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"They beat me four times, with 10 to 12 people kicking me at a time ... after the third beating, they pushed my head into the toilet." Ildar Dadin

The Moscow Times
No. 5779

2.5

years sentence given to Dadin on appeal.

July 2014

law introduced allowing people to be jailed for violating protest laws repeatedly.



"Dadin's sentence is a shocking and cynical attack on free speech and freedom of expression." Amnesty International

Letter From Hell

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

A desperate note from a political prisoner has brought Russian detention conditions into sharp focus

The 700-word note, said to have been dictated by incarcerated activist Ildar Dadin to his lawyer, and for his wife, referred to life inside the sub-Arctic IK-7 prison simply enough: hell.

"If they subject me to torture, beatings, and rape again, I'll hardly last another week," the appeal reads.

Dadin was sentenced to three years in prison in December 2015. He was the first person to be convicted under a new Russian law criminalizing "repeated violations of protest laws." According to the letter, serious problems began as soon as he arrived at the prison in September. In Dadin's purported words, prison guards planted two blades on him on the very first day, only to "find" them in a search and lock him up in a solitary confinement.

This, the letter claims, was when the beatings began. "They beat me four times, with 10 to 12 people kicking me at a time and after the third beating, they pushed my head into the toilet," it reads. The prison director was allegedly directly involved in administering the beatings.

According to Dadin's wife, Anastasia Zotova, Dadin dictated the letter to his lawyer during a visit on Monday Oct. 31. The letter claims Dadin says had been too scared to put pen to paper himself: top prison staff had "threatened to kill [him] if he dared complain in writing."

It has not been possible to verify the authen-



Ildar Dadin was sentenced to three years in prison in December 2015 for violating protest laws.

ticity of the letter. Dadin's wife told The Moscow Times that she has not been allowed to contact or see her husband since Aug. 22. "I'm in complete shock," she said during a phone conversation. "I really fear for his life. If something happens to him, I won't survive it."

Amnesty International has declared Dadin a political prisoner, describing his incarceration as "a shocking and cynical attack on freedom of expression."

Authorities have denied that Dadin suffered injuries. On Nov. 1, the Federal Penitentiary Service's deputy director, Valery Maximenko, told the Interfax news agency that Dadin had himself denied he had any injuries. "He says this on video," Maximenko was cited as saying.

Federal prison officials say they are investigating Dadin's allegations and will review video footage from the prison, the agency told the Interfax news agency.

Prominent human rights lawyer Pavel Chikov told The Moscow Times that it is too early to draw conclusions. "All we have for now, are the words of one person," he said.

But getting to the truth of what takes place at the prison is likely to be difficult, since prison guards, doctors, and even inmates themselves would likely be in on the conspiracy. "In those conditions, it's practically impossible to prove anything objectively," Chikov said.

Prominent human rights activist Zoya Svetova was more forthright in her comments. Practices such as those described in the letter are "common" in so-called "red prisons," she said, referring to facilities run directly by prison authorities. "They break people there."

Dadin is said not to want a transfer to another prison, and the letter expresses solidarity with fellow inmates. "Constant beatings, mockery, humiliation, insults, unbearable conditions — also happens to other inmates," it reads.

According to Svetova, the publicity around the letter is likely to improve conditions at the prison by putting it under a magnifying glass.

"The exposure caused by political prisoners can bring benefits," she said. "They tell the truth of what happens in our system." **TMT**



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MONITORING MISSION

How the State Hijacked Russia's Only Independent Prison Watchdog

By **Zoya Svetova**
Human rights activist



GALINA GUBCHENKO

Russia's prison system is a direct holdover of the Soviet Gulag. It is not unusual for detainees to be humiliated, beaten, and tortured at police stations, prisons, and prison settlements. It is less usual for reports of maltreatment to appear. When they do, they generally come from the victims themselves — such as when activist Ildar Dadin dictated a letter detailing his ordeal to his lawyer. Sometimes, prisoners manage to sneak out a call to relatives using smuggled cell phones.

