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# RUSSIAN STANDARDS

18+





"We've been here before — whether 1930s, Beria or Brezhnev's era, when the KGB was a monster." **Gennady Gudkov**, opposition politician and former KGB spy.

**12.7%**

GDP Russia officially spends on security and police.

**Dec. 20, 1917**

Vladimir Lenin orders the founding of first Soviet secret police, the Cheka.



The KGB ceased to exist on Nov. 6, 1991. It was succeeded by the Federal Counterintelligence Service — later the FSB.

## In From the Cold

By **Oliver Carroll** o.carroll@imedia.ru, Twitter: @ollicarroll

### Newspaper suggests Kremlin plans to recreate the KGB.

Early in the morning of Sept. 19, just as the first landslide results of Russia's parliamentary elections began to trickle in, the Kommersant newspaper published an eye-catching report. The Kremlin was to embark on a major restructuring of its security agencies, it said. Plans were already afoot to create a "State Security Ministry," essentially elevating the Federal Security Service (FSB) to the position it enjoyed in its Soviet heyday as the KGB.

According to the unverified report, several smaller agencies, including the Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) and most of the Federal Protection Service (FSO) were to be rolled up into the new security behemoth, and the Investigative Committee (SKR) was to return to its previous home in the General Prosecutor's Office. All would be implemented in time for the 2018 presidential elections.

The idea of recreating an overarching security ministry is not new. Almost from the day President Boris Yeltsin moved to split the KGB up into constituent parts, the spooks have pushed to regain their former status. Proposals to reconstitute old KGB functions were put forward in 2004 and 2012. In both cases, President Vladimir Putin reportedly acted as a block.

"He wanted to maintain competition within the intelligence community," says Vladimir Frolov, a foreign policy expert.

That dynamic may have changed, and several experts told The Moscow Times they believed consolidation within the security bloc was plausible, especially following the introduction of a



The Kommersant article was published just as the Duma elections results began to trickle in.

new National Guard. Tellingly, the Kommersant leak has been reported in several loyal government media, and Putin's spokesman has refused to deny the plans.

A source close to the government, who asked to remain anonymous, told The Moscow Times that he believed further security consolidation was imminent. It was, however, unlikely to be in the form suggested by Kommersant: "The boss is quite rational: Why would [Putin] push everyone into the same spot? They are supposed to rat on each other."

Gennady Gudkov, an opposition politician who worked in the KGB's counter-espionage

section between 1982 and 1992, suggests the removal of mutual interagency control was the most dangerous part of the proposal.

"We've been here before, in the 1930s during the Great Terror, after the war and the time of [security chief Lavrenty] Beria, or during Brezhnev's era, when the KGB was a monster," he says. If imposed, the changes would result in "further politicization" of law enforcement and prosecuting bodies, "conveyer justice" and "more repression of the opposition."

Gudkov does not discount the possibility that the Kommersant leak was an attempt to gauge a reaction. "The FSB is empire building, and trying to persuade Putin to impose the iron fist and expand their remit," he says.

The proposals are likely to be met with resistance by both the FSO and SKR, which would be merged into the FSB and Prosecutor's Office respectively. There would be many redundancies and much blood-letting; relations between prosecutors and officials of the Investigative Committee are, for example, already terrible.

According to the Kommersant report, the changes are being made to streamline government, and control government corruption.

Analyst Mark Galeotti suggests the proposals instead indicated "elite paranoia," and were likely to fail on both advertised fronts. "No corruption case inside the Russian security services has ever been brought about internally; it is always about competing agencies," he says. "If I were a corrupt security officer, I would think life is about to get just great." **TMT**



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**Editor-in-Chief** Mikhail Fishman  
**Production Manager** Igor Grishin  
**Advertising Director** Maria Kamenskaya  
m.kamenskaya@imedia.ru  
**Director** Elena Stepanova  
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**Founder and publisher**  
ООО Moscowtimes

**Founder's, publisher's and editorial address**  
3 Polkovaya Ul., Bldg. 1, Moscow 127018  
**Editorial** +7 (495) 234 3223  
Fax +7 (495) 232 6529  
**Advertising Sales** +7 (495) 232 4774  
Fax +7 (495) 232 1764  
**Subscription** +7 (495) 232 9293  
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**Internet** www.themoscowtimes.com

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### BIG GOVERNMENT

## Peering Into the Crystal Ball: Russia After the Elections

By **Nikolai Petrov**  
Political analyst with the Higher School of Economics



Prior to the elections, everyone was talking about the imminent dismissal of Alexander Bastrykin, head of the Investigative Committee. Media reports said the decision had already been made, with the dismissal delayed until "after the elections."

Bastrykin's departure is in keeping with the major restructuring of security and law enforcement bodies that began in March.

But his dismissal barely changes the larger picture: Both Bastrykin and his department were significantly weakened in the current restructuring process, and later by the high-profile arrests of senior investigators.

Bastrykin's was not the only security structure to have been weakened. Some, such as the Federal Guard Service and the security services for the president and customs, saw a change in leadership. The Federal Security Service, Interior Ministry, and now the Investigative Committee, underwent a cleansing of second-tier management. The Federal Migration Service and Federal Drug Control Service were eliminated altogether.

The restructuring of the siloviki — loyal strongmen from the security services — is nearing an end, while the remaking of the political bloc has only begun. It is not so much that President Vladimir Putin has a grand plan for renewing the ruling elite, as much as he is responding to what the situation demands.

Russia's leaders have unwittingly driven themselves into two traps. The first is the trap of political legitimacy. The Kremlin is running out of ways to maintain the military-autocratic legitimacy of the ruling authorities. It cannot play the "Crimea card" a

second time, and opinion polls indicate that the people care little about Syria. They are concerned with the standard of living, and the public mood is becoming increasingly isolationist.

This means the Kremlin must somehow restore its legitimacy. But the only way the national leader can stand for elections without compromising his hold on power is if nearly 100 percent of the voters turn out and vote for him — as autocratic Central Asian leaders orchestrate their elections. Otherwise, Putin cannot boast a mandate from the people.

Unfortunately, Central Asian-like results are difficult to achieve in Russia. Both the people and their government remember the mass protests of 2011-2012. Furthermore, the political machines which might have achieved sky-high voter turnout and support have been largely dismantled in the regions.

There are two ways out of this dilemma: either Putin puts forward a hand-picked successor to run in the next presidential elections, or he turns the elections into a plebiscite, thus enabling him to combine autocratic with electoral legitimacy.

The second trap is the excessively long interval between the current Duma elections and the presidential elections in 2018. If leaders wait another 18 months before implementing essential but painful economic reforms, they will exhaust the government's financial reserves — something they would like to avoid.

Here, too, the authorities have two options: hold early presidential elections or end the confrontation with the West and borrow money to buy time until 2018. In the first case, Putin would have to either carry out modernization in some form, even

authoritarian. Or he could finish building his authoritarian system, replete with a cleansing of the elite.

Either option would ruin the status quo and provoke serious resistance from the ruling elite. The cleansing of the elite over the last several months is an attempt to weaken any potential center of resistance to the course Putin ultimately chooses, giving him more room to maneuver.

The siloviki have undergone the most radical cleansing, but the cleansing process began with state-owned companies and government agencies, many of which saw their entire management replaced in 2014-2015. Before the year is out, we can expect to see a number of major changes — not only to staff, but to the very structure of the presidential administration, government and political bloc, including parliament and the party system.

The Duma elections are over. They are no longer a restraining factor, but a stimulus to change. The election results have significantly changed the political balance not only in the regions, where new, strong, and relatively independent political figures have entered office, but also in the center. The elections have given added political weight to the Duma itself and augmented its legitimacy. In fact, against the backdrop of the impending shake-ups, the Duma is looking like an island of stability.

And now no one and nothing can get in the way of the Kremlin if it wants to resurrect the Soviet Union. Especially if it seriously wants to resurrect the holy Soviet trinity of KGB-MVD-Army, as the newspaper Kommersant revealed just hours after the first election results began to trickle in. **TMT**



*"I was disappointed that my private, medical data has been compromised by hackers and published without my permission."* **Venus Williams.**

66

athletes targeted by Fancy Bears so far.

The Fancy Bears group is thought to be behind other security breaches, such as the hacking of the U.S. DNC. The group has gone by other names: CozyDuke, Sofacy, Pawn Storm and Tsar Team.



4

reports have been published by the Fancy Bears group so far.

# Bear Attack

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

## Is Russia behind the Fancy Bears cyber-espionage group?

The Fancy Bears have struck again. This time, the reputedly Russian group of hackers released confidential medical information on star tennis player Rafael Nadal and 25 other athletes. Earlier leaks involved Serena and Venus Williams and gymnast Simone Biles.

The most recent leaks mostly concern Therapeutic Use Exemptions (TUEs), recorded by the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), which allow athletes to take certain substances that are otherwise banned. Though they have targeted athletes from various countries, including a Russian boxer, the hackers seem to have a particular axe to grind against Americans. "We'd like to tell you about the U.S. Olympic team and their dirty methods to win," the group says on its website.

The hack follows a year in which Russia has been at the center of the biggest doping scandal in recent history, after WADA found evidence of widespread state-sponsored doping.

Russia paid a high price for the affair: Its track-and-field team and multiple other athletes were barred from the Rio Games, and its Paralympic team faced a collective ban. The sanctions are still in place and are unlikely to be lifted any time soon. Is the Fancy Bears' hack of WADA payback by Russia? The group certainly professes vengeance. "We do not forgive. We do not forget," it says.

For WADA, the evidence points to Moscow. "Let it be known

that these criminal acts are greatly compromising the effort by the global anti-doping community to re-establish trust in Russia," it said in a statement earlier this month.

As in the doping scandal, many reports allege the involvement of Russian security services. The attacks have been traced back to the same group that hacked into the U.S. Democratic National Convention earlier this year. In both cases, the Kremlin has denied any state involvement, accusing the West of paranoia.

"How can you prove that the hackers are Russian? You blame Russia for everything, it's very fashionable now," said Sports Minister Vitaly Mutko.

Some Russian cyber security experts have also warned the narrative might be too obvious to be true. Russian cyber criminals are typically interested in low-profile hacks that can be monetized — hacking national banks, for example — and do everything to wipe out their traces, including remaining anonymous at all cost, says Ilya Sachkov, head of the IB-Group computer forensics company.

The Fancy Bears' hack team has left behind obvious clues linking it to previous high-profile hacks. And why would it give itself a name and a logo that are so obviously Russian?

"There's a lot that doesn't stack up in this story," says Sachkov, who has investigated Russian cyber crime for years.

