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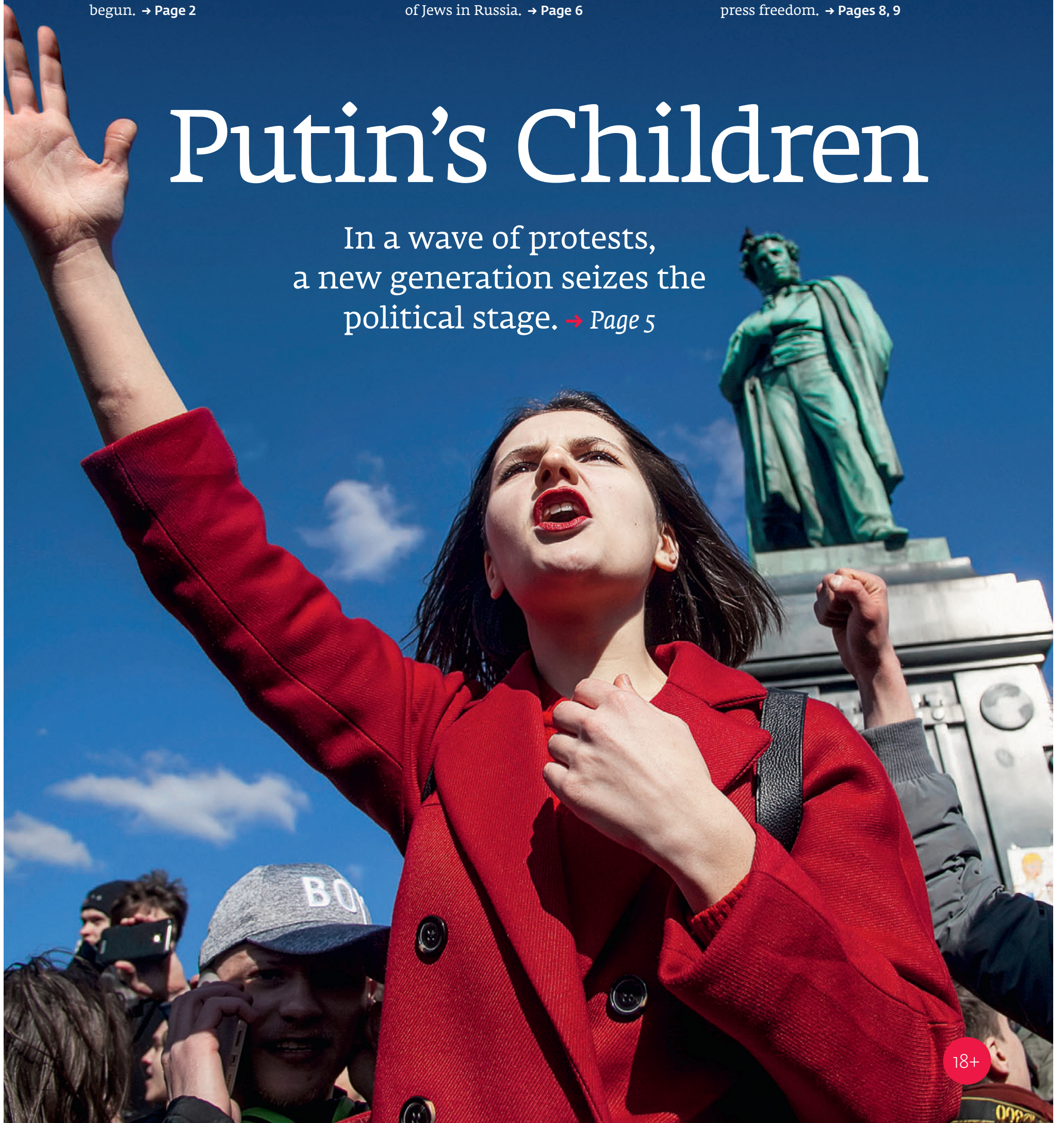
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“Re-castling is not an option. Russia is out of the ‘Groundhog Day’ perspective” – **Gleb Pavlovsky**, former Kremlin advisor

2008-2012

Dmitry Medvedev was Russia's president.

14.6 million

hits on YouTube for Navalny's investigation on Medvedev.



The Prime Ministerial chair is historically seen in Russia as a **springboard** for the presidency.

Broken Tandem

By **Mikhail Fishman** m.fishman@imedia.ru

The race for premiership during Putin's 4th term has just begun

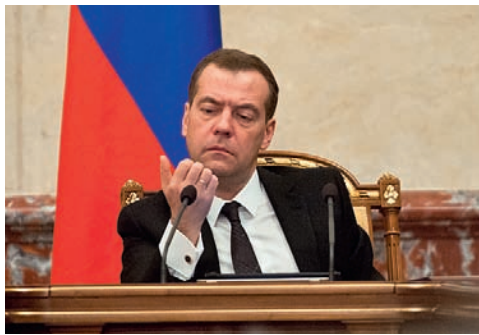
At the March 26 protest rallies, which rocked Russia from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, many Russian youngsters showed up carrying pairs of sneakers, a new symbol of corruption. The shoes referred to Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev's predilection for ordering sneakers and clothing online, as humorously exposed in opposition leader Alexei Navalny's viral Youtube video.

For millions of Russians, Medvedev is now the face of state corruption. But for Russia's elite, he was much more than just a prime minister over the last five years.

In 2011, when Medvedev was still president, he made a deal with Vladimir Putin that entered the Russian political narrative as the infamous “castling”: Putin would return to the Kremlin and give the post of prime minister back to Medvedev.

Since then, the elite have viewed Medvedev as Putin's right-hand man and his most obvious natural successor. Some even argue that a future “re-castling” was part of the original “castling” agreement.

Since the early 2000s, when Medvedev was appointed Putin's chief-of-staff, the duo have developed a close bond. Their duumvirate during Medvedev's 2008-2012 presidency — known as a “tandem” — has hardly any analogy in Russia's history. The shadow of this duumvirate continued to shape Russia's political hierarchy and the imagery of power long after that tandem ended. Who else but Medvedev could be seen working out — or just hav-



Dmitry Medvedev has lost his chance to stay prime minister or succeed Putin as president.

ing a cup of tea — with Russia's all-powerful president?

But now, Navalny's investigation and the subsequent protest rallies have dramatically altered Russia's political landscape. On March 28, Medvedev received a special invitation from the president to join him for a trip to Russia's Far North — again, a signal to the elite that Putin places high trust in Medvedev. But now this will hardly deceive Russia's political establishment.

“Medvedev has lost his shot at a future presidency,” a source close to the authorities told the *Moscow Times* on condition of anonymity.

“He's not going to keep his bench-warmer seat,” agrees political analyst Yevgeny Minchenko. According to Gleb Pavlovsky, a former Kremlin advisor, Medvedev's strategic stance has dramatically weakened. He is unlikely to keep his prime minister post after Putin's re-election

in March 2018. This will put an end to his long-term political ambitions.

According to *The Moscow Times*' sources, Vladimir Putin will most likely announce his presidential bid next fall. Few doubt that he will begin his fourth and, supposedly, final presidential term with a new government.

In the mid-2000s, Putin appointed so-called seat-filler prime ministers who lacked real influence and ambition. Today, however, observers note that he no longer has this option. During this election, Putin will have to show the nation his new agenda and vision for the future, argues Minchenko. This necessity will determine who he chooses as his Prime Minister.

The choice will be less about name than reputation. Putin will have to pick someone from one of two categories, says Pavlovsky: either a prime minister “for the elite,” or a prime minister “for the nation.” In the Russian context, these are fundamentally opposite political directions. The former would mean relying on a liberal-minded politician close to economic circles, but with little popularity among the masses. The latter would be a well-known military or national security figure.

The prime ministerial chair is historically viewed in Russia as a springboard to the presidency. With Dmitry Medvedev now a lame duck, the backstage race for the premiership and, potentially, to succeed Putin — a race whose energy has been pent up in the “castling game” for at least a decade — will break loose and quickly gain momentum. **TMT**



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Cover photo by Vlad Dokshin

THE BLAME GAME

Russia Will Regret Turning to the ‘Dark Side’

The shocking assassination of Russian politician-turned-pariah Denis Voronenkov last week has sharpened fears among the Russian diaspora of Moscow's inclination toward vendetta.

Although the motivation for the killing is not yet clear, the sad irony is that Moscow's geopolitical status means that, not only will it be blamed for any such incident, it will also per-versely benefit from them.

A Communist deputy who voted for the Crimean annexation before fleeing to Kiev in 2016 and receiving fast-track Ukrainian citizenship, Voronenkov was undoubtedly a hated figure in certain Moscow circles. Much like criminals, spies, zealots and revolutionaries, today's masters of the Kremlin regard traitors as even worse than regular enemies. In Dante's *Inferno*, virtuous pagans face limbo, but heretics are trapped in flaming coffins. In Putin's *Inferno*, apostates may face the bullet, the bomb, or the isotope instead, but the spirit it much the same.

Despite Kiev's quick (and predictable) attribution of blame, the style of the hit — amateurish, without back-up — does not immediately suggest a Russian security services operation. A single gunman with an ageing (and jam-prone) Tokarev pistol taking on a target with an armed bodyguard on a busy day-time street does not seem professional. Besides, the risk that he would be caught alive was considerable.

Of course, the Kremlin's fingerprints could still be on the

trigger. The Russians certainly seem to have had the best motive to want Voronenkov dead, and might have had to use whomever they could find. However, at this stage, we cannot rule out the possibility that it was a personal enemy, someone who feared what Voronenkov knew, or someone with a less predictable motive.

On another level, the motivation and the “client” matter significantly less than why people think the murder was ordered and who they believe was behind it.

Here is the bitter irony: If you are a regime striving for legitimacy, being assumed to dispatch assassins against your enemies left, right and centre is a problem. But if you have already embraced the dark side, then it actually becomes an advantage. You have no real soft power to lose, and only what we could call dark power to gain.