During the Soviet era, and even long after it, human rights activists were banned from entering prisons. However, this changed in 2008, when a new law on public oversight was passed as part of the "Medvedev thaw." The authors of the law were guided by the experience in Britain, where special visitors monitor prison conditions.

This new law was a breakthrough. It permitted independent, non-governmental rights advocates to get elected to the Public Monitoring Commissions (PMC) that inspect prisons. The monitors received access to prisons, prison settlements, and police stations across the country. Many veterans of long-standing human rights organizations joined the commissions as a result.

Those independent inspectors strove to ensure that the physical and living conditions in prisons complied with the law, and that prisoners had adequate mattresses and blankets. But they paid particular attention to the quality of medical assistance given to prisoners, and to reported instances of torture or excessive pressure by investigators, who were known to team up with prison guards to create unbearable living conditions for inmates.

Things began to change again after former Hermitage Capital auditor Sergei Magnitsky died in Moscow's Matrosskaya Tishina detention center in November 2009. The PMC, headed by human rights activist Valery Borshchev, held a public inquiry into his death. That inquiry later served as the basis for the so-called "Magnitsky Act" passed by the U.S. Congress, and was discussed at meetings between the Presidential Council on Human Rights and President Dmitry Medvedev.

But for every action, there is a reaction. The increased activity by human rights activists prompted a response from Russia's security strongmen. The 2010 elections to the Moscow PMC brought in new members — former military personnel and others representing the interests of intelligence agencies.

Three years later, Anton Tsvetkov, head of the Officers of Russia organization, became the new chairman of the Moscow commission. He brought a number of his associates with him, too.

By planting so many former siloviki in public monitoring commissions across the country, the authorities made it clear that they intended to clamp down on the work of independent monitors. Such monitors were preventing jailers, investigators, and police officers from applying undue pressure on the accused, exposing corruption in prisons, and telling the world about the torture and slave labor to which Russian prisoners are subjected.

But that was not enough. The latest elections to the PMC in October 2016 looked more like a special op. In 42 regions, or one-half of the country, the rights activists who had done the most work in prisons were denied membership.

The Moscow PMC now includes Dmitry Komnov, the disgraced former head of the Butyrka prison who was fired soon after being implicated in Magnitsky's death. Members of the first PMC named him as one of those responsible for that death and the U.S. Congress included him on its "Magnitsky List."

Now, Dmitry Komnov, along with two Cossack chieftains and a major general with the Interior Ministry will be checking to ensure that Moscow prisons uphold the rights of prisoners.

To sweeten that bitter pill, the authorities included several independent individuals on the PMC — three journalists and three human rights activists. But the other 25 members of the Commission are either former siloviki or their business partners.

Starting in 2008, the combination of public monitoring of prisons and prison colonies and the provision of independent legal counsel successfully prevented siloviki agencies from illegally abusing prisoners. Some eight years later, such public control is practically nonexistent.

Many rights activists who actively worked in prisons and were not included in public monitoring commissions across Russia this time plan to contest the recent elections and call for a re-vote. However, the outcome of those lawsuits is predictable. Courts that are part of a system based on loyalty and repression are unlikely to grant such a request.

But this does not mean activists should stop resisting the dismantling of public control in Russian prisons.

Such control has been crucial for Ildar Dadin — and he is far from alone in his plight. **TMT**



\$11.2 billion — the amount the state wants to get from selling a 19.5 percent share in Rosneft.

69.50%

Rosneftegaz's share in Rosneft.

\$40.72

average oil price from January to October 2016.



"If Rosneft buys back its own share, it's only a transitional step toward real privatization by attracting strategic investors." Putin

Do Me a \$11.2 Billion Favor

By **Matthew Kupfer** newsreporter@imedia.ru

Vladimir Putin reportedly asks Lukoil CEO Vagit Alekperov to take one for the team and help privatize Rosneft

It was only a brief car journey, but it may help determine the future of Russia's flagship oil company, Rosneft.

