

# The Moscow Times

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Putin and Hollande were scheduled to open a new Russian Orthodox Church on Quai Branly, but Hollande pulled out of the event.

25

phone calls between  
Hollande and Putin in 2015.

250,000

people remain in Aleppo,  
bombed by Russian and  
Syrian forces.

*"There are war crimes in Syria.  
This is evident"* — French Foreign  
Minister **Jean-Marc Ayrault**



## Scandal in Paris

By **Ola Cichowlas** o.cichowlas@imedia.ru and **Mikhail Fishman** m.fishman@imedia.ru

### Vladimir Putin risks losing his closest Western ally over Syrian war.

With U.S. President Barack Obama and German Chancellor Angela Merkel stepping up pressure on Russia, French President Francois Hollande was always President Vladimir Putin's closest friend.

It was, after all, the Frenchman who stopped off to talk to Putin in Moscow at the height of military actions in the Donbass in December 2014. A year later, following the Bataclan terrorist attack in Paris, the French president chose Moscow as the place to talk common counter-terrorism strategy. In the economic sphere, not a single French company has left Russia during the crisis, according to Pavel Chinsky of the Franco-Russian Chamber of Commerce.

Yet today, Russian-French relations are in an uncertain state, threatened by the dramatic cancellation of Putin's Oct. 19 state visit to Paris.

The state visit was a year in preparation. Aside from negotiations on Syria in the Elysee Palace, the Russian president was due to open a new extravagant Russian Orthodox Church on Quai Branly, close to the Eiffel Tower. Putin was also scheduled to pay a visit to a Russian avant-garde exhibition in the Pompidou Center, which had been donated to the museum by Russian oligarch Vladimir Potanin.

But it was not to be. After Moscow's veto of a French resolution at the United Nations, which called for an end to the bombing of eastern Aleppo, it would have looked indecent for Hollande to meet with Putin. The French president had little choice but to back out of the meeting, according to political analyst Vladimir Frolov.



The French president had little choice but to back out of the meeting, according to analysts.

France re-evaluated and downgraded the terms of the visit. Hollande would still talk Syria with Putin at the Elysee. But the French president would not participate in the opening of the Russian cathedral. In an interview on French television on Oct. 10, the French president publicly intimated that Russia could be responsible for war crimes in Syria.

In Russian eyes, all of this amounted to humiliation, says political analyst Mikhail Troitsky. So Moscow cancelled, or, rather, "postponed" the visit. Spokesman Dmitry Peskov insisted Putin had "no problems" with the cancellation.

Soon enough, several French politicians came to the Kremlin's defense. Former Prime Minister Francois Fillon said that Hollande should "naturally" have welcomed his Russian counterpart. Thierry Mariani, who controversially led two delegations of French parliamen-

tarians to Crimea, told Russia Today that Hollande was the "stooge of American politics."

The incident is unlikely to have any significant impact on the Syrian crisis or Russia's relationship with the West. "The situation simply can't get much worse," explains Frolov.

"The war in Syria has been a source of tension between Russia and France since the early 2010s, well before the conflict in Ukraine," says French political scientist Laure Delcour. But, unlike the war in eastern Ukraine, these tensions did not immediately translate into significant deterioration in relations. Last year's Russian military intervention in Syria changed this.

In a parliamentary debate on the Syrian crisis, the British government backed the French demarche in the strongest terms. Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson said Russia was "in danger of becoming a pariah nation."

Russia's public poise doesn't appear to be too threatened by developments, however. If anything, it looks as if Moscow is upping the ante. On Oct 11, Reuters reported that Russian jets had resumed heavy bombing of eastern Aleppo.

The New Cold War is now no longer a lazy figure of speech, says political expert Andrei Kolesnikov: "The Russian president is scheduling a Cold War of a new type, and distinct from the previous incarnation, when both sides kept nuclear weapons but understood the impossibility of using them."

One other possible entry in Putin's schedule are Normandy format talks on Ukraine.

It is yet to be seen if they will go ahead. **TMT**



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### ELITE PSYCHOLOGY

## Don't Disrespect the Diva: Putin's Foreign Policy Is a Quest for Status

By **Leonid Gozman**  
Russian political analyst, psychologist,  
and politician.



Russia's relations with the West, and with the United States in particular, have lapsed into a new Cold War. The window of opportunity that opened in the early 1990s, back when it seemed that Russia had every chance of genuine integration into the community of democratic countries, has now unfortunately closed — most likely for a long time.

It is true that both sides have made mistakes and missteps, but since 2014 Russia has been responsible for the majority of the escalation in international tension, sad as this is for me, as a Russian citizen, to recognize.

The West justifiably perceives President Vladimir Putin's actions and rhetoric as threatening. Those in Russia who oppose the Putin regime also view the Kremlin's actions as fueling the risk of war. Putin, meanwhile, constantly tells his citizens that Washington is the true aggressor, and that he is just responding.

The U.S. presidential candidates have different plans for mitigating the threat from Russia if elected: Hillary Clinton apparently intends to continue the current administration's policy of containment, with only a few modifications. Donald Trump has essentially promised as part of his isolationist rhetoric to let Russia have complete and undivided control over the post-Soviet space — or so his statements about being ready to recognize Crimea as Russian and to lift sanctions seem to imply.

Will the actions of the next U.S. administration, and the Western world as a whole, be effective? Will they successfully de-escalate the standoff? That depends on how well the West understands the motives of its adversary. Western politicians and

experts clearly underestimate the non-practical components of Putin's foreign policy.

In addition, the Russian government needs tension on the foreign policy front to sustain stability at home: it can blame an external enemy for all of the problems plaguing Russia, and tell its citizens that they must rally around the regime if they want to defy the enemy's aggressive plots. Rational foreign policy objectives are clearly not always a priority for the Russian side.

Abstract concepts such as love, respect, and recognition of Russia's contributions to humanity are more important to Putin in relations with other countries than military security or economic profit. Like the kings of the early Middle Ages, Russia's leaders are willing to go to war over a personal slight or disrespect by a partner.

Putin has complained that the West "didn't want to talk to Russia" over Ukraine. In his opinion, Western diplomats and politicians disrespected Russia, acting as if Russia did not exist; they didn't just refuse to accept Russia's arguments, they refused to even enter dialogue. Putin views this as justification for Russia's actions in Crimea and the Donbass.

Ukraine and the EU doubtlessly have the right to build a relationship without Russia's involvement. At the same time, one cannot rule out the possibility that if Putin had been involved in discussing the situation in Ukraine in the fall of 2014, the crisis might not have gotten so extreme and destructive.

When the Turkish Air Force shot down a Russian fighter jet on Nov. 24, 2015, this was a major blow to Russian-Turkish rela-

tions, bringing the countries to the brink of war. What Russia demanded as the key condition for resolving the crisis was not an obviously practical concession.

They did not ask Turkey to agree that Russian airplanes could occasionally enter its airspace for several seconds, given that the prevailing winds in the region where Russian airplanes are based make it very difficult to fly otherwise.

Instead, Russia demanded that Turkish President Recep Erdogan apologize. In pursuit of this moral victory, Russia began to exert unprecedented pressure on Turkey. That impacted not just the Turkish economy but also quality of life for Russian citizens, who lost a cheap vacation destination and were forced to pay more for fruit and vegetables, previously imported in large quantities from Turkey.

The Russian government was willing to pay this price because it had decided — yet again — that national prestige (as current Russian officials interpret it) is more important than security and prosperity.

The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation, passed on Dec. 31, 2015, names "consolidating the status of the Russian Federation as a leading world power" as one of the key priorities in Russia's national interests.

This means that Russia's Foreign Ministry and law enforcement agencies are now obligated to worry not only about security, but also about whether Russia is sufficiently respected around the world, and whether it is recognized as having the status it thinks it deserves. **TMT**



Sechin's legal team accused Novaya Gazeta of "intentionally adding in certain words, such as "possibly" and "reportedly" when actually making statements," according to Interfax.

## \$ 190M

alleged cost of the "St. Princess Olga" yacht.

"This will increase the self-censorship that has already eroded most Russian newsrooms." **Yelizaveta Osetinskaya.**



## 42 percent

spike in Vedomosti readership after Sechin sued.

# The Sechin Effect

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

## Attempts to mute coverage have made oligarch the talk of the town.

The papers said Igor Sechin had it all: beautiful wife, mansion, 86-meter-long yacht. What they didn't realise was just how much the tycoon would dislike reading about it.

The head of Russia's largest state-controlled oil company Rosneft and one of Putin's closest associates, Sechin has taken to suing a number of independent news outlets for supposedly breaching his privacy.

On Monday, a Moscow district court ruled that the investigative magazine Novaya Gazeta should retract an article linking Sechin to an exclusive Dutch-made yacht. The magazine had used Instagram posts and geotagging to show the "St. Princess Olga" luxury vessel was being used by his wife, Olga.

The ruling came less than a month after a court ordered the retraction of another article, this time in the Vedomosti business daily, which reported allegations that Sechin was building a lavish mansion near Moscow. In both cases, Sechin's legal team sued, and won, for libel, without having to prove the published information was false. "They didn't contradict any of the facts," says Sergei Sokolov, Novaya Gazeta's deputy editor. "And if they didn't contradict it, it means it's true."

Novaya Gazeta claims that, as head of a state company, Sechin's lifestyle is of public interest. His team argued he is not a public figure and the reports breach his privacy. The court sided with Sechin.

In the case of Vedomosti, the court even ordered the "destruction" of the entire issue from the paper's physical archive. The verdict said the article had been written "for the sake of the public's idle interest."

"Of course we write to capture the public's interest," says Tatyana Lysova, Vedomosti's editor-in-chief. "We're a newspaper!"

Both Vedomosti and Novaya Gazeta will appeal the rulings.