Litvinenko's murder (definitely a Kremlin hit) chilled the Londongrad set, and oligarchs and minigarchs who until then had flirted with anti-Putin politics suddenly embraced the virtues of apolitical charitable activity instead. Who would be next on the hit list if they didn't mend their ways?

Magnitsky's murder (at the very least covered up by the Kremlin) sent out a warning to anyone thinking of standing against the corrupt schemes of those in government. Is any business worth dying for?

Nemtsov's murder (in my opinion not a Kremlin-sanctioned hit) caused the Kremlin considerable short-term angst

and confusion, but has helped raise the profile of Chechnya's Ramzan Kadyrov as the bogeyman of Russian politics. Who could even dream of restraining the Chechen cutthroat if not Putin?

Even Russia's expensive and likely unwinnable Donbass adventure has, in its own way, also become a generator of ‘dark power.’ Watch how Belarus's Lukashenko, after openly challenging Moscow during high-stakes haggling over energy prices, begins to echo Russian lines about “Western interference” the more his own security people start worrying about hybrid warfare at home. Can smaller states in Russia's self-proclaimed sphere of influence — but outside the protective embrace of NATO or the European Union — stand against Putin?

‘Dark power’ generates itself through fear, suspicion, and expectation. But it also taints and corrodes. The more Russia seems to revel in near-pariah status, the more effective its bullying. But for a country with the economy of a second-rank European state, yet aspirations to be a global power, soft power and productive partnerships will prove much more valuable in the long run.

Perhaps not Putin, but certainly his eventual successor will face the daunting task of wiping away this taint and finding ways to convert ‘dark power’ back into something more productive. The more blood assumed to be on Russia's hands — whether or not that is deserved — the harder this will be. **TMT**



By **Mark Galeotti**
Senior researcher at the Institute of International Relations Prague

“We are still monitoring the dynamics, but we are already seeing very high demand”



Otkritie Bank has made a breakthrough: service for foreigners living in Russia has reached a new level. (For more information about the service, see <https://www.open.ru/en>)

A few months after the launch of the service, the flow of customers has already grown many times over, and demand is growing literally every day. Regional director of Otkritie Bank Alexander Henkin tells how it works.

There is a crisis now and the number of expats in Russia is decreasing rather than growing. Why do you need this shrinking segment of foreign customers?

Otkritie Bank is the largest private bank in Russia (according to the Interfax-CEA ranking based on RAS financial statements for Q2 2016). We are growing rapidly and striving to become the most convenient bank for a wide range of clients. And you have to speak every client's language. As a large full-service bank, we have a significant share in the corporate segment, investment, retail, small business and private banking. We research best practices both in Russia and throughout the world, we constantly work with foreign consultants and we develop convenient services and products for all of these categories. And we see ourselves working with foreign clients in the same way — this is another growth area.

Still, why do foreigners need a Russian private bank? For example, you offer them time deposits. But why do they need to make a profit in rubles?

We saw last year that our brand already evokes positive associations among foreign clients — they came to us. But we want to give them even more. Any foreigner living in Russia has daily expenses — rent, bills, currency exchange and so on. Many foreign workers in Russia receive a salary in rubles. We have accounts that make it possible to manage a single sum of money in three currencies — rubles, dollars and euros, without loss of interest, and to do it online. We are ready to advise the client when exactly it is worth it to convert the currency. And our rates are quite competitive. Even if the client's main accounts are in his home country, that doesn't mean that he has to send all of his savings there right away. Often you have to accumulate funds for placement in an investment product. We are ready to provide a convenient platform for this. Our service is a useful addition that allows foreign clients



Alexander Henkin,
Otkritie Bank's
regional
director

to get even more convenience and comfort in banking services.

Do foreign clients need anything other than accounts?

Of course. Otkritie Bank has cards designed for a wide variety of needs, and the product line is constantly being updated. For example, this category of customers are frequent fliers, as a rule. So they will use our cobranded cards with airlines, as well as the Travel Card, which allows you to save up bonuses and use them to pay on any airline or for accommodations in a program-partner hotel.

In addition, we offer collectible coins. For some, it's an investment, but for others it's a good gift. We have a wide range of commemorative and investment coins of various denominations and subjects, allowing you to choose an original gift for almost everyone. We are actively developing this area, and our coins are in high demand. After all, this is a memorable and truly valuable gift at an affordable price — and even beautiful, stylish. And for a foreigner it's a great opportunity to



Christopher William Wynne,
president of Papa John's Russia

I have been in Russia for more than 15 years. I have a wife here. We fly at least twice a year to my native Colorado, but our home is Moscow. We live here and love it. It is generally thought that foreigners prefer banks with foreign capital. But it seems to me that Russian banks are more likely to give customers better service than in the West. Those banks are stuck in old practices and find it hard to innovate. I also worked with many foreign banks in Russia. Unfortunately, the quality of their customer service was not a priority. I chose Otkritie not only because their service suits me perfectly, but also the office is located near the home. It's a great choice.

bring a special souvenir home from Russia, not just a matryoshka doll.

You position servicing foreigners as a special service, and not just the availability of an interpreter. But is there anything special needed here?

The difference in the service, for example, is that we have not only English-speaking cashiers, but philology graduates. We are convinced that the client, to really trust the bank, has to get to know it personally and see the people. That is, almost every client needs live communication some time. Our task is to make this service comfortable and convenient, so the client wants to return.

Moscow branch offices. All it takes is a call to a special toll-free phone number shown on information stands in the bank branches.

Yes, it is just one office, the first one. We are still monitoring the dynamics — the demand is very high. People do not just come in to this office from time to time, they call, ask questions and share their impressions. We have set up a dedicated line and the number of calls to it is growing. Soon we will make a final decision on whether we are ready to invest in this format further, and it will only be necessary to select the key points in Moscow where it will be most convenient for our respected foreign clients.

PJSC Bank FC Otkrytie operates under the brand name Bank Otkritie.

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The Crisis Is Good for Coworking

By Maria Perevoshchikova

Promotion of coworking began in Russia in 2014, and over the past two years its market has more than doubled.

According to NAI Becar, about 2500 new collective offices open around the world annually. "In 2016, there were about 11,300 in the world, in 2017 an increase of 22% is planned to 13,800 facilities. In previous years, growth was more active in relative figures (50-80%), but this can be explained by the effect of a free niche," says Konstantin Korolev, director of key accounts for NAI Becar, citing data from the publication Deskmag.

A Places for Singles

Regus Group opened the first mini-office center in Russia in 1998. Furnished spaces with office equipment were offered for rent with flexible conditions. Actual coworking — with places for single workers — began to appear in 2008. The first facilities were opened by enthusiasts trying a new format, co-owner of the Workstation coworking network Mikhail Komarov said. "The model has shown its effectiveness," he said. The first Workstation, with an area of 500 sq.m., opened in Gorky Park (Neskuchny Garden) in the summer of 2012. "For us, it was an concept project. I wanted to create a space for my web studio Myme and architectural firm Komnata Design where it would be pleasant to work by myself and then give that opportunity to other companies," Komarov recalled. However, the Workstation experience did not lead to significant development of the segment until 2014. According to Alexander Shibaev, director

of Blackwood consulting department, new small areas were opening and closing at that time, but total functional coworking space did not exceed 10,000 sq.m.

In 2014, the situation changed dramatically. Over the past two years, 30-35 coworking centers have opened in Moscow, not counting anti-cafes, mini-offices or workshops. According to Blackwood, there are currently 23 of them, with a total of 10,500 sq.m. The new coworking spaces, no more than two years old, now account for more than 50% of the market, while the entire supply is more than 20,000 sq.m. Shibaev connects this rise with the large amount of vacant office space and a decrease in rental rates. There are even coworking spaces in Moscow City, where about 25% of offices are vacant at the moment, according to Praedium. These include CEO Rooms (Empire Tower, 500 sq.m., opened in December 2014), Prohub mini-offices (City of Capitals, 3,700 sq.m., opened in 2013) and Regus (Tower on the Embankment, 3854 sq.m., opened in 2007), as well as quite a few mini-offices of 20 sq.m. opening onto subdivided larger rooms. Mini-offices have a common infrastructure (reception, break area, office equipment, etc.), noted Tatiana Suvorova, head of the City sales department.

The growth in demand for such premises was partly caused by the crisis. "The economic situation forced tenants to optimize costs — reduce staff and decline leases of classical



BECAR ASSET MANAGEMENT GROUP

Coworking rental is beneficial for small companies and innovation projects that are not interested in long-term contracts

offices in favor of coworking," said Olga Shtoda, managing director of BlackStone Keeping Company. "In October 2014, we saw the number of requests from companies increase by approximately 70%," Komarov said. Shibaev generally refers to Russian coworking spaces as a "crisis phenomenon." "The most active development occurred during crises in 2009-2010 and 2014-2016. Growth of the segment significantly slowed in 2010-2013, when the volume of deals for offices grew, and openings of new facilities were at a record high," he said.

Crisis or Trend?

Owners of collective offices agree that "the crisis has helped," but they believe the rapid development of the format is due to natural causes. "Our customers are a new wave of entrepreneurs who refuse to own a car in favor of Uber or carsharing," Komarov said. "They travel abroad but don't stay in hotels, finding apartments through Airbnb. They take a rational approach to spending money. Imagine how much small companies have to overpay per meter for separate offices or meeting rooms, which are empty most of the time!" Taking into account that the average cost of renting a square meter of Class A offices in the center of Moscow is 28,000-32,000 rubles (\$486-555) per year (according to Praedium data), renting coworking space in the Central Administrative District (at an average of 15,000-20,000 rubles (\$260-347) per fixed workplace per month) is a real advantage for small companies.

"In the West, the segment is already so developed that coworking occupies 10,000-20,000 sq.m. A considerable number of medium and small businesses have moved to these offices. It is convenient for companies to use the ready infrastructure," said CEO Rooms director Gurchen Shekoyan. CBRE market research director Olesya Dzyuba agrees that interest in coworking is not a purely crisis phenomenon. "They do not compete with traditional offices. Coworking rentals are beneficial for small companies and innovation projects that are not interested in long-term contracts," she said. In all Moscow's Workstations at Gorky Park, Artplay (700 sq.m., opened in 2014) and Z Plaza business center in Butyrskaya (1800 sq.m., opened in April 2016), the clients are "small companies, 5-10 people, small innovation projects, most of them are not even start-ups, but successfully functioning organizations. There are also large companies that place project teams in coworking spaces, for example, M.Video and Sberbank," Komarov said.