On Oct. 31, at the opening ceremony for the Filanovsky oil field in the Astrakhan region, President Vladimir Putin invited Vagit Alekperov, director of the Lukoil oil company, to take a ride with him. According to the Vedomosti newspaper, in the ensuing 20 minutes Putin made Alekperov an offer that he will find difficult to refuse: to take part in the privatization of Rosneft.

Previously, Alekperov had denied that he was interested in helping privatize the state-controlled behemoth. Earlier this summer, rumors were focused on another buyer — the Chinese National Petroleum Company — but they reportedly wanted more operational control over the company. Then, when Rosneft purchased a majority share in the state-owned Bashneft oil company last month, there were even discussions that the oil giant might even "self-privatize" by purchasing a 19.5 percent share in itself from its majority shareholder, state energy company Rosneftegaz. Rosneft would then be free to sell these shares to strategic investors, so that logic went.

But the news of Lukoil's potential involvement in the privatization suggests that plans may have changed. A source close to the Russian government told The Moscow Times that the problem was quite simple: the government just can't find a buyer for Rosneft.

Now the government is trying to save face, suggests Vladimir Milov, president of the Institute of Energy Policy: "When they didn't find any foreign buyers for Rosneft, it was a big blow to the image that the government is promoting."

And it wasn't the first blow, either. When Rosneft purchased a 50.8 percent share in Bashneft last month, ma-



ILVA NAYMUSHIN / REUTERS

ny argued that the authorities were simply shifting the shares from one pocket to another. Rosneft's planned "self-privatization" was bound to provoke more criticism, an outcome undesirable to the Russian leadership. This pushed Putin to personally intervene to find a private buyer, Milov believes.

It is not difficult to understand why potential investors may be hesitant. Rosneft is the world's largest publicly traded oil company. A 19.5 percent share is no small investment and confers little control over the company. BP owns a slightly larger stake and still cannot influence the Rosneft's management. Lukoil, by comparison, would only purchase a smaller share, perhaps 10 percent, several

Investors may be hesitant as a 19.5 percent share in Rosneft is no small investment but confers little control over the company.

analysts told The Moscow Times. The rest might go to China's Sinotec, Kazakhstan's Kazmunaigaz, or Russia's Surgutneftegaz, according to reports.

As a result, if Lukoil privatizes Rosneft, it wouldn't be for commercial purposes.

"I don't think Lukoil is particularly interested in Rosneft," says Andrei Polischuk, an analyst with Raiffeisenbank. "For the government, Lukoil was simply a large private oil company loyal to the state that could hang onto the shares for while." He believes the government's true plans remain the same: eventually selling the 19.5 percent share to strategic investors abroad — most likely in China or India.

But the immediate steps remain unclear. Lukoil may indeed help privatize Rosneft — likely in return for some kind of concession from the government, Milov

says. But "self-privatization" is still on the table, too.

Regardless of the outcome, Sergei Romanchuk, head of money markets at Metallinvestbank, believes a serious question remains: how the privatization will be perceived and what effect it will have on the business climate.

"If it were a market sale involving foreign investors, that would naturally be good," he says. "But is Rosneft buying itself better than a sale to Lukoil under government pressure? I'm not sure."

The Moscow Times' source believes the government may also be unsure.

"They're preparing the documents for an auction," he says, "but there are still no concrete directives." **TMT**

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"Hysteria has been whipped up in the U.S. over alleged Russian meddling." **Vladimir Putin** on the 2016 election

The Moscow Times
No. 5779

71%

Clinton's chances of winning, a week before the election.

"[Putin] would rather have a puppet as president of the United States." **Clinton** to Trump during the last debate



650,000

the amount of e-mails sent to or from Clinton's aide Huma Abedin.