Last month, the lawsuits went to a quantitatively new level, after Rosneft demanded no less than 3.1 billion rubles (\$49 million) in compensation from the media outlet RBC and several of its journalists. RBC had written an article claiming Sechin asked the Kremlin to obstruct its stakeholder, and competitor, British Petroleum. Sechin's team sued for "reputational damages."

If the court rules in his favor, it would mean bankruptcy for the publication, says Yelizaveta Osetinskaya, RBC's former managing editor. Osetinskaya resigned in after several of her colleagues at RBC were sacked shortly after prominent investigations into Putin's inner circle. She argues that since BP continues to be a shareholder in Rosneft, the claim does not stand up to scrutiny. Instead, the moves seem to be designed to "punish RBC's independent editorial policy and send a clear signal to others."

Russia's independent journalism scene has long been subject to pressure. In the past decade, journalists have been harassed or even killed. Critical media outlets have often seen staff reshuffles

or been forced to sell to more Kremlin-friendly buyers. Sechin's suing frenzy might be interpreted as falling into a new strategy of using the courts to mum investigative reports.

Immunity from scrutiny, previously been reserved for Putin and his relatives, also seems to be extending to a wider circle of top Russian officials. "We are moving toward a situation of untouchable claimants," says media law expert Fyodor Kravchenko. Journalists will now think twice before writing about Sechin or Rosneft. "No one wants to take part in that kind of lottery," he says.

Ironically, Sechin's attempts to wipe the news slate clean has backfired, in a classic case of the Streisand effect whereby a hard-handed attempt to push certain information out of view has the opposite effect. As Russian outlets have covered the court cases, they have reiterated the initial claims, and in many cases provided links to the original articles online.

Readership of the offending Vedomosti article increased 42 percent after Sechin's claim, statistics seen by The Moscow Times showed. Traffic to Novaya Gazeta also increased, says editor Sokolov. "It was only an incentive for everyone who hadn't read the article, to do so," he says.

Type in the oil tycoon's surname in Google and the search engine prompts: Wife. Yacht. Salary. Sechin can sue but the public's "idle" interest in those three topics will not go away. **TMT**

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# The Free Port of Vladivostok

**GOLTSBLAT BLP** PEKIJAMA

The Russian practice of Berwin Leighton Paisner (BLP)



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On July 13, 2015, President Putin signed the Law on the Free Port of Vladivostok, as well as two other laws introducing revisions to the current laws required to implement the foregoing law (collectively, the "Laws"). Recently, on July 3, 2016, the Law on the Free Port of Vladivostok was amended.

The Laws establish a broad set of incentives for companies that operate as residents of the Free Port of Vladivostok ("Residents"), in particular, significant tax, customs, and other benefits. Note that the title of the Law "On the Free Port of Vladivostok" is figurative and does not limit its geographical scope to the City of Vladivostok, but includes also a number of municipalities in its vicinity, as well as areas around certain sea ports outside of Primorsky Region.

The purpose of the Laws is to boost the social and economic development of the Far East Federal Circuit of the Russian Federation by facilitating investment, cross-border trade, development of transportation infrastructure (including a network of logistical centers), development of export-oriented production facilities.

Below we discuss some of the most important features of the Laws.

## General Features

The Free Port of Vladivostok is established for a period of 70 years. This period may be extended by a federal law. Conversely, the Free Port of Vladivostok may be terminated early by a federal law if its existence poses a threat to human lives or health, or to historic or cultural monuments, or if it undermines the defense or security of Russia.

The Free Port of Vladivostok includes the territory of the City of Vladivostok, the Town of Artem, the Town of Bolshoy Kamen, the Port of Nakhodka, the Town of Partizansk, the Town of Spassk-Dalny, the Town of Ussuriysk, as well as the Lazovsky, Nadezhdinsky, Shkotovsky, Oktyabrsky, Olginsky, Partizansky, Pogranichny, Khasansky and Khankaysky municipalities.

Besides, from July 4, 2016, the Free Port of Vladivostok also includes the City of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky of Kamchatsky Region, the Town of Vanino of Khabarovsk Region, the Town of Korsakov of Sakhalin Region, and the Town of Pevek of Chukotsky Region.

Sea ports, including their designated water areas, located on the territories of the municipalities set forth above are also included in the Free Port of Vladivostok.

Special economic zones, zones of territorial development and areas of accelerated socio-economic development located on the municipal areas listed above are not included in the Free Port of Vladivostok.

## Management of the Free Port of Vladivostok

The Free Port of Vladivostok is governed by (i) the Supervisory Board of the Free Port of Vladivostok, (ii) the Authorized Federal Body (the Ministry for the Development of the Far East has been designated to perform that function), (iii) the Management Company (Joint-Stock Company "Corporation for the Development of the Far East"), and (iv) the Public Council of the Free Port of Vladivostok.

The Supervisory Board is a collegiate body and is the highest-ranking governing body of the Free Port of Vladivostok. It is presided by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation in charge of coordinating the work of federal bodies in the Russian Far East. Members of the Supervisory Board include the Minister for the Development of the Far East, the Governors of Primorsky, Kamchatsky, Khabarovsk, Sakhalin and Chukotsky Regions, Presidents of Legislative Assemblies of the foregoing regions, mayors of towns and municipalities included in the Free Port of Vladivostok, as well as others.

The Supervisory Board exercises general supervision over the business and social activities in the Free Port of Vladivostok, adopts development plans with respect to the Free Port of Vladivostok, sets the maximum number of foreign employees that may be hired by Residents of the Free Port of Vladivostok, sets the list of activities prohibited for Residents of the Free Port of Vladivostok, and performs certain other functions.

The Ministry for the Development of the Far East prepares the procedure for admission of Residents and maintains the register of Residents, supervises the performance by the Managing Company of its duties, as well as performs certain other general functions. It also has certain specific business-related powers, for example, it grants long-term lease rights over federal lands to Residents without an auction, expropriates non-federal lands if needed for the building of infrastructure, establishes easements over non-federal lands, etc.

The Ministry for the Development of the Far East is entitled to delegate some of its powers to the Management Company.

The Public Council is an advisory body, which may be established by the Supervisory Board to assist the Ministry for the Development of the Far East. If established, it is expected to include trade unions, business associations, NGOs, etc.

Certain special powers with respect to the Free Port of Vladivostok are reserved for the Government of the Russian Federation. Thus, the Government may adopt special regulations regarding fishing and fish-processing operations, introduce special licensing requirements for the provision of medical services (including by foreigners) and introduce special licensing requirements for the provision of education pursuant to foreign programs and standards.

## Residents

A company or an individual entrepreneur may become a Resident of the Free Port of Vladivostok, if such company or entrepreneur (i) is incorporated/registered on the territory of the Free Port of Vladivostok; and (ii) has concluded an agreement with the Management Company on operations in the Free Port of Vladivostok.

To conclude such an agreement, a candidate has to file with the Management Company an application requesting the conclusion of an agreement accompanied by a set of documents that includes a business plan, as well as specify the land that the candidate needs for its operations.

The Management Company reviews the data in the application and evaluates the business plan to determine whether the candidate and its proposed operations satisfy the applicable criteria. One of the central criteria is whether the volume of planned investment will exceed 5 million rubles within three years from the date of the registration of the applicant as a Resident.

After approval of the candidate and conclusion of an agreement with the Management Company, the candidate is registered as a Resident of the Free Port of Vladivostok.

## Benefits

Here are several of the benefits available to Residents of the Free Port of Vladivostok:

- simplified procedures for the lease of federal land lots within the Free Port of Vladivostok (no auction needed);
  - tax benefits (see below);
  - lower rates of mandatory social insurance contributions payable by a Resident with respect to its employees;
  - simplified procedure for the employment of foreign staff (quotas for employment of foreign citizens do not apply; a Resident employer does not need to obtain a special permit allowing it to employ foreigner citizens);
  - customs-free zones at sea ports open to international navigation, at international airports, at areas adjacent to border-crossing checkpoints of the Free Port of Vladivostok on motorways and railways.
- Besides, the Laws introduce certain general benefits available to all persons on the territory of the Free Port of Vladivostok:
- simplified procedures for the approval of design documentation for the construction of buildings and facilities, shortened periods for obtaining building permits;
  - simplified permitting procedure for the development of artificial land lots (reclaimed land, artificial islands);

- simplified regime for the issuance of entry visa to foreigners entering Russia through a border checkpoint at the Free Port of Vladivostok, allowing a period of stay of up to eight days.

## Tax Benefits

The Law on Amendments to the Tax Code grants certain tax benefits to Residents of the Free Port of Vladivostok (subject to certain additional criteria applicable to Residents pursuant to the Russian Tax Code).

Thus, for the first five years after a Resident that satisfies the above criteria generates its first profit from operations in the Free Port of Vladivostok, or from the fourth year after it became a Resident (if no profit has been generated by then) such Resident is released from the obligation to pay the portion of company profit tax payable to the federal budget, and its obligation to pay the portion of company profit tax payable to the budget of the respective region may not exceed 5 percent.

For the subsequent five years, the Resident will pay the 2 percent profit tax payable to the federal budget, and the portion of company profit tax payable to the budget of the respective region will be in the range of 10 percent to 18 percent.

Besides, the Residents of the Free Port of Vladivostok are released in Primorsky Region from the obligation to pay the property tax payable to the budget of Primorsky Region for the first five years from the month when the respective property was placed on the Resident's balance sheet. For the subsequent five years, the property tax rate will be 0.5 percent.

## Customs-free Zone

Certain customs benefits are provided to the Residents of the Free Port of Vladivostok through the establishment of a customs-free zone.

The Law on the Free Port of Vladivostok directly grants the status of a customs-free zone only to sea ports within the Free Port of Vladivostok that are open to international navigation, and to international airports located within the Free Port of Vladivostok (currently only Knevichi Airport). Pursuant to the decision of the Supervisory Board, the status of "customs-free special port zone" may be conferred to other ports or airport(s), as well as to designated areas adjacent to them.

