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LOOKING BACK

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In 1917 he convinced the tsar to abdicate. His family suffers the consequences today. **> Page 8**

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Looking Back

March 16 - 22, 2017



"Russians know they are paying for Crimea out of their own pocket. But they are prepared to do so" Alexei Levinson, Levada Center



20 % rise in Putin's rating since annexation



Trump's spokesman has said the U.S. expects Russia "to return Crimea to Ukraine," dashing Moscow's hopes.

Third Time's a Charm

By Eva Hartog e.hartog@imedia.ru

Three years after annexation Crimea is beyond the point of no return

Tou'd have to be outside Russia to miss the March 18 celebrations — or their patriotic message.

Practically every Russian region is planning festivities around the three-year anniversary of the annexation of Crimea. Some have a local flavor; Yakutia, for example, is organizing deer races. Murmansk has chosen clarity over subtlety, with a flashmob titled "Crimea - Russia, forever!" and free balloons in Russia's tricolor.

Three years after Crimea was incorporated into Russia, its consequences have yet to unravel. Ukraine is still mired in conflict, tensions between Kiev and Moscow are as high as ever, and Western sanctions are still in place — despite hopes that a Trump presidency would usher in a softening of policy.

The tale of what Crimea has meant domestically differs depending on who you ask. By all accounts, the annexation has been an economic flop. In 2017, the republic will receive roughly 98 billion rubles from the federal budget. That puts it almost on par with some of Russia's most costly regions like Chechnya and Ingushetia. Huge infrastructural investments such as an upgraded airport and the Kerch bridge to the Russian mainland have yet to yield results. If Crimea has survived, it is only thanks to a heavy infusion of government money.

On the peninsula, locals say, a realization has sunk in that the change in rule has not cured the ill of rampant local corruption. "People be-

FIGHTING THE SYSTEM



For Russians, the "return" of Crimea is second only to the Soviet victory over Nazi Germany.

lieved in the fairytale that someone would come along and life would be good," says a 28-year-old resident of coastal town Yalta, who asked to remain anonymous. "But those running the place are still the same as they were under Ukraine. They are filling their pockets."

Western sanctions mean more daily inconveniences. Until the completion of the Kerch bridge (predicted for next year), the peninsula is still partly reliant on Ukraine. The power shortages that engulfed Crimea in the winter of 2015, sporadically return. Mastercard and Visa are still inoperative. Russian replacements are mostly symbolic; its Mir payment system, for example, can only be used inside Russia.

Then there are continued reports of human rights violations. Crimean Tatars still complain of persecution by Russian authorities. A journalist for RFERL, Mykola Semena, is facing separatism charges for an article he wrote in 2015. Since last year, the FSB has also been on the hunt for "Ukrainian saboteurs" on the peninsula. Several detainees say they were tortured.

Among ordinary residents, however, the animosity of the early days has mostly faded. "My sister in Ukraine used to call me a separatist, but now she's become less categorical," says the Yalta resident, who herself opposed the annexation. "People understand that it's just politics, and that actually we're one people."

The reality is that Crimeans have little choice but adapt — there is no appetite for a policy reversal, says Alexei Levinson of the Levada Center pollster. "The annexation has cured the trauma of the fall of the Soviet Union and made Russia a superpower again," he says. With the annexation seen as a heroic feat second only to the Soviet victory over Nazi Germany, Russians are willing to bear the economic and political cost, he says. "Crimea is in a league of its own. Putin would never be forgiven if he surrendered."

Not that that is a likely scenario. Crimea catapulted Putin's ratings to an all-time high that still endures. Presidential elections next year, which will likely (and fittingly) be held on March 18, will show whether the "Crimean consensus" can survive yet another year.

> By Ildar Dadin political activist



March 16 - 22, 2017

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n December 2015, Ildar Dadin became the first person in Russia to be convicted under Article 212.1, a controversial 2014 law that I makes repeated violations of the country's strict laws on street protests a criminal offence. He was sentenced to two and a half

Until Torture Ends

I'm Not Going Anywhere

years for taking part in anti-government protests. In prison, Dadin alleged torture. Following public outcry, Russia's Supreme Court overturned his sentence and he was released from a Siberian prison on Feb. 26. Days after walking free, Dadin held a oneman protest outside the headquarters of Russia's prison service.

I was released thanks to pressure from civil society, both inside Russia and abroad. But the law that sent me to prison, which limits our right to protest peacefully, still stands. This was no victory.

After my release, I went for a peaceful one-man protest against the torture taking place in Russia's northern Republic of Karelia. A policeman told me I did not have the right to stand there unless I showed him my documents. According to the Russian constitution, I am entitled to know on which basis I am being asked to show my documents during a protest. They detained me, before letting me go the same day.

I felt the need to hold the one-man protest for two reasons. First, I wanted the prison service to fire the head of Karelia's prison system and the commander of the prison I was held in. The torture in Karelian prisons happens directly under their watch.

Second, I demanded that they guarantee the safety of ten people in the prison I was held in. I know they are being tortured and convicted in new cases for reporting it. I want them to be moved to another prison.

Initially, the media reported that the commander of the prison will have to resign. But those reports were premature. He is still there and I am certain he will take revenge on the people who try to report torture. I think he may do it later, when all of this calms down. Nobody is interested in investigating him. I think it shows the emptiness of the Kremlin's system, in which they continue to pretend laws are enforced.

The commander and his men started torturing me in September last year. He would often make prisoners suffer from the cold. That's what he did to me first. They put me in a cell next to an exit and left the door open in freezing temperatures.

When I declared a hunger strike, they stuck my head in a toilet four times and a group of ten men (some of them were watching) beat me. They keep you in constant fear. They don't let you die, they make you suffer constantly. You never know when it will happen next and I often thought of suicide.

Not only do they beat you, they take away your right to basic hygiene. When I told them I had the right to a toothbrush, they beat me and threatened me with rape. They never raped me but I am sure that people were raped in that prison.

I was so hungry there. You don't feel the hunger straight away. It comes over time, from constant malnourishment. I dreamt about my lawyer coming and bringing hamburgers. In just two months, I went from weighing 75 kilos to just 55 because of the cold, the stress and the physical pain.

Upon my release, I thought about leaving the country. But the moment I heard people being tortured around me, I understood that staying in Russia was the right thing to do.

I knew I would eventually get out, but some people will stay there for ten years or more. I know there are real criminals there, murderers and so on. But I also know that there are innocent people there who are victims of our deficient justice system. There are also people who are guilty of a crime but do not deserve anything close to the long sentences they receive or the criminal torture they endure. I can't live with the thought of running away while those people are suffering.

My first mission is to fight the torture in Karelia. I want to see those sadists who tortured me and others behind bars. There are two possible outcomes. Either the state will protect them. That would send a powerful signal for other prisons. It would say "we tortured, we are torturing and we will torture." Or maybe the state will show that, sometimes, the law works.

I want Russia to be a law-abiding country not only on paper. State authorities allow this lawlessness and want the people to remain ouiet.

I am appealing to the active minority that wants to make the country a better place, we need to unite to fight this evil. The rest of society, the majority, will be better off when their rights are not infringed upon.

My faith is in good, normal, people.

Looking Back

"Everyone has been to Crimea, there is practically no one who hasn't been there." Dmitry Peskov



2 Russia's place last year.

The Moscow Times

No. 5795



Samoylova is not the first physically disabled Eurovision contestant. In 2015, Poland nominated Monika Kuczynska, who was left in a wheelchair following a car accident.

(VTsIOM poll). Yulia Samoylova has been hailed as an

of Russians want to

boycott Eurovision



The Battle for Eurovision

By Eva Hartog e.hartog@imedia.ru

Russia has claimed the moral high ground by nominating a wheelchairbound singer to Eurovision. But how much of that is calculation?

ow do you surprise a festival whose raison d'être is to shock and awe, and whose winners include a bearded drag queen in a gold-sequined dress?

Perhaps, as Russia did this week, by nominating a singer in a wheelchair. Ever since state television's Channel One announced it had selected Yulia Samoylova as Russia's entry for the song festival last week, Eurovision has dominated conversations in the media and online.

Few expect Samoylova's love ballad "Flame Is Burning" to be a winning song. But that, some commentators have remarked, is a secondary concern. They say Russia is not in it for the Eurovision points — it is in it to claim the moral high ground.

A festival that is as much about geopolitical favoritism as it is about kitschy camp glam, Russia's participation in the song festival has long been a topic of controversy.

In 2014, the year Russia annexed Crimea and conflict flared with Ukraine, its act got booed. Last year, it lost the title to Ukraine, coming second. The defeat was all the more humiliating because the winning artist was a Crimean Tatar who sang about the repression of her people under Stalin – an unmistakable nod to the ethnic minority's current troubles under Kremlin rule.

So with Kiev as this year's host, Russia's choice of candidate was always going to be interpreted as a political message. Not that Moscow would acknowledge this so openly.

"Yulia is a unique singer, an enchanting girl and an experienced contestant," the head of Russia's Eurovision delegation Yury Aksyuta was cited as saying by the channel.

Samoylova was born healthy, but incurred a disability as a voung child following a botched vaccination. She made a name for herself in 2013 on the "Faktor A" talent tv-show, where she came in second. In 2014, she performed at the opening ceremony of the Winter Paralympics in Sochi. Her performances were hailed as an example of resilience, but she fell short of making it big until now.