SOFIA MIRODOVA

Hillary Or Donald, It's All Nuts

The widely-anticipated victory of the "sane" candidate in the U.S. elections is nothing to look forward to



Op-Ed by **Maria Lipman**
Editor-in-chief of the Counterpoint journal,
published by George Washington university

The reopened FBI probe into Hilary Clinton's emails has reversed the trend of previous weeks that had put her safely ahead of Donald Trump. One week before the presidential vote, the race is once again expected to be tight. The broad anti-Trump camp has returned to a state of being deeply worried, seeing his victory as a doomsday event.

The truth is — Hillary Clinton is hardly a blessing either.

Clinton, whose chances to win were estimated early this week at under 80 percent and falling, has been a long anticipated presidential contender. She formally announced her intention to run for president in 2007, but in fact her presidential ambition was a matter of course for much longer. Satirists even depicted her as a fetus clutching a "Hillary 2008" sign.

As she competed for the Democratic nomination in 2008, the expectation was that Clinton would become the first female president of the United States. It was billed as a victory of social progress, the achievement of the dogged struggle for women's rights.

On the other hand, her anticipated rise to head of state, especially if she would have been chosen to run against Jeb Bush, gave reason for concern. The emergence of "presidential dynasties" did not look good in a nation that prides itself on its republican tradition.

In 2016, however, the shocking nomination of Donald Trump as Clinton's rival overshadowed both issues that made her unconventional — her gender and her "aristocratic" origin. Clinton is today reduced to a candidate of the establishment. By the same token, the race has been reduced to a confrontation between the establishment and its detractors, a conflict that is rapidly becoming a global trend.

If Clinton wins on Nov. 8, it will be a victory of conventional politics and political machines, over a preposterous challenger defying political and cultural conventions.

If Clinton succeeds in securing a victory, this would demonstrate the United States' superiority over its former metropolis across the pond, which only a few months earlier failed to suppress its own anti-establishment revolt and voted for Brexit. It would also give an immense sense of relief to those in the United States and around the world who abhor the prospect of Trump in the White House.

What a Clinton victory would not do, however, is quell an ongoing anti-elite revolt in American society. Trump supporters, embittered and angry as they are, will likely feel even more deeply infuriated seeing their candidate lose. Many have not forgotten the tricks that members of the establishment tried to play in order to prevent Trump's nomination as the Republican candidate. Trump's repeated statements about "rigged elections" fall on fertile ground. If their man does not win, his voters will have no doubt that the election has been stolen.

Trump artfully capitalized on the sentiments of the disenfranchised and alienated. Now that he has given them a voice, these Americans — at least 35 percent according to some estimates — will not give up. If Clinton is indeed elected on Nov. 8, the anti-establishment constituency will remain a huge challenge for her, even if they accept the result.

But the challenge is by no means limited to the domestic scene. Crisis is engulfing the European Union; a bloody war continues in Syria; the prospect of Russian-American con-

frontation is real; and the risks of terrorism are everywhere. The global order is rapidly crumbling, and it calls for a major revision or at least a fresh view of the foundations of international relations. As part and parcel of the American political establishment, Clinton is unlikely to rise to this task.

The tragedy of this campaign is not just that an infamous and insane candidate has a chance of winning, but that the victory of the seasoned and sane one is nothing for the world to look forward to.

As late as two months ago, Hillary Clinton unflinchingly praised America's "exceptionalism." "We are the indispensable nation and people all over the world look to ... follow our lead", she said, seemingly oblivious to the spectacular failures caused by such morally righteous positioning. Interventionist policy guided by high principles — such as democratization or humanitarian concerns — has repeatedly led to disastrous consequences.

When it comes to Russian-American relations, the prospect of Hillary Clinton's presidency is also grim. Putin's Russia is an unpredictable and recalcitrant player. The president dismisses any criticism of his foreign policy and declares that if Russia's behavior is not to the West's liking, the West has nobody but itself to blame.

"We are provoked into protecting our interests, and then 'aggressive' Russia is accused of doing this or that," Putin said at last week's meeting of the Valdai international discussion club. "Why are you provoking us? Let us negotiate solutions instead."

Putin has made three things clear. One, nobody can force Russia to change its policy. Two, great power politics is back. And, three, the supposed right of smaller nations to act independently is meaningless unless protected by a stronger ally.