The Supervisory Board may also establish customs-free special logistics zones at certain areas adjacent to border check-points of the Free Port of Vladivostok on motorways and railways. The foregoing decisions of the Supervisory Board must specify in particular (i) the location and borderlines of the respective customs-free zone, and (ii) the stages and financing for the building of the infrastructure of the areas on which it has been decided to establish a customs-free zone.

Finally, the Law on the Free Port of Vladivostok provides that a customs-free zone may be established on the land lot in possession of a Resident (whether owned or leased).

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The Russian practice of Berwin Leighton Paisner (BLP)

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"Russia, if you're listening, I hope you're able to find the 30,000 emails that are missing." **Donald Trump**, on HRC emails scandal

## July 22

WikiLeaks released the DNC hacked emails.

"**Fancy Bear**" An entity, allegedly connected to Russia's military intelligence, reported to be behind the hack attack.



## Oct. 9

"The Kremlin is directing the attacks to influence our election." **Hillary Clinton**



KATERINA LOBANOVA

# One Hack Too Far

Unwise cyber-ops have made Russia a negative issue in the U.S. elections.



Op-Ed by **Vladimir Frolov**  
International Affairs Analyst

Last Friday the U.S. Intelligence Community (USIC) publicly named the Russian government for directing "compromises of emails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations." It claimed that the disclosures of hacked emails on sites like DCLeaks.com and WikiLeaks "are intended to interfere with the U.S. election process," while "only Russia's most senior officials could have authorized these activities."

The hacking of the DNC computer networks was first disclosed in mid-June. CrowdStrike, a private cyber intelligence firm brought in by the DNC to investigate the hacks, identified with a "high degree of confidence" two groups of hackers with links to Russia's intelligence services.

COZY BEAR (CozyDuke or APT 29), ostensibly working for the FSB, Russia's domestic intelligence service, breached the networks in mid-2015. It collected intelligence and personal data undetected until April 2016, when another group of hackers, FANCY BEAR (Sofacy or APT 29), purportedly working for GRU, Russia's military intelligence service, and unbeknownst to the first group, broke into the same network. This second hack raised some flags for the system's security.

On July 22, on the eve of the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, WikiLeaks released some 20,000 stolen emails. They showed how top officials at the Democratic National Committee criticized and mocked Bernie Sanders, Hillary Clinton's rival during the primary campaign, even though the organization publicly insisted that it was neutral in the race. At that point, it became a story about Russia trying to influence the outcome of the U.S. presidential election in favor of Donald Trump, who said he favored better U.S.-Russia ties. The timing of the leak was intended to cloud the Democratic convention in controversy, reignite party divisions, and motivate Sanders supporters not to vote for Clinton in November.

In a recent Bloomberg interview, President Vladimir Putin denied that Russia "on a state level" had anything to do with the email hacks. At the same time, his claim that "the important thing is the content that was given to the public, and not the search for who did it" suggested more than a cursory knowledge of the matter. His further claim that the

Russian government did not possess the kind of sophisticated sense of U.S. domestic politics necessary to pull off such a tricky game sounded lame. The Russian Foreign Ministry maintains a granular understanding of the intricate details of U.S. presidential and party politics. The Russian Embassy in Washington keeps about a dozen diplomats on the beat. It is not, as some claim, that the Russians suddenly discovered the DNC last year.

While the publicly available evidence linking Russian intelligence to the hacks is inconclusive, and may even suggest a false flag operation to entangle Moscow in a brawl with Washington, the U.S. Intelligence Community had a high degree of confidence in Russian involvement even in July. The fact that they publicly named Russian intelligence as perpetrators suggests that they have definitive proof.

The question is what Moscow was really trying to accomplish. Cyber operations to collect intelligence are normal spy-craft. The DNC and RNC are legitimate targets for Russian HUMINT and SIGINT operations, as are private email accounts and cell phones of key U.S. policy makers. You get intelligence by eavesdropping on people with access to real secrets.

Initially, it appeared the Russian hacking was just about that, at least the COZY BEAR part of it in 2015. There were two notable scoops. First, the hacking the private email of former NATO Supreme Commander General Breedlove in early 2015, where he unsuccessfully lobbied the Obama administration for sending advanced anti-tank weapons to Ukraine (it was reassuring to know the White House was not serious about stopping the Russian armor in Eastern Ukraine). Second, a private audio by Hillary Clinton in which she opposed plans to develop a new nuclear cruise missile for U.S. strategic bombers. Otherwise the intelligence value of the trawl was small.

When the Russian hacking was discovered (due to the destructive rivalry between Russian intelligence services, who failed to deconflict on the target), Moscow found itself sitting on a pile of Beltway gossip of limited intelligence value, but with some potential for influence operations. Perhaps some "genius" suggested it should be made public to trash Hillary Clinton, intensely disliked for her public role in supporting the mass protests in Moscow in 2011. No thought was apparently given to the likely impact on future U.S.-Russia relations, particularly if Clinton got elected, and what the U.S. response might be. As is custom with intelligence operations, the Foreign Ministry was not briefed on the plan.

It is unlikely that the Kremlin really hoped to influence the results of the U.S. presidential election or viewed

Trump's victory as likely. This would have signaled a degree of incompetence that Moscow is still incapable of. Rather, the point of the exercise was to send a message that Russia mattered and could do bad things that the U.S., in Moscow's view, has been doing to Russia. It worked, but not exactly how Russia hoped. It made Russia a negative issue in the campaign.

Subsequent releases of hacked Clinton Campaign emails, including personal emails of her campaign chief, John Podesta, reveal signs of a classic "active measures" campaign to smear Clinton and provide ammunition for Donald Trump's attacks on his opponent in the race. They contained signs of falsification and doctoring typical of such campaigns, while the timing of the release — the night the Washington Post published a damaging audio of Trump discussing sexually assaulting women — suggests a tightly coordinated effort, with WikiLeaks playing an unsavory role.

It did not help Trump, but hurt Russia's relations both with the U.S. and the likely future American president, Hillary Clinton. This may no longer be the work of Russian intelligence services, as the Russian state media have mastered the art of active measures on a scale unimaginable by the KGB. For months, Russian state media have been running a character assassination campaign against Clinton, highlighting every looney right-wing conspiracy on the market, including spurious assertions of Clinton's complicity in founding the Islamic State. This shows a glaring disconnect between Russia's foreign policy interests, which require a workable and civil relationship with U.S. leaders, and the interests of propaganda driven by personal ambition in detriment to the nation's greater good. There is little that Russia has gained from this effort other than bad press.

The operation destroyed what little trust remained between the two countries, and at the sensitive moment of Kerry-Lavrov negotiations on Syria. It also put U.S. President Barack Obama in an awkward position: not retaliating is politically unfeasible. Publicly naming Russia is just the first step. Economic and technology sanctions appear to be the most likely next step. At the same time, Washington wants to maintain the option of re-engaging Russia on Syria and is wary of escalation by cyber attacks.

Moscow needs to find a way to defuse the crisis. Offering secret talks on permissible rules of cyber warfare and cyber intelligence collection might be one way to do it. Better managing its intelligence services would be another. **TMT**

\*The Islamic State is a terrorist organization banned in Russia



"The political and economic situation is such that people often have no other choice than to study Chinese." **Tatiana Bukhtiyarova**, Confucius Institute

**2014-15**

the official Year of Sino-Russian Youth Exchange.

**\$64.2Bln**

trade turnover between China and Russia in 2015.



"China and Russia are renowned for their brilliant cultures; we need to strengthen contacts." — Chinese President **Xi Jinping** in May 2015.

# Eastern Approaches

By **Ola Cichowlas** and **Matthew Kupfer** newsreporter@imedia.ru | Illustration by **Yevgeny Tonkonogy**

Beijing's soft-power influence in Russia is growing.



**F**ifty kilometers outside central Moscow, the bucolic village of Pervomayskoye might seem like an unusual place to celebrate Russia's growing ties with China. But a new Chinese cultural center and museum hopes to do just that.

In July, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Olga Golodets and her Chinese counterpart, Liu Yandong, sped into town for the ceremonial opening of a Chinese Communist Party Museum. Amid a display of more pomp and circumstance than the village had seen in years, 8,000 residents suddenly found themselves at the nexus of Sino-Russian relations.

Pervomayskoye, it turned out, had once hosted a famous Chinese Communist Party Conference. It presented Russia and China with a golden opportunity to showcase joint history and consolidate bilateral relations.

With the collapse of relations with the West after Moscow's 2014 annexation of Ukraine's Crimean peninsula, Russia's ties with China have taken on new significance.

Interest in China and its culture, which "never existed before," is now growing among Russians, says Svetlana Krivokhizh, a lecturer at the Higher School of Economics. And public diplomacy — efforts to establish dialogue between societies and cultures — has been increasingly pursued by both sides.

## Old Ties, New Relations

Some consider the museum complex in Pervomayskoye, a former aristocratic manor from the 18th century, to be the birthplace of the Chinese revolution.

In 1928, when nationalist leader Chiang Kai-Shek was purging socialists back home, exiled Chinese communists held their only party conference outside China in that building. Known as the Sixth Party Conference, the event has long been significant to the Chinese leadership — seen as a moment when other communists came to the Chinese revolutionaries' assistance.

Starting in Soviet times, Beijing pleaded with the Russian authorities for permission to build a museum commemorating the conference. Their efforts met with little success until 2013. At the G20 summit meeting between Vladimir Putin and his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping, the Russian presi-

dent agreed to rent the historic building to Moscow's Chinese cultural center.

The Chinese took two years to deal with Russia's notorious red tape. When they finally made it to Pervomayskoye to begin renovation work, they found a building in ruins. Bombed by Germany during World War II, the manor had stood empty throughout the 1990s, and nearly burnt to the ground in a 2011 fire.