With the conflict between Ukraine and Russia nowhere near resolution, opinion at home is divided over whether Russia should participate in the festival at all. A Twitter poll by one of Russian state television's flagship presenters Vladimir Solovyov had 68 percent of more than 7,500 Twitter users vote in favor of a Russian boycott.

Judging by reports from Kiev, Ukraine is not too keen either.

Old social media posts that have surfaced online show Samoylova has in the past defended Russia's annexation of Crimea. She also gave a concert there in June 2015 - a red flag for Kiev, which classifies Crimea as occupied territory. According to Ukrainian law, it is reason enough to bar her entry to the country.

In a Facebook post, a spokesperson for the SBU, Ukraine's security service, said the organization was investigating the details of the Crimea visit and would make a ruling based on "Ukrainian law and national security interests."

Putin's spokesman Dmitry Peskov has denied that the choice of a candidate who openly supports Russia's annexation of Crimea is in any way a provocation of the Ukrainian authorities. "Everyone has been to Crimea, there is practically no one who hasn't been there," he told Russian media. "It's an international competition and the host country should follow international rules."

The Eurovision song festival declined to respond to a request for comment on whether Ukraine has the right to ban a contestant's entry.

In any case, some commentators argue, Kiev's hands are tied: Moscow would frame any attack on Samoylova as an attack on the disabled, they say. "The Kremlin will transform itself from a fortress of conservative values into a defender of human rights," Metodichka, an anonymous news channel on Telegram popular among the liberal intelligentsia, wrote.

It would not be the first time Russian state media has used disabled people to claim the moral high-ground. When the International Paralympic Committee last summer announced it would impose a blanket ban on Russian Paralympic athletes over doping allegations, it was widely framed as a cynical attack on the innocent and defenseless.

"If they don't allow Samoylova to enter Kiev because of her concert in Crimea, or if she is met by anti-Russian slogans or eggs are pelted at her, it's clear in what terms Russian officials will start talking about it," commentator Oleg Kashin wrote in an article in Republic.ru.

Meanwhile, life for disabled Russians is riddled with obstacles and stigma. With practically no infrastructure in place, they are often condemned to their homes, rendering them practically invisible. And some would prefer to keep it so.

In comments to the liberal Ekho Moskvy radio station, Soviet-era crooner Iosif Kobzon said Eurovision was "a tournament for healthy contestants," and appointing Samoylova was ammunition for Russia's rivals. "To give [people] a reason to say: the country is as [flawed as] its contestants, we can't do such things," he said. About eighteen percent of a poll in the Komsomolskaya Pravda tabloid, one of many in the Russian media, said a different candidate should have been chosen.

Russia's ambiguous attitude toward the disabled has been widely meted out in the national media only recently. The scandal was triggered by comments made by two famous judges on the popular TV talent show "Minuta Slavy" (Minute of Fame) following the performance of a dancer who had been left with one leg after suffering a severe road accident.

Panel member and prominent presenter Vladimir Pozner voted down Yevgeny Smirnov's act suggesting his disability was being used as a "gimmick." A fellow panel member, famous actress Renata Litvinova, proposed Smirnov use a prosthetic to make his disability "less obvious" and in order not to "exploit the topic."

Following the public outburst, the two judges apologized in the next episode, saying they hadn't meant to offend, but Smirnov dropped out in protest.

After picking Samoylova, many commentators have speculated that Channel One, which broadcasts "Minuta Slavy" and also owns the rights to Eurovision, was trying to atone for the scandal. Clips of Pozner's apology and the clip of Samoylova's appointment featured practically next to each other on its home page.

Perspektiva, a Russian non-governmental organization that defends the rights of disabled people, sees a silver lining to all the media attention. "The fact there's dialogue around disability, that it has stopped being a moral taboo, is a huge step for Russia," Yelena Zaluchayeva, a spokersperson for the NGO told The Moscow Times. Some political experts have even speculated that disabled rights may now become a platform for Putin's 2018 presidential campaign.

Smirnov, the disabled dancer, agrees Samoylova's participation in the contest is a positive development — but for a different reason.

"Other countries have a completely different attitude to disability [than Russia]," he told the Komsomolskaya Pravda tabloid. "So those who will vote for her, will do so on the basis of Yulia's art, and not her disability,"

3

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Looking Back

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"Knowledge has always flowed upwards to bishops and kings, not down to serfs and slaves." — **Julian** Assange





WikiLeak

Wikileaks' "hostility to even modest curation is a mistake." — NSA surveillance leaker **Edward Snowden**

The Grand Conspiracy

By Matthew Kupfer newsreporter@imedia.ru | Illustration by Andrei Dorokhin

Some claim WikiLeaks is working for the Kremlin. The reality is hardly so simple

he timing couldn't have been better for Moscow.

Russia was being accused by U.S. intelligence of hacking the 2016 presidential election in support of Donald Trump. Documents stolen in the hack, agencies allege, were given to WikiLeaks for public release. Many Trump opponents blamed Russia for his victory. And Washington hummed with speculation about illicit meetings between Trump administration officials and the Russian ambassador.

Then, on March 7, WikiLeaks released "Vault 7," a trove of documents detailing CIA surveillance and cyber warfare capabilities. Among its many shocking revelations, the cache showed that the U.S. intelligence agency could carry out cyber attacks imitating other countries — including Russia.

While it is unclear who leaked the documents, the information seemed calculated to undermine faith in the hacking allegations against Russia and, possibly, to support Trump.

Soon politicians weighed in. Senator John McCain, a noted Russia hawk, asserted that "WikiLeaks has had a Russian connection." Former CIA Director Michael Hayden said he believes "WikiLeaks was acting as an arm...of the Russian Federation."

But for all the talk of an alliance between WikiLeaks and the Russian state, many experts believe the reality is more complicated.

The Man in the High Tower

Few people who know WikiLeaks from the inside — former employees and collaborators — are willing to talk openly about the organization today. The whistleblowing platform's mercurial leader, Julian Assange, and his supporters have harassed many critics into silence. Even Edward Snowden — the leaker who revealed mass surveillance by the U.S.

National Security Agency and subsequently sought asylum in Moscow on Assange's advice — has run afoul of the WikiLeaks founder in recent months.

Several former Wikileaks collaborators declined to speak with The Moscow Times on the record. But their collective characterizations of the organization paint a chaotic picture. Contrary to the image it presents, WikiLeaks is neither a large organization, nor motivated purely by ideology. Assange currently hiding out in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London to avoid Swedish rape charges — dominates the organization, and its actions reflect his personal motivations.

"Julian has long viewed the world through the prism of his own situation," one former WikiLeaks collaborator told The Moscow Times on condition of anonymity. Assange sees Russia as a supporter, and views the U.S. and Britain as his enemies. As a result, "in recent years, WikiLeaks and the Russian state have effectively joined forces," the former collaborator said.

Others question that the relationship is so straightforward. Mark Galeotti, an expert on the Russian security services, believes Russia views WikiLeaks as a "convenient outlet when it has material it wants to make public."

But this means keeping a low profile. Russia likely does not have "institutional contact" with Assange, as this would only serve to discredit WikiLeaks. Still, Assange would have to



be "extraordinarily stupid and naive" not to realize the DNC hacks came from Russia, Caleotti says.

"The problem is that the information that's being distributed is real," he says. "That makes it much less of a problem for people of [Assange's] ideological bent."

Black Box

Maintaining "plausible deniability" is likely key to any possible ties between Russia and WikiLeaks. But this deniability is also built into the organization.

Both supporters and critics of Wikileaks told The Moscow Times that WikiLeaks' means of receiving leaks can often make it very difficult to trace their origins — or confirm their veracity. The organization accepts anonymous, encrypted submissions online.

WikiLeaks is a "black box," says Israel Shamir, a controversial activist connected with WikiLeaks. "If it would be possible to say I got it from John or Mark, pretty soon the CIA or FSB [Russian security services] would come running after them."

A Russian-born writer frequently accused of anti-Semitism, Shamir portrays himself simply as a WikiLeaks-accredited journalist in Russia. But his real role was much greater. He visited Assange in Britain in 2010 and was entrusted with distributing leaked U.S. diplomatic cables to Russian journalists. His involvement in the organization alarmed several former participants in the WikiLeaks project, and some suggest he may be the conduit between Russia and Assange. Shamir is also believed to have passed diplomatic cables onto the government of Belarus, leading to the arrest of opposition activists in the country.

(Shamir denies any connections to the Russian or Belarusian governments and says he simply published articles based on documents related to the country. He says he no longer works with WikiLeaks.)

But Shamir's characterization of WikiLeaks is at least partially correct.

"In theory, it's a safe and anonymous letter box," Caleotti says. "But I have a suspicion that things are sometimes fed in, and [WikiLeaks does] know where they came from."

Changing Fortunes

If Russia has ties with WikiLeaks today, that certainly wasn't the case seven years ago, says Mika Velikovsky, a Russian journalist who worked extensively with WikiLeaks and interviewed Assange three times.

While working for the magazine Russian Reporter, WikiLeaks' main partner in Russia, Velikovsky received packets of U.S. diplomatic cables from Shamir, sorted through the documents and published articles based upon them. He also worked on the 2012 leak of emails from the intelligence company Stratfor and collaborated with WikiLeaks on the 2013 documentary film Mediastan.