According to Sachkov, the speed with which fingers were pointed at Russia — it took one day — is also suspicious. Most complex crimes take months to resolve. "If you add up all of these doubts, you get such an unusual story, that it's theoretically possible but only if this concerns a group of idiots," he says.

Whether or not the hackers are Russian citizens, the leaks certainly play into a narrative: Sure, Russia has a doping problem, but it is not alone. "The hacks have neutralized the West's accusations against Russia," says Dmitry Trenin of the Carnegie Center think tank. "The narrative is: 'You showed us our flaws, and we've uncovered your flaws. No one's better than anyone else. We're all roughly the same.'"

Russia is enjoying the moment. The satirical Pilorama program on Russia's rabidly pro-Kremlin NTV channel has launched a petition to award the Fancy Bears with the Heidi Krieger Medal, an annual award for contributions to anti-doping efforts.

"Because of Fancy Bears, the world is now aware of the ruthless treatment of American athletes who, not entirely accidentally, happen to belong to dark-skinned U.S. minority groups," the petition, signed by almost 5,000, reads. "As we understand from alarming news reports, these groups are in a lamentable position, oppressed by U.S. law enforcement."

The information war, it appears, is only just beginning. **TMT**

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"Meet someone in real life." Media watchdog Roskomnadzor's advice to Twitter users dismayed by its 2015 ban of 11 porn sites.

The Moscow Times  
No. 5773

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Pornhub's global traffic ranking in September 2016.

50,000 rubles

Fine for Deti-404 founder Yelena Klimova for violating the "gay propaganda" law.



"My Little Pony" was the fastest-growing search term on Russian Pornhub in 2015.



## Pornhub Hubbub

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

An attempt to police sexuality online seems out of step with Russian society.

Last year, Yelena Rydkina was working in Moscow's biotechnology industry when she decided to get several friends together to organize a popular science conference on sexuality.

"I saw that we have a lot of trouble with sex education here, that people aren't open about sexuality, and I wanted to change that," she said.

The conference — which covered topics ranging from the biology of sex to queer culture to kink — was a labor of love for Rydkina, and she doubted that there would be much public interest. But over 350 people showed up, despite the fact that the conference had little advertising besides its website. Soon, Rydkina had quit her job in biotech.

Today, she works as a "sex evangelist" for Pure, a mobile app for "anonymous discreet dating" on the Russian market. She lectures on sex, writes blogs and articles, and records educational videos. Her most recent project, Pure.School, is a series of online sex education courses. In Silicon Valley, Rydkina's story would hardly be surprising. But, in Russia, it comes at a time when the government is increasingly taking aim at the Internet in its campaign to promote "traditional values."

This month Russian media watchdog Roskomnadzor blocked Pornhub and YouPorn, two of the world's most popular pornography sites. When Pornhub set up a mirror site to allow Russian

users access, that too was blocked. Next, Roskomnadzor blocked Bluesystem.ru, one of the country's top gay news and dating portals.

If blocking pornographic and sexual Internet content may seem superficial in the broader scope of censorship, it has greater meaning in Russia. For years, the Internet has been a largely free space in an otherwise state-controlled media environment. And as the Kremlin pushes socially conservative values, the web has also served as a place where people can enjoy those sexual identities and practices not supported by the government.

For this reason, "information technology can be considered a threat to traditional values," says Gregory Asmolov, a researcher on mass communications at the London School of Economics, who has lectured at a conference organized by Rydkina.

### Sexual Revolution

Russia has a complicated history with sex and the media. From the Stalinist period onward, Soviet culture promoted social conservatism and the word "sex" was often synonymous with vulgarity. Open discussions or depictions of sex were largely absent from official Soviet culture, and pornography was a rarity.

But with the arrival of perestroika and the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union, the restrictions disappeared. Foreign pornography streamed into Russia, where it was displayed and sold openly. Sexuality returned to popular culture, and sex scenes — often graphic and violent — became a hallmark of Russian filmmaking in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Homosexuality was decriminalized in 1993, but few truly progressive attitudes toward sex emerged.

For many Russians, the influx of pornography and garish sexuality was a trauma that went hand-in-hand with the social and economic upheavals of the 1990s, says Eliot Borenstein, a New York University professor who has extensively studied sexuality in modern Russia. "For years, the Soviets had presented a nightmarish vision of how low [American] culture was," he says. For many, the wave of porn "showed how bad it really was."

### Changing Rules

Pornography has largely disappeared from magazine racks since a 1996 law greatly restricted its sale. And with the arrival of the Internet, much of it went online.

But with the government's passage of a 2013 law criminalizing "homosexual propaganda" and the increasing focus on family values in Russia, sexuality online has gradually found itself in the legal system's crosshairs.

Since 2014, Yelena Klimova, the creator of Deti-404 (Children-404), a distinctly non-sexual website providing support for LGBT teenagers, has repeatedly found herself facing charges for spreading "gay propaganda" among minors. In January 2015, she

was fined for the offense, but the fine was later cancelled and the case returned to a lower court when she presented the analysis of a Roskomnadzor-accredited expert who did not find "gay propaganda" in her actions. But the lower court reimposed the fine.

And in September 2015, Roskomnadzor blocked the Deti-404 page in the VKontakte social network after a regional court ruled that it promoted non-traditional sexual relations among minors. Deti-404 subsequently created a new VKontakte page.

The blocking of Pornhub and YouPorn stemmed from a similar ruling in 2015, when a regional court determined that the content violated a 2010 law protecting children from information dangerous to their health and development. The blocking of Bluesystem.ru follows a regional judgment, although it is not clear what law the portal violates.

Rydkina says that the official push for conservatism worries her, but, so far, she doesn't see any major obstacles to her work.

This is not surprising, says researcher Asmolov. While these bans are concerning, they are decentralized, resulting from the rulings of specific judges. On the whole, Russia remains less restrictive than many other countries. Large numbers of similar websites continue to function online, and Russia is unlikely to ban all pornographic sites or all sites dealing with LGBT issues.

In fact, days after being banned, Bluesystem was available from a different domain and Pornhub opened an account in VKontakte. "That's what really highlights this contradiction: When a banned site like Pornhub is allowed to promote its content on a Russian platform," says Asmolov.

### Changing Values


Contradiction is central to Russian attitudes toward sex. Public opinion surveys regularly show that Russians support censorship of sexuality in media. But people's sexual lives are hardly conservative.

Some might call this hypocrisy. But Marianna Muravyova, a sociologist at the Higher School of Economics, suggests that it is pragmatism, and that — with the exception of views on homosexuality, which remains taboo — the conservatism advocated by the Kremlin has a low following in Russia.



"People may claim they support traditional values," Muravyova says, "but if you look at their attitudes toward sex outside marriage, living together outside of marriage, illegitimate children and abortion, a very liberal picture emerges."



Even Rydkina, who says she has witnessed the effects of state television on her own parents, remains guardedly optimistic. While helping her friends organize porn-themed parties in Moscow, she began to notice that otherwise straight-laced acquaintances were showing up at these get-togethers.

"I believe people in Russia are too constricted internally," she says. "There's a lot of pent-up kinky energy here." **TMT**



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**Russia and NATO** have bolstered forces on both sides of the Baltic border since the start of the Ukrainian crisis in 2014.

## 4,000

NATO troops will be stationed in the region.



**Russia** in late August conducted massive exercises on its Western frontier with eastern Europe, and is forming four new divisions there.

## May 2017

The new permanent NATO force in the Baltic region will be activated.

# Baltic Tit-for-Tat

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

## NATO and Russia feed off each other with new permanent deployments on Baltic borders.

For the past two years, the Russian military and the Western NATO military alliance have watched each other along the dividing lines of Eastern Europe. With each side suspicious of the other's intent, deployments have been matched by deployments.

On Sept. 18, NATO took another step toward reinforcing its eastern flank.

Four NATO battalions, totaling about 4,000 troops, will be deployed to the Baltic region no later than May 2017, the alliance announced. Unlike previous temporary deployments, aimed at deterring Russia from a possible military adventure in the region, these troops will be permanently stationed in each of NATO's four regional member states: Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

While Moscow claims NATO has long been working to encircle Russia, troop deployments in Eastern Europe were only given significant consideration in 2014, following the Ukrainian crisis. It was a direct response to the concerns of eastern members, who remember life under Soviet rule rather differently than their big brother does.

Moreover, the NATO alliance is famously slow to move. It took nearly two years for them to create a temporary 13,000-man NATO rapid response force.

This was insufficient in the eyes of eastern members, as was its 48-hour deployment time. Various independent studies have suggested that Russia could overrun the region within such a window.

Only at the NATO summit in Warsaw on July 8 did movement begin on stationing permanent troops in the region. And the date for their creation was only determined at the next bureaucratic stop, at a follow-up meeting in Croatia on Sept. 18.

According to the plans, 1,000 U.S. soldiers will take up positions in Poland, with German, Canadian and British soldiers covering the other countries.

### Baltic Deterrent Force



Source: NATO

"With these four battle groups, we are not talking exclusively about a training presence," Petr Pavel, chairman of the NATO Military Committee, was quoted as saying by The Wall Street Journal. "This force is to serve as a deterrent and, if necessary, as a fighting force."

The new force will most likely be commanded from a regional headquarters in Poland, possibly the Suwalki Gap, a stretch of territory less than 100 kilometers wide, separating the Russian Baltic coast exclave of Kaliningrad and Belarus. Military strategists believe control of this gap, which sepa-

rates Poland from its Baltic NATO allies to the north, would be vital in any conflict with Russia.

Even when the divisions move into position, they will be dwarfed by the potential Russian fighting force on the other side of the border. Russia's western forces have seen an unprecedented pace of exercise in the past two years, with available forces in the region in the tens of thousands. Not everyone is convinced NATO is doing enough to cover its eastern flank.

"Given the intensive nature and enormous scale of Russian preparations for war, if Russia did decide to mount a conventional armed attack, these new NATO deployments would provide little more than a speed bump," says Keir Giles, a Russian military expert at Chatham House. "But it is hoped that their presence will adjust the calculations in Moscow."

The Russian government response to NATO's new Baltic force has, so far, been muted. Responding to initial murmurings of the force, in July the Russian Defense Ministry announced the creation of more than four full new divisions in its western military district. Many on the Russian side say NATO is overreacting to Moscow's moves.

"Moscow is not going to war with NATO, and it does not plan to capture Poland or the Baltic States," Lieutenant General Valery Zaparenko, a former deputy chief of Russia's General Staff, told Gazeta.ru in response to the news. "Besides, from a purely military point of view, you can't deter much with a few battalions."