The residents of the 12 Regus centers in Moscow, according to Irina Baeva, the company's managing director in Russia, include such large companies as Google, Yandex and Toshiba. About 75% of tenants of CEO Rooms are client-oriented businesses, for which for the status of the locale and convenience of meetings is important.

According to Blackwood, over the past year, the average area of coworking spaces in Moscow has increased from 250-300 sq.m. in 2014-2015 to 400 sq.m. now. That growth is due to the

opening of large coworking spaces, such as Workstation in Butyrskaya or Deworkacy in the Red October complex (Tashir Group, 1500 sq.m.). Korolev sees no reason to make a commercial coworking space of less than 300 sq.m. "It's almost impossible to effectively divide it and provide all the necessary functions," he said. He considers an area of 800 sq.m. economically justified. Perhaps for this reason, small coworking spaces that are opened simply to fill empty areas in business centers often close quickly.

Little money-maker

Class A and B+ coworking spaces in prime locations (in the CAD or not far from it, within walking distance of the Metro) have shown economic efficiency. According to Shibaev, they have more and more of their own infrastructure. For example, their own places to eat: a cafe in Union Place, a loft bar in the Cabinet Lounge, a full-fledged restaurant at the Workstation in Butyrskaya. Among the additional services in some coworking spaces (mainly aimed at an IT audience) are showers (#tceh, Free Swimming, etc.). Some new coworking spaces also provide accommodations: the Workstation in Butyrskaya has its own capsule hotel.

"Coworking spaces with a quality concept and professional management can be more profitable tenants for an owner than any other. Thanks to the community, events and many other small things, they create a larger added value than the classical office by 15-20%," Korolev said.

Komarov is confident that the coworking segment will develop further. In the next five years, the company plans to open about ten new Workstations in Moscow with an area of 1500 to 3000 sq.m. in high-quality business centers. "There are more and more requests. At the moment, we have long waiting times, many are ready to wait and even make a deposit in advance to reserve places in a planned coworking space," he said. Shekoyan shares his enthusiasm. "Now we are expanding into Moscow City for another 3500 sq.m. Also in 2017-2018, we will open several new facilities in Moscow, including ones in the SkySkolkovo apartment complex on Leningradsky Prospekt and near Prospekt Mira (in a Class A business center). In total, by the beginning of 2018, we plan to open about 7000 sq.m.," he said. According to Baeva, Regus is also looking to develop further. On February 13, the company opened a new facility in the Domnikov business center on Masha Poryvaeva Street and before the end of the year it plans to open two more centers in Moscow. Becar Asset Management Group, which recently opened GrowUp growth platform coworking space in St. Petersburg (2500 sq.m.), plans to create a national network. According to Korolev, by the end of 2017, three coworking spaces (of 1000 sq.m. or more) will be organized in Moscow and the regions, the company plans to be in all cities with a population of 1,000,000 within seven years. The facilities will preferably be opened in business centers. "So we will develop the infrastructural component of business centers," Korolev explained.

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“Living conditions are worsening, so people are [becoming] more vocal about their concerns,” **Denis Volkov**, Levada Center

1,800

estimated number of detainees across Russia.



Teenagers polled by The Moscow Times said they were scared of getting arrested at unauthorized rallies, but it didn't deter them from going.

93,000

The largest estimate of people participating in March 26 anti-corruption rallies.



ANTON NOVODEREZHIN / TASS

A record number of people - 1,030 - were detained in Moscow during the March 26 rally.

Smells Like Teen Spirit

By **Daria Litvinova** d.litvinova@imedia.ru

Recent anti-corruption rallies will go down as Russia's most youthful protests

When 12-year-old Gleb took to the stage at an anti-corruption protest in the Siberian city of Tomsk last week, few in the audience would have expected the moment to go viral.

“It doesn't matter who's in power — Putin or Navalny,” Gleb said to rounds of applause. “The most important thing is to change the system — the government system, education system and healthcare system.”

Although Gleb's speech immediately made headlines and scored almost one million views online, he wasn't the only adolescent to take to the streets in a wave of anti-corruption demonstrations that swept Russia on March 26.

By chanting, giving speeches, climbing lamp posts and getting detained by the police, Russian youth became the face of the anti-corruption movement across Russia last week.

In the wake of the protests, pundits disagree on how this youth activity is changing Russia's political landscape — if it is at all. Some paint the high-schoolers as a fearless new force backing Alexei Navalny, the Kremlin's main challenger in the 2018 presidential elections. Others argue they are a natural part of growing dissent.

“Younger people — high-school students included — have participated in protests before,” Denis Volkov, a sociologist from the independent Levada Center pollster, told The Moscow Times. “They were there with Navalny on Chistye Prudy in 2011, they actually started the Occupy Abai protest in 2012, and they actively attended the Nemtsov march.”

‘Corruption is everywhere’

Because most of the rallies were unauthorized, it is almost impossible to tell how many attended — not to mention how many of the protesters were teenagers.

The Moscow Times' analysis of online groups devoted to the rallies (set up by Navalny's supporters) shows that on average 16 percent of group members were 18 and younger.

Nonetheless, teenagers found themselves in the spotlight. Mass arrests in Moscow, says sociologist Ella Paneyakh, contributed to that.

“The police deliberately picked minors from the crowd — unlike in 2011-12, when they were afraid of eliciting public outrage,” Paneyakh told The Moscow Times. “Now they're not bound by this fear, so they target those who are most vulnerable, weak and easily intimidated.”

Even at early ages, Russia's younger generation — less easily influenced by propaganda — sees how state policy impinges upon their privacy and dignity, says Paneyakh. By the time they

finish high school, they are fed up with state interference. Navalny's film served as a trigger, and this is why they've taken to the streets.

“Corruption is everywhere,” says 18-year-old Nastya, a protester from the Far Eastern city of Vladivostok. “They take bribes in universities and expect them in hospitals. [State television] says that things are great, when in reality people barely survive on their 20,000-ruble incomes!”

Eighteen-year-old Olesya, who attended the rally in Moscow, echoes Nastya's sentiment. “Pensioners are begging for money in the streets, while [Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev] is skiing and enjoying exquisite wine.”

Seventeen-year-old Leonid, who protested in Yekaterinburg, says he has seen the system from the inside and is tired of putting up with it. “My uncle works in social services,” Leonid said. “He told me how they voted for United Russia because they were ordered to.” Leonid says he is “against corruption and censorship.”

For 17-year-old Dmitry from Novosibirsk, it was censorship and propaganda that drove young people to the rallies. “The [authorities] have ‘broken into’ the Internet and have started bossing us around there — just like they do in every other sphere,” Dmitry told The Moscow Times.

“We don't watch television, because propaganda dominates there,” Dmitry said. “We use the Internet. But [the authorities] at some point started saying that we can't write about this and are not allowed to talk about that. That's why young people took to the streets: They have nowhere else to speak up.”

For others, it was about unity. “Today, the regime is trying very hard to paint the opposition as some freakish minority,” says Pyotr, an 18-year-old student who protested in St. Petersburg. “They repeat this over and over again. It's really easy to believe that you're all alone, that you're this freakish minority.”

“Rallies help us remind ourselves and the authorities that Russia is not just them and the Kremlin's supporters — It's us, too. You can feel it when thousands of people around you chant slogans you agree with.”

The big picture

Many teenagers polled by The Moscow Times say that they were inspired by Navalny's films about corruption in the Kremlin's highest echelons. This is not surprising, says Volkov from Levada: young people are Navalny's target audience, and he's doing a good job engaging them.

“His team is working on expanding their audience and setting up dialogue with youth,” he says. “Other political forces are not even trying.”


But not everyone who participated in the protests is ready to throw their weight behind Navalny. “He's not the leader I'm ready to follow,” says Leonid, who questions Navalny's experience. Dmitry from Novosibirsk echoes this skepticism: “I don't know anything about his experience governing.” He adds that he'd vote for him because “who else is out there?”



Analysts suggest the protest generally undermines the Kremlin's narrative of “stability” and the ruling elite's electoral platform. The fact that many young people who took to the streets on March 26 will be of voting age next year will be a concern for Russian authorities, who are anxious to ensure a decent voting turnout in 2018, says political analyst Yekaterina Schulmann.

“After the 2016 Duma elections it became clear that residents of big cities, ethnically Russian regions and young people don't show up to vote. So they're going to have to fight to get people to come to the voting booths.”

“The question is not how people would vote, but whether they will vote at all,” she says. **TMT**

David Kharebov contributed reporting.


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The nationality question is “a delicate issue that must be discussed cautiously.” — Historian **Oleg Budnitsky**

April 9

final screening of “Russian Jews: 1918 - 1948.”

Fall 2017

Third film in the “Russian Jews” trilogy will be released.



“I don’t consider [Russian Jewish history] a painful subject.” — filmmaker **Leonid Parfyonov**



Becoming Russian

By **Matthew Kupfer** newsreporter@imedia.ru | Illustration by **Andrey Dorohin**

A new documentary takes a controversial look at the Soviet transformation of Russian Jews

In 1991, the Iron Curtain ruptured, the Soviet Union collapsed and restrictions on emigration disappeared. Suddenly, Soviet Jews spilled out of the vanishing empire, departing for Israel, the United States and other countries around the world.

These were secular people, usually Russian-speaking and educated, often far from the folkways of their ancestors. To many who met them in emigration, they seemed quintessentially Russian and not particularly Jewish. In Israel, a joke even emerged to describe this dissonance: “Jews in Russia, Russians in Israel.”

Now, a new Russian documentary film is attempting to explain the development of this community. Written and produced by acclaimed journalist Leonid Parfyonov, “Russian Jews: 1918-1948” is the second installment in a trilogy that seeks to shed light on Jews’ assimilation into Soviet society and their role in Russian history.