In 2010, Velikovsky defended WikiLeaks on Russian state television's political talk

shows — programs that often reflect the positions of the Kremlin. There, he clashed with pro-Kremlin experts who claimed that WikiLeaks was the anti-Russian project of American spies.

"At the time, it seemed the authorities were worried about WikiLeaks and didn't know what it was," he says. "So the Russian mainstream media was very anti-Wikileaks."

Then, in 2012, Julian Assange got a show on RT, a Russian state-funded propaganda channel. The development came amid a worldwide financial blockade of WikiLeaks, when the organization desperately needed money. Velikovsky suggests Assange's appearance on RT marked WikiLeaks' transformation from a threat to an ally in the eyes of the Russian authorities.

However, he suggests that WikiLeaks' seeming alliance with Russia stems from Assange's own personal predicament. Hiding in the Ecuadorian Embassy for over 4 years has robbed Assange of "a lot of the joy [of life] that you and I have," Velikovsky says. "If someone did that to us, it would be very personal."

But to the anonymous former WikiLeaks collaborator who spoke with The Moscow Times, that's hardly an excuse — particularly after the U.S. election hacks.

"It's one thing publishing material from a whistleblower like Edward Snowden who is acting from idealistic motives," he said. "It's another acting as the publishing wing of Russian intelligence."

Looking Forward



"A Haftar victory would require a train-and-equip program, including Russian special operations forces and military advisors on the ground." The Moscow Times No. 5795





January 11 Haftar spoke with Russian Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu via video-conference from the Russian aircraft carrier "Admiral Kuznetsov." March 30, 2016

the day that Libya's Tripolibased Government of National Accord took control.

Russia Wants to Deal in Libya

If the Kremlin's strongman restores a Gaddafi-light dictatorship in Libya, Russia will reap an economic — and geopolitical — windfall



Op-Ed by <mark>Vladimir Frolov</mark> Political analyst

Reports that Russia has deployed special forces to a military base in Egypt to assist Libyan National Army general Khalifa Haftar come as no surprise. Nor are Russia's official denials surprising. After all, media coverage of covert action is traditionally guided by the George Schultz rule: "If the CIA denies it, it's denied."

But the reports ring true. Russia has made little secret of its support for Haftar, a maverick Libyan military officer who worked with Muammar Gaddafi during the 1969 coup, fell in and out with both the Soviets and the CIA, and in 2011 acted as a spoiler of Western efforts to stabilize Libya.

By 2017, Haftar had reinvented himself as a fighter against "radical Islamic terrorists" and commander of the Libyan National Army — a force controlling most of Eastern Libya. The force is loosely aligned with the breakaway Libyan parliament in Tobruk (elected in 2014) that does not recognize the authority of the UN-backed Government of National Accord in Tripoli led by Fayez Al-Serraj.

In July and November 2016, Haftar made high-profile visits to Moscow. There he received the red carpet treatment and met with key policy makers, including Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu and Secretary of the Security Council Nikolai Patrushev.

The details of their discussions have not been released, but it is clear that they discussed backing Haftar's forces to gain control over all of Libya and restore stability and central governance under some form of a military dictatorship.

What Russia wants in return – arms and energy deals –



may have come up too. Moscow is still hurting over the loss of military and commercial contracts with Gaddafi worth over 4 billion brokered by Putin in 2010.

On Jan. 11 Haftar boarded the Russian aircraft carrier Admiral Kuznetsov on her return voyage from bombing runs in Syria to sign a host of undisclosed agreements with the Russian military. While aboard the ship, he held a video conference with Shoigu. It was a clear-cut designation of Haftar as the primary Russian asset in Libya.

Moscow's military foray into Libya makes sense from a policy perspective. If Haftar wins out in Libya and restores a Gaddafi-light dictatorship there, it would be a stunning reversal of the 2011 Libyan uprising and the Western military intervention that toppled the dictator over Russian objections. What could be a better demonstration of Russia's ability to thwart Western efforts at regime change and democracy promotion?

But is Haftar the right bet? Moscow is trying to sell its support for Haftar to the West as the best way to restore stability, supress the Islamic State and al-Qaeda and stop the flow of refugees to Europe and arms to terrorist groups in Africa.

It is also trying to convince Europe that Haftar is the shortcut solution to effective border control.

But the general's reach may be limited. His Libyan National Army is neither an army nor national. The loose coalition of local ragtag militias based around Benghazi has no clear path to victory over the government in Tripoli.

A Haftar victory in Libya would require a massive Russian train-and-equip program, insertion of Russian special operations forces and military advisors on the ground to coordinate airstrikes. All of that would currently be illegal.

Haftar from this perspective is a "rebel" and a "spoiler." Key international players are likely to view Haftar's potential military offensive on Tripoli as a recipe for full-blown civil war which would push refugees toward Europe.

The EU and Algeria have reached out to Russia to help broker a deal between Haftar and the GNA government that would recognize Haftar as the defense minister. Serraj pitched the plan in February and Russia signaled interest. But Haftar refused to play ball. Now Moscow has upped the ante with its deployment of special forces operators to support Haftar.

Russia appears to be running two separate Libya policies. The Foreign Ministry seems to be more inclined to pursue the EU-backed "reconciliation option" where Haftar is part of the solution, not "the solution."

The Defense Ministry and some in the Kremlin are "bravely" pushing for a full scale military support program for Haftar to secure his sole control over the entire country. This would marginalize the West and maximize Russia's future "monetization options."

The two approaches are somewhat in conflict with each other, unless the MFA works simply to provide cover for the MOD's "operators." We are about to find out.



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Russian Tales

March 16 – 22, 2017



"[Women] are not insulted even when a man beats his wife – it is not as insulting as offending or humiliating a man" **Yelena Mizulina**, senator



3,928 cases of "simple battery" resulted in convictions in the first nine months of 2016.



Women's rights advocates say that when women defend themselves and fight back, the police often sides with men and open criminal cases against women.



'A Choice Between Prison and the Grave'

By Daria Litvinova d.litvinova@imedia.ru | Photos by Amnesty International

For most victims of domestic violence in Russia, self-defense remains the only option – and it often comes with a price

ina grabbed the nearest thing — a metal bar — she could find to defend herself.

For years, she'd been the victim of abuse by her husband, Maxim. She'd been strangled and beaten — even when she was pregnant. She had left him, divorced him, and even moved to another city with her newborn daughter and mother. But Maxim followed her, tried to break into her new apartment and even attempted to kidnap their daughter.

Now he was attacking both her and her elderly mother. Calls to the police resulted in nothing, so she turned to the metal bar. And when the metal bar failed to stop him, she pulled out pepper spray. He left, and she went to the police. Two weeks later, Nina discovered that the authori-

ties had opened a criminal case. Only it was not against Maxim, but against her — over the minor injuries her exhusband sustained. Now Nina was the one who was facing time in prison for domestic violence.

Nina's story may be extreme, but it is not unique. Law enforcement in Russia does little to protect women from domestic abuse. And when these women resort to self-defense, the police usually side with the men.

Russia is "forcing women to choose between prison and the grave," says Mari Davtyan, a lawyer who defends victims of domestic abuse.

Catch 22

According to official statistics, in the first nine months of 2016, law enforcement registered 9,704 cases of women suffering from "simple battery" (assault that doesn't result in substantial bodily harm).

Combined with more significant levels of harm, there are tens of thousands of women suffering from domestic abuse each year. Many die from their injuries and some women are murdered. Large numbers of women are prosecuted for fighting back. In 2016, 6,916 criminal cases were opened against women for "knowingly inflicting light bodily harm" on other people, according to data from Russia's Interior Ministry provided to The Moscow Times. Not all of them are in self-defense, but a large proportion are.

What's more, Russia decriminalized simple battery carried out by family members this year. The decision is unlikely to improve matters.

The implications remain uncertain. But decriminalization signals to many that the authorities don't consider domestic violence serious. It's little surprise that few women turn to the police after their partners attack them.

"Seventy percent of women that call our hotline say they have never sought help from law enforcement," says Andrei Sinelnikov, deputy head of the Anna Center, an NGO helping victims of domestic violence.



Even when they do seek help, police officers don't live up to their responsibilities. One egregious example of police indifference appeared on tape in November 2016 and was widely reported by the media. The 36-year-old victim, Yana Savchuk, was a resident of Oryol, 200 miles south of Moscow. After an attack by her ex-boyfriend, Savchuck called the police, fearing for her life.

"Don't call us again, we won't come!" said the officer at the scene. She was later identified as Natalya Bashkatova, the award-winning "best beat policewoman in Oryol."

"What do you mean you won't come? What if something [bad] happens and I call you, you won't come?" Savchuk asks, outraged.

"If he kills you, we will come and report the corpse, don't worry," Bashkatova responds.

A day later Savchuk, hospitalized with severe injuries, died.

The Silver Lining of Decriminalization

Police officers themselves offer a different perspective on the issue. Beat policemen usually stay out of family matters when possible, Mikhail Pashkin, chair of the Police Union, told The Moscow Times. "They know that, in two days time, the woman will withdraw her complaint, so why bother?" he said.

Officers polled by The Moscow Times confirmed that the majority of women withdraw their complaints. Others "reconcile" with their attackers instead of bringing the case forward.

