The first step of our operation to infiltrate the criminal gang” — i.e. Russia’s government — “is complete. Now I begin the second step: liquidating the gang.”

Outlandish anti-Western rhetoric makes it easy to write NOD off as a cartoonish group of political rabble-rousers. But NOD is far from an outsider organization. Fyodorov, its leader, is one of the longest-serving Duma deputies, and NOD can sometimes get its initiatives onto the government agenda.

Additionally, the movement claims to have more than 260,000 registered activists across Russia and even branches in other countries. And its popularity is only growing, according to Maria Katasonova, a prominent NOD activist.

“In the 1990s, it was shameful to be Russian,” Katasonova says. “Now Russians have something to believe in. The myth that everything is wonderful in the West is starting to break down. People are returning to their roots.”

Unclear Future

Amid growing state patriotism, the unsanctioned far-right doesn’t look to have a bright future. It remains divided over Ukraine, and fragmented by infighting. Since the glory days, when nationalists joined the ranks of the Donbass separatists, many nationalists have left the region — because of Kremlin pressure, according to Prosvirnin. Those nationalists who fought for the Ukrainian side cannot return home to Russia.

And Russia’s economic crisis, combined with new laws making it easier to keep labor migrants out, will likely limit the appeal of the nationalists’ old anti-migration platform.

Putin’s Oct. 31 announcement that he supports the creation of a new law defining the Russian civic nation suggests that the authorities are hardly willing to make ethnic Russian nationalism a central part of their platform. Naturally, this move was not well-received by nationalists.

Nine factions of Russian nationalism



Source: TMT

Anton Shekhovtsov, a visiting fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna, Austria, predicts neither destruction, nor rebirth for the Russian far right. Instead, he believes that the Russian government will continue to use an old strategy against nationalists: co-opting those who it can integrate into the political system, while suppressing the rest.

“The Kremlin needs some charismatic people that they can integrate into the system, but they have to be loyal,” he says.

For committed nationalists like Prosvirnin and Gorsky, who hold polar opposite views on the situation in Ukraine, loyalty to the government appears out of the question.

“Putin and the Kremlin broke off relations with 120 million ethnic Russians,” Prosvirnin says. “When you ignore an entire nation, it is the highest form of hostility.”

Gorsky couldn’t agree more. He believes efforts to suppress the far right will only make his movement stronger.

“Russian nationalism is the immunity of the Russian nation,” he says. **TMT**

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"This is the first project which so comprehensively covers the entire biography of Bulgakov." Alexander Kibovsky, Department of Culture

THE WORD'S WORTH

Take My President, Please

Избирать: to elect



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

It turns out that this whole election business is kind of tricky. You think that after 240 years you have it down pat, but then one day you wake up and turn on the TV and see that you haven't figured it out at all.

In Russian, verbs for choosing are based on the root for taking (брать), which makes sense: you take what you choose.

The verb pair of choice on everyone's lips this week is избирать/избрать (to elect). Мы избрали нового президента (We elected a new president.) We call voters избиратели and their ballots — избирательные бюллетени.

But another verb pair, выбирать/выбрать (to choose) is also used in elections. In fact, elections are выборы (literally choices), since an election is just a big batch of individual choices. And so we say: Избиратели сделали свой выбор (The voters made their choice.) The next people to do their job are выборщики (electors), the folks who are in коллегия выборщиков (electoral college). That takes place later.

Today President Vladimir Putin made a speech of congratulation that shows how выбирать and избирать get used when talking about what happened on Nov. 8. Завершились президентские выборы (The presidential elections are over), he said. Хочу поздравить американский народ с завершением избирательного цикла, а господина Дональда Трампа — с победой на этих выборах (I want to congratulate the American people with the conclusion of the electoral cycle and Mr. Donald Trump with victory in these elections.)

Then there's подбирать/подобрать (to select, to pick), which you use when you picking, say, the most beautiful painting or most succulent apple. Or, you know, the right people to do the job: На такую ответственную работу подбирать надо лучших людей (You have to pick the best people for work with this kind of responsibility.) Or the right words to describe them: Слов необходимых и точных я подобрать не мог (I couldn't find the right words.)