Parfyonov has dedicated his life to making films about Russian history and culture. Now, he is taking on an especially sensitive subject — the complicated relationship between Jews and Russian society.

But while Parfyonov frames the Russian Jewish story as “a rich, diverse part of Russian culture,” his film — which premiered on March 23 at Moscow’s Pioner cinema — has proven more than a bit controversial.

Jewish or Soviet?

In one of the early scenes of the “Russian Jews: 1918 — 1948,” socialist revolutionary Leon Trotsky — depicted as an animated version of a historical photo — rejects a 1922 offer from Vladimir Lenin to head the early Soviet government.

“Should we really give the enemy the additional weaponry of my Jewishness?” Trotsky asks.

“We have a great international revolution,” Lenin replies “What significance can such trifles have?”

That exchange encapsulates one of the central ideas of Parfyonov’s film: Jews’ transformation from an oppressed “other” in the Russian Empire to important builders of the Soviet state and society.

After years of discrimination under the tsar, Jews emerged as some of the strongest supporters of the Russian Revolution. With higher levels of literacy than the wider population,

they became a critical human resource for the Bolsheviks and took up key roles in the burgeoning socialist government. In this way, Parfyonov argues, Jews ceased to be Jewish, becoming Bolsheviks and, later, Soviet people. This process effectively made them Russian.

Trotsky’s own story provides evidence for this. Born Leon Bronshteyn in today’s Ukraine, he changed his surname to the more Russian-sounding “Trotsky.” Later, he declared, “I am not a Jew; I am an internationalist.”

He was hardly alone in making that transformation. At the beginning of his music career, Lazar Vaysbeyn took on the pseudonym Leonid Utyosov for his performances. Under this stage name, he became an enormous star of music, film and the stage. For 50 years, Utyosov was the face of Soviet jazz.

“Utyosov lived 70 of his 87 years under this surname, and never regretted that he ceased to be Vaysbeyn,” Parfyonov says. “He chose this fate: to be a Russian performer.”

Jews who supported the revolution were frequently internationalists. Having experienced discrimination, they viewed the revolution as a means to achieve their rights. These attitudes and experiences led some to take on new names, says Ilya Altman, a historian and co-chair of the Russian Holocaust Center.

“Each of these people had their own story and their own reasons,” he says. “It depended on each person’s perception of his national identity.”

Still a sensitive subject

A century after the Revolution, the Russian Jewish community has shrunk to a fraction of its former size. Official anti-Semitism — which appeared after World War II and defined the lives of Soviet Jews — is no longer a reality, and other ethnic groups have become the main object of discrimination in Russia. But the Russian-Jewish relationship remains fraught.

In light of this, few doubt the prodigious effort that Parfyonov has put into making the documentary trilogy, and most critics admit the films are well made and engaging. But the second installment of the series has raised concerns with some viewers.

After the release of “Russian Jews: 1918-1948,” film critic Anton Dolin noted that “in a strange way, a true anti-Semite could easily find confirmation for many of his paranoid theories” in the film.

His concern is not unfounded. In January, as activists in St. Petersburg demonstrated against a government plan to transfer St. Isaac’s Cathedral, a city monument, to the Russian Orthodox Church, deputy Duma Speaker Pyotr Tolstoy returned to the anti-Semitic conspiracy theories of old. Opponents of the transfer, he said, were descendants of “those who pulled down our churches in 1917” and “were continuing their ancestors’ work.”

Others have expressed concern that “Russian Jews” hardly deals with the Holocaust, in which between 2 and 2.5 million Soviet Jews lost their lives.

The Soviet Union tended not to “recognize Jews killed [by the Nazis] as a category of victims separate from other murdered civilians,” says Altman. “And that tendency often continues to this day.” For this reason, he considers telling the story of the Holocaust to be of critical importance.

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of the Russian-Jewish relationship’s complicated nature came during a discussion held after the film’s premier. There, an audience member said it bothered her that Parfyonov revealed the clearly Jewish birth names of well-known Soviet officials and cultural figures. After all, that is something anti-Semites also do to slander Jews, she explained.

This comment seemed to catch Parfyonov off guard. “I don’t consider [Russian Jewish history] a painful subject,” he later told The Moscow Times. He stressed that, in most cases, the influence and importance of the figures profiled in his film are undeniable.

But historian Oleg Budnitsky, a professor at Moscow’s Higher School of Economics, challenges that view. In modern Russia, Jewish history is no longer a taboo subject, but the so-called “nationality question” — the role and position of ethnic identities in society — remains uncomfortable for many people, he says. This is especially true for the Russian-Jewish relationship, with its complicated legacy of discrimination and conflict.

“It’s a delicate issue that must be discussed cautiously,” he told The Moscow Times.

For this reason, he is of two minds on Parfyonov’s film. As a historian, he has misgivings about Parfyonov’s approach and focus on prominent figures, but he sees the film’s broader value.

“If you want to know the history of Russian Jews, this isn’t the place,” he says. “But for many Russians, what [the film] says will be a real discovery.” **TMT**

Pre-litigation procedure in bankruptcy proceedings

GOLTSBLAT BLP

The Russian practice of Berwin Leighton Paisner (BLP)



Oleg Permyakov

Senior associate, Dispute resolution, Goltsblat BLP

successfully contested in court, the defendant will be included on the debtor's creditor register, but with lower priority, this virtually meaning denial of restitution.

The question yet to be answered is whether these explanations amount to the Procedure being mandatory. In practice, we sometimes encounter situations when, guided by the above explanations of the Supreme Commercial Court, commercial courts construe cl. 29.32 of the SCC Plenum Resolution of 23 December 2010 as another pre-litigation procedure¹, so leave claims challenging debtor's transactions unconsidered.

The Procedure essentially requires a party to the dispute to submit claims or other written notices to an opponent that fails to perform its obligations properly and establish a response time and other conditions enabling dispute resolution without going to court.

Under Art. 148 of the Arbitration Procedure Code, a claim may only be left unconsidered if the claimant fails to observe the Procedure, if it is mandatory under federal law or an agreement between the parties.

In this context, the formal reference in cl. 29.2 of SCC Plenum Resolution No. 63 dated 23 December 2010 to an insolvency officer's obligation to offer a transaction party the chance to return to the bankruptcy estate everything received in the transaction before the transaction can be contested in court may not be viewed as a claim or other pre-litigation dispute resolution procedure².

We believe that, in this type of dispute involving transaction invalidation claims, the

Procedure is generally impossible because the issue is not whether a party failed to perform an obligation properly as part of the transaction, but rather the validity of the transaction underlying the obligation, while only courts are competent to invalidate a transaction and invoke the consequences of its invalidity.

The legal purpose of the Procedure is to avoid legal proceedings and enforcement of obligations. Although this is not stipulated by the Bankruptcy Law, an insolvency officer's proposal that assets be returned to the bankruptcy estate before litigation is initiated equally seeks to cut legal costs and time spent. In view of this, it is also possible that the assets might be returned after the separate litigation is initiated.

So, if the transaction party does not exercise its right to return the assets to the bankruptcy estate during the litigation, its motion to leave the application on invalidating the debtor's transaction unconsidered will also entail the need for another litigation, thus directly contravening the above purpose behind pre-litigation contesting of deals³.

Notably, cl. 29.2 of SCC Plenum Resolution No. 63 dated 23 December 2010 does not specify the consequences if an insolvency officer fails to discharge its obligation to send a property return offer first.

At the same time, it does say that, after returning everything obtained in a dubious deal to the bankruptcy estate, a bad debtor's counterparty will not face having its claims given lower priority and will be able to lodge its claims against the debtor in the general manner.

You will see that the legal implications of the insolvency officer failing to observe this condition do not affect procedural progress of the case, but rather the substantive law consequences of invalidating a deal and the bilateral restitution procedure⁴.

We believe, therefore, that the bankruptcy legislation does not prescribe the Procedure for disputes associated with contesting transactions made by an insolvent debtor. The explanations in cl. 29.2 of SCC Plenum Resolution No. 63 dated 23 December 2010 do not introduce a pre-litigation procedure but rather promote voluntary return of property to the debtor with a view to cutting the legal costs of bankruptcy procedures and their duration. The SCC explanations list actions an insolvency officer should take to contest the debtor's transactions and the implications of a transaction party voluntarily fulfilling the demand to return unlawfully obtained property. This may not be regarded by courts as claims or another pre-litigation procedure in contesting a debtor's transactions as part of bankruptcy procedures.

¹ Ruling of the Sverdlovsk Region Commercial Court dated 27 July 2016 in case A60-59308/2015 // Consultant Plus Legal Database.

² Resolution of the Northwestern Circuit Commercial Court dated 26 January 2016 in case No. A13-7213/2014 // Consultant Plus Legal Database.

³ Resolution of the East Siberian Circuit Commercial Court dated 4 July 2016 in case No. A13-18553/2014 // Consultant Plus Legal Database.

⁴ Resolution of the 7th Commercial Court of Appeal dated 29 March 2016 in case No. A27-18234/2013 // Consultant Plus Legal Database.

Federal Law No. 47-FZ dated 2 March 2016 (effective from 1 June 2016) amended the Arbitration Procedure Code by introducing a mandatory pre-litigation resolution procedure (the Procedure) for all disputes arising from civil law relations, while exempting bankruptcy cases.

Yet bankruptcy case history knows one peculiarity of contesting transactions for specific reasons given in this law: the claimant (insolvency officer) has a procedural duty to observe the Procedure when contesting the debtor's transactions by sending the defendant a demand for return of illegally obtained property.

This collision is due to the explanations provided by the Supreme Commercial Code (cl. 29.2 of its Plenum Resolution No. 63) stating that, before a transaction challenge claim can be brought, the insolvency officer must offer the other transaction party the chance to return the illegally obtained property. If nothing is returned within reasonable time of the offer being made, after the transaction has been subsequently

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“My children have only seen [me] in the mornings and on weekends. That’s bad for them and for me.” — outgoing editor **Tatyana Lysova**

1999

Vedomosti is founded.