"Usually women call the police to scare their partners. They are not ready for a serious legal fight. Most cases settle 'upon reconciliation of parties," a beat policeman told The Moscow Times on condition of anonymity.

Another anonymous officer said she filed thousands of domestic violence complaints over 15 years.

Russian Tales



"If he kills you, we'll come and report the corpse," **Natalya Bashkatova**, the award-winning "best beat policewoman in Oryol."

9,704 women suffered from "simple battery" in 2016.

The Moscow Times

No. 5795



Beat policemen prefer to stay out of family matters as much as possible, because women tend to withdraw complaints, says Mikhail Pashkin, chair of the Police Union.

30,000 rub

The fine first-time domestic abusers face for "simple battery."



Amnesty International has been campaigning against domestic violence worldwide, including Russia, where the situation is not improving, says Anna Kirey, Deputy Director for Campaigns for Russia and Eurasia.

"Do you know how many of them resulted in trials and verdicts? Five," she said.

But lawyer Davtyan argues that withdrawing complaints is not a legal procedure. Once a complaint is filed and properly registered, it can't be rescinded, and a probe must be opened. Police officers allowing women to rescind complaints three days after filing are neglecting their duties. "They simply don't register complaints, and instead sit around waiting for women to come and withdraw," she says.

The solution is simple: "Police officers should start fulfilling their duties," says Davtyan.

Decriminalizing domestic violence has improved matters, some officers argue. Now that familial battery is an administrative offense, there can be no "reconciliation of parties," they say.

"If we get a call and go to the scene, we put together a report that goes to court anyway, no matter how much the woman wants to stop it [later on]," a beat policeman told The Moscow Times on condition of anonymity.

Davtyan accepts this, but argues developments make life easier for the police, not victims. Officer performance ratings focus on cases they personally launch and close. Responding to domestic abuse calls when it was a criminal offence did not benefit them, because they were not empowered to open criminal cases.

"Now they can open administrative cases and get better statistics," Davtyan says. This, she believes, is why they feel more enthusiastic about decriminalization.

But what's in it for the victim? In the best case scenario, the abuser will get a fine, which he will pay out of the family budget. "They might even arrest him—but only for two or three hours—and then he comes back home even angrier," Davtyan says.

Police statistics on "simple battery" in families between January and September 2016.

It's more than the year before. Yet, according to women's rights advocates, 70 percent of women don't call the police when assaulted by their family members. As a result, the numbers below do not fully reflect the scale of domestic abuse.



Source: Russian Interior Ministry

Self-Defense

Without police support, desperate women trapped at home take charge and defend themselves.

Natalya Tunikova's expected to die when her husband Dmitry dragged her to the balcony. Her apartment was on the 16th floor, so surviving the fall was out of the question. She tried to hold on to the kitchen table and accidentally grabbed a knife while fighting her attacker off. She cut him in the process.

Dmitry called an ambulance and doctors called the police, who arrested the bruised and shocked Natalya. The suit she brought against her husband for beating her was dismissed. Dmitry healed and went to Turkey on vacation soon after the incident. But Natalya faces up to 8 years in prison.

There are ways of inflicting minimal harm on an attacker while defending yourself. But in life-threatening situations, this isn't a priority, says Natalya Mastyukova, a coach at the White Lynx self-defense club for women. "When it's life or death, what do you think a person would choose? Someone's broken ribs or their life?" she says.

In her experience, women tend not to fight — they pity their attackers and fear harming them. That is the first thing Mastyukova teaches women to overcome. "Your attacker won't pity you or wait until you work up the courage to fight back," she says. "So you need to be as aggressive as possible." Self-defense classes for women are gain-

ing in popularity, says Mastyukova. But few victims of domestic abuse take them. It is never those who need it most. Women who live with abusers and live in fear rarely take part.

"We had a few phone calls from women who live with abusive relatives, but they never showed up," Mastyukova says. "I got the impression their abusers control their lives."



Living Here

March 16 – 22, 2017



"At the end of the day, the only person who told me the truth was [Mikhail] Rodzianko" Russia's last tsar Nicholas II **1920** The year Mikhail Rodzianko left Russia with his family. March 15, 1917 Nicholas II announced his abdication to calm revolutionary turmoil.



Nicholas II and his family were canonized as passion bearers, a title commemorating believers who face death in a Christ-like manner.



The Man Who Maybe Sparked a Revolution

By Howard Amos newsreporter@imedia.ru | Illustration by Yevgeny Tonkonogy

Duma speaker Mikhail Rodzianko is credited as the man who persuaded Nicholas II to abdicate. Four generations later, his descendants struggle with his legacy

ussia's last tsar, Nicholas II, sent a telegram on March 15, 1917 announcing his abdication in an attempt to calm spreading revolutionary turmoil.

It was addressed to Mikhail Rodzianko, a senior courtier, speaker of the imperial parliament, the Duma, and a prominent advocate of constitutional reform.

"There is no sacrifice I would not make for the sake of the true well-being and salvation of our Mother Russia. For that reason, I am prepared to renounce the throne," Nicholas II wrote.

Weeks before the decision, it was Rodzianko who had warned Nicholas II that the situation in Petrograd, the wartime name for imperial capital St. Petersburg, was spiraling out of control amid mass demonstrations, strikes and mutiny in the armed forces.

A hundred years later, as Russia marks the centenary of the tsar's abdication, Rodzianko's great-grandson, Alexis Rodzianko, still lives with the actions of his famous ancestor.

Modern-day conservatives and nationalists blame "traitors" for the events of 1917 that led to the destruction of the Russian Empire — and Rodzianko is one of their targets.

"It's almost like the man is still alive and they are still arguing with him," says Alexis Rodzianko, now head of the American Chamber of Commerce in Moscow. "There are people who consider our family to be beyond the pale to this day. That's why it's so ambiguous. People are still living it."

Alexis Rodzianko says that he often reads online attacks on his family. Social snubs are also common: he was not invited to a recent high-profile conference on the February Revolution organized by the Orthodox Church in Moscow's Christ the Savior Cathedral.

The abdication of Nicholas II was the culmination of the 1917 February Revolution (although it now falls in March since the tsarist-era calendar was abandoned). After the abdication, a provisional government emerged, only to be swept away in November when Vladimir Lenin's Bolsheviks seized power and began to carve out a Communist state.

Alexis Rodzianko, who was brought up in the United States after his parents emigrated there following World War II, said there was always lots of talk in the family home, particularly between his grandparents, about the revolution and its consequences.

"It was a hot topic for them," he says. "One of the very first things I remember were some of the animated discussions about the revolution and events in Russia."

Mikhail Rodzianko, known for his rotund physique and deep bass voice, was from an old Russian aristocratic family and owned large estates near Poltava in modern-day Ukraine. He was appointed speaker of the Duma in 1911. Though a loyal monarchist, he had a difficult relationship with Nicholas II and he took a leading role in criticizing the imperial family over the influence of the scandalous holy man Rasputin, who Nicholas II's wife believed could manage her son's hemophilia.

But the relationship between the two men took on an immense significance for Russia's future during the events of the February Revolution.

Rodzianko was one of the few people close to the tsar to repeatedly warn him that the situation in Petrograd was reaching crisis point. On February 28, a week before the demonstrations that would lead to the revolution started to escalate, Rodzianko wrote: "We are approaching the twelfth hour and we are too close to the moment when appeals to the people's reason will be late and useless," according to the 1917.ru, a website that is marking the revolution's centenary by re-telling events in real time on social networks using excerpts from diaries, letters and memoirs.

On March 12, three days before the tsar would resign, Rodzianko wrote: "Anarchy in the capital. Government paralyzed. Transport of food and fuel completely disorganized. Public disaffection growing. Chaotic shooting on the streets. Army units fire at each other," according to an account in the book "The Russian Revolution" by U.S. historian Richard Pipes.

Nicholas II, who was away from the capital, repeatedly disregarded Rodzianko.

Pipes recounts how on March 13, in response to another message, Nicholas II remarked: "That fat fellow Rodzianko has again written me all kinds of nonsense which I shan't even bother to answer."

But just two days later, with his train stranded in the city of

Pskov because of strikes, Nicholas II was persuaded to step aside by his generals, who had also been briefed by Rodzianko on the situation.

Alexis Rodzianko says that, according to family legend, shortly after his abdication, Nicholas II acknowledged he should have heeded the warnings and said: "At the end of the day the only person who told me the truth was Rodzianko."

The centenary of the revolution and the fall of Nicholas II, who was murdered by the Bolsheviks with his family the following year, is an uncomfortable event for the Kremlin, which prefers to emphasize more triumphant episodes in Russian history. There are few official events planned to mark the anniversary.

"It's a confusing event for Russia and the Russian population," says Alexis Rodzianko. "There are still a lot of different viewpoints: Was it a step forward? A national tragedy? The end of Russian history? It's not clear."

For Mikhail Rodzianko — who always maintained he wanted to see Russia evolve into a constitutional monarchy like Britain — the collapse of tsarism was a tragedy.

"His reaction [to the abdication] was that it was the end. And it was, for him. His actual influence and ability to do anything was eliminated," says Alexis Rodzianko of his great-grandfather. "He also understood that the minute the abdication happened and the provisional government was set up, he would be cursed forever. He had that very clearly in his mind and he was right."