Ahead of a new administration being installed into the White House, Putin has increased the stakes and he looks unbending: it's the United States that should change its course, not Russia.

Meanwhile the American establishment and its candidate are equally unwilling to contemplate compromise; they are exasperated and angry, anxious to punish Russia rather than negotiate solutions.

The heat of confrontation may subside a bit once the campaign is over, but it will not go away. Whatever discussions may be held they will hardly be constructive — at least for as long as both administrations, complete with their entrenched viewpoints, remain at either end of the negotiation table. **TMT**



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Реклама



"What are they hiding? What is the secret of American democracy?"
Valery Fadeev, *Voskresnoe Vremya*,
30 Oct 2016

8 minutes

time Voskresnoe Vremya spent covering Russian elections before polling day.

9 minutes

time spent on the same show covering risk of Donald Trump being assassinated.



"Who is really threatening American democracy? Perhaps it's those people who put millions of dead souls on voter rolls?" **Dmitry Kiselyov**

Through the Looking Glass

By **Alexey Kovalev** a.kovalev@imedia.ru | Twitter: @Alexey_Kovalev

In run-up to U.S. vote, state media trashed Clinton, but avoided endorsing Trump

From the word "go," Russian state media have been largely sympathetic toward Donald Trump. Even prior to the Republican primaries, they reported every minor bump and hiccup in his ratings. In September, Trump's against-the-odds campaign garnered more attention than Russia's own parliamentary elections. Most national outlets devoted extensive coverage to even the most minuscule revelations from the leaked Democratic National Commission and Clinton staff emails.

But it is an oversimplification to say state media went all out for Trump. They were less for Trump, more staunchly against Clinton. And here they followed President Vladimir Putin's own lead: in 2011, he accused the then-secretary of state of fomenting protests in Russia. Unsurprisingly, his media have not wasted an opportunity to portray Clinton as a Russophobic warmonger.

RIA Novosti, once Russia's largest and most respected news agency, has been the vanguard of the agitprop efforts. To its credit, the agency's DC bureau has provided mostly objective and balanced coverage of the election. But the most popular of RIA's election dispatches, which garnered almost 200,000 page views, went so far as to claim "Clinton has problems with her head."

Few Russian media outlets endorsed Trump outright. Those that did are far from prominent. *Parlamentskaya Gazeta*, a dull newspaper of record to the Russian parliament's upper chamber, was one such publication. In a September 2015 op-ed, it de-



clared "Donald Trump a self-made man, a trait Americans love, like they love anyone who is the American Dream incarnated." It claimed Trump would be a better leader than Obama, who was a "single issue president" (referring to Obamacare), or Clinton, who was "one of the worst secretaries of state in American history."

Open endorsements were largely absent from the more influential media. Indeed, RT, formerly Russia Today, was largely sympathetic to a Democratic contender, Bernie Sanders, and to third party candidates like Jill Stein. But when Sanders dropped out, RT threw its full weight behind discrediting Clinton.

As the election entered the final weeks, the Russian media focus switched to the supposed illegitimacy of the U.S. elections, implicitly backing Trump's claims about "large scale voter fraud."

On Oct. 23, *Vesti Nedeli* ("News of the Week"), a weekly news

The U.S. elections will be rigged, says state TV host Dmitry Kiselyov

summary show, did just that. In a long tirade, the program's host, Russian "chief propagandist" Dmitry Kiselyov lamented "the downfall of the American media," criticizing outlets such as Politico for colluding with Clinton's campaign. Another news segment on Channel One called Donald Trump "just as evil" as Clinton, a "boorish adventurer," and a "swindler."

The most noticeable recent shift in the Russian state media coverage of the U.S. elections is the effort to frame their supposed illegitimacy in Russian terms. Fraud techniques at Russian elections are well-documented — from the so-called "carousels" (repeated voting with absentee ballots at multiple stations) to coercion and the use of "administrative resources" (support from the ruling party's political machine). Such fraud, witnessed in Russia's 2011 and 2012 elections, even led to large-scale protests.