The activity of both sides in the region has been nonetheless dramatic. With dialogue giving way to tension across the region, even non-aligned states along the Baltic, such as Sweden and Finland, have begun to contemplate tighter relations with NATO. For the first time, public opinion in both countries is shifting toward the prospect of full membership.

Were that to happen, it would send shockwaves through Moscow — and ensure the cycle of escalation continues for many years to come. **TMT**

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"Times are hard but people still voted for United Russia. I think it's linked to growing political maturity." Russian President **Vladimir Putin**.

# zero

The liberal opposition did not win a single Duma seat.

# 343

Duma seats were won by United Russia, giving it a constitutional majority.

In the parallel Chechen presidential election, strongman leader **Ramzan Kadyrov** won with 97 percent of the vote.



MINDAUGAS KULBIS / AP

Renowned physicist Sergei Shpilkin produced his own analysis of the election results, based on expected statistical distributions. His data suggested that almost 45 percent of all votes recorded for United Russia may have been falsified.

# Winner Takes All

By **Matthew Bodner, Ola Cichowlas, Mikhail Fishman, Eva Hartog, Daria Litvinova**

Apathy, fraud and opposition failure combined to secure an unprecedented super-majority for the ruling United Russia party

An hour after polling stations closed in Moscow on Sept. 18, Dmitry Gudkov, 36, still believed he could win, and somehow, miraculously, hang on to his seat in the State Duma.

Gudkov was running as a single-constituency candidate for liberal opposition party Yabloko in Tushino, northeastern Moscow. He was up against United Russia's notorious Gennady Onishchenko, the Kremlin's former uber-loyal sanitary chief.

"We are neck and neck," Gudkov wrote on his Facebook page. "The outcome of the vote will be determined in the United States. Don't let us down, friends."

Gudkov was referring to Russian voters in Boston, Chicago, Miami and Washington. While the polls were closed in the motherland, the votes of Russians living in those U.S. cities could still be added to the Tushino count, and ensure Russia kept its single voice of opposition.

But the appeal to Russian voters across the Atlantic did not help. Victory soon retreated from sight, while his party was suffering an equally bad night. By 2 a.m., it became clear Yabloko was nowhere near the 5-percent threshold necessary to make it to the Duma. There would be no independent voice in this Russian parliament.

The final result, announced the next day, was overwhelming: United Russia took 343 out of the State Duma's 450 seats, gaining a constitutional super-majority. Russia's

Dmitry Gudkov was the golden boy of the liberal opposition, employing an American-style campaign strategy. He lost to a stalwart of the regime, former sanitary chief Gennady Onishchenko.



VEDOMOSTI

friendly "opposition" took the remaining seats: the Communist Party won 42 seats; nationalist-leaning LDPR won 39 seats and A Just Russia took 23 seats. Rodina and the Civic Platform won a seat each. The Duma's only "independent" deputy is Vladimir Reznik, a man who once found himself on Interpol wanted lists and was for many years a United Russia lawmaker.

The following day, President Vladimir Putin declared his party victorious and congratulated them for the "good result."

"How is that possible, given the economic difficulties we've been facing and the drop in people's real incomes?"

he said. "At times of risk, you can count on people to trust the government."

## Lowest Turnout in History

With only 48 percent of Russians taking part in the vote, this parliamentary election saw the lowest turnout in the country's post-Soviet history.

The Kremlin was counting on this, says political analyst Alexander Kynev. It believed protest voters were most likely to stay at home, and its strategists did everything to discourage Russians from voting. Earlier this year, it moved the election from December to early autumn, meaning Russia's campaign season coincided with Russians holidaying at their dachas.

"It was a rigged game," says Kynev.

The result was an incredibly dull show for the electorate. With nobody doubting who the winner would be, many Russians saw no reason to bother.

## Changing the Rules

The Kremlin introduced a series of safety mechanisms to secure its victory.

First, it reverted to a mixed electoral system not used since 2003. In the previous parliamentary election, in 2011, all of the Duma's 450 seats were chosen through party lists. But this format proved ineffective for United Russia, which barely won a simple majority of 226 in 2011.

This year, Russians elected only half of the Duma deputies through party lists. The other half was elected via single-constituencies, which means a district is represented by

*Continued on Page 11 →*





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



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Huang He has a small stall with fresh produce from China next to the kitchen, allowing you to take the taste of the Orient home with you in the form of bitter melon or rice.

## Huang He: Dim Sum and a Diminutive Pig

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

*Farm fresh food inspired by the Orient*

A life-sized cutout of Dmitry Nagiyev dressed in traditional Chinese clothing greets you on entry to this oriental eatery. The odd adornment — while questionable tastewise — makes more sense if you know that the star of the popular television comedy "Fizruk" (Gym Teacher), co-founded the restaurant together with the Bulldozer Group. Owned by Alexander Orlov and Denis Gusev, the restaurant chain has already opened several restaurants in Moscow and further afield, including in Dubai and Hong Kong.

Although Nagiyev himself was not seen on the premises, another celebrity was running amok

in the restaurant — Husha the miniature pig. Utterly huggable, Husha is not that easy to catch, but totally worth it for the wealth of Instagram opportunities a four-hoofed friend can afford you.

Natalya Belonogova — the mind behind Men-deleev's interior — is responsible for the design. This is immediately apparent from her trademark concrete and iron minimalism, with huge metal lamps hanging from the ceiling.

Heading up the kitchen is Yevgeny Kuznetsov, who spent two months in Hong Kong perfecting the menu for the restaurant. The restaurant pro-pounds the use of fresh, seasonal products from

farmers. Accordingly several items on the menu will be off the cards at any one time.

Start your culinary travels by snacking on some century eggs, a Chinese delicacy in which eggs are preserved for several weeks or longer through a complex procedure traditionally involving salt, lime and ash (390 rubles). Alternatively try the more conventional but nevertheless excellent veal in oyster sauce (650 rubles). Other highlights include Taipei-style shrimps (690 rubles) and the sweet and sour carp (750 rubles).

The dim sum and dumplings are the masterful handiwork of An Yaoyao, previously of the upmar-

ket Turandot restaurant. Flavor combinations include duck and leek (420 rubles) or eggplant and shrimp (430 rubles).

The tea menu is bound to impress any con-noisseur. Sample the fragrant smoked red tea (410 rubles) or order a traditional tea ceremony to your table. For desert tuck into the ubiquitous caramelized fruit desert (390 rubles) or the Japanese mochi — ice cream inside pounded sticky rice. **TIME**

**+7 (919) 779 1010**

[facebook.com/huangheresto.ru](https://facebook.com/huangheresto.ru)

2 Ulitsa Sergiya Radonezhskogo  
Metro Rimskaya, Ploshchad Ilyicha

### NEWS & OPENINGS



OKHOTA MYASA

#### Okhota Myasa

**A burger joint founded by farmers**

Okhota Myasa can be roughly translated as "hungry for meat." The eatery was founded by the eco-farm Melbard, located in the Penza region. The distinguishing feature of Okhota is that for every burger on the menu, you can ask for either a beef or goat patty. Try the burger with pesto and mozzarella or truffle paste and caramelized onions (both 350 rubles).

**+7 (495) 605 7172**

[vseburger.ru](https://vseburger.ru)  
5 Shmitovskiy Proyezd  
Metro Ulitsa 1905 Goda



RUMOR BAR

#### Rumor Bar

**Stylish cocktail den**

With its long wooden counter, red leather bar stools and jaunty tiled floors, Rumor bar on Pokrovka brings a little bit of New York cool to central Moscow. Dapperly dressed bar staff serve up a variety of classic and contemporary cocktails at 500 rubles a pop. Try the quirky gin-based "basil smash" or a "old pal," made from bourbon and Campari.

**+7 (967) 001 2052**

[facebook.com/rumorbar-moscow](https://facebook.com/rumorbar-moscow)  
21-23 Ulitsa Pokrovka  
Metro Chistiye Prudy, Kitai-Gorod



PHOBO

#### PhoBo

**Fast, flavorsome Vietnamese**

PhoBo is located in the former Arma factory complex, which makes it the perfect pit stop on your way from the Winzavod gallery to the Gogol Center theater. The eponymous pho bo soup is excellent (310 rubles), as are the other noodle dishes, like pho chon with stewed beef and vegetables (320 rubles). Indulge in a traditional Vietnamese coffee with condensed milk to end your meal on a sweet note (150 rubles).

[facebook.com/phobocafe](https://facebook.com/phobocafe)  
5/1 Nizhny Susalny Pereulok  
Metro Kurskaya



DOME

#### DOME

**Cost-price cafe**

DOME is Moscow's second restaurant to offer diners cut-price food and drink in return for a small entrance fee. Tucked away in the basement of the city's Lopukhin mansion, the restaurant is cozy, but stylish. The menu is not extensive, but what is there proves to be good quality. Try the rich mushroom soup (77 rubles) and the delicate salmon and lavender salad (274 rubles).

**+7 (499) 551 5583**

[dome1722.ru](https://dome1722.ru)  
13 Komsomolsky Prospekt  
Metro Park Kultury

## Take it and go!

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





# Shopping Day at GUM

## Visit Russia's Most Famous Arcade

Illustration by Yevgeny Tonkonogy

From open stalls to high-tech stores, this spot on Red Square has been the place to shop for over a millennium

### Three facts about GUM

❶ On May 9, 1945 a radio announcer announced the joyful news from GUM that World War II was over. ❷ The very first advertisement for the new Soviet department store was coined by none other

than poet Vladimir Mayakovsky: "In GUM you'll find goods of every kind, to meet the needs of heart, soul and mind!" ❸ In the 1930s, there were communal apartments on the second and third floors.