If you like someone, you might pick them out of a line-up using the verb pair отбирать/отобрать: Нам даже доверяют отбирать лучших из кандидатов для участия в выборах (We are even entrusted with picking out the best candidates to run for office.) Or if you don't like someone, you can take them out of the line-up: Мы хотели отобрать всех некачественных кандидатов (We wanted to take out all the unqualified candidates.)

You might even want to use the verb pair убирать/убрать, which means to take something away, or make someone go away. Like, you know, Soprano style: Надо их убрать (You got to get rid of them.) Although most of the time, unless you are a mafia hitman, you use the verb pair to describe cleaning up — taking things off the chairs and floor and putting them where they belong. Мы убрали игрушки в детскую комнату (We put the toys away in the nursery.)

If you are not doing a deep clean but just neatening things up, use прибирать/прибрать: Мы быстро прибрали гостиную (We quickly tidied up the living room.)

If you want to get to the bottom of something, you use разбирать/разобрать, which means to take something apart, literally or figuratively. Теперь надо разбирать ошибки общественного правосознания (Now we have to figure out the errors in the public's sense of justice.)

But no matter how much analysis you do, after you make a choice, you get what you choose. TMT

The Moscow Times
No. 5780

700
the number of items
in the exhibition.

48
the age at which Bulgakov
died from nephrosclerosis,
an inherited kidney disorder.



"Manuscripts don't burn" is just one of a number of phrases from "The Master and Margarita" to have entered Russian lexicon. It alludes to Bulgakov's own difficulties as a writer in the Soviet Union.

Bulgakov: Two Biographies

By Phoebe Eddleston artsreporter@imedia.ru

Celebrating 125 years of Bulgakov

Ask a Russian what their favorite book is and there's a very high probability they'll answer "The Master and Margarita." Given the popularity of the novel and the cult status of its writer, there's little doubt the monumental new exhibition dedicated to Mikhail Bulgakov at the New Manege is one that crowds will happily queue in freezing temperatures to see.

"Bulgakov. Two Biographies," which marks the 125th anniversary of the writer's birth, includes 700 items from some 30 museums, archives and private collections including the Moscow and St. Petersburg Bulgakov museums.

"On the one hand, visitors can see Bulgakov through the eyes of his contemporaries, who knew him as a playwright, director, adapter and actor," said Peter Mansilla-Cruz, the curator of the exhibition, in a written statement to The Moscow Times. "On the other hand, they can see how the writer and the perception of his works brought him worldwide fame after their publication — the second part of the exhibition tells us about the mythological, cult writer who readers know today."

The first section, made up mostly of original documents and

archives, offers a historical but intimate perspective on his life. Alongside early manuscripts and the monocle Bulgakov wore to the staging of his first play, visitors can see correspondence between Bulgakov and Stalin in which the writer begs for greater creative freedom or the right to emigrate. Later the exhibition invites museum-goers to look at the "mythological" biography of the writer: the legacy, reproductions and interpretations of his work that the writer had no control over.

One of the most touching exhibits is a heavily censored copy of "The Master and Margarita," where fans cut and pasted excerpts from the original manuscript in their rightful places. Soviet authorities couldn't allow Margarita to be "invisible and free" as she flew over Moscow on a broomstick, so she is simply "invisible."