Today, after 10 months of intensive restoration, the building has been returned to its former, imperial glory. Pastel yellow walls, marble floors, and crystal chandeliers now stand as monument of Chinese and Russian unity.

## Public Diplomacy

The glossy new museum falls into Beijing's broader strategy of public diplomacy within Russia.

Since the early 2000s, the Confucius Institute (CI), an international educational organization connected to China's Education Ministry, has opened over 20 Chinese language learning centers in Russia. In recent years, interest among Russians has only grown.

Educational exchanges are also on the rise. In 2014, the Chinese and Russian authorities decided to expand educational exchange programs so that each country would send 20,000 students to the other each year. A year later, Russia's foreign aid agency quietly reoriented the "New Generation" program, which brings young professionals to Russia from abroad for short exchanges, on Asia — with a special focus on China.

This July, a new Chinese bookstore, Shans Boku, opened off Moscow's central Novy Arbat. At the opening, several senior Chinese and Russian officials cut the ceremonial ribbon. The store is the project of Shans, a Russian company that partners with major Chinese publishing companies to make Chinese literature accessible to Russian-speaking readers.

Next month, a major Russia & Asia Forum, whose sponsors include the House of Russo-Chinese Friendship and the Sino-Russian Chamber of Commerce, will be held in Moscow.

Together, these developments form what political scientists term "soft power" — non-coercive efforts to shape public attitudes. Russian foreign policy expert Dmitry Suslov

says Beijing is increasingly interested in using these tools in Russia and Central Asia, where it hopes to build a transport corridor to Europe.

"Soft power is a tool to convince your partner to do what you want to do," Suslov said. "Both countries are working on that now."

But Russian public opinion towards China is contradictory at best. During the stand-off with the West, China has been perceived as a partner and one of the friendliest countries toward Russia. At the same time, Suslov says, Russians still relate negatively to the Chinese and fear the so-called "yellow threat."

Many Russians also perceive China as a primitive society, says HSE's Krivokhizh: "They still believe the Chinese are uneducated and backwards."

## Suspicious Partners

Doubts also linger between political elites in Moscow and Beijing.

Russian officials worry about China taking over the Russian Far East; or about Moscow being too junior a partner in the relationship. The Chinese, meanwhile, worry that Russia's turn toward China is purely tactical and only temporary. Many assume that if relations with the West improve, Russia will turn its back on China.

Such fears can even derail otherwise successful public diplomacy. In 2015, local authorities in Blagoveshchensk, a Russian city on the Chinese border, accused the local Confucius Institute of violating Russia's infamous "foreign agent" law. The case was only dropped after the Chinese embassy became involved.

In other places, Russians have proven more receptive to Chinese influence. In Pervomayskoye, locals speak proudly of their new park and bus station, all renovated on the Chinese yuan. Property values in the village have skyrocketed.

Chinese soft power may have a ways to go, but in Pervomayskoye it is proving to be a success.

In the long run, soft power might be able to bridge gaps where diplomacy fails. Krivokhizh warns not to expect results in the immediate future. So far, Chinese public diplomacy has not been particularly effective, "though the Chinese are very persistent." **TMT**

# Out & About



October 13 – 19, 2016

7

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



BAO BAR



This is an ode to the humble pillowy steamed buns popular across Asia. The savory-sweet bao dough provides the perfect velvety blanket for your filling of choice.

## New On the Ring: Bao & Bar

By **Ruth Moore** artsreporter@imedia.ru

### *Sticky, pillowy, succulent Asian street food*

**F**air warning: You're going to get through a lot of napkins at Bao & Bar. The new restaurant, situated a stone's throw from Patriarch's Ponds, celebrates the popular Asian street food in all its sticky, delicious incarnations.

Masterminded by chef Timur Abuzyarov and his partner Roman Vorotnikov, the eatery is an ode to the humble pillowy steamed buns popular across Asia. Originating in the third century A.D., the savory-sweet bao dough provides the perfect velvety blanket for your filling of choice.

The restaurant boasts seven varieties: from the classics (braised pork belly with cucumber,

peanut powder and coriander), to those with a bit of a kick (fish bao with cod and prawn cakes, tomato salsa and sweet chili sauce), to the downright audacious. Bao with matcha green tea ice-cream anyone?

The bao come in small portions and are priced very reasonably, at between 160 and 200 rubles. As such, it would be rude — and a crying shame — not to order several. The highlight has to be pork belly bao with kimchi, crispy onion and hoisin sauce — you could happily spend the night feasting on them if you didn't catch sight of one of the other dishes.

Ramen comes in three varieties — from chicken and tempura squid to pork belly or baked eggplant. The hearty noodle soups are the perfect antidote to the autumn chill. Tofu-lovers will enjoy its deep-fried variant served with broccoli, peanut and sweet and sour sauce, while the Bryansk beef teriyaki with sweet potato puree is rich, delicious and inviting.

If you struggled to pick your food order you might have even greater trouble with choosing your beer. Over 150 varieties of bottled beer and 16 drafts, including a mixture of craft and well-known European brands, jos-

tle for room with a more modest wine list.

If you're grabbing a quick lunch, perch on one of the window bar stools and watch the crowds passing on the Garden Ring or jostle elbow-to-elbow with your friends at a table overlooking the open kitchen. An abundance of hanging plants, pale wood furnishing and attractive murals make this an Instagram-addicts dream. Just wipe those hoisin-covered fingers first. **TMT**

**+7 (499) 347 3001**  
facebook.com/baobarmoscow  
32 Sadovaya-Kudrinskaya Ulitsa, Bldg. 1  
Metro Mayakovskaya

### NEWS & OPENINGS



PORKETTERIA ZIZO / INSTAGRAM

#### Porketteria Zizo

##### **Fast food from your favorite Italian**

Zizo is a new sandwich place by none other than Uilliam Lamberti (Ulliam's, Severyane). Porketta or porchetta is a traditional Italian boneless pork roast, which is great in a sandwich (220 rubles) or without (199 rubles). Lamberti's innovation is that he also makes lamb (239 rubles) and chicken (219 rubles) porketta. Traditional Italian desserts (150 rubles) and espresso (90 rubles) are also superb.

**+7 (926) 103 1818**

facebook.com/zizomoscow  
30 Denisovskiy Pereulok, Bldg. 1  
Metro Kurskaya, Baumanskaya



MOJO BAR AND DELI

#### Mojo Bar and Deli

##### **Happening place on Valovaya**

Tucked down the side of the Valovaya building is the Mojo Bar and Deli. This colorful gem offers simple but delicious food accompanied by bespoke cocktails. The walls feature an array of interesting artwork that change every two weeks. Try the pumpkin and ginger spiced soup for a thick and hearty winter warmer followed by their gourmet pizza. Return at the weekend and a DJ will drop beats while you sip your espresso martini.

**+8 (495) 999 0507**

www.mojo-bar-deli.com  
26 Ulitsa Valovaya. Metro Paveletskaya



PROGRESS

#### Progress

##### **VIP sandwiches from a famous rapper**

Progress is a neighborhood bar that's every hipster's dream. This is the joint effort of restaurateur Arkady Zeltser (The Burger Brothers) and barista Daria Bekasova (Good Enough, Iskra). Progress serves simple, but tasty food, like chili con carne cooked with stout (379 rubles) or bruschetta with spinach, egg and salmon (249 rubles). The coffee is just excellent. And you can pour your own beer from one of the nine taps on the wall.

**+7 (925) 888 1316**

facebook.com/progresscoffeecraft  
38 Presnenskiy Val. Metro 1905 Goda



DR. NO

#### Dr. No

##### **Bond in Asia near the Arbat**

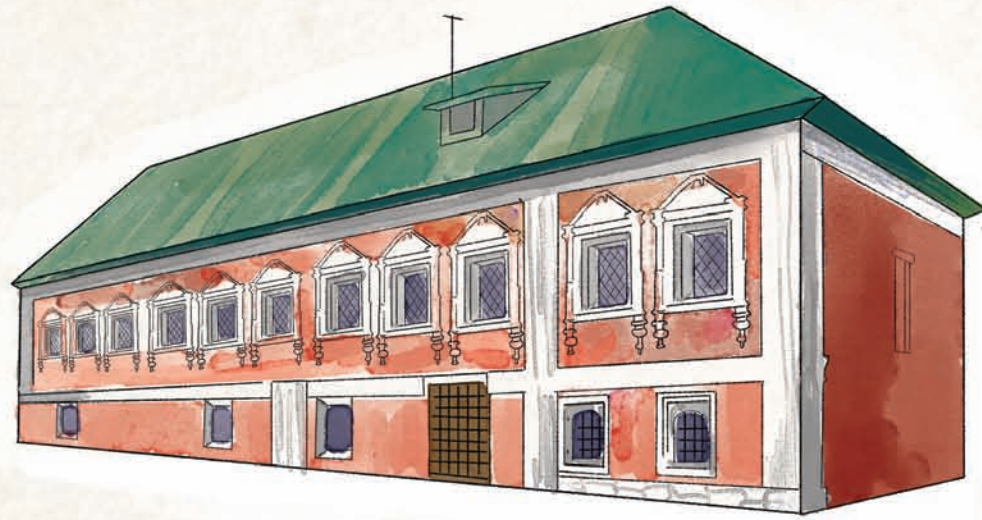
Dr. No is an intimate Pan-Asian restaurant whose menu is mastered by chef Rajesh Thapliyal. Expect staff with exceptional English, immaculate dishes and a quirky Bond theme (yes, really). Careful: wine is pricey (we stuck to Chianti at 800 rubles/glass). Go for the set festival menu (1,500 rubles until Oct. 31). The Vietnamese prawns with avocado rice and the Crab Dim Sum with Thai coconut sauce are sensational.