As the cause of the conservative Whites in the Civil War collapsed and the Communists consolidated control, Mikhail Rodzianko left Russia with his family in 1920. One of his sons was shot by the Bolsheviks in Kiev in 1918, another emigrated to Paris. A third son, Alexis Rodzianko's grandfather, lived in Serbia until the arrival of the Red Army at the end of World War II when, fearing for his life, he fled with his family first to Germany, and then to the U.S.

The statesman himself died in Serbia in 1924, apparently in poverty. According to great-grandson Alexis, he remained tormented by his role during those decisive 1917 days: "His great pain was: did I do everything I could to prevent this revolution?"

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Living Here



"I tell people the simulator is 99 percent accurate," says the owner, **Mikhail Kozhevnikov** Aviator the name of the simulator venue and restaurant.

The Moscow Times

No. 5795



Flanker - the NATO callsign for Russian Su-27 fighters and their derivatives. **300km/hr** the ideal takeoff

speed for an Su-27.

Danger Zone

By Matthew Bodner m.bodner@imedia.ru

It's not exactly Top-Gun, but it's as close as you're going to get



The simulator is a mock-up of an SU-27 fighter jet. For around 2000 rubles you can engage in the destruction of a \$30 million Russian airplane. Or you can seriously practice your flying skills. The choice is up to you.

y first attempt to launch from the Admiral Kuznetsov, Russia's aircraft carrier, was a failure. I sat in the cockpit of a Sukhoi Su-33 fighter jet, hands poised on the controls. My air traffic controller, Roman, spoke to me through a headset. Together, we worked through the pre-flight checklist. But I was having trouble making out his commands, his tinny voice drowned out by the high pitch wail of my Sukhoi's engines.

It took me a moment to find a red button to my left. Several of them matched Roman's muffled description. I found it and pressed down hard. A panel on my dashboard then flickered green, signaling that my plane's flaps had extended into position. This would help me take off at a low speed. Glancing at the horizon, I was reminded why that is important: the end of the deck was just 100 meters in front of me.

The lack of distance would be less daunting on an American carrier. But Kuznetsov lacks the powerful catapults that fling U.S. jets off their decks at high speeds. Acceleration is slow without the catapult. To take off, Russian planes have to hit the gas hard and hope for the best. A successful take off, as I would soon demonstrate, is not a given.

Carrier launches are high-stakes physics problems. A landbased runway is several hundred meters long. This gives pilots a decent margin of error as they accelerate to 300km/ hr — a numerical sweet spot that sends Sukhois soaring into the sky. But Kuznetsov's flight deck leaves pilots with little leeway. In the space of 100 meters, they must hit a speed of 150km/hr. The flaps increase the odds of staying dry.

To compensate for the lack of runway space, the Russian ship's bow angles upward like a ski jump. This gives the plane a final, encouraging kick into the air. As I stared at the ramp, contemplating the nature of God, Roman gave me a green light and I thrust the throttle forward. Roman's voice gave way completely to the roar of the engines. The world trembled and my Sukhoi hurled toward the end of the deck.

In moments, Kuznetsov disappeared below me. The sensations of takeoff were overwhelming. Through the headphones I heard Roman's excited voice. Something was wrong, I was not accelerating fast enough. I looked to my display. Its ominous reading: 70km/hr. I was well below the required takeoff speed. I yanked back on my controls, orienting my vision toward the sky as I crashed hard into the Black Sea. "How's the water?" Roman said through my headphones. His voice clear as day.

Labor of Love

None of this was real. Except for Roman. My stunted launch from Kuznetsov was a simulation. The experience of flying a Sukhoi is the main attraction of an aviation-themed bar and restaurant run by a former Soviet air force officer, Mikhail Kozhevnikov, and a group of aviation enthusiasts. Known as Aviator, the purpose of the venues is to "promote public interest in flight," says Kozhevnikov.

In the bar, located on an embankment in Moscow's Taganka district, other customers can observe your simulated flight on-screen. The simulator provides a "99 percent realistic" experience he says.

Beyond the realism of the simulator cockpit — which moves and shakes along with your virtual Sukhoi — I was skeptical of the claim. But after taking a \$30-million Su-33 fighter jet for a swim, I couldn't help but reconsider. And Kozhevnikov's simulator features physical and sensory stimuli to make the game as authentic as possible.

Most of Kozhevnikov's time in the service was spent at airbases in and around Russia's southern Caucasus region. This also happens to be the region his simulation operates in. But he was never able to become a pilot. "Bad eyesight," he tells me while I change into a special flight suit.

The suit is a key part of the simulator's design. Fighter jets move fast, and pilots can experience intense forces while turning — like car drivers feel during a sharp turn. The suit simulates the pressure of high-intensity turns as you dip, dive and wind around the sky. It does this by inflating to squeeze your thighs and torso like a blood pressure monitor.

Basic Training

The combined sensations of pressure from the suit, the movement of the simulator, and the noise of the engines can at first feel overwhelming. But Kozhevnikov's flight program takes things slow, and introduces wannabe pilots to key concepts one step at a time. After completing my training, I asked to practice takeoffs and landings on Kuznetsov.

Both Roman and Kozhevnikov warned me it would be difficult. After the disaster of my first launch attempt, I wondered if they might have a point. After all, the real challenge is not taking off from the carrier, but landing on it. In my first attempt, I watched as a virtual Kuznetsov vanished below me. I overshot the mark.

I stuck the landing on my second attempt. Roman was impressed. "Very well done!" he piped in over the headphones. "I didn't think you were going to make it." But I wasn't satisfied. I had yet to enjoy the full Kuznetsov experience. Everything was going according to plan when I got what I wished for: an almost perfect landing, followed by a near-death experience.

On an otherwise perfect landing, my Sukhoi failed to stop. It was as if the arrester wire, which catches planes on landing, snapped. Before I could react, my plane rolled off the front of the deck. It was a blow-by-blow repeat of a problem that saw two of Kuznetsov's planes crash in the ocean during its deployment to Syria last year.

In reality, I probably just missed the wire. I saved myself by hitting the gas. Hard. As I came in for my final approach, Roman began to warn me that I was too high. The last thing I saw was the double-headed eagle, Russia's national crest, on the stern of Kuznetsov. Then, darkness.

Those interested in trying their hand at the simulator can find it Aviator, Zemlyanoi Val 52/16, and can find out more on the website: http://aviator-klub.ru/



Living Here



The ideas of German philopsopher Immanuel Kant are the target of the narrator's contempt in Dostoyevsky's 1864 novella "Notes from the Underground."

THE WORD'S WORTH

What's Your **Russian Problem?**

Претензия: pretension (sometimes)



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

ne summer on my college break I worked at a gas station, and one of the unexpected pleasures was sitting around with the mechanics on quiet evenings listening to them talk about the stubborn carburetor, the nastiest customer and the rusted nut that just wouldn't budge off the bolt.

Translators talk shop, too. Only for us, a rusted nut is a word that is easy to understand and use in one language and miserable to convey gracefully in another.

My rusted nut of the week is претензия. You wouldn't think the word would be a problem. Претензия comes from Latin via French and shares some meanings with the English version of the word, pretension. For example, it's easy to translate человек с большими претензиями (a very pretentious person). Or a person or work of art with pretensions to some kind of grandeur: В шестидесятые годы я был начинающим литератором с огромными претензиями ("In the 1960s I was a novice writer with enormous literary pretensions.")

In these contexts, both претензия and pretension are claims to some honor or merit, deserved or not. In English this is where pretension stayed put and did not budge, while the Russian претензия took the notion of a "claim" and ran with it. And that means a bit of torture for the translator.

Let's start with commerce, where претензия is what you submit to a company when the car you just got serviced conks out on the highway between Moscow and Samara. В течение двух недель заказчик имеет право предъявить претензии по качеству выполненных работ ("The client has two weeks to submit a claim about the quality of the work.")

But often претензия is not a formal claim for compensation but a more general complaint. This can refer to car manufacturers: У меня есть претензии к качеству сборки, комплектующим, уровню сервиса, гарантии и т. д. ("I've got complaints about the quality of the assembly work, the spare parts, the quality of service, the warranty, etc.") Or it can refer to the face you see in the mirror: В последнее время у неё очень много претензий к своей внешности ("Recently she's been very unhappy with her appearance.")

In other contexts претензия might be a demand: Поскольку сроки авторского права истекли, то вряд ли суд сможет удовлетворить претензии истца ("Since the copyright has expired, the court is not likely to grant the claimant's demands.")

Or you might change the grammar to translate претензия: Есть претензии к фильму? ("Did you like the film?") Откуда такие претензии к Чехову? ("What do people have against Chekhov?")

In slangier contexts, претензия might be translated as a problem, reservation, concern or issue: У тебя есть ко мне претензии? ("Do you have a problem with me?") Он не имел претензии к авиалинии — это гостиница потеряла чемодан ("He didn't have an issue with the airline company — it was the hotel that lost his suitcase.") Мне понравился спектакль, но у меня претензии к режиссёру ("I liked the production, but I have reservations about the director.")

Претензия plays a starring role in a common exchange after an argument. After you and your neighbor are done flinging mutual accusations over noise — your dog, his kids — and you agree to let it go, one of you says: Претензии есть? ("Are we good?") The other replies: Претензий нет ("We're cool"). тыт March 16 - 22, 2017

Pompeya is a Moscow indie-pop band that sings in English.



people protested on Bolotnaya Ploshchad on Dec. 10, 2011, according to estimates.