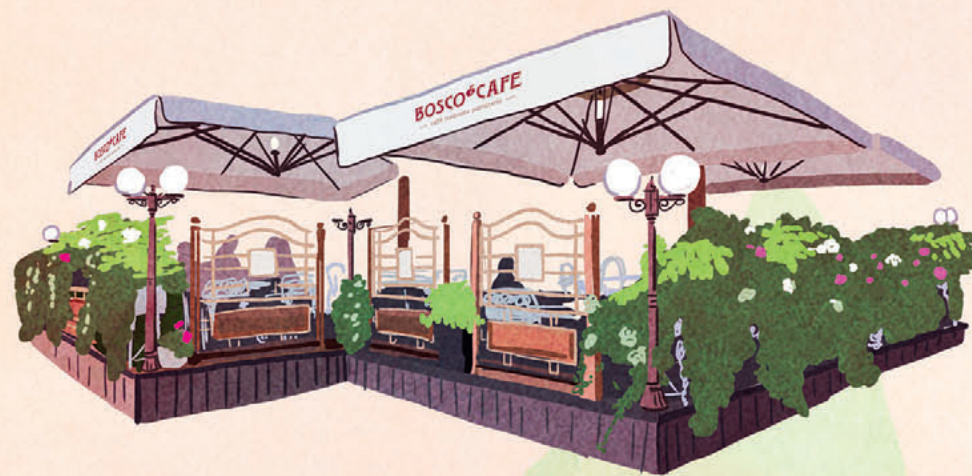
### Fashion Holiday

And now — back to GUM for some serious shopping. GUM has always been the place for haute couture, from special-order, hand-sewn suits during the Soviet period to the best international brands today: Dior, Prada, Gucci, Louis Vuitton, Hermes, Miu Miu, Burberry, Hugo Boss, Escada, Furla, Salvatore Ferragamo, Manolo Blahnik, Casadei, Sergio Rossi. Check out Max Mara for a hand-stitched classic coat in Puntino wool. If you're more a fan of la dolce vita, go to Ermanno Scervino for something that's both sporty and a bit baroque. Or stop in to Alberta Ferretti for something shimmery and feminine. If you are more of a fashion rebel, head to Emporio Armani. And for just the right eye-catching accessories, there's Moschino. Etro is the place for boho chic, while Paul Smith combines impeccable traditional British style with a bit of humor. Be sure to hold back a bit.



### Children's GUM

With your bag of delicacies under your arm, slip out the door onto Vetoshny Pereulok and cross over to Children's GUM — more than 15,000 square feet of fun for parents, their children and anyone who is young at heart. You can find clothes for every occasion, toys, bicycles, scooters, footwear, books and school supplies, and furniture for kids' rooms. Childhood dreams come true in the enormous space of Bosco di Ciliegi, where the stylish younger set can be dressed by Dolce & Gabbana, Baby Dior, Gucci, Burberry, Armani Junior, Il Gufo, Ermanno Scervino Junior, Kenzo, La Perla, Moncler, and M.I.MI.SOL. When you come back outside, you'll see GUM glowing, lit with more than 40,000 lights on the façade and another 8,000 inside. All these are cared for by 16 lamplighters, whose job is to make sure the GUM is always bright and welcoming, whatever the weather.



### Gastronom №1

Gastronom №1 opened in 1953 and faced Red Square. Now this food store, opened in 2008, is on the other side of the building. Stop in for a dose of stage-managed nostalgia and some truly fabulous food. This is the place to buy black and red caviar, vodka and the best of Soviet-era products, as well delicious home-made snacks, fresh produce and delicacies from Russia and around the world.



### Restoratives

To replenish your shopping energy, stop into one of GUM's eateries for a relaxing and delicious restorative meal. For a quick cup of coffee and fresh berry tart, stop at Bosco's Cafeteria by the Fountain. For a full menu of Russian and international dishes, try the Festivalnoye Café on the third floor right under the famous glass ceiling designed by engineer Vladimir Shukhov, which looks light and airy, despite a metal skeleton weighing more than 800 tons. But for something more festive, head toward the first line of GUM on Red Square. Today you enjoy a celebratory meal of exquisitely prepared and served Italian cuisine at the Bosco Café or Bosco Bar. Great food and drinks with a view of Red Square — is there a better place to take a break?



# In and Around GUM

5-hour walk  
In partnership with GUM

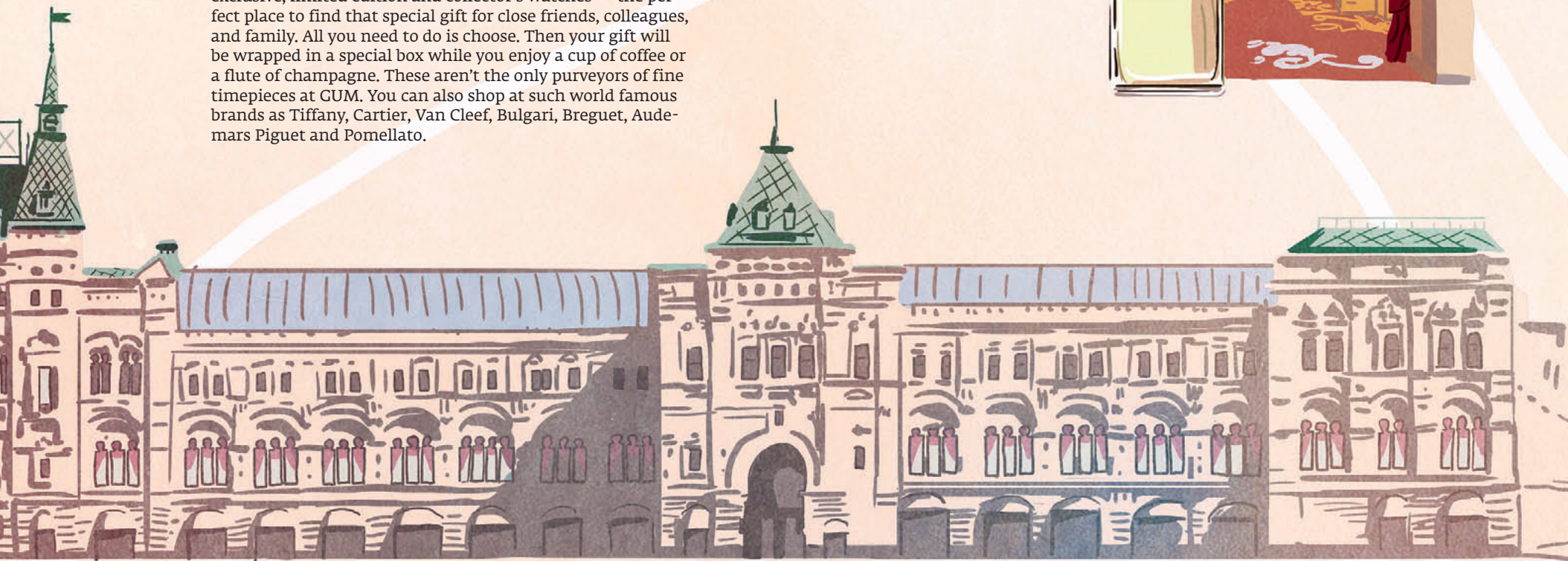


### Sublime by Bosco

Now that your sporting needs have been taken care of, walk across the hall to the jewelry and watch boutique Sublime by Bosco, part of the gallery of Bosco di Ciliegi in GUM. This is heaven for anyone who loves fine jewelry and watches. You can browse timepieces by the world's finest watchmakers: Omega, Jaeger-LeCoultre, Vacheron Constantin, IWC, Blancpain, Jaquet Droz, Longines, Glashutte Original, Rado and many others. Here you'll find both everyday watches and exclusive, limited edition and collector's watches — the perfect place to find that special gift for close friends, colleagues, and family. All you need to do is choose. Then your gift will be wrapped in a special box while you enjoy a cup of coffee or a flute of champagne. These aren't the only purveyors of fine timepieces at GUM. You can also shop at such world famous brands as Tiffany, Cartier, Van Cleef, Bulgari, Breguet, Audemars Piguet and Pomellato.

### Articoli by Bosco

After a moment of quiet at the fountain, stop into Articoli by Bosco — the best place to shop for cosmetics and perfumes in Moscow. The spacious shop carries more than 200 premium brands, including favorites such as Chanel, Dior, La Mer, Gucci Cosmetics, Tom Ford, YSL, Jo Malone, Givenchy and Lancome. Articoli by Bosco on Red Square in GUM opened back in 1999, and since then has become one of the top stops for high quality cosmetics, skilled and talented consultants, and always a plethora of special offers.



### Bosco Sport

Take your cone and walk along the middle line toward Ulitsa Ilyinka to Bosco Sport. Bosco Sport created the first national Olympic clothing line, earning a place in the hearts of Russian and international consumers as the most successful Russian brand on the world market. Inspired by the work of Russian constructivists like Alexander Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, the Bosco designers created a new collection of sportswear for the Russian athletes and their fans at the 31st Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. Stop in a pick up everything that a serious — and seriously fashionable — athlete needs: windbreakers, parkas, T-shirts, polo shirts, bags, sports shoes and the full range of accessories. This is also the place for your Moscow souvenirs, like a "Russia" T-shirt or baseball cap.



### Ice Cream

To finish your day, treat yourself to ice cream. GUM began to sell its own in-house made ice cream on July 3, 1954, first only vanilla and crème brûlée. Sold in sugary sweet waffle cones by ladies wearing white uniforms and caps, the creamy ice cream quickly became a favorite of the public and symbol of GUM. Today you find vendors throughout the arcade selling traditional flavors as well as chocolate, strawberry, blueberry, lemon and others. It's a great way to end the day.



### Fountain

For over a century, the fountain in the center of the arcade has been everyone's favorite place to meet their friends and take a break from shopping. Originally built in 1906 as a round fountain, it was changed to an octagon made of red quartzite during reconstruction in 1953. Wander over and pause to watch the dancing water. The sprays of water seem to be choreographed, and every half hour the water flies up over 20 meters (65 feet). The trajectory and strength can also be changed. There is nothing like the pleasant sound of flowing water to refresh a tired shopper.







**Seán Mulhern**, writer and administrator

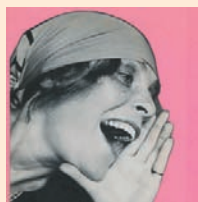
*“Want a piece of sage advice? The rosemary and lavender infused coffees at **Wake Up Cafe** are well worth your thyme — and at 250 rubles, you don’t have to be minted to purchase one!”*



MAMM

## The Exhibitions of the Autumn

Galleries and museums across the capital have officially awoken from their summer slumber. Whether you want to soak in the tranquil beauty of Raphael’s portraits or be mesmerized by the stunning ink paintings of China’s most illustrious contemporary artist, there’s a veritable tide of extraordinary exhibitions for art-lovers to embrace this autumn. Here’s our “must-see” list.