It was too late for Bulgakov to see the impact of his creative genius, but his work goes on to inspire generations of people in Russia and around the world. TMT

"Bulgakov. Two Biographies" runs at the New Manege through Jan. 9. 3/3 Georgiyevsky Pereulok. Metro Okhotny Ryad. moscowmanege.ru

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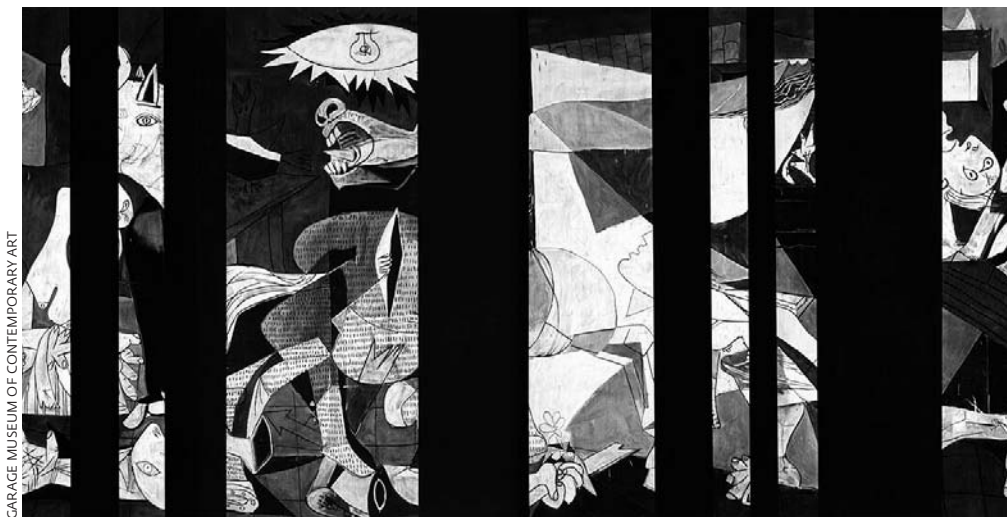
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An Exploration of Modern Existence at Garage

By **Andrei Muchnik** artsreporter@imedia.ru

Two exhibitions and two commissioned projects opened simultaneously at Garage Museum this autumn. Spanning artists of different nationalities, mediums and art movements, the season is united by a dialogue concerning the modern world and our role within it.

“The autumn season looks at how artists from diverse geographic locations respond to and comment on the social and political complexities of their times,” said Garage chief curator Kate Fowle in an interview with The Moscow Times. “Together the projects offer us personal perspectives — as opposed to rehearsed answers — and the opportunity for dialogue and speculation in response to the visual stimulus they give us.”

The first major exhibition, “Proof,” is a group project by Francisco Goya (1746-1828), Sergei Eisenstein (1898-1948) and the contemporary American artist Robert Longo.

The current exhibition was inspired by Longo's long-term fascination with Goya and Eisenstein and includes 43 of Eisenstein's sketches from the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, seven of his films and 49 of Goya's etchings on loan from the State Museum of Contemporary Russian History.

Longo, who curated the project alongside Fowles, also includes 35 of his own works on subjects ranging from the film “Transformers” to gun violence.

The second exhibition, “NSK: from Kapital to Capital” is devoted to the New Slovenian art or NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst). The exhibition covers key events from 1980 to 1992 including concerts, shows, theatrical productions, performances, public proclamations and guerrilla actions by the four core groups that comprised NSK. The self-organized alliance developed their own artistic response to the social and

political turmoil that preceded the collapse of Yugoslavia.

Perhaps the most visually striking of the current projects is Beijing-based Yin Xiuzhen's enormous site-specific installation “Slow Release,” situated in the museum's atrium. One of the largest structures the artist has ever made, “Slow Release” is an imposing medicine capsule made of clothing donated by Muscovites last summer. Visitors can enter the 12-meter structure, which was inspired by a new generation of pills that slow the medicine's absorption by the body while increasing its effect, and walk around inside.

A second commissioned project is located on the Garage rooftop. The yellow neon sign was created by Moscow-based conceptualist Boris Matrosov and bears the Russian for “No, she couldn't have known how it would all ...” It's a humorous nod to what Fowle terms “the intensity of our current climate,” both politically and socially.

The new shows and commissions at Garage, says Fowle, “are testimony to the fact that artists not only make history through their need to communicate their experiences and perspectives on the worlds in which they live, but also remind us that we are all part of forming the histories of the future.” **TMT**

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Pevcheskiy lane, 4, bld.1, Kitay-Gorod Moscow