MY MOSCOW A Law Unto Himself

By Bradley Jardine artsreporter@imedia.ru

U.S. lawyer Thomas Callahan thinks Dostoyevsky is overrated and has no time for expats



Thomas Callahan shuns the expat scene and moves exclusively in Russian social circles.

fter first coming to St. Petersburg in 2006 to study, American lawyer Thomas Callahan worked in Russian and international human rights groups before landing in a corporate law office. Socially active, he has appeared in Esquire and GQ Russia, and was once named "Bachelor of the Week" on a popular Russian gossip website.

I was raised in a comparative backwater, in the state of Vermont. I grew up in a house that was loaded up with Trotskyist and Black Panther literature. I guess my values run in my family; some of them were partisan fighters opposed to Mussolini's fascism. I was lucky to spend a lot of time in New York City, where my family is from, when I was growing up. I moved back the minute I could.

I discovered Russia while reading world literature in high school. Dostoyevsky was an obvious choice. After high school I enrolled in Fordham University's Comparative Literature faculty and wrote my honors thesis on Nabokov's "Invitation to a Beheading" as a case study on the theories of Julia Kristeva and Jacques Derrida. As soon as I understood Dostoyevsky, though, I saw his views as medieval. I have a more nuanced opinion of him as a writer, but come on — devoting half a novel to denigrating Kant and Darwin? The guy was a kook.

I took up Russian because it was the most challenging language on offer at my university. I had a chip on my shoulder at Fordham because of my provincial background, Learning Russian was definitely a way to challenge myself and prove my status, but I took to it. I studied French for most of my childhood and could not make any sense of it. Russian was way easier.

I wrote the English-language indictment review Pussy Riot distributed when all that happened. It was a strong introduction to legal work and solidified my plans to return to Fordham for my doctorate in law. At Fordham Law, I was one of eight funded scholars in an international justice program. But [Russian human rights and legal NGO] Sova pointed me in that direction. I have never lost touch with them.

In many ways, the U.S. and Russia aren't that different. Here the state controls everything, but back home it's just a corporate ruling circle, which makes it less predictable and way more of a rip-off for working people. If you say the U.S. has free and open media, for example, Russians look at you as if you have three heads. They know our media is controlled by private interests with an axe to grind.

I've tried hard, and had some success, in building a strong network within Moscow's art and music community. I was initiated to my social scene by the band Pompeya, members of which are still close friends. But that was years ago. The bar where I hang out, which I'd prefer not to name, is regularly stocked with artists, models, musicians and photographers of note. They accept me and I consider many of them my friends.

I try to be politically engaged here. I used to be more active - I was "at" Bolotnaya and Manezhnaya and some of the biggest protests of 2011 and 2012, and have published big articles on Russian law and political questions. But as I've gotten older I've started considering my personal safety more.

I can't really recommend any places I like to hang out. I feel that expats often ruin the vibe, and anyway they're not wellreceived in most of the places I go. Expats often milk their status here: They don't learn Russian, condescend to Russians, and don't care about the culture. Which is why I can basically say I don't even know any expats here. I'll tell you that the bar Golova and the restaurant Calicano are both very, very cool. Golova, 15 Trubnaya Ulitsa, Metro Trubnaya Calicano, 4 Bolshoi Patriarshy Pereulok, Metro Mayakovskaya

I would like to stay in Russia. I love it here. I'm doing well career-wise, but that's secondary. A lot of the values Russians have on a fundamental level align with those I was raised with. Life here makes way more sense to me than life in America for years, I have felt like I'm on a sinking ship every time I go back to the U.S. TMT

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Out & About

The Moscow Times No. 5795

Weekly round-up of all that's new. delicious and

fun in Moscow.



← 'Golden Self-Portrait' by Moscow actionist Anatoly Osmolovsky, He is now regarded as one of the

authorities in Russian contemporary

art.

Garage Triennial: Giving Regional Artists a Voice

By Andrei Muchnik a.muchnik@imedia.ru

Leading art museum's new project promotes work from outside Moscow

n under 10 years, the Garage Museum of Contemporary Art has achieved a remarkable feat. Not only has it become one of the city's top venues for cutting-edge exhibitions, it has acquired the trappings of a real institution, with its own archive, library, educational program and research department.

Now it is attempting to cement its place in the big league by launching an ambitious project that aims to show that Garage is in tune with developments on the art scene in Russia's regions as well as in the international arena.

Last week, Garage opened its first ever Triennial of Russian Contemporary Art, probably its largest undertaking since the move to its new home in Gorky Park in 2015. The Triennial's slogan is "Discover Russia as you've never seen it," and the six curators behind it, led by the commissioner Kate Fowle, have prepared a surprisingly thorough review of Russian contemporary art.

While the event is not the first of its kind in the Russian capital, what sets Garage's exhibition apart from the Moscow Biennale, the Moscow Biennale of Young Art and the Moscow Biennale of Street Art is that it focuses strictly on Russian art.

Russian collectors have been making big waves on the art scene in recent years, but contemporary art from the country remains under-promoted and is barely represented at major fairs such as Basel Art or Frieze. With the high profile and international connections of its owners, the power couple of Roman Abramovich and Daria Zhukova, Garage is in a perfect position to remedy that situation.

ART

As part of the selection process, the curators went to 40 cities and met with 200 artists aged 19-69. A total of 68 artists were selected to present their works in various media, from painting and sculpture to video, installation and conceptual works. Most of the works were created in the last five years.

Andrei Miziano, one of the six curators, said the research team was surprised to discover that many artists prefer not to move to Moscow, but would rather "stay and work with local materials connected to their hometowns, their history and peculiarities."

Anton Belov, Garage's director, says that the ambitious venture started life as "an idea to do a regular project about Russian contemporary art."

"We realized that we can't do it every year, because the research is quite lengthy and complex and requires regular travel around the country," he says. "That's how we decided to do this project once every three years and then prepare for the next one." Belov is keen to stress that the Triennial is different from other reviews of Russian contemporary art: "It's not desktop research, when curators only talk to artists over the phone or when they come to Moscow on a business trip. Our curators have actually gone into the field," he says.

The project was first conceived in late 2015 when Belov and his team started thinking about the format for the exhibit, which they aimed at presenting Russian art to both domestic and international audiences.

"We wanted to make this project interesting and comprehensive, but didn't want to exhibit the artists as representatives of particular regions, because in our opinion, that would be detrimental to the artworks themselves," he says.

"We didn't want to say: 'That's what the region is like and that's the kind of art made there.' We wanted to determine several vec-

> Alexandra Paperno's 'Suspense' triptych is displayed under the theme of 'Common Language.

tors of development and unite the artists along those lines."

The "vectors," or categories, discovered and defined by the curators include "Personal Mythologies," "Fidelity to Space," "Common Language," "Street Morphology" and others.

Alexandra Paperno, a Moscow-based, New York-trained artist, presented her work "Suspense" — a series of three paintings originally painted for a group exhibition at VDNKh in 2015 — as part of the "Common Language" category since she didn't have enough time to make new works for the exhibition.

"My work process is quite slow," she explains. "I suggested to curator Snezhana Krasteva that the three paintings of empty rooms called 'Suspense' would fit the idea perfectly and she agreed."

"Pushkinskaya Ulitsa, 2013" is a series of paintings depicting the walls of several buildings on a street in artist Kirill Garshin's hometown of Voronezh.

"The series on one hand shows how all cities are similar, at the same time as expressing affection for one's hometown," says Garshin. He describes his work, which was chosen for the "Fidelity to Space" category, as challenging the traditional picture-postcard associations that a city has for tourists.

Not all of the works on show as part of the Triennial are in the Garage building itself, with those categorized under "Street Morphology" exhibited in Gorky Park. St. Petersburg artist Alexander Shishkin-Hokusai's cardboard cutouts adorn the roof of the museum's now abandoned temporary building, while Moscow's Kirill Kto has sprayed a mural over an administrative building by the Krymsky Most bridge.

¹² Out & About 16.03–22.03

Along Vorontsovo Polye: A Glimpse of Moscow's Lutheran Community

By Daria Demidova artsreporter@imedia.ru

Proud mansions and churches bely the rural origins of this street east of Kitai-Gorod









Vorontsovo Polye Ulite

Church of Elijah the Prophet, Under the Pines (1) 16 Vorontsovo Polye

Nothing reveals that this shabby yellowish building was once an Orthodox church except its distinctive trefoil façade. When it was built in the early 16th century, the site was covered with pine forest, hence its unusually descriptive name. The church was rebuilt several times. After the revolution, the cupolas and the bell tower were destroyed and the church was transformed into the Museum of Oriental Arts.

With 38 pipe divisions and 3 keyboards, the organ of the nearby Evangelical Reformed Church is Moscow's fifth largest instrument

Lutheran (Evangelical) Hospital (2) 5 Pereulok Obukha, Bldg 1

The Neo-Gothic building of the Evangelical hospital was a charity project of the Moscow Lutheran community. The staff, mostly Germans, treated both Lutherans and Orthodox, rich and poor. The hospital also had one of the first medical X-ray units in Moscow. Today, it houses the brain research department of the Institute of Neurology. Note the cast-iron staircases and stained-glass windows in the drugstore on the ground floor.