**+7 (495) 662 1442**

facebook.com/drnocafe  
33/1 Gogolevskiy Bulvar. Metro Arbatskaya

## 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!**



### 1. Red Chambers

Take the metro to the Kropotkinskaya station and then carefully cross the busy intersection, nod at Friedrich Engels (on a pedestal), and stop to look at the very old buildings behind him. The Red Chambers to the left on Ostozhenka were built in the 1680s as part of an urban estate for the princely Prozorovsky family. For two centuries the estate changed hands among the nobility, but in the 19th century it was bought and sold by merchants, including Dmitry Filippov of the bread, pastry and coffee shop dynasty, who bought the estate in 1899. In the 1920s the Red Chambers were reconstructed and turned into apartments. In the 1970s they were almost torn down, but were somehow saved to become a restaurant and currency exchange office, and then a concert hall and exhibition space. The ancient red building with white ornamentation around the windows is either a good example of pre-Petrine Moscow baroque or an utterly worthless pile of bricks, depending on which expert you ask. Today it is owned by the Moscow Cultural Heritage Department and is empty.

2 Ulitsa Ostozhenka



Ulitsa Ostozhenka



### 4. Broido House

Cross Ostozhenka and walk to the right, and then turn left on 2nd Obydenny Pereulok. Although the name of the street sounds like "ordinary" or "nothing special," the apartment houses on this narrow lane are anything but. Stop before house number 13 on the right, a spectacular example of style moderne. It was one of almost 50 apartment houses built by the architect Nikolai Zherikhov in Moscow's elite neighborhoods between 1902 and 1915. This one, built in 1904-10, was commissioned for the merchant G. Broido in pale blue glassy tiles with rich ornamentation. Slip through the wrought-iron gates to see the bas relief figures and designs up close.

13 2nd Obydenny Pereulok

1st Obydenny Pereulok

2nd Obydenny Pereulok

# Moscow's Golden Mile Around the Lanes of Moscow's Most Aristocratic Street

By Michele A. Berdy [m.berdy@imedia.ru](mailto:m.berdy@imedia.ru) | Illustration by Elena Rasputina

If you want to see how Moscow's rich and famous have lived over the years, stroll around Ostozhenka





**2. Worker's House**

Then turn to face Ostozhenka, Moscow's "Golden Mile" of some of the city's most exclusive and expensive real estate. The street, however, had modest roots. It was a floodplain for the Moscow River covered with meadows and hay fields, which gave it its name: *остожье* is a haystack. The meadows became the site of the tsar's horse stables, and only much later did the area become a street of urban mansions and fancy apartment buildings. With Engels on one side, perhaps it's fitting that the street begins on the other side with a constructivist apartment building put up in 1926 in shades of beige, black and brick red. Originally built for local workers, these days the 16 apartments with views of the Christ the Savior Cathedral are no longer in the affordable price range of the city's working class.

1/9 Ulitsa Ostozhenka

**3. House with a Goblet**

Then cast your gaze to the right, where you see what seems to be two houses. The four-story one on the left was built in 1904 by the renowned architect Ernst-Richard Nirnsee, the larger one on the right was built in 1907-09 by architects Dubrovsky and Arkhipov. But somehow they are considered to be one house with one address. But that's not the only curious thing. The one on the corner is a fine example of style moderne — Russian art nouveau — with lovely bas relief ornamentation of mermaids, fish, shells and other marine life. But look up and you see that it is topped by a wine goblet turned upside down. Legend has it that the owner, a certain Yakov Filatov, almost lost his fortune on drink, and so he crowned the building with an empty glass as a reminder of what he almost lost. Whatever the legend, the building was roundly criticized as "monstrously farcical" at the time. Now this apartment house is just delightfully eccentric. And expensive.

3/14 Ulitsa Ostozhenka

Kursovoi Pereulok

6

5

**5. Church of Elijah the Prophet**

At the end of the lane you'll see the church that gave it its name: the Church of Elijah the Prophet "Built in a Day." By legend, the wooden church first built here was put up in a day. The stone church you see now was begun in 1702, and then rebuilt, built up and remodeled over the next two centuries. This is another of those rare Moscow churches that was never closed during the Soviet period, and is where Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Natalya Svetlova were wed in 1973, and where two of their children were baptized. Today it is usually full of people venerating the many relics and icons here. After stopping in, pause outside in the little square with some hot tea and pies from the vendor. Look around. You can see just about every architectural era and style between sips of tea: from a little urban house to style moderne and Soviet bland to contemporary monstrosities. Eat your pie and walk on 3rd Obydenny Pereulok toward the Christ the Savior Cathedral.

6 2nd Obydenny Pereulok

**6. Pertsov House**

Turn right on Soimonosky Proezd and stop when you see the fairy-tale house of brick and ceramic tiles on the corner of Kursovoi Pereulok. It was built by a wealthy patron of the arts, Pyotr Pertsov, as a house for him and his family, with additional apartments and studios for artists. For the design, he held a closed competition with a jury that included the greatest artists and architects of the era. He chose the design by the creator of the matryoshka doll, Sergei Malyutin, and the engineer Nikolai Zhukov. They managed to put the building up in a record 11 months in 1907. The building is a wonder, a blend of style moderne and faux old Russian style: asymmetrical design, pointed roof, majolica panels, patterned brickwork, and various kinds of stylized folk art, wood carvings and sculpture. Now it is owned by the agency that provides for the diplomatic corps, who thankfully don't seem to mind folks walking around and taking photos of every inch of the façade. From here you can head back to the Kropotkinskaya metro station, or wander down Kursovoi Pereulok to gape at how the 1 percent of Russia live.

1 Kursovoi Pereulok



**Charlotte Maxwell**, Film maker

For an alternative night out I go to **Taras Bulba**. The food isn't bad, but I go more for the fun, traditional Ukrainian dance shows. The restaurant is open until the early hours, and it feels like a big private party once you get chatting to the other diners!



KORSHOP / FACEBOOK

## Shopping for the Exotic in Moscow

For people used to the full range of human ethnicity and color in many metropolises around the world, Moscow might not immediately seem multi-cultural. But it is, with dozens of ethnic groups besides Russians — mostly from within Russia (like the Tatars), or from the former Soviet republics (like Ukrainians), and some from neighbors and old friends, like Vietnam. While the city doesn't quite have ethnic neighborhoods, it does have a few stores that specialize in the cuisine and crafts from the near and far abroad. Here are our favorites.



WIKIMEDIA

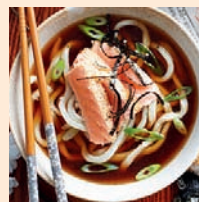
### Indian Spices

#### The first and still the best

Many years ago when you couldn't find iodized salt in Moscow, let alone turmeric or chickpeas, the Indian Spice Shop opened up on Sukharevskaya Ploshchad. It was so fragrant and packed with goodness that it seemed like a dream. Over the years many big chains and small specialty shops have opened, but the original Indian Spice shop still astounds. Here you can buy every spice in the world; all the ingredients for Indian, Asian and South Asian cuisine; as well as Indian and other cosmetics and Ayurveda products. With three shops in Moscow, branches in St. Petersburg and Tver, plus

home delivery, you will never want for mango pickles again.

Indian Spices  
indianspices.ru  
36 Ulitsa Sretenka, Bldg. 2  
Metro Sukharevskaya



KORSHOP / FACEBOOK

### KorShop

#### Korean and Asian specialty shop

This mini-market on Avtozavodskaya is run by a Korean family and has everything you need to make popular Korean dishes like bulgogi (grilled marinated beef) or bibimbap (rice with vegetables). There's a good selection of noodles, including soba, and a wide array of Korean and other Asian sauces. Check out the large tea

section with a big assortment of herbal teas, including unorthodox choices like buckwheat tea. You can also get several types of Korean sake or soju (similar to vodka). Don't pass by local specialties like marinated sesame leaves and various kimchi (pickles), as well as fermented soy bean paste and frozen dim sum.

KorShop  
korshop.ru  
17/2 Ulitsa Masterkova  
Metro Avtozavodskaya



BAURSAK / INSTAGRAM

### Boursak

#### Food from the steppes

Have a hankering for some Kazakh food? Boursak is the store for you. You can get ingredients for Central Asian staple dishes, like special meat for beshbarmak (noodles with boiled meat). You can get the noodles for lagman soup as well as many other types of noodles. There's also more exotic fare, like canned horse meat and kumys — fermented horse milk or shubat — fermented camel milk (160 rubles). Some of the most popular products are horse meat chips (100 rubles a pack) and kurts — dry cheese balls, hard and salty, both great with beer. Kazakh sweets and chocolates are also available. Boursak has a second location, at Preobrazhensky market.

Boursak  
boursak.net  
11/2 Ulitsa Sadovaya-Chernogryazskaya  
Metro Krasniye Vorota

### Kitaiskiye Tovary

#### Chinatown in one shop

Kitaiskiye Tovary (Chinese Goods) is a small

store adjacent to the Kitaisky Kvartal restaurant. The "goods" on sale here are truly good, but are from Thailand, Indonesia and Singapore in addition to China. There's about 100 different types of sauces and Asian vegetables like banana leaves, soy bean sprouts and bok choy. There's a wide selection of instant and regular noodles and snacks like Thai shrimp chips. Check out the huge tea section including pu-erh tea tablets (from 35 rubles) that you can buy one at a time. There's a good selection of Asian beer: Singha from Thailand, Tsingtao from China and Hite from Korea.

Kitaiskiye Tovary  
china-food.ru  
12 Prospekt Mira. Metro Sukharevskaya




HANOI SHOPPING CENTER

### Hanoi

#### From pho bo to flip flops

Hanoi is a huge shopping center and hotel complex on the outskirts of the city, close to Yaroslavskoye highway. You can get anything from instant noodles and famous Vietnamese coffee to traditional Vietnamese clothing and furniture. The annual Vietnamese expo also takes place here in October. There's a food court on the second floor, with some Vietnamese choices. In the hotel complex there's an enormous restaurant called Viet Soul, where you can sample authentic Vietnamese cuisine. Here pho bo soup is just 250 rubles, assorted nems (savory fried pancakes) are 350 rubles, and grilled chicken with lemongrass will set you back 480 rubles.