120

Vedomosti staff members who voted.



“Vedomosti represented a Western approach to journalism — like an embassy — on Russian soil,” — **Vasily Gatov**, media analyst.

A Very Foreign Paper

By **Eva Hartog** e.hartog@imedia.ru

Does the departure of Vedomosti’s veteran editor pose yet another threat to Russia’s already embattled independent media scene?

In the newsroom of Russia’s most respected business newspaper, editors and reporters are in a tense face-off with the paper’s owner Demyan Kudryavtsev (who also publishes The Moscow Times). He has just announced the name of their new editor-in-chief — an appointment that should reflect the paper’s editorial standards. But the mood is sour.

Why bring in someone from outside the newsroom? Why someone from state television? What guarantee will there be of editorial independence? “Do you realize what the headlines will be?” one emotional staff member asks. “Vedomosti is going to be led by someone from Channel One.”

On the one hand, Tatyana Lysova’s successor was always going to face a newsroom of skepticism. The veteran editor spent more than 15 years meticulously curating its salmon-pink pages. To her staff and readers, she was a lone beacon of editorial independence in an increasingly hostile environment.

To many, her replacement is a symbol of that hostility. Ilya Bulavinov was head of Internet broadcasting at Channel One, a television channel that many consider a prime example of Russian state media’s flexible attitude toward fact and fiction.

His appointment might seem unusual for a paper that pioneered Russia’s transition to a free press after the fall of the Soviet Union. But it fits into a broader trend of recent ownership swaps, legal battles, and staff reshuffles at Russian media outlets — in what some see as a Kremlin campaign to silence critical voices.

Not business as usual

In a landscape where government and business interests held sway, it took an outsider to found Russia’s first independent business paper.

Dutch entrepreneur Derk Sauer had come to Russia in the nineties and set up the successful publishing house Independent Media, which printed several titles, including The Moscow Times.

Sauer saw another niche that needed filling: business journalism un beholden to external interests.

With Russia’s hungry transition to capitalism came a new class of entrepreneurs who wanted to stay informed. Besides, Russia’s only other business newspaper, Kommersant, was broadening its coverage, leaving room for a hard business paper. Kommersant had also been bought by Boris Beresovsky, Russia’s kingpin oligarch, who, like many of his peers, saw the media as a tool of influence.

Sauer named Vedomosti after Russia’s first newspaper, an 18th century bulletin founded by Peter the Great. “It had to sound as if it had been around for hundreds of years,” he says. But the Moscow billboards announcing the paper’s launch in 1999 spoke of a sharp break with the past: “Any oligarch can buy our newspaper — at a kiosk.”



Publisher Derk Sauer (left) and founding editor Leonid Bershidsky (right) demonstrate the first issue of Vedomosti on Sept. 1, 1999.

Rather than act as the Soviet regime’s propaganda tool or an oligarch’s playtoy, Vedomosti would promote a novel idea. “The message was: we’re independent,” says Sauer.

New tradition

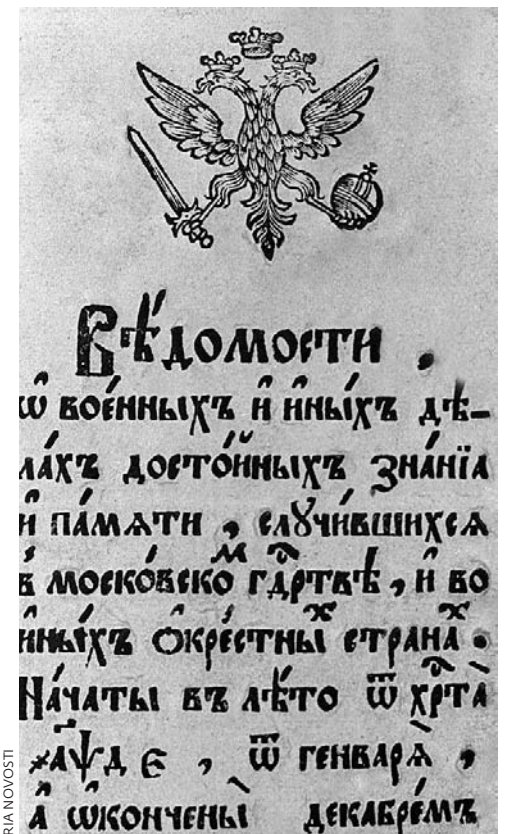
To establish Vedomosti’s brand in Russia, Sauer partnered up with international journalism behemoths The Wall Street Journal and The Financial Times.

“We felt we were part of a certain tradition,” says Leonid Bershidsky, Vedomosti’s founding editor, now a Bloomberg columnist.

“And that mattered. We read their rules and saw how they stuck to them.”

Vedomosti used this new playbook to train a generation of Russians who had limited access to international standards of journalism. The paper’s outgoing editor — who guarded those standards for over 15 years — was among them.

Lysova came to journalism by accident. After training as a mathematician, and working as a software programmer, she began at Kommersant as a self-proclaimed “terrible journalist with no writing or communication skills.”



Peter the Great’s St. Petersburg Vedomosti first appeared in 1703.

But after several scoops covering Russia’s evolving energy sector she carved out a name for her accuracy and fearlessness — traits that would come to define her tenure at Vedomosti. “If you think something is right, then you have to fight for it. No matter who’s in charge,” she says.

After the 1998 financial crash, ethics in Russian journalism became murkier. Many publications began producing “plugola” for companies and business figures in return for large payments and gifts.

Lysova admits to writing one such article — but the “client was very unhappy,” she laughs. “An editor once said I was one of two journalists in Moscow who would not accept money, calling me a fool.”

Kommersant staff eventually left the paper over claims that its owner was trying to influence his staff’s coverage to benefit a bank he had ties to. But when paid articles also became the norm at the magazine they subsequently launched, called Expert, Lysova left for Vedomosti in 1999. “It was an international brand and I thought I could learn something,” she says.

Within three years, she was chief.

First came the oligarchs...

Vedomosti’s editorial independence did not go down well with the oligarchs.

“Within two days of the launch, I had a rabid Pyotr Aven on the phone,” recounts Sauer. “We’d written something about Alfa-Bank that he didn’t like.” Other attempts to pressure



“Any oligarch can buy our newspaper — at a kiosk.” (billboards announcing Vedomosti’s launch).

2015

“Vedomosti” changed its ownership.



“Editorial independence is like a fish — it’s either fresh or rotten.” **Elizaveta Osetinskaya**, former chief editor RBC.

15 years

Lysova has served as editor-in-chief of the Vedomosti newspaper.

the newsroom included “intimidation, bribes or threats to have me sacked” says Lysova. But the newsroom refused to compromise.

“Vedomosti represented a Western approach to journalism — like an embassy — on Russian soil,” says media analyst Vasily Gatov. But its ethical standards were both its greatest asset and its weakness, he says. “It’s what the audience loves in Vedomosti, and what the government hates.”

That became apparent in 2014 — after the annexation of Crimea — when Russia passed a law forcing media companies to cut their foreign ownership to 20 percent. By then, Sauer had already sold his stake to the Finnish company Sanoma. With the new law, the FT and WSJ also pulled out. Some suspected the foreign media law had been a Kremlin ploy to leverage editorial influence over Vedomosti.

Regardless, the loss of its foreign partners was a serious blow, says Bershidsky. “It was the skeleton of Vedomosti’s identity.”

Officially, the company was bought by relatives of Demyan Kudryavtsev, a former chief executive of Kommersant and close associate of Berezovsky. Some reports claimed he had shadow financial backers, but there was no proof and Kudryavtsev has repeatedly denied the claims. Nevertheless, an aura of suspicion remained.

“Transparency was one of the major principles we stood on back in the day,” says Bershidsky. “That is no longer the case, and it’s a problem for the paper.”

Lysova stepped in to preserve the calm. She promised the newsroom to ring the alarm if there was ever any editorial interference — be it from their new owner, or from the Kremlin.

Speaking to The Moscow Times, she said there had not been pressure from Kudryavtsev since he became owner in 2015. “If he’s a villain, then he’s a very patient one,” she laughs.

Like many editors of Russian media outlets, she admits to meeting with high-rank-



ing Kremlin officials. “I take what is said there as information [about the Kremlin], not instruction on what to do.”

But there have been other pressures. The paper in September last year lost a lawsuit launched by Rosneft chief Igor Sechin, one of Russia’s most powerful men and a close ally of Putin, over a supposed lavish mansion he was building outside Moscow. It was forced to retract the article.

Then, in the fall, Lysova announced her resignation. She wants to spend more time with her children. But many of those working at the paper see her departure as the loss of their last bastion of defense against editorial interference, said a reporter who spoke to The Moscow Times on the condition of anonymity last November said.

It would be “of crucial importance who her replacement is,” the journalist added. “As soon as the person’s name is revealed, we’ll

Tatyana Lysova (left), has held different roles at Vedomosti since its founding year in 1999. Her replacement with Ilya Bulavinov (right), whose last employer was the pro-Kremlin Channel One, has emotions running high.



be able to draw serious conclusions about the significance of her departure.”

A new phase

When Bulavinov’s name was announced in March, the news was polarizing.

Although he is known to insiders, 44-year-old Bulavinov has largely remained out of the spotlight. For 20 years, he worked at Kommersant and eventually became web editor there. He then briefly worked at RIA Novosti, a state-run news agency. Since 2014, he has been the head of online broadcasting at Russia’s largest state television Channel One.

According to Vedomosti’s chief, Kudryavtsev, it is Bulavinov’s online experience that makes him the ideal candidate to lead the newspaper’s transformation to the digital age.

Even in liberal circles, many have jumped to his defense. In a Facebook post, journal-

ist Oleg Kashin, who worked with Bulavinov at Kommersant wrote he did not respond to pressure from above: “He was the only one you could completely rely on.” Bulavinov may not be the harbinger of misinformation many fear he will be.