Manor house of the von Wogau family (3) 10 Vorontsovo Polye

Like many estates on Vorontsovo Polye, the city manor house of the von Wogau family had a relatively large garden. The house was devastated in the surge of anti-German feeling during WWI, but the garden remained untouched. In 1922, the Institute of Physical Chemistry moved into the restored former mansion. Quotations by Russia's great chemists Mikhail Lomonosov and Dmitry Mendeleev on the façade reflect the awe in which scientists were held in the USSR.



'House of Conversing Snakes' / Indian

The white Art Nouveau estate behind the

fence once belonged to the family of Alexei

Bakhrushin, founder of the Theater Museum in

Moscow. Now home to the Indian embassy, its

around the vases at the gates, seemingly en-

by a trio of other exotic beasts on the façade

the three lions of India's national emblem.

name derives from the stone serpents entwined

gaged in conversation. The snakes are matched

Embassy (4)

6-8 Vorontsovo Polye

Manor House of Durasov (5)

11 Pokrovsky Bulvar

This Neoclassical manor house, which bears the name of its first owner Alexei Durasov, has been used by universities for classrooms for more than 150 years. From 1844 to 1917, it housed the Practical Academy of Commerce, before cadets and military engineers from the Kuibyshev Military Engineering Academy moved in. Recently, in 2006, the manor was taken over by the Higher School of Economics, one of Russia's leading law and economy study and research centers. The Indian embassy is one of Moscow's most welcoming foreign missions, offering Hindi classes, yoga, and cultural festivals

Residential House of the Military Engineering Academy (6) 16/2 Podkolokolny Pereulok

Visitors to this house built in 1937 are welcomed by two bizarre stone guards in front of the arch: a man bearing a pick and a book and a woman with a gun and a giant bundle of wheat. This pair embody Industry and Agriculture as the pillars of the Soviet economy. The apartments were initially reserved for the Military Engineering Academy, but nowadays they are inhabited by ordinary Muscovites.



CODER



Mitya Borisov is targeting his new restaurant at Moscow's intelligentsia.

Proliv: Over the Channel... to Odessa

By Andrei Muchnik a.muchnik@imedia.ru

The man behind the Jean-Jacques and John Donne chains has gone bohemian

M itya Borisov, the restaurateur best known for the now ubiquitous chains Jean-Jacques and John Donne, has gone sharply left-field with his new venture Proliv, which he hopes will become a new magnet for Moscow's intelligentsia.

Located right between the respective flagship restaurants of the above-mentioned chains on Nikitsky Bulvar, the name "Proliv" is an inside joke, as it means "channel" in Russian, while Jean Jacques and John Donne represent, respectively, France and Great Britain.

The restaurant's main attraction is an installation by the Russian artist and architect Alexander Brodsky, known for his works of paper architecture. Brodsky came up with the idea of an installation entitled "Seagull/Swallow" (Chaika-Lastochka) several years ago and it turned out that the space at the back of the restaurant fits his idea perfectly. The installation resembles an open-air bar on a seashore somewhere. There's a small table where visitors can have a drink, while looking arounMitya Borisov's d and listening to the sound of the sea and the screeches of seagulls. The soundtrack for the installation was made by Leonid Fyodorov, musician and leader of Auktsyon, a cult Russian alternative rock band from St. Petersburg.

The interior was designed by Mitya Borisov himself, with participation from Brodsky, and can be best defined as "shabby chic," with decor reminiscent of a pre-revolutionary St. Petersburg apartment. Green paint is flaking on the walls, and the guests can glimpse their reflections in a double row of mirrors.

The crowd is what it has become fashionable to call the "creative class": writers, actors, journalists, artists and the like. Borisov and Brodsky previously collaborated at nowdefunct restaurants Ulitsa O.G.I. and Apshu, both very popular during the early 2000s.

Alexei Goribol, a celebrity piano player, is responsible for the music at Proliv, which is played on a vinyl record player. Currently, it's mostly classical and neoclassical music.

Proliv's chef is Nikolai Fedotov, who previously dished up Scandinavian food at wine bar Enebaer. Here, Odessa's Ashkenazi cuisine is a major influence. Start with one of the appetizers, which taste like something from your grandma's kitchen: "caviar" made of baked eggplant for 420 rubles (\$7) or forshmak, Jewish herring salad (250 rubles).

Some of the mains are fairly innovative, like the excellent stewed beef with a side of flavored barley (520 rubles) or the tasty pelmeni, traditional Russian dumplings with unorthodox fillings of guinea fowl (350 rubles) or shrimp (620 rubles). Finish your meal with one of the desserts, like almond cake with red orange (260 rubles) or chocolate mousse with salt and caramel sauce (320 rubles).

Alexei Zimin, a cult figure on Moscow's culinary scene, has been drafted in to create a series of homemade vodka infusions, which are ideal chasers. Zimin, the former chef at Ragout and editor-in-chief of Afisha Eda magazine, has produced some rare concoctions for Proliv, like coffee and lemon or strawberry and basil (from 150 rubles).

Looking to the future, Proliv's owners promise regular tastings by guest chefs: Don't forget to check the restaurant's website for dates and details.

+7 (966) 155 5112 prolivproliv.ru Nikitsky Bulvar 12 Metro Arbatskaya



Cinematograph Karaoke gets classy

Cinematograph is a new karaoke bar and restaurant at the trendy Tryokhgornaya Manufaktura, a former industrial space that is gradually turning into a new center of cultural and social life. The menu has been developed by Alexei Belikov (chef at Yuliya Vysotskaya's Food Embassy). Try beef tartare for 790 rubles (\$13.40), stewed pork ribs (750 rubles) or grilled Moroccan octopus (1,400 rubles).

+7 (495) 968 8475

barcinema.ru 15 Ulitsa Rochdelskaya, Bldg. 10 Metro 1905 Goda



Beriozka

Russian without a twist Located at the entrance to Aptekarsky Ogo-

rod (the Botanical Garden) Beriozka specializes in familiar Russian fare, but unlike the premium "new Russian cuisine" restaurants, the menu is straightforward and affordable. Russian salad with roast beef, potatoes and pickles is 280 rubles (\$4.70) for a small serving, or try smoked venison dumplings (from 285 rubles). Homemade vodka infusions come in flavors like sage or cloudberry. +7 (495) 937 8809

facebook.com/Beriozkarest/ 26 Prospekt Mira, Bldg. 1 Metro Prospekt Mira



OVO by Carlo Cracco Dinner with the chef

Last fall, Italian celebrity chef Carlo Cracco, who has two Michelin stars and a couple of TV shows, opened a restaurant at the Lotte Hotel in Moscow. Called "OVO by Carlo Cracco," it's his first project outside of Italy. On March 20-22 you will have a chance to taste a special spring menu cooked by Cracco himself, who will be visiting OVO. The chef will also suggest wine picked especially for this tasting set.

+7 (495) 287 0515

facebook.com/ovobycarlocracco 8 Novinsky Bulvar, Bldg. 2 Metro Smolenskaya



Cofix at Arma

Israeli cafe opens 4th branch The food scene at the former Arma factory,

conveniently located right next to hip Vinzavod and Artplay, is growing more varied by the day. The latest addition is a new branch of the extremely successful Israeli chain Cofix. The chain already has four locations in Moscow where everything goes for just 50 rubles (\$0.85), be it an Olivier salad or a chocolate cheesecake, a double espresso or a banana-flavored cappuccino, freshly squeezed carrot juice or a cinnamon roll.

facebook.com/cofixrussia 5 Nizhny Susalny Pereulok, Bldg. 1 Metro Kurskaya

Out & About 16.03–22.03 14

St. Patrick's Day in Moscow: **6 Places to Toast** the Irish

Six Nations Finale

Back the Irish on the rugby field Irish Week wouldn't be Irish Week without a pint of Guinness. Why not enjoy it while watching Ireland's rugby team play in their final Six Nations game against an undefeated England? The match starts at 8 p.m. Moscow time on March 18 and will be the perfect way to prepare you for a night of fully-fledged Gaelic merriment — provided the Irish win, that is! The match will be shown in various pubs throughout Moscow. Try Katie O'Sheas just off Prospekt Mira. +7 (495) 792-51-88

katieosheas ru 26 Prospekt Mira, Bldg 5 The Punch & Judy, meanwhile. recreates the original Irish puppet theater. pjpub.ru

6/1 Ulitsa Pyatnitskaya, Bldg. 1 Metro Tretyakovskaya

Then head down to nearby **O'Donoghue's**. odpub.ru

29 Ulitsa Pyatnitskaya Metro Tretyakovskaya



Jameson Irishhood 🗸

Electronica evening with whiskey sponsor The sponsor is really the only thing Irish about it, but fans of electronic music can celebrate St Patrick's Day with Jameson Irishhood at Bereg District, a hip venue located in a 19th-century industrial space next to the infamous Soho Rooms. Irishhood will feature two stages/dance floors. One is headlined by Montreal DI and producer Lunice, known for his work as one half of TNGHT, his successful duo with Hudson Mohawke. The second stage headliner is Kenny Dope, a house music pioneer from Brooklyn. The Irishhood organizers promise a food court with stalls from Moscow favorites like Yunost, Iskra, and Fahrenheit and cocktails by bartenders from Motel and 8 oz. March 18, 8 p.m.