Hanoi Shopping Center  
hanoi-moscow.biz  
146 Yaroslavskoye Shosse. Metro VDNKh



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Sea Launch was formed by aerospace and tech companies from the U.S., Russia, Ukraine, and Norway.

**1999**

Sea Launch conducts first mission



Over the past year, a number of potential buyers for Sea Launch were floated, including the Russian government or China. The S7 airline was a surprise buyer.

**36**

number of rockets boosted by Sea Launch.

## S7's Giant Leap

By **Matthew Bodner** m.bodner@imedia.ru, @mattb0401 | Illustration by **Ilya Kutoboy**

Russia's answer to SpaceX still depends on American goodwill.



This year's International Astronautical Congress (IAC), held in Guadalajara, Mexico, was a display of unbridled ambition. At an event for players in the global space race to demonstrate their vision of an increasingly cosmic future, SpaceX founder Elon Musk surprised no one when he stole the show, driving headlines around the world with a plan to colonize Mars.

But on the sidelines of the IAC, the Russian contingent had a surprise of its own: the country's most successful private airline, S7, is making a bid for the market Musk and other billionaires opened for private exploitation — commercial space launches. For a country that's been a powerhouse in government-funded space activity, but fallen short with private endeavors, this is uncharted territory.

The "ticket" into the private space race, as S7 chief Vladislav Filyov put it, was a mothballed project from the late 1990s known as Sea Launch. Born of the post-Cold War reconciliation between East and West, the project was sunk in 2014 by a breakdown in relations between the project's major partners — Russia, Ukraine, and the United States.

Sea Launch was, arguably, a project ahead of its time: a floating launchpad built to sail Ukrainian-Russian rockets to a spot on the equator, south of Hawaii. At that location, the Earth's spin provides a boost into space that helps cut costs and increase payload capacity. America's Boeing aerospace company eventually sold most of its shares to Russia's Energia space and rocket company, which landed a 95 percent stake in the project. In the end, Sea Launch went quiet.

The launchpad is still idle today, collecting barnacles and seaweed off a pier in Long Beach, California, but Filyov's S7 airline sees it as a unique opportunity. The Sea Launch project could become Russia's first private space launch company — the country's answer to SpaceX. And Filyov snagged the hardware at a bargain price of just \$150 million. All he needs to do, it seems, is provide the money to revive the platform.

"Why are we doing this?" Filyov told Bloomberg last month, "Just because it is beautiful."

### Head in the Clouds

In a country desperate to find modern heroes analogous to figures in the West, the Russian media has at times portrayed

Filyov as a homegrown Richard Branson. Like the British entrepreneur, Filyov can be credited with breaking a national monopoly with his S7 airline — a company that has proven to be highly successful where competitors faded into oblivion.

He plans to take Sea Launch out of mothball, and restore the launchpad to normal operations by 2018, using Energia as the main contractor. He says the platform can be used without upgrades for 15 years. In that time, S7 will service 70 launches.

S7's plans for Sea Launch beyond 2030 remain a mystery. Whereas the likes of Musk and Amazon founder Jeff Bezos are investing in new technologies such as reusable rockets, it's not clear how Filyov can use Sea Launch to innovate or leave his mark on the private space race. But one unidentified source told the TASS news agency that S7 wants to build a commercial space station.

### Grounded in Reality?

Russia's only major privately-owned airline in the air-travel market today, S7 is financially well positioned for an out-of-this-world vanity project. S7 has zero debt, and in 2015 it raked in some \$1.3 billion in revenue. Filyov told Bloomberg that the airline is paying cash for Sea Launch.

According to Russian space industry analyst Pavel Luzin, the Sea Launch venture isn't exactly a shrewd business move. "It looks like S7 doesn't know what to do with its money," he says.

Indeed, S7's acquisition of Sea Launch appears in some ways to be motivated by non-market considerations. The project was conceived in a considerably different environment, one in which the majority of customers were telecoms companies looking for cheaper alternatives to launch satellites into equatorial orbits. A floating launch platform is tailored specifically to suit these needs.

Today, similar services are rendered cheaply and efficiently by the likes of SpaceX, and even traditional state-owned monopolies like Russia's International Launch Services (still the largest operator on the market today).

"S7 is a bit late to the game if it intends to start a new launch service," says Phil Smith, an aerospace market analyst at the Washington-based Tauri Group.

One of the possible reasons that Filyov might be committing his successful S7 group to a potentially doomed space endeavor is to buy favor with an increasingly whimsical and suspicious political elite. Space is a traditional Russian enterprise, but it's becoming more difficult to find government funding, given the country's economic struggles. S7, on the other hand, has money.

"This bargain between S7 and Energia seems aimed at helping Energia financially," says Luzin, "but it's not an act of mercy from S7. It's about S7's attempts to maintain good standing with the government. It's possible they were asked nicely to invest, or maybe S7 just wants protection. Energia is now part of the Roscosmos state space corporation, which is good protection."

### Score Settling

While Filyov's path to space appears paved with good intentions, he faces one final, possibly insurmountable obstacle: the tandem between U.S. military-industrial giant Boeing and the U.S. State Department's Directorate of Defense Trade Controls. Space technology has obvious military applications, and the United States guards the spread of rocket technology with particular jealousy.

Energia and Boeing have yet to settle the score following their parting of ways in 2009. The American company has vowed not to approve the sale of Sea Launch until Energia and Yuzhmash pay Boeing some \$350 million credited to the former Soviet enterprises to operate Sea Launch. Recent reports indicate the two parties are settling out of court, however.

Although Sea Launch is essentially Russian and Ukrainian technology, and at this point owned almost wholly by Russians, the project is by international agreement under American control. This allows the State Department to have its say. Filyov says the answer will come within the next six months.

The timing isn't ideal, however. Given the tense relationship between Moscow and Washington today, it's not inconceivable that the United States might choose to act as a spoiler. **TMT**



*"We must constantly do something. Constant dripping wears away a stone. You must fight while you still can."* **Svetlana Gannushkina**

770

people have official refugee status in Russia.

1990

The year the Civic Assistance Committee was founded.



**Svetlana Gannushkina** ran for a seat in the State Duma in 2016 as a candidate for the liberal opposition Yabloko party.



SERGEY MELIKHOV

Svetlana Gannushkina's was first inspired to work with refugees 27 years ago, in 1989, as the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia in the Nagorno-Karabakh region was unravelling.

# They Picked The Wrong Country

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

Russia doesn't want refugees, and its asylum system is arranged accordingly, says Svetlana Gannushkina, veteran activist and contender for this year's Nobel peace prize.

The working hours of Civic Assistance Committee are long over, but its waiting room, a modest space on the first floor of a residential building in northern Moscow, is still crowded. Men and women of African and Middle Eastern descent — most of them already in winter clothes — patiently sit and wait to be seen.

Svetlana Gannushkina, the chair and driving force behind the Committee, is always on the move. In her early 70s, she is full of life — answering phone calls, talking to her colleagues and dealing with documents.

She smiles when asked about reports that she was considered for the Nobel peace prize.

"To be honest, I dreaded the thought," she says. "I wouldn't have been able to keep up with the flow of people they'd have sent my way."

In the absence of proper institutional support, Gannushkina's NGO has become the first line of assistance to desperate refugees in Russia. "I have several Iranians here who converted to Christianity and came to [the northern Russian city of] Murmansk seeking asylum. What did the people in Murmansk do? You guessed it: they put the refugees on a plane and sent them to Gannushkina."

In 2015 alone, 2,276 people applied to Gannushkina's Committee for assistance. The vast majority of them — 1,546 — were refugees. But the numbers represent a drop in the ocean. There are probably some 100,000 people in Russia eligible for receiving a proper refugee status, says Gannushkina. And only 770 individuals have ever been granted asylum.

"When I say this number at conferences, I'm always afraid translators will get confused and add 'thousand' to it," she

says. "It is difficult to wrap one's head around the fact that there are just 770 official refugees living in Russia."

## A Long Struggle

Gannushkina realized that working with refugees was her calling 27 years ago, in January 1989. At the time, the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia in the Nagorno-Karabakh region was unravelling.

"There were protests in Yerevan — people flooding the streets demanding that barbarian Azerbaijanis leave the region and stop the bloodbath they had started," says the activist. "It was so inspiring, so democratic and progressive, and I instinctively decided to go there."

A last minute change of mind, however, saw the activ-

ist return her tickets and book a ticket to Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan — the country on the other side of the conflict. This journey was to make her future as an activist working with refugees.

In the course of her six-day trip, Gannushkina came face to face with Azerbaijani refugees — those who had been forced out of Armenian villages and stripped of their homes, money, and possessions. The refugees told gruesome stories.

"They told me how armed Armenians came at night, and gave them three days to leave. They walked to the border on foot. There was a woman among them, and I saw her holding a tiny corpse of her son who had frozen to death during the journey. It was monstrous. It determined my fate," Gannushkina says.

A year later, violent pogroms, this time in Baku itself, forced almost 40,000 Armenians to flee to Moscow. These were the first refugees Gannushkina and her fellow activists helped. "No one wanted to deal with them and [Soviet leader Mikhail] Gorbachev could only say they would all go back at some point," she says. "But in the meantime, the refugees had nowhere to go."

Both the Azerbaijani and the Armenian consulates disavowed them. The Armenian consulate, however, didn't have the guts to throw the refugees out onto the street, so for a while many of them lived in the consulate building, sleeping in corridors. Together with other activists, Gannushkina began helping

Gannushkina says there are probably 100,000 people in Russia eligible for proper refugee status but only 770 have ever been granted asylum.



SERGEY MELIKHOV



“Cruelty is a principle now. Authorities have no one to hold them accountable, because society is in a state of aggressive apathy.” **Gannushkina**

2

Syrians have official refugee status in Russia.