MAMM

### Alexander Rodchenko: Experiments of the Future

[A visionary and a creator](#)

This major retrospective of Alexander Rodchenko at the Multimedia Art Museum is devoted to the 125th anniversary of the artist’s birth. Today, Rodchenko is thought to be one of the most important figures in Russian avant-garde movement, and as a man who lived before his time. His photography was socially-engaged, experimental and groundbreaking from an aesthetic perspective. The exhibition features more than 100 photographs from the MAMM collection, as well as famous posters, paintings and art objects from Russian museums such as the Tretyakov Gallery, the Pushkin Museum and the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg. **Multimedia Art Museum Moscow (MAMM)** [mamm-mdf.ru](#) 16 Ulitsa Ostozhenka Metro Park Kultury, Oktyabrskaya Through Nov. 13



MMOMA

### Stephan Balkenhol: Sculptures and Reliefs

[Old techniques given a contemporary edge](#)

The Moscow Museum of Modern Art’s latest show — a Stephan Balkenhol retrospective — is its best in recent years. With a career spanning more than three decades, Balkenhol is considered one of the most important contemporary sculptors of his generation. Balkenhol uses wood in his sculptures — honoring a tradition going back to medieval Europe — yet he leaves his works unpolished. The rough surfaces, littered with cuts and nicks, are meant to reflect the imperfections of real life. The MMOMA exhibition features works depicting religious figures as they would look today alongside some of the artist’s sketches.

**Moscow Museum of Modern Art (MMOMA)** [mmoma.ru](#) 10 Gogolevsky Bulvar. Metro Kropotkinskaya Through Nov. 13



KREMLIN PALACE MUSEUM

### Kyoto Costume Institute: Elegance and Splendor of the Art Deco

[Haute couture and costume jewelry](#)

Over 100 rare high-fashion items from the Kyoto Costume Institute, including coats, evening dresses and womenswear, will be on display at the Kremlin Palace Museum from Sept. 30. One of the leading fashion museums in the world, the Kyoto Costume Institute has restored many of the items specifically for the exhibition. Clothing will be shown accompanied by jewelry created by Cartier and Van Cleef & Arpels and alongside original designs and archival photography of the items. The collection of different types of decorative arts will help draw a wider picture of the art deco period, a unique socio-cultural phenomenon in visual arts, architecture and design popularized in the 1920s and 1930s. **Kremlin Palace Museum** [kreml.ru](#) Metro Alexandrovsky Sad Sept. 30 — Jan. 11

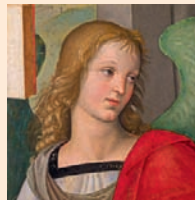


MAMM

### Pino Pinelli: Matter, Fragment, Shadow

[Multimedia minimalism](#)

Step into the world of analytical painting at the recently opened Pino Pinelli exhibition at the MAMM. Pinelli was influenced by the “Zero” artists of the mid-century, who created artwork devoid of color, emotion and individual expression. Similarly, Pinelli’s work also propounds the idea that there are modes of expression other than those found in traditional painting. His works often mimic abstract geometric trails and involve bright, primary colors and varying textures. The surprising, minimalist creations of the artist subvert the viewer’s expectations, making this a playful, but powerful, exhibition. **Multimedia Art Museum Moscow (MAMM)** [mamm-mdf.ru](#) 16 Ulitsa Ostozhenka Metro Park Kultury, Oktyabrskaya Through Oct. 23



PUSHKIN MUSEUM

### Raphael: The Poetry of the Image

[“Il divino” comes to Moscow](#)

A little bit of Raphael’s genius has arrived in Moscow. This autumn the Pushkin Museum hosts a landmark monographic exhibition of the artist’s works — the first ever in Russia dedicated solely to Raphael. Following an agreement between the Pushkin Museum and the Florentine Uffizi galleries, 11 paintings and drawings of inestimable worth have traveled to the capital, some leaving Italian soil for the first time. Among the masterpieces on display, guests can admire Raphael’s famous 1506 self-portrait, as well as the dual portraits of “Agnolo Doni” and his wife “Maddalena Strozzi.” Renowned for the harmonious composition and striking beauty of his artworks, the current Raphael exhibition is being held under the patronage of the Italian Embassy in Russia.

**Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts**

[arts-museum.ru](#)

16 Ulitsa Volkhonka. Metro Kropotkinskaya Through Dec. 11

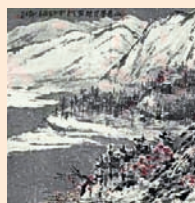


PUSHKIN MUSEUM

### Giovanni Battista Piranesi: Artworks From Russian and Foreign Collections

[1,000 square meters dedicated to Piranesi](#)

The artwork of Giovanni Battista Piranesi — an 18th-century Italian engraver, architect and decorator — will adorn the prestigious walls of the Pushkin Museum through November. The exhibition includes around 100 of Piranesi’s etchings, as well as drawings and engravings from his predecessors and followers. As well as exploring the life and works of Piranesi, the collection will shed light on the influence the Italian had on artists in Russia, from inspiring the architects of Catherine the Great’s court to his impact on the proponents of the Russian avant-garde. The exhibition will feature artwork from the Pushkin Museum’s collection, as well as the Venetian Cini Foundation, the Shchusev Museum of Architecture and the Russian Academy of Fine Arts. **Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts** [arts-museum.ru](#) 16 Ulitsa Volkhonka. Metro Kropotkinskaya Through Nov. 13



MOSCOW MANEGE

### Cui Ruzhuo: Glossiness of Uncarved Jade

[Ink paintings from a modern master](#)

Cui Ruzhuo’s landmark exhibition at the Manege brings the Asian artist’s exquisite ink paintings to Moscow audiences for the first time. Consistently ranked as one of the most successful and highly paid artists of his

generation in his native China, Cui Ruzhuo is best known for his large-scale images of flowers, birds and landscapes. The exhibition, “Glossiness of Uncarved Jade,” is currently on show at the St. Petersburg Manege and will arrive at its Moscow counterpart on Oct. 7. The collection features around 200 works, including several polyptychs reaching over 6 meters in length. Combining the expressionism of Western art with ancient Eastern practice and technique, Cui Ruzhuo’s artworks often feature monochrome landscapes contrasted with striking flashes of color.

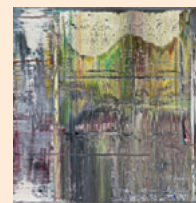
**Moscow Manege**

[moscowmanege.ru](#)

1 Manege Square

Metro Okhotny Ryad

Oct. 7-28



JEWISH MUSEUM

### Gerhard Richter: Abstraction and Appearance

[Between abstraction and realism](#)

Gerhard Richter is one of the most prominent abstract painters alive today, yet he is also highly praised for his photorealistic portraits. Perhaps most famous for his technique of painting over found photographs, the artist uses images from magazines and family albums and turns them into unrecognizable painted portraits, landscapes, and still lifes. The exhibition at the Jewish Museum in November covers Richter’s works from 1973 to 2016, including major works from different stages of his career. The centerpiece is “Birkenau (2014),” a series of reworked photographs taken by a prisoner at the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp in August 1944.

**Jewish Museum and Tolerance Center**

[jewish-museum.ru](#)

11/1A Ulitsa Obratstova

Metro Marina Roshcha, Mendeleyevskaya

Nov. 9 — Feb. 5, 2017



TRETYAKOV GALLERY

### Roma Aeterna. Masterpieces of the Vatican Pinacoteca

[A glimpse inside the sacred walls](#)

The Vatican museums hold some of the world’s most highly treasured artworks. Items from the immense collection rarely leave the walls of the sacred city. But this autumn some of them will. On loan from the Vatican Pinacoteca, paintings of staggering importance by Caravaggio, Raphael and Bellini will travel to Moscow for the landmark exhibition. While many of the works relate — unsurprisingly — to biblical scenes, others shed light on life in the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods. It’s a golden opportunity for art lovers not only in Russia, but throughout Europe, to see the paintings for the first time.

**Tretyakov Gallery**

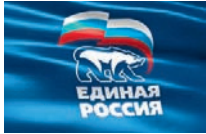
[tretyakovgallery.ru](#)

12 Lavrushinsky Pereulok

Metro Tretyakovskaya

Nov. 23 — Feb. 19, 2017





United Russia won 54 percent of the seats through party lists and 90 percent through single mandate districts.

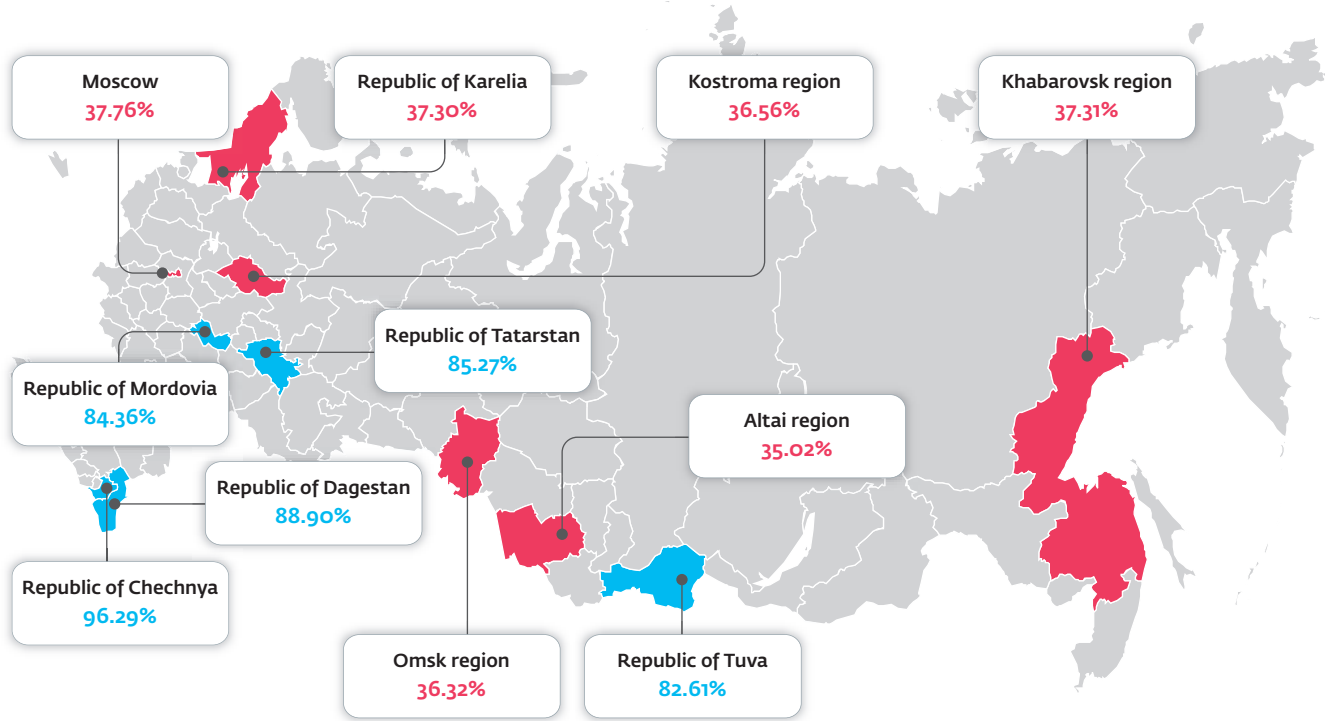
**47.8%**  
Election turnout, the lowest in modern Russian history

*“A turnout like any turnout.” Ella Pamfilova, head of Russia’s Central Election Commission.*



**35.2%**  
Turnout in Moscow in the 2016 election, compared to 66 percent in 2011.

Percentage of votes cast for United Russia — highest and lowest regions



Sources: Central Election Commission; map by Roman Poulvas / commons.wikimedia.org



← Continued from Page 6

whichever candidate receives the most votes. While the system was billed as more democratic, it would also be responsible for skewing the vote in favor of the frontrunner United Russia. With the new voting procedure in place, Putin’s party would win a majority no matter what.