Besides, since Bulavinov did not have an editorial function at Channel One, some argue he cannot be blamed for its controversial coverage, which has included a fake report on the crucifixion of a young boy by Ukrainian nationalists.

But he is tainted by association, says Elizaveta Osetinskaya, a former Vedomosti editor, calling the channel a “fake news factory.” “Editorial independence is like a fish — it’s either fresh or rotten,”

she said in comments from the U.S., where she moved after suspicious staff reshuffles at her new workplace, the RBC news agency following a series of hard-hitting investigations into Putin’s inner circle.

The joint venture with foreign partners had been a guarantor of Vedomosti’s independence, she said. “This trust is far less with the Russian shareholder and the new editor.”

Vedomosti’s newsroom shares her concerns. In an internal voting procedure, it voted overwhelmingly (87 percent) for their long-time web editor to fill Lysova’s shoes. But the newspaper’s board — on which both Lysova and Kudryavtsev have a seat — voted 4-3 in favor of Bulavinov.

Back in the newsroom, Kudryavtsev’s response to questions of how the new appointment will be perceived is unsympathetic. “I don’t care about headlines,” he says.

It appears many at Vedomosti do. **TMT**

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Yury Luzhkov was Mayor of Moscow from 1992 to 2010. He was notorious for a number of brash development projects.

1994

American Chamber of Commerce in Russia opens.

April 26, 1999

A bomb in an elevator exploded on the 20th floor of the Intourist Hotel, injuring at least 10.



The **Narkomfin** Building was opened in 1930 and featured groundbreaking interior design, including communal living spaces.

THE WORD'S WORTH

Translating Trump

Захват: seizure, capture



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

What we translators don't do for our profession! For months now I've been studying Donald Trump in English and in translation to try to discover the secret of his popularity among Russians. As I found last week, Trump can thank Russian translators for making him sound more presidential, coherent, and grown-up in Russian.

Now that is not to say that translating The Donald has been smooth sailing for my Russian colleagues. They are sometimes befuddled by Trumpese. For example, translators had a hard time understanding what Trump told Republicans to do if the Democrats tried to filibuster his nomination of Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court. "If we end up with that gridlock I would say if you can, Mitch, go nuclear," he said.

The translators wisely ignored the direct quote and put their hopes on a paraphrase. If negotiations broke down, they wrote, в арсенале республиканцев имеется «ядерный вариант» ("the Republicans have the 'nuclear option' in their arsenal"). That's a decent translation — it's colorful and reads well. The only problem? Average Russian readers — heck, above-average English readers — would have no idea what that nuclear option is. Are the Republicans going to drop a nuclear bomb on the Democrats? No people, no problem?

In another case, translators clearly didn't have a Middle East expert nearby or easy access to Wikipedia. Trump tweeted, "Iran is rapidly taking over more and more of Iraq," and no one could figure out if the take-over was literal or figurative. Throwing geopolitical caution to the wind, one translated it as Иран быстро захватывает Ирак ("Iran is quickly occupying Iraq"). A translator at another publication agreed, and in fact thought the phrase needed some drama: Иран быстро поглощает все больше и больше Ирака ("Iran is quickly swallowing up more and more of Iraq").

But other translators thought there was a war of influence being waged: Иран имеет все больше влияние на территории Ирака ("Iran has more influence on Iraqi territory") or Иран устанавливает все более осязаемый контроль над территориями Ирака ("Iran is establishing more palpable control over Iraqi territory"). So depending on what Russian publication you were reading, Trump was either accusing Iran of grabbing land in Iraq or exerting soft power.

Sometimes Russian publications seem to forget what language Trump speaks. Take a recent tweet about Crimea: "For eight years Russia 'ran over' President Obama, got stronger and stronger, picked-off Crimea and added missiles. Weak!"

For some reason, a slew of translators — or the Russian media they work for — became obsessed with the phrase "picked-off" (sic). Трамп подобрал новое слово для перехода Крыма к России ("Trump chose a new word for the transfer of Crimea to Russia"). Раньше он назвал его "захватом" ("Before he called it a 'seizure of land'"). One publication claimed that his use of the word захват meant that он потерял симпатии российского телевидения ("he lost popularity with Russian television").

So what new word did Trump use? Перехватить. The word can mean intercepting someone or something — getting it first. Here the implication is: Russia grabbed Crimea before the Americans could. That is, indeed, a highly significant admission by the U.S. president.

But wait a minute. Donald Trump doesn't speak Russian. He didn't write захват or перехват. He wrote "picked-off." Buckle your seatbelts. It's going to be a bumpy four years. **TMT**

MY MOSCOW

A Complicated Marriage

By **Max Walker** artsreporter@imedia.ru

Moscow frustrates Guy Archer, but he always forgives it



GUY ARCHER / PERSONAL ARCHIVE

Guy Archer says there is a 'creative, wild spirit' in Moscow's people that cannot be found in the U.S.

Since coming to Moscow from the U.S. in 1998, Guy Archer has set up a publishing company, worked as communications director at the American Chamber of Commerce in Russia and even co-founded the Moscow Architectural Preservation Society. He has just launched the corporate publications and communications firm, Capital Perspectives.

I'm from Richmond, Virginia. I was in graduate school there [in Charlottesville, Virginia] working in magazine publishing as a writer. There were a lot of great writers there but we were all competing to write about steeplechase [horse racing over hurdles and other obstacles] and so forth.

Long story short, I moved to Moscow, arriving three months before the crash of '98. For me it was fascinating, it was the most interesting and exciting part of my life.

Moscow is a bottomless resource of things to write about. It was a whole new world for me; everything in this city and this country is just endlessly interesting. As a foreigner, there are always a million questions.

When I first lived here I moved to Voikovskaya. And I just fell in love with that neighborhood. I still want to write a book on Voikovskaya. It's changed though; now there's [shopping mall] Metropolis, with great big giant offices there. I've really got to do the book now, because I've been talking about writing it for 10 years and people are getting tired of it!

In '98 a lot of people pulled out and left, great big companies, and boy did they regret doing that, because in a very short period of time, things turned around very quickly. Even recently, I'd say among Europeans and North Americans, about 70-80 percent of the people I know have left in the last few years because of the economy here. When things get rough, particularly for people trying to support families, it becomes more difficult.

The Intourist Hotel, which was torn down years ago and replaced by the Ritz, was the seediest, nastiest place you've ever been. It was fantastic. A great big 20-story building, brown, full of a lot of seedy characters, bewildered tourists and government officials on the 20th floor being bombed. Full of stories!

Ritz-Carlton, 3 Tverskaya Ulitsa, Metro Okhotny Ryad

Narkomfin, next to the American Embassy, is a very historical building. Everybody has been fighting to try to save it but it really looked like it was doomed, even Mayor [Yury] Luzhkov was openly contemptuous of the building, but now it's about to undergo a major renovation. There's a great tour there, I really recommend it.

Dom Narkomfin, 25 Novinsky Bulvar, Metro Barrikadnaya, www.engineer-history.ru/narkomfin

Every time I leave Moscow I'm miserable. But my family has told me to stop complaining about Moscow, it's like a complex marriage. I love this city, even when she makes me furious.

I'm a big music lover. I organized an event a couple of weeks ago at Dzhimi Club, a real dive. I love that place! The owner is a big hard rock fan, it's a great music venue and it's not beating you over the head like a lot of places here with how clever the design is, it has a sort of honky-tonk atmosphere to it. If everything in Moscow was terrible I would still want to live here for the Conservatory, it's a holy place.

Dzhimi Club, 3 Protopopovskiy Pereulok, Metro Prospekt Mira
Moscow State Conservatory, 13 Bolshaya Nikitskaya, Metro Pushkinskaya

People here like breaking the rules. It's sort of part of what they do. I love that spirit. For my work, my biggest asset here is the fact that there are so many talented people in terms of my Russian friends and colleagues. I feel like that creative, wild spirit wouldn't be the same in the U.S. **TMT**

Out & About



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



A rare non-canonical sculpture of Lenin shows the leader of the world proletariat baring his teeth.

Deciphering a Revolution

By **Andrei Muchnik** a.muchnik@imedia.ru

'1917: Code of a Revolution' is the first exhibition marking this year's centenary

In 2017, Russia marks the 100th anniversary of one of the most crucial episodes in its history — the October Revolution. And what better place to hold the first in a series of exhibitions devoted to the centennial than the Museum of Contemporary Russian History — known until 1998 as the Museum of the Revolution.

"1917: Code of the Revolution" has been curated with the help of the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, which provided dozens of original documents. But most of the 1,500 items on display are from the museum's own collection.

During the Soviet era, the events of 1917 and the October Revolution were described as legendary and heroic, and there was a very black-and-white approach to its participants. The Bolsheviks were the good guys, everyone else, especially the Provisional Government — the bad guys. The Museum of the Revolution, of course, played its part in these propaganda efforts, its displays confirming this narrative.

"1917: Code of the Revolution" tries to strike a delicate balance between the various opinions about the October Revolution that have emerged since the fall of the USSR. But sometimes it can't quite shake off an ironic approach to any participants other than the Bolsheviks. There's a series of postcards depicting political parties as naughty children, and teacups with cartoons of politicians of the time. One display claims that the head of the Provisional Government, Alexander Kerensky, tried to establish his own personality cult. A medal bearing his likeness reads: "The great, wise, honest, beloved leader of free people."

Tsar Nicholas II and his family are also shown in several political cartoons, including one calling him "tsar-turnip." It depicts the Russian people trying to root him out of the ground, mirroring the plot of a traditional Russian fairytale.

Each hall of the exhibition is dedicated to a certain period or aspect of the revolution,

from the economic and social circumstances of the Russian Empire in the early 20th century all the way through to the October Revolution. One section even covers the art influenced by what happened in 1917.

The exhibition contains personal effects that belonged to various participants in the events of 1917, from the notes of the Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin to testimonies of the former Red Guards. Yet there's little material depicting the lives of ordinary citizens, apart from photographs of people lining up for food and samples of "kerenki," the new currency introduced by the Provisional Government.