Berea District 12 Bolshoi Savvinsky Pereulok Metro 1905 Goda



Sokolniki Park Parade

Dublin comes to Moscow This year the St Patrick's Day Parade will take place on Saturday, March 18, marking its 25th year in Moscow. The parade will be awash with Irish pipes and green, all in order to commemorate the passing of Ireland's patron saint, St. Patrick. The festivities start at 12:00, with over 15,000 Muscovites expected to show up and turn Sokolniki Park into a sea of green. Don't miss it! Free entry. Park Sokolniki

Metro Sokolniki

Irish Music Marathon

Shamrock the dance floor! On March 18, fans of Irish culture will congregate at Izvestiya Hall Club. From 3 p.m. to midnight, a green wave of energetic folk rock music, dancing and plenty more will flood the venue. Boogie all you want at this Day and Night party, and to really get into the spirit of things, try a tipple of Ireland's famous whiskey. Tickets are cheaper if bought in advance (from 1,200 rubles). +7 (495) 644 2222 irishweek.ru

5 Pushkinskaya Ploshchad



Armenian Cuisine

Warm up with a Glastonberry festival Can't wait until Saturday to get started? Glastonberry kicks off celebrations on March 17 with a St. Patrick's "pre-party"

St. Patrick's Friday +

full of Irish music, from medieval bagpipes and drums to rock, complete with dancers from the Ni Riain School of Irish dance. Doors open at 6 p.m. — buy your tickets in advance! +7 495 642-45-43

glastonberry.ru 13A 1-ya Dubrovskaya Ulitsa, Bldg. 1 Metro Dubrovka

Pub Crawl Drink the old town dry!

No St. Patrick's Day would be complete without a proper Irish pub crawl. Moscow has enjoyed Irish hospitality since the 1990s, with new pubs continuing to pop up. Keep it authentic with pubs that have an eye for detail.

At the **Tipsy Pub,** all the furniture and fittings were designed and assembled in Ireland. tipsypub.ru 9 Ulitsa Sushchyovskaya Metro Novoslobodskaya



(495) 917 0717 www.noevkovcheg.ru Malyy Ivanovskiy per., 9 Moscow

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



It's that time of year again when we need to fill

our glasses with Guinness, dance an Irish jig and

turn everything green. Here's a few ways you can

celebrate St. Patrick's Day this weekend.

The St. Patrick's Day Parade in Sokolniki Park on March 18 is the central event of Irish Week in Moscow.

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What's On 16.03–22.03 16

16.03

Giovanni Gastel: Canons of Beauty Opening of the first **Russian retrospective** of one of the world's top art and fashion photographers. **Brothers** Lumiere Center for Photography +7 (495) 228 9878 lumiere ru 3 Bolotnaya Naberezhnaya, Bldg. 1 M. Kropotkinskaya

17.03

Armin van Buuren The Dutch superstar DJ is one of the world's biggest names in trance music. Don't miss this chance to see him promoting new album 'Embrace.' Starts at 8 p.m. Olimpiysky Sports Complex +7 (495) 786 3333 olimpik.ru 16 Olimpiysky Prospekt M. Prospekt Mira

17.03

Delhi Bazar A real Indian market: food, sitar concerts, jewelry, cosmetics. Ayurveda lectures at the factory turned hipster's paradise. Flacon Art and Design Center +7 (495) 790 7901 flacon.ru 36 Bolshava Novodmitrovskaya Ulitsa M. Prospekt Mira

18.03

Roisin Murphy Best known for being one half of the UK band Moloko, Murphy is now pursuing a solo career. Expect songs from her latest album 'Take Her Up to Monto' as well as the perennial Moloko hits. Yotaspace +7 (495) 230 1030

yotaspace.ru 11 Ulitsa Ordzhonikidze M. Leninsky Prospekt

18.03

Manhattan

Part of its 'Priceless Cities in Cinema' festival, Pioneer is holding the Russian premiere of the remastered version of Woody Allen's 1979 classic about a middleaged intellectual. Pioneer

+7 (499) 240 5240

pioner-cinema.ru 21 Kutuzovsky Prospekt M. Kievskaya

20.03 22.03 **Don Carlo**

Guitar Virtuosos Opening day of a weeklong festival of the best guitar players from Russia, France, Spain, Brazil and Chile, with concerts, workshops and lectures. Tchaikovsky Concert

Hall +7 (495) 232 0400 meloman.ru

M. Mayakovskaya

4/31 Triumphalnaya Ploshchad

Royal Shakespeare Company Adrian Noble's staging of Verdi's opera about the dramatic life of Carlos, Prince of Asturias. Bolshoi Theater +7 (495) 455 5555 bolshoi.ru 1 Teatralnaya Ploshchad M. Teatralnaya

British director and

former head of the

Paint the Town Green: Moscow Gets Ready To Celebrate the Emerald Isle

By Emily Erken artsreporter@imedia.ru



Now in its fifth year, Irish Week is becoming a popular instalment on Moscow's spring calendar.

pring has yet to take hold in Moscow, but that doesn't bother the locals: The city will be turning green early as the annual Irish Week festival staggers on for its fifth year. This year, the organizers are going all out with Irish music, literature, and dance. Events are taking place from March 15 to 26 across Moscow, including a St. Patrick's Day Parade in Sokolniki Park. As if that wasn't enough, buildings on Tverskaya will be "greening" up for the celebrations, just as they

do in major cities around the world. While St. Patrick's Day often conjures images of Guinnesssoaked revelers bellowing "Danny Boy," Irish Week in Moscow involves more intellectual fare. This includes historical lectures and musical performances, as well as the Irish Film Festival, which is celebrating its 10-year anniversary.

The Irish Embassy's Gerald MacCarthy, one of the festival's co-founders, hopes to engage a wider local audience this year through "the legacy of Irish literature." MacCarthy applauds educated Russians who "have read Joyce, Shaw and can hold a discussion [on Irish literature] on a level of depth."

One of the new additions to this year's event has a literary flavor, with a trio of budding Irish writers, Karl Geary, Deirdre Sullivan, and John Patrick McHugh, flying in to give readings from their debut novels and answer questions. The authors will appear at the Russian State Library of Literature and the Arts on March 18 and the Biblio-Globus bookstore on March 19.

Acolytes of Moscow's trendy quests, meanwhile, can drop by the Gnezdo Gallery from March 21 for "Wool and Potatoes," an interactive exhibition leading visitors through a set of mysterious documents associated with a fictitious "Ivan Skotinin." Deep secrets connect the seemingly peaceful Soviet peasant to the Ireland of the 1840s potato famine, and visitors must locate "the horrifying truth the old cottage walls keep."

The backbone of Irish Week, as always, is the Irish Film Festival, featuring a collection of world-class movies rarely available in Russia. This year, festival curator Anna Gryaznova, whose obsession with Irish cinema takes her to the Galway Film Festival in Ireland every year, has selected 11 features and a collection of shorts.

Her line-up includes "Sing Street," the 2016 winner of the Golden Globe for Musical Comedy, and "Stutterer," which won the 2016 Oscar for Short Film. All movies will be shown in English with Russian subtitles.

Over 5,000 people attend the Irish Film Festival each year. As Gryaznova jokes, "sometimes the Galway Film Festival producers quip that in Galway we can't get that many Irish people to come to our films." Although the Film Festival is the heart-

beat of Irish Week, St. Patrick's Day is its colorful face. The parade brings an Irish carnival

with leprechauns on floats, banshees on stilts, and a stellar line-up of musical guests from the Emerald Isle to Sokolniki Park on March 18.

This year, organizers from the Irish Embassy and Veresk Cultural Association expect 15,000 people to attend. Warm weather is forecast for the weekend, and organizers promise an exuberant show on Sokolniki's central stage. After the parade, attendees can move toward Izvestiya Hall and listen to "Day and Night," an eight-hour gala of Irish traditional music.

The party continues on March 19, when the stars of Riverdance will kick their heels up to traditional music with a contemporary rhythm. For Irish music in a more traditional setting, many of Moscow's pubs will host folk bands throughout the week.

These days, most people celebrate St. Patrick's Day as a secular holiday, despite commemorating the man who converted Ireland to Christianity in the fifth century. Today, March 17 marks Ireland's contributions to global culture and the multiculturalism of its diaspora.

For the better part of 200 years, Irish people have emigrated to the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and other places. Yet, although the Irish diaspora has spread far and wide, only a tiny number of Irish citizens actually live in Russia: The embassy puts the number at just over 300. So why are so many Muscovites interested in Irish culture and St. Patrick's Day?

MacCarthy suggests that Ireland's influence in Russia stems from its rural charm and agricultural achievements, from "the land, soil, the green color." But Gryaznova hints at spiritual matters. "Sometimes, when I watch Irish films, I think they are discussing the Russian soul," she says.

So, expect a crowd. MacCarthy reports that the Film Festival sold more theater tickets last week alone than it sold in 2016. "Despite the challenging times, positivity, escapism and romanticism are really hitting home this year," he says.

Irish Week runs from March 15 to 26 at various venues.

Visit irishweek.ru for more details. The St. Patrick's Day Parade begins at 12:00 p.m. at the main entrance to Sokolniki Park.

Metro Sokolniki



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