“They were going to win it either way,” says political analyst Abbas Gallyamov. United Russia won 90 percent of the seats elected in the districts.

The Kremlin’s other major success was persuading voters that this election would be honest and open. “This was a big victory,” says Gallyamov.

Compared to the mass rigging observed in 2011, this election appeared cleaner. With some well-publicized exceptions, there were few major violations observed in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Russia’s Central Election Commission

Duma newcomer Vitaly Milonov is a former St. Petersburg lawmaker known for his anti-LGBT campaigns. A member of United Russia, he lobbied for the first “gay propaganda law” in Russia.

chief Ella Pamfilova, who staked her career on a clean election, declared the 2016 vote to be completely legitimate.

But evidence of tampering with the vote soon started to mount. Renowned physicist Sergei Shpilkin produced his own analysis of the election result, based on expected statistical distributions. His data suggested that almost 45 percent of all votes recorded for United Russia may have been falsified.

Shpilkin’s research indicated that the real turnout was likely just 37 percent — 11 percent (or 5.7 million votes) lower than what Russian officials claim. If the physicist is correct, United Russia’s share of the electorate falls from 54 percent to 40 percent.

“By my estimate, the scope of the falsification in favor of United Russia in these elections amounted to approximately 12 million votes,” he said.

No Opposition

Russia’s liberal opposition offered no competition for United Russia or regime-friendly “opposition” parties.

Neither Yabloko, led by Yeltsin-era politician Grigory Yavlinsky, nor the even less popular Parnas, led by former Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov, gained the necessary 5 percent of the vote to enter parliament. Nor did they pass the 3-percent threshold needed to qualify for federal funding. As a result,

Natalya Poklonskaya is famous for her looks and infamous for her role in Russia’s annexation of the Crimean Peninsula. She is Russia’s youngest general and the subject of numerous anime cartoons.

neither party will be able to put forward candidates in future elections without going through the tiresome and obstacle-riddled process of gathering signatures.

“I want to say that I am sorry,” Yabloko’s Lev Schlosberg said during a broadcast on Russia’s independent Dozhd television station late on election night. “We couldn’t get through this iron curtain to our voters. We failed to engage our voters in discussion. They don’t believe in elections anymore, and they stayed at home. This is our fault, and our responsibility.”

Most of the protest voters in the big cities, which usually supply the opposition with votes and political force, did indeed stay at home. In major urban centers like Moscow and St. Petersburg, voter turnout was the lowest seen in a decade. The progressive, middle-class electorate simply did not show up. “Think of it in terms of a general strike,” says sociologist Ella Paneyakh.

As a result, opposition-minded Russians now have no one to represent them. Indeed, newcomers in the Duma appear to be even more conservative and inclined to tighten the screws.

The most notorious among them is Vitaly Milonov, a former St. Petersburg lawmaker known for his anti-LGBT campaigns. Milonov, a member of United Russia, lobbied for the first ever “gay propaganda law” in Russia. It was passed by the St. Petersburg parliament in 2012 and approved by the State Duma the following year. Among his other infamous initiatives, Milonov has attempted to ban abortion, create a “morality police” and rid Russian schools of Darwin’s theory of evolution.

Another flamboyant new deputy is Gennady Onishchenko, the former head of consumer rights watchdog Rospotrebnadzor, who won the race against Gudkov. He rose to fame for his vigilant guard of Russians’ health, which more often than not coincided with Russia’s foreign policy interests; there were import bans on Moldovan and Georgian wine, and later Belorussian and Lithuanian dairy. Onishchenko even proposed to ban condoms and cigarettes, but, luckily for many Russians, to no avail.

The new Duma’s conservative warriors will count a wom-



an, Natalya Poklonskaya, amongst their ranks. She is famous for her good looks and infamous for her idiosyncratic nationalism and role in Russia’s annexation of Crimea. Russia’s youngest female general is the subject of numerous anime cartoons, as well as songs and online games.

Subordinate Democracy

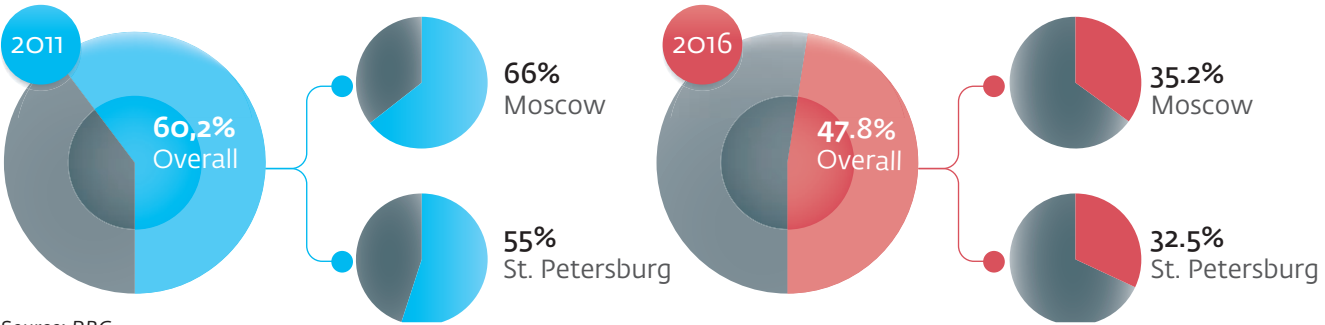
In a column for the liberal Slon magazine, political analyst Grigory Golosov wrote that the Kremlin’s strategy was to widen the gap between those Russians who are relatively independent from the government — and, therefore, could vote for the opposition — and the elections.

“For these social groups, the strategy was to make sure that going to the dacha [instead of voting] was the priority,” Golosov wrote.

The new Duma is the last brick in the construction of a new political system, which has changed dramatically from the so-called “managed democracy” in the last four years. With the Duma now wholly subordinate, the Kremlin can do as it pleases.

But the substance of that last brick, the nation’s indifference toward politics, which the Kremlin tried so hard to achieve, may well turn into a problem as Putin starts to prepare for his own re-election in 2018. TMT

Voter turnout in 2011 vs. 2016



Source: RBC





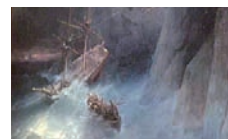
"Russia's museums have never before enjoyed such attendance as they have over the last four years." **Vladimir Medinsky**, Russia's culture minister.

1892

Pavel Tretyakov donated his art collection to Moscow.

480,000

visitors to the Valentin Serov exhibition at the Tretyakov Gallery on Krymsky Val.



Newly restored, "**At Caucasian Shores**" will go on display for the first time as part of the Ivan Aivazovsky exhibition at the Tretyakov Gallery.



SERGEY MELIKHOV

Director of the Tretyakov Gallery Zelfira Tregulova is working — successfully, to bring Russian art to the masses.

# Russia's Blockbuster Museum: The Tretyakov Reborn

By [Anna Mongayt](#) [newsreporter@imedia.ru](mailto:newsreporter@imedia.ru)

Director Zelfira Tregulova has breathed new life into the state museum of Russian art, toppling art's ivory tower and attracting record-breaking crowds.

People waited in line for up to four hours in temperatures of minus 20 degrees Celsius. There were ambulances and rescue workers on hand, just in case. Volunteers handed out porridge cooked up in nearby field kitchens. Alexei Ananyev, a billionaire whom Forbes lists as one of the 10 wealthiest people in Russia, stood without bodyguards alongside Anton Belov, the director of the Garage Museum of Modern Art, a nearby complex built with money donated by another billionaire, Roman Abramovich. This spectacular crowd was waiting to enter the Tretyakov Gallery on Krymsky Val, where the overenthusiastic mob had already broken the front door.

It was January 2016, and the newly appointed director of the Tretyakov Gallery, Zelfira Tregulova, was watching with surprise. The show was an obvious success — for her and for Valentin Serov, the portrait artist of the late tsarist period. However, even Tregulova had never imagined that displaying Serov's well-known "Girl with Peaches" and "Ida Rubinstein" would draw so many visitors to the museum.

Tregulova was made director of the Tretyakov Gallery in 2015. Within a year, the expression "the line for Serov" had become a cultural meme in Russia.

The government evaluates the work of state museums based on attendance: long lines equal success, and no lines are tantamount to failure. When attendance is high, museums get more government funding, not to mention a benevolent smile from Culture Minister Vladimir Medinsky.

## Rescuing the Tretyakov

The Tretyakov Gallery, the world's largest museum of Russian art, grew from the private collection of the merchant Pavel Tretyakov. Until recently, it had failed to attract visitors the way the Hermitage and Pushkin Museum do with their popular foreign exhibitions.

"We were getting 232,000 visitors a year at the Krymsky Val," says Tregulova. "Of course, the permanent exhibition in the building on Lavrushinsky Pereulok and the exhibitions that the gallery organized in its building on Krymsky Val were excellent projects. But what is 232,000 visitors for a building of 44,000 square meters? By comparison: 235,000

people have visited in the 39 days since the [Ivan] Aivazovsky exhibition opened. That's approximately as many as visited in all of 2014," she says.

So what has made this museum of Russian art a sudden blockbuster? The droves of people now visiting say they love "beauty" above all else, gushing about the salon painters of the 19th century, like the seascape painter Aivazovsky, and 20th-century itinerants like Vasily Surikov, whose work mimicked French paintings.

Works like these were also in high demand a decade ago, when the Russian art market ballooned, and staff at the Tretyakov earned money on the side, working as private consultants.

It is customary to speak condescendingly about the tastes of Russian audiences. After all, the argument goes, all of those artists learned their craft from grade-school textbooks, and the old Russian masters merely emulated the European innovators.