The curators of "1917: Code of the Revolution" have stuck to the facts, leaving visitors free to make their own conclusions. Nikita Anikin, one of the organizers, says that the main goal was to show that revolution is a "universal, all-encompassing process that affects every aspect of the lives of all people, regardless of what they are trying to achieve."

"We wanted to show that original slogans are one thing, while reality is totally different and that revolutions can't happen without a subsequent break-up of society. Even those who campaigned under the same slogans in February — Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries — by October had come so far apart that it led to civil war," he says.

But the tone and set-up of the exhibition are such that visitors can't shake the feeling of impending doom. The hall devoted to the October Revolution is colored red, a possible hint to visitors of the cost of social upheaval. This is in line with the Kremlin's current position on the events of 1917 and revolutions and protests in general: They are dangerous and must be avoided at all cost. **TMT**

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sovhistory.ru
21 Ulitsa Tverskaya
Metro Tverskaya

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Stromynka: An Oasis of Quiet Amid the Bustle of Modern Moscow

By **Daria Demidova** artsreporter@imedia.ru

The former hunting ground of Russian tsars, this district is best known for its large park



1) Sokolniki metro station

Sokolniki is more than just one of Moscow's oldest metro stations: It is where the city's first metro train set off in 1935, bound for Park Kultury. Tiled walls, marble pillars — the minimalist design of the station has remained untouched over the years but for a little change which turned out to be substantial. The bright, cold light of the fluorescent tubes which replaced the original spherical lamps (like the ones you can see at Okhotny Ryad) now paint the station's interiors in bleak colors.

Sokolniki Park contains a total of 13 ponds, 11 of which are linked in two cascades: the Putyayevskiye ponds and the Olenii ponds

2) Rusakov Workers' Club

6 Stromynka

With its three corbels protruding from a fan-shaped structure with full-length windows, the Rusakov Workers' Club is an iconic example of Soviet Constructivism. This concert hall was built for trolleybus depot workers, so designer Konstantin Melnikov toyed with the shape of a cog and encased seating areas in the cantilevered blocks. Partitions were used to combine several auditoriums into one. It was renovated in 2016 and is now a theater.

3) Poorhouse of the Boyev brothers

10 Stromynka

In the early 20th century, Sokolniki saw a wave of philanthropy, with many private charity institutions opening in the area. A remarkable example of the Pseudo-Russian architectural style, this redbrick building was one of the poorhouses maintained by the Boyev merchants. Devoted to the physically disabled, the complex included housing for disadvantaged families, an industrial school and a chapel. Today it is a tuberculosis clinic.



4) The Coronation Shelter

3 Ulitsa Korolenko

The royal family also made some effort to improve living conditions for the city's poor: In 1901, Tsar Nicholas II and his wife Alexandra opened the Coronation Shelter, a refuge for the poor elderly and the terminally ill. The institution's full title commemorated the enthronement of Tsar Alexander III and his wife in 1881. Like many other institutions in the district, the building was later given over to medical use — it is now an STD clinic.

5) Sokolniki Park

One of Moscow's most exemplary parks, Sokolniki was a hunting ground for princes and tsars from the 15th century onward. The neighborhood takes its name from the settlement where hawks and falcons ("sokoly") were bred for the royal hunt. The park has long been popular for walks in the fresh air, but a huge overhaul in 2012-2015 made it a center of active recreation. It features an ice rink, athletics equipment, a swimming pool and holds open-air concerts in summer.

In 1959, over 2.7 million people visited Sokolniki Park to see the American National Exhibition, the first event of its kind in Russia

6) Church of the Resurrection in Sokolniki

6 Sokolnicheskaya Ploshchad

The nine-domed Church of the Resurrection in Sokolniki (opened in 1915) stands aloof from busy Sokolnicheskaya Ploshchad. At the height of Art Nouveau, the church's designer Pavel Tolstykh blended allusions to ancient Russian clerical architecture with the latest trends. In Soviet times, many relics from closed cathedrals were kept here. Alexei I was named Patriarch of Moscow in the church in 1945, thereby restoring the patriarchy.



PATE & CO. / FACEBOOK



Pate & Co. serves snacks and soups in a relaxed environment.

Pâté & Co: Paris in the Shade of the Kremlin

By **Bradley Jardine** artsreporter@imedia.ru

A new brasserie south of the river is bringing rustic French cuisine to Russia

When you google Pâté & Co. cafe, the first thing you note is the location. Situated right across the street from the opulent Baltschug Kempinski hotel, with the Kremlin and St. Basil's Cathedral looming beautifully in the horizon, one might think that this place is mainly tailored to high-profile guests of the hotel. So it was a pleasant surprise to discover that the interior of the cafe provides for a more relaxing and jovial atmosphere.

French cuisine underwent a rebirth in Moscow from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, with the arrival of chefs such as David Desseaux, Patrice Tereygeol and Jerome Coustillas. Legend even has it that chefs brought foie gras and truffles to Russia in suitcases.

Restaurateur Dmitry Zotov (known for Haggis Pub & Kitchen and Zotman Pizza Pie) is now challenging these clichés by offering a more stripped-back approach to French cuisine.

Pâté & Co. cafe offers a tasteful interior, with a chic take on French design. Downstairs is adorned with black and white tiles and an open kitchen, with green plush seating by the windows. The upstairs interior is somewhat puzzling – wallpaper with tropical ornamentation and hanging wooden lamps with plastic plants.

The staff were both polite and helpful, sometimes excessively so. When explaining that their signature dish, the chicken liver pate with red orange, was unavailable, they went on to describe how fantastic the dish is and how unfortunate it was that it wouldn't be possible to experience it this evening. In traditional Russian fatalistic gloom, true happiness is always out of reach.

As the name suggests, the local specialty is pâté and terrine – essentially similar to pâté, but made with more coarsely chopped ingredients. Five varieties are offered, at 460 rubles (\$8) each: chicken liver with red orange, salmon

and smoked sockeye, wild duck terrine, artichokes with truffle oil and sausage and ham pâté. These are served with just two slices of bread. This was disappointing – after all, in Russia it's never pâté with bread, but bread with pâté.

Apart from the signature dish, there's consolation to be found in the soup menu. The onion soup (360 rubles) was rich enough, but the accompanying toasted baguette with faux camembert was sadly burned to a crisp. The Marseille fish soup (460 rubles) with seafood and capers were somehow reminiscent of fish solyanka a la Russe.

To some befuddlement, I was informed that, despite the marketing, the restaurant had no wine menu. This left a selection of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beer to choose from.

The main courses represent both French and Belgian culinary traditions. Try the duck breast with dates and topinambour (890 rubles), mus-

sels in white wine and cream (860 rubles) or beef fillet with potato gratin and romaine lettuce (1,190 rubles). According to staff, the mussels and all other seafood are delivered everyday on ice. The beef fillet was tender, but the gratin turned out to be way more pleasing.

The selection of desserts wasn't exactly French – honey cake, panna cotta with red orange, passion fruit tart, Napoleon cake and a selection of eclairs (290 rubles each).

Ultimately, despite its luxurious location, Pâté & Co. offers quite an average experience. Undoubtedly, its pleasant and well-designed interior make it a nice place to eat and relax in a prime tourist location – but would you go back for seconds? See it for yourself. **TMT**

+7 (495) 252-07-06

www.patecafe.ru
3/2 Ulitsa Balchug
Metro Novokuznetskaya

NEWS & OPENINGS



ZHAROVNYA / FACEBOOK

Zharovnya New chain of grill bars

The Zharovnya chain has opened its flagship restaurant on Bolshaya Dmitrovka. Designed by brand chef Ivan Kravets, the menu focuses on dishes prepared on a jospier grill. Try jospier-grilled octopus with avocado for 1,400 rubles (\$25), scallops from Sakhalin Island (1,200 rubles) or a ribeye steak (700 rubles per 100 grams). There's also "zhar" burger (350 rubles) with lingonberry sauce. Only grain-fed beef is used.

+7 (495) 909 1079

facebook.com/zharovnya2016/
11 Bolshaya Dmitrovka
Metro Okhotny Ryad



SVALKA.ME

Svalka Bric-a-brac by Gorky Park

Svalka, the flea market that used to be held at the NIIDAR industrial space, has moved to a permanent location under the Krymsky Most bridge, between Gorky Park and Muzeon. For those moving house, Svalka will fetch the stuff you no longer need and sell it, with 70 percent of the profit going to charity. Apart from second-hand clothing there are books, furniture and antiques – mostly under 500 rubles (\$8.80).

+7 (495) 120 1114

svalka.me
10A Krymsky Val
Metro Oktyabrskaya



CRABS ARE COMING

Crabs Are Coming ...to Danilovsky Market

Crabs Are Coming, a specialized restaurant focusing on dishes made from crab, has moved from its original spot on Kalashny Pereulok to the trendy Danilovsky Market. The new space has an all-wood design and seats about 10. The chef is still Roman Kwon, but the menu has been reduced to just four dishes: udon with crab for 390 rubles (\$6.90), rice with crab (370 rubles), steamed bun with crab (300 rubles), and cream soup with crab (350 rubles).

facebook.com/CrabsAreComing
74 Ulitsa Mytnaya
Metro Tulsкая



BOSTON SEAFOOD & BAR

Boston Seafood & Bar Fish fix at Paveletskaya

Old favorite Boston Seafood & Bar has opened a new branch in a business center behind the Paveletsky Station. The chef is Kirill Martynenko, who is also in charge of the first Boston Seafood & Bar at Belorusskaya. Boston Chowder is 250 rubles (\$4.40), while zuppa di pesce (Italian seafood soup) is 390 rubles. Shrimp is served New Orleans-style, with sweet chili and lime or with tomato sauce, all for 790 rubles.