The Syrian family that got stuck in the Sheremetyevo airport had Russian visas, Svetlana Gannushkina says. They came to visit their relative — a Russian citizen.

2,276

people sought help from the Civic Assistance Committee in 2015.



Gannushkina says the Syrians that end up in Russia should automatically be eligible for asylum, but only two have been granted refugee status.

## THE WORD'S WORTH

# All Day, Every Day in Russian

Обыденный: *ordinary*

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



them — bringing them food, clothing, and assisting them with getting medical treatment.

Later that year, the Soviet government issued a decree stating that refugees should be “cleared out” of Moscow and St. Petersburg (Leningrad at the time). Moscow authorities refused to comply, and instead gave the refugees temporary places to live — generally rooms in hotels and sanatoriums. That was the extent of attempts to integrate refugees.

“After more than a quarter of a century, some of those refugees are still in the same hotels, still hoping to get a Russian passport,” Gannushkina says. They are not the only ones in limbo. In fact, they are joined by other waves of post-Soviet refugees: the people who fled from Georgia and Abkhazia in 1993-1994, the Ukrainians that came to Russia in 2014, and now, the Syrians who are fleeing a five-year-long civil war.

None have been successfully integrated.

## A Failing System

Russia has all the legal tools to deal with refugees. In 1967, the country joined the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees; a convention which defined the term “refugee” and outlined clear criteria for those who can apply for refugee status.

Since then, Russia has also created its own law on refugees — quite a good one, Gannushkina is keen to point out — setting out the procedures for obtaining refugee status.

The problem is that the legislation doesn’t work.

In practice, awards of refugee status are arbitrary, says Gannushkina — determined by Russian authorities who ask themselves if a person really “deserves” it. “Obtaining a refugee status should not be a question of deserving it, but of being eligible according to the legal criteria.”

The Syrians that end up in Russia should automatically be eligible for asylum, Gannushkina says — they are, after all, obviously fleeing a war. In practice, Russian officials have tended not to agree. Of the approximately 10,000 Syrian nationals currently in Russia, only two have been granted refugee status. Some 1,000 migrants have been granted temporary asylum, but this is a status that expires after one year, and Russian authorities are usually not inclined to extend the term.

The breakdown of Russia’s 770 refugees makes for interesting reading. Aside from the two Syrians, there are 300 Afghans and 300 Ukrainians. Most of the Ukrainians were special police officers implicated in deadly clashes during the EuroMaidan revolution.

“Then there are a few isolated cases — for example, one U.S. national and two North Koreans,” Gannushkina says.

The situation with North Korean refugees remains particularly tense after Russia and North Korea signed an extradition treaty in November 2015. Since then, Russia has been reluctant to grant North Koreans asylum. The consequences have been, on occasion, fatal. Gannushkina says her organization tried to stop Russia signing the treaty.

“The authorities told us not to worry, because the North Korean government promised to treat refugees well, but we knew differently,” she says. “We found out that one of the refugees we tried to help and failed was roped onto a moving train. That was how they ‘delivered him to his homeland’ — or what was left of him, to be exact.”

When it comes to refugees, the default position for Russian officialdom is an “indifference bordering on cruelty.” The reason for this, the activist believes, is a widening gap between government and society.

“Russian officials set themselves in opposition to the people, and that includes refugees. They ask why they should give people they don’t know anything. And, besides, why should they be accommodating when our president has told them we can’t be like Europe [which accepted millions of Syrian refugees in 2015].”

## Foreign Agents

As a former member of the Presidential Human Rights Council, and member of the government commission on migration, Gannushkina is well-connected. She has had several opportunities to raise the issues of refugees and migrants in Russia in front of top-rank Kremlin officials, including the president. Her committee works closely with the country’s migration authorities, and some cases are solved “manually” — by contacting officials who are able to pull some strings and help out.

However, good connections only go so far, Gannushkina admits: dealing with a system that is unwilling to concede mistakes is obviously difficult.

Last year, life became even harder when the Civic Assistance Committee was declared a “foreign agent.” It was a long-awaited upshot of the infamous 2012 law, which obliged NGOs receiving foreign funding and engaging in vaguely defined “political activity” to register as such.

Once an NGO is labelled “foreign agent,” it becomes subject to additional government scrutiny and huge bureaucratic burdens. Last year, several prominent NGOs either shut down, or, unwilling to work under a label that carries strong espionage connotations, gave up foreign funding.

Gannushkina’s Committee has never hidden the fact that it has received foreign funding. The “political activity” that got them in trouble was work analysing migration laws for possible corruption and Gannushkina’s own participation in the government’s migration commission.

Not being able to afford giving up foreign funding, the Committee chose instead to carry the label with humor and almost with pride.

“The law obliges us to write everywhere that we are foreign agents,” Gannushkina says. “So we wrote on our website: yes, we are agents for foreigners ... and these ones in particular, linking our statement to photos of individual asylum seekers and their children.”

Jokes aside, the “foreign agent” label has made life difficult for Gannushkina and her colleagues. Not only has the paper workload increased exponentially, but some of the Committee’s regular partners have refused to work with a ‘foreign agent.’

Gannushkina says her work will continue regardless.

“We can’t give up and put a closed sign on our door that says ‘we gave in to depression,’” she says. “The pessimists of this world see a dark tunnel, but the optimists see a light at the end of the tunnel, and the realists understand that this light is coming from a train that is bearing down on them.”

Where does Gannushkina stand in this scheme?

“I suppose I’m the woman trying to pull as many people as possible from under the train,” she says. **ТМТ**

The Russian language is full of surprises. The other day I was puzzled by the name of a church: Храм Илии Пророка Обыденного, which to the modern ear sounds like the Church of the Prophet Elijah the Ordinary. Now, it’s been a long time since my Sunday school classes, but as I recall, Elijah rose up to heaven in a fiery chariot, which is hardly ordinary. So I thought that maybe this was a modest church of the Prophet Elijah, called ordinary to distinguish it from another grander church dedicated to Elijah nearby.

Of course I was wrong. It turns out that the word *обыденный* was originally three words: *объ инъ днь*, in which *о* or *об* meant *в* or *за*; *инъ* meant *один*; and *днь* meant *день*. That is: *в один день* (in one day). It referred to anything that was done or could be done in a single day. In the case of the church near Ostozhenka, *обыденный* meant that it was built in a day — or rather the original wooden church was built in a day, and then the name stuck even when a stone church was built to replace it later.

In the old days, you could say *путь обыденный* (a one-day trip), or talk about *обыденный мотылек* (one-day moth), also called *обыденка*, or tell your significant other that cleaning the garage is *не обыденное дело* (not a one-day task), or gossip about your neighbor’s *обыденна честь* (fleeting honor).

I fell totally, helplessly in love with this word and wanted to use it all the time. Slight problem: the latest reference I could find to this usage was 1742. Later *обыденный* came to mean ordinary, nothing special — presumably because something you could do in a day or a trip you could take in a day was something mundane — no big deal.

And that’s the way you use it today: Он произносил слова *обыденным, нормальным голосом* (He said the words in an ordinary, regular tone of voice.) Идеалы если есть, то они берутся из *обыденной жизни* (If there are ideals, they are taken from everyday life.)

Russian seems to have a large store of words for what is nothing special. Like *будничный* (workaday), which suggests that what you do during the work week is a bit boring in contrast with what you do on a weekend or holiday. Автор рассматривает многие стороны *будничной Москвы*: городской транспорт, в частности (The writer looks at many aspects of everyday Moscow, including public transportation.) This word is often used to describe speech patterns: Они общались на *будничном русском языке* (They spoke in common everyday Russian.)

Curiously, you can say “everyday” in Russian three ways, starting with *вседневный* (literally, all days): *Выражаясь повседневным языком, надо было выпить* (To use everyday language — we needed a drink.) And *повседневный* (literally, like all days): *Дореволюционные вещи из обычных повседневных предметов превращаются в “наследие прошлого”* (Pre-revolutionary objects are transformed from ordinary, everyday things into “the legacy of the past.”) And even *каждодневный* (literally, every day): *Она заявила о необходимости помощи миллионам граждан в решении их непосредственных каждодневных проблем* (She stated that it was essential to help millions of citizens solve their own mundane problems.)

Or you can go for *банальный* (banal), *рутинный* (routine), *прозаичный* (prosaic) or plain old *обычный* (usual, ordinary).

And consider how curious it is that a church built in a day is just so ordinary. **ТМТ**



"Transport in the heart of the capital will now run twice as often." Moscow Mayor **Sergei Sobyanin**

# 350km

the total length of the new Magistral network.

# 75%

increase in number of residents within 30-minute drive from Lubyanka.



"Soviet Bus Stops" was a popular coffee table book written by Christopher Herwig and published in 2015.



Many hope that the new system will relieve pressure on Moscow's overcongested roads.

## A More Social Network

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

New bus system promises to reduce waiting times and revolutionize ground transport.

A small group of commuters stands chattering under the imposing compound that houses the Russian Secret Service, their hot breath seeping into Moscow's cold autumnal air like fumes from an exhaust-pipe. Suddenly, headlights pierce the darkness and the group clamber aboard. The frenzied pushing and shoving is reminiscent of Black Friday sales.

This is the scene from the Lubyanskaya Ploshchad bus hub, the center of Moscow's new 350 kilometer Magistral ("highway") network for public transport, which launched on Oct. 8. The Magistral project is the culmination of three years of trial and error, and marks the first major change to Moscow's bus system in over two decades.

Mikhail Blinkin, a transportation expert at Russia's Higher School of Economics says that the Magistral is an attempt to "stratify" the irrational networks of Moscow's public transport system. Now, instead of disparate and outdated routes, Muscovites have a main line, which connects to the most popular attractions in the city.

Although the total number of routes within central Moscow remains steady at 37, they are now split into three categorical designations: main, regional, and social.