But Tregulova decided to combat professional snobbery. Like a Hollywood director fighting for an Oscar, she works to bring together collections of Russian classics, promoting each museum project with a teaser exhibit, like the "Girl with Peaches" by Serov or "Oil Workers" by Tahir Salakhov.

It was this approach that brought the Internet-savvy public into the museum's nearly empty halls. Under Tregulova, even a



ALEXANDER KUROY / TASS

The enormous lines to see the Serov exhibition at the Tretyakov Gallery became a national phenomenon and a cultural meme.





**Itinerants** — Russian art movement at the end of the 19th century, inspired by the Narodnik political movement. Itinerants organized traveling exhibitions and believed in enlightenment.

## Nov. 20

Ivan Aivazovsky exhibition closes at the Tretyakov.

## 260,000 views

of the trailer for the Serov exhibition, in which “Girl With Peaches” comes to life.



“He was pals with Pushkin though he never read Pushkin. He never read a book in his life.” **Anton Chekhov** about Ivan Aivazovsky.



Culture Minister Vladimir Medinsky and Zelfira Tregulova view a painting by Ivan Aivazovsky.

out of money and failed to deliver 25 billion rubles of promised funding. In October that year, when the museum was unable to pay its bills, the authorities shut off its electricity, heating and communication lines. The art collections went unprotected for a full day as museum guards staged a strike over wage arrears. Officials considered closing the gallery temporarily and sending workers home on unpaid leave.

Tregulova must now rebuild the museum as the country endures another economic crisis. Her only real fear is this potential lack of funding.

“While working on such

exhibitions as ‘The Great Utopia’ in 1991-1992, I also had to find a way to supply fuel for the trucks carrying the exhibition’s loans. I don’t mind getting my hands dirty. And, of course, my time working at the Kremlin Museum [in 2002-2013] also helped. While I was deputy director for exhibitions at the Kremlin Museum, we had two incredible projects: the restoration of the Ivan the Great Bell Tower and the restoration of the Cathedral of the Annunciation. I carefully observed how that whole process moved along,” she says.

The Tretyakov Gallery plans not only to construct a new building and renovate the old one, but also to begin exhibiting foreign artwork in addition to Russian work. An exhibition of masterpieces from the Vatican is set to open soon.



Valentin Serov’s “Girl With Peaches” proved a hit with Russian audiences. Tregulova commissioned a film for the exhibition in which the girl “comes to life.”

TRETYAKOV GALLERY

Next year, a showing of works by Edvard Munch will make its first appearance. Tregulova also intends to introduce little-known Russian artists to the Western world, and is already in discussions for an exhibition devoted exclusively to the works of Ilya Repin. Soon after that, it will be Serov’s turn.

“When Diaghilev staged a huge exhibition of Russian artists as part of his fall salon in 1906, [Mikhail] Vrubel was very much in vogue, and witnesses reported several times seeing Pablo Picasso in the galleries where Vrubel’s works were hung. Serov was nowhere near as popular, and that whole situation was a disturbing drama for him. Just imagine,” Tregulova says, “his works attracted very little attention.”

“When some people hear where I work,” Tregulova says, “they tell me they’ve never set foot in a museum in their lives. At the same time, a colleague told me a remarkable story about a tow-truck driver who came for her stalled vehicle, and upon learning that she worked at the Tretyakov, suggested that Aivazovsky was a Russian version of the English painter J.M.W. Turner.

Soon, the two began seriously discussing whether Turner and Aivazovsky had ever met. That’s art for the masses.” **ТМТ**

## THE WORD’S WORTH

# Elections: To Rig Or Not to Rig ...

## Вброс: Ballot-stuffing

By **Michele A. Berdy**

Moscow-based translator and interpreter, author of “The Russian Word’s Worth” (Glas), a collection of her columns.



YEVGENY PARYONOV

It’s probably not a good sign that the sole electoral excitement in Russia’s parliamentary elections was guessing where the next hidden camera evidence of voter fraud was going to come from. Will the Caucasus win the 2016 Vote Rigging Tournament, or will the winner be in the Far East?

There is no shortage of election commentary — although most of it is an attempt to avoid concluding that it was the most depressing election in Russian history. If you’re struggling with the texts, here’s a handy little primer.

**Одномандатник; deputy for single-seat district.** The big legislative innovation this year was returning to the old system of dividing the voting between партийные списки (party lists) and одномандатные округа (single-seat districts). So you could vote for your favorite party and for a winner-takes-all candidate in a district. How’d that go for the liberals? Not so good: Одномандатники, поддержанные либеральными партиями, не смогли получить в Госдуме ни одного места (Single-seat district candidates supported by the liberal parties didn’t win even one place in the State Duma.)

**Вброс; ballot stuffing.** One of the reasons for the poor showing might have been the ballot stuffing done by the women running the polling places, who were caught on camera cramming dozens of ballots into the boxes with shouts of Девочки! Помогите, япола мама! (Come on, girls, give me a hand, for cripe’s sake.)

**Открепительный; short for absentee ballot.** Officially called бюллетень по открепительному удостоверению (ballot for voting with an absentee certificate), it is also called the greatest windfall for voter fraud since flip-top ballot boxes. They say: В Москве по открепительным удостоверениям проголосовали менее 1% от тех, кто пришел на участки (In Moscow, less than 1 percent of voters used absentee ballots.) But some folks aren’t so sure.

**Подвоз; delivery service.** Folks aren’t sure because of the busloads of voters brought to polling places. This is suspicious because a) they are almost all young men who look just like Central Asian migrant workers; b) young men can usually walk the few blocks to their local polling place; and c) they all vote по открепительным (by absentee ballots), often made out to 75-year-old men with the last name of Petrov. Just sayin.’

**Круизное голосование; Poll cruising.** This is when you cruise around the city with a sticker or even a штрих-код (barcode) on your passport, voting many times under various names. Sometimes the cruisers say a кодовая фраза (code) to the contact at the polling place. This, sometimes with variations, is also called карусель (carousel).

**Голосование на дому; voting at home.** This is when you bring a ballot box to a homebound person and help them vote. You know, show them who to vote for, in case they get confused. Officially called голосование вне помещения для голосования (voting outside the voting premises), it also called выездное голосование (field voting).

**Подкуп избирателя; buying votes.** All of the above is vote-buying, although sometimes it is more straight-forward: В Астрахани зафиксирована попытка подкупа избирателей колбасой и деньгами (In Astrakhan there was evidence of an attempt to buy off the voters with sausage and money.)

**Безобразничать; to misbehave.** What Ella Pamfilova, head of the Central Elections Committee called what some local leaders did during the entire election campaign. You got that right. **ТМТ**

showing of the painting “Black Square” by Kazimir Malevich revealed something new and unexpected. Restorers discovered that under the layers of paint lay the original title of the painting: “Battle of Negroes in a Dark Cave.” The discovery made headlines around the world.

## Experimenting Forward

Hosting major exhibitions of old masters gives the Tretyakov a certain freedom to experiment with new ones. For example, next year the museum will feature an exhibit titled “Thaw.” Who would have thought that the title of an exhibition of artworks created in the 1960s would, 50 years later, sound the least bit provocative?

“I think people today should take a good look at that era and realize that it was really a renaissance, and at the same time an incredible upsurge and flourishing in all fields of artistic activity,” says Tregulova. “It was a new and incredible sense of inner freedom and individual values, feelings and thoughts. It was a turning point in collective consciousness. This was the main revolution of the time. As proof, consider the exhibition that opened at the Victoria and Albert Museum entitled ‘You Say You Want a Revolution.’ The working title of our exhibition is ‘Thaw: Cultural Revolution or The Search for Happiness.’”

Tregulova is legendary for her diplomatic skills, without which it’s difficult to imagine how she — a woman who has worked in the United States — could be appointed to serve as the director of a national art gallery, instead of being treated like a foreign agent.

She trained for more than a year at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, where, as curator, she implemented a project introducing the world to Russian art.

In 2003, Tregulova organized an exhibition in Germany of formerly banned totalitarian Soviet art from the 1930s, titled “Dream Factory Communism.” These were pictures that did their utmost to promote Stalin’s personality cult. The Soviet Union never once displayed these images after the Communist Party’s 20th Congress in 1956.

Tregulova also organized the “Russia” exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum that covered the full range of Russian art — it broke the museum’s attendance records from 2005 through 2013.

Having already introduced the world to Russian art, today she is reintroducing Russians to their own artists. Even President Vladimir Putin has expressed an interest in the long lines leading into the Tretyakov.

“There’s no point in setting up the museum as an ivory tower,” says Tregulova. “For example, many government officials have visited the museum lately — 20 deputy ministers came to the Aivazovsky exhibition in a single week. That’s very good, because when we pay a visit to those people later, they will have an understanding of what we’re talking about because they have seen 6,000 visitors at the museum with their own eyes.”

In Soviet times, the authorities appointed business-minded “red directors” to run the museums. One such individual, the former Moscow region chief architect Valentin Rodionov, served as penultimate director to Tregulova. His task was simply to restore the building on Lavrushinsky Pereulok.

Rodionov was at the helm in 1996 when the state ran





*"Those who follow the light have only ever ended in darkness."*

**Robert Desnos**, French surrealist poet

**The Moscow Times**  
No. 5773

**€1M**

The budget for the "The Student."

**Oct. 13**

Date "The Student" will be released in Russian cinemas.



Kirill Serebrennikov had no formal theater education prior to his stage director debut in 1994. Since then, he has gone on to make seven feature films.

# 'The Student' Premieres to Critical Acclaim

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

Serebrennikov's dark parable examines religious zealotry in modern Russia.

**K**irill Serebrennikov was the first to stage Marius von Mayenburg's darkly brilliant play "Martyr" outside of Germany. The Russian writer-director's cinematic adaptation of the play, "The Student," opens in Russia on Oct. 13, having already picked up the Francois Chalais Prize and a nomination in the Un Certain Regard Award at the prestigious Cannes Film festival this year. The film examines the extremes of dogmatic adolescent behavior and sheds an uncompromising light on the role of religion in modern Russia.

## A Religious Awakening

The story of a disillusioned high school student who channels his teenage revolt into religious fanaticism used the original cast from the Gogol Center's performance which debuted in 2014, with the major exception of Veniamin, the main character.

Played by relative newcomer Pyotr Skvortsov, Veniamin develops a fevered obsession with biblical scripture which begins a slow slide into outright zealotry. At first, Veniamin refuses to attend mixed swimming lessons, citing "religious feelings" as the reason. His mother — played brilliantly by Yulia Aug — shows little understanding of her son's motivations, blaming his behavior on drugs.