+7 (495) 228 4600

boston-restaurant.ru
2/1 Ulitsa Letnikovskaya
Metro Paveletskaya

Up All Night: 4 New Moscow Clubs to Check Out Now



SQUAT 3/4 / FACEBOOK

Squat ¾ ↑
Techno in a former bathhouse
 Squat ¾ now occupies the building that used to house Central Baths. Moscow's party-goers might remember it as the former location of Masterskaya, with its cheap vodka shots and live gigs. Located in the basement, Squat ¾ is all about gothic interiors and bohemian atmosphere. Apart from regular techno parties and a bar, Squat ¾ houses a Greek cafe, a

barber shop and a concept clothing store.
+7 (967) 162 6062
[facebook.com/squat3.4](https://www.facebook.com/squat3.4)
 3 Teatralny Proyezd, Bldg. 4
 Metro Teatralnaya, Lubyanka

Aglomerat
Techno between concrete walls
 Aglomerat is a fairly new addition to Moscow's ever-growing electronic scene. Located in what used to be part of the Mars factory, it's a bare concrete space, the perfect setting for a dystopian film. Aglomerat started by hosting one-off events, like the Moscow Biennale for Young Art opening and a Boiler Room invite-only party (part of a series of DJ parties around the world, broadcast live online), but it has now switched to organizing events with DJs from Russia and abroad.
+7 (968) 450 8760
vk.com/aglomeratpromo
 3 Kostomarovsky Pereulok
 Metro Kurskaya, Chkalovskaya

Untitled ↓
A bar, a club, a gallery - all rolled into one
 This bar-cum-gallery tries to emulate a Berlin or Brooklyn atmosphere. The exposed brick interior and minimalist modern furniture serve as a setting for exhibitions and installations. During the week there are public talks and "dinners with artists," Thursday is karaoke night, while Fridays and Saturdays are reserved for dancing. As for the music, anything goes - from trendy electronica to rap to 1990s Russian pop, with songs by Irina Allegrova and Mirazh.
 When you get hungry after dancing, wolf down a chudu, a type of Dagestani pie with spinach and cheese or ground lamb. The cocktail menu at Untitled was designed by Daniil Fainberg, the popular bartender at Noor Bar - try his sweet and creamy Moscow Beauty à la Crème.
+7 (697) 118 1409
[facebook.com/untitledhub](https://www.facebook.com/untitledhub)
 15 Ulitsa Petrovka
 Metro Chekhovskaya, Pushkinskaya



UNTITLED / FACEBOOK



RABITZA / FACEBOOK

Rabbitza ↑
DIY Heaven
 Started by a couple of underground electronic music enthusiasts in one of the abandoned industrial spaces in the Baumanskaya neighborhood, Rabbitza uses the DIY aesthetic to the full. The club's name is a nod to the space's previous function - manufacturing engines. When the organizers first looked at the venue they saw a sign reading "Rabbitza" (a type of chain link) and decided this would be the name of the club. The owners reinvested the profits from the first few parties into beautifying the place, buying chairs, potted plants and artworks. The investments paid off: The club only operates on Friday and Saturday nights and the lines to get in snake all around the courtyard and out to the street. Several high-profile parties, including a Boiler Room session, have taken place here.
+7 (909) 948 3675
[facebook.com/rabitzamoscow](https://www.facebook.com/rabitzamoscow)
 14/5 Olkhovskaya
 Metro Baumanskaya, Krasnoselskaya

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www.cinema.moscow

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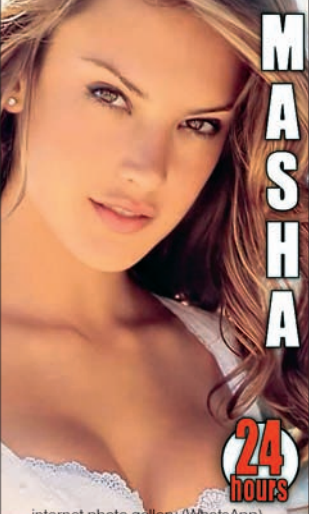
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Notice is hereby given that
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- commenced voluntary liquidation on **3rd March 2017;**
- **Mr. Sergey Pechenkin** is the Liquidator whose address is at **Apt. 66, house 9, 3-ya Vladimirskaya str., bld. 3, Moscow, Russia**

Mr. Sergey Pechenkin
Liquidator

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- is in voluntary liquidation
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16 What's On 30.03—5.04

30.03

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+7 (499) 240 5240
pioner-cinema.ru/en/
21 Kutuzovskiy Prospekt
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30.03

'Rancho'
Production based on John Steinbeck's novella "Of Mice and Men." Graduation project by students of the Russian Academy of Theater Arts.

Yermolova Theater
+7 (495) 629 0594
ermolova.ru
5/6 Tverskaya Ulitsa
M. Okhotny Ryad

31.03

Joshua Bell
The classical star and Grammy winner will play Beethoven, Brahms and Rachmaninoff on his Stradivarius.

Tchaikovsky Concert Hall
+7 (495) 232 04 00
meloman.ru
31/4 Ulitsa Tverskaya
M. Mayakovskaya

01.04

Proryv
Annual extreme sports show featuring motofreestyle, BigAir, stunttriding, endurocross and motor racing.

Olimpiyskiy Sports Complex
+7 (495) 786 3333
olimpik.ru
16 Olimpiyskiy Prospekt
M. Prospekt Mira

02.04

'I Am God: Confession of a Dictator'
John Malkovich stars in a play about the last hours of a tyrant. With Russian subs.

Dom Muzyki
+7 (495) 730 4350
mmdm.ru/en/
52 Kosmodamianskaya
Naberezhnaya, Bldg. 8
M. Paveletskaya

03.04

Alina Orlova
This indie-pop star from Vilnius, Lithuania is very popular with Muscovites. She sings in English, Russian and Lithuanian.

Gogol Center
+7 (499) 262 9214
en.gogolcenter.com
8 Ulitsa Kazakova
M. Kurskaya

05.04

Culture Vultures
An Englishman, a Croat, an American and a Jordanian joking in English.

Free, but call to reserve a table. 8 p.m.
Dewar's Powerhouse
+7 (495) 698-05-50
facebook.com/dewars.
powerhouse
7/4 Ulitsa Goncharnaya
M. Taganskaya

Moscow Comedy: Will the Real Funnymen Please Stand Up?

By **Alastair Gill** a.gill@imedia.ru

Ever hear the one about the Russian and the Croat who set up an English stand-up comedy group in Moscow? For Denis Nikolin and Igor Mondae this is no joke. The two comedians, joined by 10 other aspiring funnymen from around the world, are establishing a bona fide English-language stand-up scene in a city where stand-up culture has yet to really take root. This is despite Moscow's large expat community and recent visits by big-name acts such as Dylan Moran, Eddie Izzard and Jimmy Carr.

English Moscow Comedy (EMC) was founded last September by Nikolin, former art director for expat bar Jim 'N' Jack's, and Mondae, a Croat who has been living in Moscow for four years. The two have been instrumental in developing Moscow's English stand-up scene, which began around three years ago when budding comedians started to take advantage of open-mic evenings to test their skill.

Nikolin has been doing stand-up for three years, while Mondae started in Oct. 2014 when friends encouraged him to try after he attended several open-mic evenings.

The 12 members of the EMC have seen their popularity grow to the extent that, where initially their shows were attracting 20-30 people, they can now count on a regular audience of 40-50 at weekends. While the shows draw plenty of expats, the audiences also include a healthy number of Russians, who Nikolin describes as "fans of comedy, people who don't have a very good level of English but understand comedy."

Stand-up has taken a long time to develop in Russia compared to the rest of Eastern Europe, partly because of a failure to understand the conventions of the genre.



VLADIMIR RUBANOV

"Sometimes it happens that we have 50 people in the room and maybe 10 of them know what stand-up is, another 10 have seen it on TV or YouTube and a lot of people are not even familiar with the genre itself," says Mondae. "They know it exists, they know people come up to the mic and say some jokes, but they don't understand the culture of standup — what is a set-up, what is a punchline, what is the host's job, who is a heckler?"

This means that often Russian audience members who challenge the comedians are unaware that they are heckling. As Mondae explains, many "just heckle and don't know they're heckling because they're just random people that don't know what's going on."

"We have workshops to help each other, because some people were very natural at dealing with hecklers, and others were not,"

Denis Nikolin (left) uses the 'awkward and weird situations' he encounters every day as material for his jokes.

"Every single thing can be turned into a joke. We always keep an eye and an ear open for any situation that can potentially be something funny," says Indian Arun Khurana, who has lived all his life in Moscow.

For EMC, there are no taboos, but the group decided early on to put restrictions on what Nikolin calls "cheap tricks" — jokes about politics, gender, sexuality, and religion. "We want to be fair and correct to everyone — not insult anyone, not put anyone on the spot, not make anyone feel uncomfortable. Our job is to make people laugh, to make people feel good and happy," says Mondae.

Spurred on by its success, EMC is now attempting to move up to the next level. Last year some members of the group did a tour of the Balkans, Brown performed at Edinburgh's Fringe Festival and EMC is now preparing for its first big show in Moscow.

On April 1, Nikolin, Mondae, and Khurana and Brown will be joined at Dom Kino by Russian Gleb Tugushev and Italian Cristiano Righi. Titled "Comedy Heroes: The Big Stand-Up Show," the evening will showcase the best of the material each of the comedians has developed over the last few years.

"This is something that can be a great foundation to build upon," says Khurana. "I think people will definitely be taking it more seriously after that."

If all goes well, that's the only thing audiences will be taking seriously. **TMT**

"Comedy Heroes: The Big Stand-Up Show" takes place on April 1 at 7:30 p.m.

Dom Kino
13 Vasilyevskaya Ulitsa
Metro Mayakovskaya

says Blake Brown, a U.S. comedian and EMC member. "Because you have to keep control."

The diverse nature of their audiences means that EMC has to take a one-size-fits-all approach to both humor and the material they deliver — the result of a process of trial and error that at times has been frustrating.

"They like to hear a story about a foreigner living in Moscow way more than they like to hear just a sentence and a punchline that they will or won't get depending on their level of English and knowledge of pop culture," says Mondae.

EMC's comedians now base their sets on observational comedy and storytelling, taking inspiration from everyday life and situations that are specific to Russia and Moscow: "If you're doing stand-up in Moscow, you need to have a metro joke," says Mondae.

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