Buses on the main routes run at intervals of 5-10 minutes and are intended to connect Moscow's major districts both to the city center and to one another. These lines are full-fledged alternatives to the Moscow metro and interconnect at Lubyanskaya Ploshchad.

Regional routes are shorter, and run at less frequent intervals of 10-15 minutes. These lines connect remote areas of the city to the main transport networks, providing Muscovites with more access to the city's central districts.

Finally, social routes are intended to take passengers to social institutions such as clinics, hospitals, passport offices, and

so on. There are seven of these routes in total and buses run every 30 minutes.

It is hoped that the new system will increase the popularity of the ground public transport system and relieve pressure on Moscow's over-congested roads. In addition, the system will reduce the 20-minute walk between metro

stations to a five minute bus ride. This has been achieved via the introduction of 24 new stopping points, 12 of which are located in areas where public transport has not travelled since the 1990s, such as the Nikitskaya and Sadovnicheskaya streets.

Magistral also introduces six dedicated bus lanes, and the most popular routes from the previous

network have been straightened in order to decrease commute times. However welcome these tweaks may be, they will probably not make much impact in a city that is consistently ranked as one of the world's top five most traffic-congested cities.

And not all the early commuters are satisfied.

One commuter told The Moscow Times that Lubyanskaya Ploshchad is an inconvenient hub — the underground passages are badly linked and the interval between traffic lights at the pedestrian crossing is too short. The end result is that getting to the bus stop can take up more time than simply going down into the metro.

Another issue is getting used to the new, renumbered routes. Planners have attempted to counter this by providing vehicles with a dual numbering system — showing both the number of the old line as well as the new. The Magistral system will also keep to the same ticket system as other transport, including "Troika" cards.

Blinkin is cautiously optimistic about the scheme's success.

"I don't know exactly how things will turn out," he says. "However, unlike a railroad or a metro construction project, which can't be corrected once it is launched, these are bus routes. If they are defective, they can be amended."

As Moscow temperatures continue to plummet, one thing is certain: If Magistral can stay true to its promise of shorter intervals between stations and more time indoors, it will waste little time in gaining public approval. **TMT**

### Moscow's New Magistral Bus Network



Source: mos.ru

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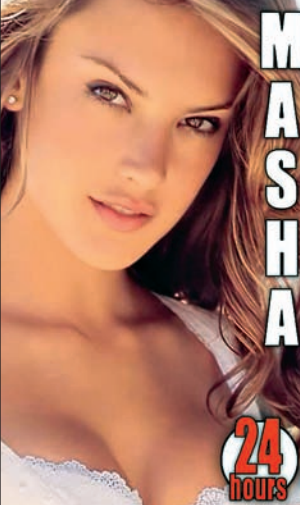


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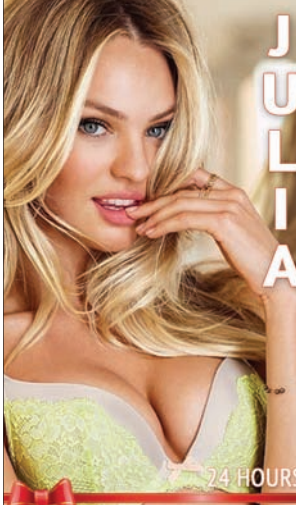
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**Mr. Tewi Fauster**  
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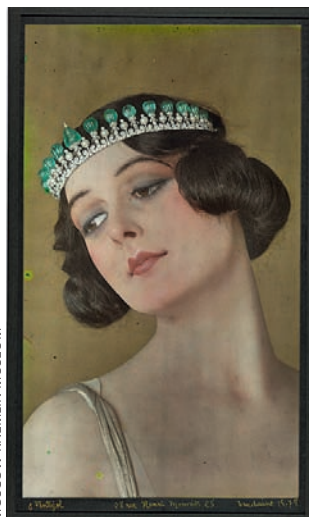
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MOSCOW KREMLIN MUSEUM



MOSCOW KREMLIN MUSEUM

Jewelry was a key part of Art Deco, like the Cartier headband (left) made of platinum, pearls and diamonds or tiara with emeralds (right), also by Cartier.

## October 13 – 19

### EVENT Kremlin Horse Guards

#### Last changing of the guards this year

This Saturday will be your last chance this year to see the Kremlin horse-mounted guards strutting their stuff. The changing of the guards ceremony involves magnificent, perfectly matched horses in bright yellow socks dancing and prancing on the ancient cobblestones. Imagine the Rockettes, only the equine version. The other part of the program involves handsome young men in snappy uniforms, who do a lot of fancy foot-work and make swords and long guns twirl and whistle through the air. It's all done to the accompaniment of the Kremlin brass band. If you don't catch it this weekend, you'll have to wait for spring. The ceremony is only held during warm weather.

Cathedral Square, Kremlin  
Metro Ploshchad Revolyutsii  
Sat. Oct. 15 at noon.

### EXHIBIT Artists/Assistants

#### Works by a great artist's great aides

This weekend is also your final chance to experience a slice of the New York art scene in Moscow. The Triumph Gallery's exhibition Artists/Assistants features the work of 24 American artists who are current or past assistants to the internationally renowned artist, Robert Longo. The exhibition occupies two floors of the gallery and includes a small video featuring interviews with Robert Longo, who has been a key supporter of this exhibition. Over 40 works are on display in a variety of media, styles and subjects. Longo owns a lot of his assistants' works, noting that he should have bought more of his own generations' pieces. Don't make his mistake.

Triumph Gallery  
[triumph-gallery.ru](http://triumph-gallery.ru)  
3/8 Ulitsa Ilyinka, Bldg. 5  
Metro Ploshchad Revolyutsii

## From Kyoto to the Kremlin: Art Deco Takes the Spotlight

By Ruth Moore [artsreporter@imedia.ru](mailto:artsreporter@imedia.ru)

Resplendent and dazzling, the exhibition of women's clothing and jewelry on display at the Kremlin Museum certainly lives up to its name. "Elegance and Splendor of Art Deco" brings together 119 exhibits from the Kyoto Costume Institute as well as more than 50 pieces of jewelry from Cartier and Van Cleef & Arpels.

"We were delighted when the Kremlin museum approached us with their ideas for the exhibition. It's a great honor to be working with them," said Makoto Ishizeki, the curator of the Kyoto Costume Institute, in an interview with The Moscow Times. Many of the items on display were restored specifically for the exhibition and have never been exhibited.

This mix of cultures is appropriate. "Art Deco in general was synthetic: it borrowed from cultures which were only just fully opening to the rest of the world," said Yekaterina Karavayeva,

the director of the Kremlin International Exhibitions Department.

"The decorative motifs and fabrics in the dresses and outfits on display are a mixture of something very traditional — for instance, French fabrics reminiscent of the epoch of Louis VI or VII — but combined with something exotic, such as Japanese motifs or designs from the Russian ballet."

By the 1920s, women in many countries had not only finally attained the right to vote, but were also entering previously male-dominated spheres of society. Their wardrobe reflected this dramatic shift. Hemlines shortened, silhouettes softened to allow for movement: fashion pieces were finally truly comfortable to wear.

"It was the first time in the history of European fashion that a woman was at the center of attention. Many of the garments were structured in a way which meant women could dance

and move with more fluid movements," said Karavayeva.

Out of the many stunning dresses on display, Karavayeva feels one in particular stands out: a 1925 black silk "robe de style" designed by Lanvin. "On the one hand it resembles French dresses of the 19th century because it's almost corseted, but on the other hand, the motifs are from the Aztec calendar. The front of the dress resembles a jewelry piece, with precious stones of different colors. It's decadent, it embraces modernity: it's the spirit of the epoch," said Karavayeva. "Today the world still utilizes the principles of Art Deco," said Karavayeva. "We still appropriate inspiration and traditions from different cultures. That's what unites us." **TMT**

"Elegance and Splendor of Art Deco" runs through Jan. 11 at the Kremlin Museum. Metro Alexandrovsky Sad. [kreml.ru](http://kreml.ru). See [themoscowtimes.com](http://themoscowtimes.com) for more information.

The Moscow Times  
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**OCTOBER 24**  
MARRIOTT ROYAL AURORA

**THE LEGAL ISSUES OF THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY ANNUAL CONFERENCE**



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**Ivan Glushkov**  
Deputy General Director, Stada CIS



**Natalia Gulyaeva**  
Partner, International law firm Hogan Lovells



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**Vikram Punia**  
President, Pharmasintez



**Vladislav Shestakov**  
Director, Federal Budgetary Institution State Institute Of Medical Products and Due Practices

Sponsor  
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**KEY TOPICS**

- The EEU market. The legal framework regulating drug circulation and its enforcement.
- GMP-audit of manufacturing sites. GMP harmonization.
- Intellectual property. The advantages and disadvantages of compulsory licensing. Parallel imports.
- Panel discussion "On Permitting / Banning of Clinical Trials and Generic Drug Registration before Patent Expiration of the Reference Drug".

Payment: 25 000 rubles + VAT

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The Moscow Times  
**CONFERENCES**

**NOVEMBER 24**  
MARRIOTT ROYAL AURORA

**PERSONAL DATA—NEW REALITIES**

The Moscow Times is pleased to invite you to the "Personal Data – The New Reality" conference. In recent years, the protection of personal data has become an immensely topical issue, due to the latest changes in Russian legislation.

Guests will have an opportunity to exchange views on the latest changes in legislative regulations, and also compare Russian and international legal systems. They may also discuss the first practical outcomes of Russian legislative reform, and share their opinions on judicial aspects of licensing and certification in the field of information security.

**TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION**

- Analyses of legislative changes on personal data and related laws.
- Comparative analysis of Russian and international legal systems in terms of personal data protection.
- First results and consequences of introduced changes for Russian businesses.
- Payment systems and personal data. Russian data localization.

Payment: 30 000 rubles + VAT

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