Veniamin wreaks havoc at one of the swimming lessons by jumping into the pool fully clothed and successfully calling for a ban on two-piece bathing suits for the girls.

His victory emboldens him and he goes on to challenge his teachers' sex education and evolutionary theory, provoking the school's liberal biology teacher Yelena Krasnova, played by formidable Viktoria Isakova.

Filming took place in Kaliningrad, with students from a local high school playing extras. This gives the film a somewhat documentary edge. "The most challenging thing for the actors was to mix with this group, to become a part of it and behave like real students without artistic embellishment. They spent time together, went out together, and became friends," said Serebrennikov.

Veniamin supports his views with a barrage of scriptural quotes, annotated on screen and meticulously referenced.

"He is not a zealot, but a guy who realizes that to achieve his objectives he needs to quote the Bible and that this will get people scared, because people in Russia are afraid of the Bible, afraid to say the wrong thing or something that might not align with official ideology," said Serebrennikov.

Two of his classmates fall under his spell: Grigory, who suffers from a debilitating limp, and one of the school's most popular



ALEX YOCU

girls, Lydia. The pair vie for Veniamin's attention, both emotional and sexual. Meanwhile the uncritical endorsement of Veniamin's choke-hold approach to scripture by the school administration demonstrates the conservative bias of the establishment.

Serebrennikov favored long, unbroken sequence shots in his filming. The resulting cinematography is intense and unrelenting, reflecting the grandiose themes Serebrennikov spotlights as the film spirals toward its denouement.

## Wider Connotations

"The Student" is not the first time Serebrennikov has turned one of his theater performances into a film. Early in his career he filmed critically acclaimed "Izobrazhaya Zhertvu" (Playing the Victim) based on a play of the same name that he also directed. Best known internationally for "Betrayal," a film which was nominated for the Golden Lion at the Venice International Film Festival, Serebrennikov is currently the artistic director of the Gogol Theater.

Serebrennikov wanted "The Student" to be different from the original performance in more than the title. "The theater per-

formance is actually more funny, there's more obviously comic scenes, while the film turned out more dramatic," said the director.

The story offers an obvious parallel in a country where the boundaries between state and church are increasingly blurred. Formerly a realm of atheism, where religion was routinely described as "opium for the people," Russia has since become a country where "violating religious feelings" is a crime worthy of imprisonment.

When questioned about the context of the film in today's Russia at the premiere's press conference, Serebrennikov cited a recent case in Yekaterinburg, where a young man was arrested for video blogging himself playing Pokemon Go in a church.

"My Facebook feed was full of comments from Orthodox people who suggested that prison was the right place for him. He is an unpleasant type of guy — an instigator who is probably just plain stupid, but to send him to prison for five years? What about the Orthodox activists who put a pig's head at the entrance to the Moscow Art Theater last year? This just goes to show what Orthodox Christians are capable of doing." **TMT**

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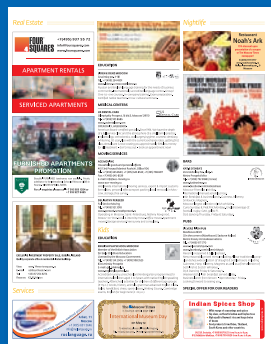
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# What's On

The Moscow Times  
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See [www.themoscowtimes.com](http://www.themoscowtimes.com)  
for more listings.



Guitarist and singer Oleg Nesterov plays in the Melnikov House, a landmark of the Soviet avant-garde style of architecture. The house is made of two interlocking cylinder-shaped buildings and has distinctive rhomboid windows.

## Sept. 22 – 28

### FESTIVAL Circle of Light Prepare to be dazzled

Krug Sveta ("Circle of Light") is an annual festival in which the masterminds of the audiovisual world come together and reinvent Moscow's best known landmarks through stunning video mapping technology. Did we mention 2016 is the Year of Russian Cinema? As such, you can expect projections to have a cinematic sway, although we're in the dark too as to what that will entail. Sites where you can catch the incredible light shows include Moscow State University, Manege Square, the Bolshoi Theater and VDNKh. Most shows run between 7:30 p.m. and 11 p.m. — go expecting crowds.  
[lightfest.ru](http://lightfest.ru)  
Various locations  
Sept. 23-27

### FESTIVAL WOW! HOW? For budding young scientists

The Russian Academy of Sciences opens its doors to the physicists, chemists and scientists of the future this weekend at a science festival for kids with the catchy title WOW! HOW? Over the course of the weekend children can enjoy captivating workshops, interactive exhibits and even a headlining guest speaker from Britain — Dr. Bunhead, aka Tom Pringle. Pringle's spectacular live science shows with their frequent use of loud bangs, combustion and fire make science both accessible and fun for kids — and kids at heart. Tickets from 990 rubles.  
**Russian Academy of Sciences**  
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Sept. 24-25

### EVENT Moscow Marathon Cheer on the runners

Don't get us wrong, there's no way you'd manage to cram in enough training over the next two days to actually run the Moscow Marathon, but your cheers, banners and applause for the runners braving the 42.2 kilometer course would be much appreciated this Sunday. You can catch the sneaker-donning warriors as they make their way along the classic route which covers the Moscow City complex, the Kremlin, the Garden Ring and Tverskaya Ulitsa. See the website for details of the full route and remember that streets involved in the race may be closed on Sunday.  
[moscowmarathon.org](http://moscowmarathon.org)  
Sept. 25

### FESTIVAL Amfest Quirky films from across the pond

Amfest, a festival of independent American films organized by Cool Connections with the support of the U.S. Embassy, runs through Oct. 9. The festival prides itself on a diverse and wide-ranging program that showcases films which might otherwise slip through the cracks in Russia's big movie theaters. Highlights include the Russian premiere of "The Magnificent Seven," Kelly Reichardt's "Certain Women" and oddball dachshund-inspired "Wiener-Dog." Films are shown in Russian with English subtitles and tickets can be bought online in advance.  
**Formula Kino Gorizont**  
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## Mix the City: The Sound of Moscow

By **Ruth Moore** [artsreporter@imedia.ru](mailto:artsreporter@imedia.ru), Twitter: @ruth\_skii

What does your Moscow sound like? The honk of angry car horns, the whir of the metro escalator, the scrape of spades clearing the snow in winter or the hits from the 1990s your taxi driver plays as you thread through the evening traffic? Mix the City, a global digital platform created by the British Council, has found a rather creative answer to the question. The online project invites you to create your own musical cityscape by remixing recordings of contemporary Russian musicians playing in different locations around the capital. The performance samples are cut against clips of recognizable urban backdrops, allowing you to create a video tapestry of the sounds and sights you love best in Moscow.

"At the heart of the project is the idea of a resource with which you can not only be creative, but also open yourself up to other cultures," says Emmanuel Witzthum, the creator of Mix the City, which originally launched in Tel Aviv before expanding to the Balkans, Istanbul, Mannheim and now Moscow.

There are some big names on board. The 2 Bears, a British musical duo comprised of Joe Goddard (of electronic band Hot Chip) and Raf Rundell, are curating the Moscow platform. Performing artists include Naadia — an indie-pop band fronted by Nadia Gritskovich — gusli player Olga Glazova, opera singer Mikhail Petrenko and beat makers Kovsh Beats. The eclectic mix of modern music styles with

traditional Russian folk instruments and classical musicians is entirely deliberate. "I think a really interesting way of getting an idea of how a city sounds. All the way up and down: from Pixelord who's working on a laptop and an Ableton controller to Yuri Bashmet playing a Stradivarius viola," says Raf Rundell. Each of the musicians created their sample in a different landmark: some historical, others simply culturally significant. Mikhail Petrenko's deep bass voice reverberates off the walls of Mayakovskaya metro station while Playtronica perform on the steps of VDNKh. From Soviet monuments to Orthodox churches and hip party-spots, the venues offer an interesting study of Moscow's urban environment.

Peter Theremin, a thereminist, composer and the great-grandson of Leon Theremin, the creator of the eponymous electronic musical instrument, used the acoustics of the Garage Museum of Contemporary Art. "This wonderful project enables you to recreate the diverse characteristics of Moscow's musical landscape," says Theremin. The musician, whose unusual instrument might be unfamiliar to some audiences, also saw the educational benefits of the program. "I believe that the theremin is perhaps the most original Russian instrument. And it is very interactive, responsive and modern despite the fact it was created nearly 100 years ago. Mix the City is a multifaceted platform and of course the educational element is very important."

Be it based on the hypnotic sounds of Naadia or the neo-folk elements of Synecdoche Montauk, once users have created their mix, they can share it with friends via social media platforms. The hope is that the mixes will provide an important cultural insight into Moscow's cityscape, musical heritage and blossoming contemporary music scene. "I like Mix the City Tel Aviv and Mix the City Istanbul, because they're both cities I know well, but I love Mix the City Moscow because I live here, and the diversity of the musicians, and the locations in which we recorded them, captures something of the soul of Moscow," says Michael Bird, director of the British Council in Russia. **TMT**  
Why not try it for yourself? Create your own mix at [mixthecity.com](http://mixthecity.com)

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MARRIOTT ROYAL AURORA

**MANAGEMENT OF RECEIVABLES:  
A COURSE ON RISK REDUCTION**

Генеральный партнер **coface**

**TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION**

- Ruling of the Supreme Court on the recovery of damages.
- Changes in arbitration legal proceedings.
- The first legal disputes as a result of the changes in the Civil Code.
- Status and responsibilities of a legal entity.
- New developments in corporate law.
- Changes aimed at improving the law of obligations, transactions and contract law in view of Federal Law No. 42 dated March 8, 2015.
- Objects of intellectual property: An Analysis of Change.

**SPEAKER**

**Kirill Golovko,**  
Financial controller entry,  
"Merz - Pharma"

**Polina Gushcha,**  
General director for Russia  
and the CIS, Coface

**Elena Ilyushina,**  
Treasury manager for  
Russia and CIS, Danone

**Nikolai Ivanov,**  
Head of the committee for  
the protection of the business,  
"Business Russia"

**Ilya Krasnov,**  
Deputy director of the  
Department of Corporate  
Finance, "Metallinvest"

Payment: 10 000 rubles + VAT

Producer  
**Natalia Ivanova**  
[n.ivanova@vedomosti.ru](mailto:n.ivanova@vedomosti.ru)

Sponsorship opportunities  
**Olga Kalinina**  
[o.kalinina@vedomosti.ru](mailto:o.kalinina@vedomosti.ru)

Participation in the project  
**Alexandra Podlipskaya**  
[a.podlipskaya@vedomosti.ru](mailto:a.podlipskaya@vedomosti.ru)

16+  
Реклама