Russian state media now have an easy message for their viewers: the same things will happen on Nov. 8. *Voskresnoye Vremya* ("The Times on Sunday"), a weekly news summary show on Channel One, even titled one of its segments "The Carousel Beckons," in reference to a Russian-style electoral fraud.

Russia's propagandists are stopping short of saying that the U.S. elections will be just as fraudulent as the Russian elections have been. After all, that would require an admission of epic state wrongdoing. Rather, they seem more concerned with sowing seeds of doubt among their domestic audience. **TMT**

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"We don't need faggots here. Nobody can come and cut down our crosses." Pro-Kremlin biker
Alexander Zaldostanov

1,453

the number of theaters
in Russia.

\$215 Mln

allocated to
state-funded theaters
in 2016.



"Stop pretending that the authorities are the only bearers of morality. That's not true."
Konstantin Raikin



State and the Arts

By **Daria Litvinova** d.litvinova@lmedia.ru, Twitter: @dashalitvinovv | Illustration by **Yevgeny Tonkonogy**

An impassioned speech on censorship in the arts attracted unexpected support among Russia's cultural elite, and forced the Kremlin to rethink

It was an open secret that Russian theater has been subject to ideological pressure. But no prominent cultural player dared to make a public complaint. That is, until Konstantin Raikin, one of Russia's most celebrated artists and the director of Satirikon Theater in Moscow, stood up to read a speech.

"Some people are clearly itching to make changes and turn back time," Raikin said. "They're not just interested in going back to Brezhnev and stagnation, but even further back, to Stalin."

His emotional speech, delivered at a professional gathering, publicly and fiercely accused the state of censorship. "They say we pay and you do what you need to do," Raikin said, almost crying. "But what do they mean by that? Who are they to say what we need to do?"

Raikin's principled stand gained support from leading artists like Oleg Tabakov and Yevgeny Mironov. The authorities were initially less keen. "There isn't censorship," said presidential spokesman Dmitry Peskov. "You shouldn't confuse censorship with the presence of state commissions."

Loyalist attack dogs took the fight to the theater director. "They talk about freedom, but all these Raikins among us want to turn the country into a sewer flowing with muck," said Alexander Zaldostanov, leader of the notorious pro-Kremlin biker group Night Wolves.

In an unanticipated U-turn, however, the Kremlin decided to turn its back on Zaldostanov, and offer words of comfort to the artist. "We have boundless respect for Raikin's talent," spokesman Peskov said. "I think the biker who insulted him was led astray by the devil."

It seems likely that Raikin's high-profile support swayed minds in the Kremlin. "The Kremlin realized that this conflict should be nipped in the bud," suggests Andrei Arkhangelsky, culture editor at the Ogoniok magazine. "If this discussion were to continue, other big issues might pop up, like what country do we want to live in and what do we want in general."

Under Pressure

On one level, Peskov's comments regarding censorship are reasonable — there is none, in a Soviet sense of the word. But that isn't to say there isn't pressure on cultural actors. Usually, that pressure comes down to money: Russian art heavily — not to say almost absolutely — depends on state funding.

This funding is used as both a carrot and a stick, explains journalist and culture expert Yuri Saprykin*.

Russia's Cinema Foundation, which funds filmmaking, might, for example, technically remain an independent entity — "in reality it works according to the party line of producing more 'patriotic films'."

The vast majority of theaters depend on resources from the Culture Ministry, which is why officials constantly revert to "we give you money, you owe us" rhetoric.

The Culture Ministry currently doesn't have institutional control over theaters — there are no bodies that could approve or prohibit plays and performances. That said, there are plans to

create them, says Saprykin.

Theater directors and filmmakers are used to benefitting from the system, says Daniil Dondurei, editor in chief of the Art of Cinema magazine: "Two-thirds of theater funds are state funds. Two-thirds of filmmaking funds are state funds. It is an ocean of money that they don't have to return."

And Kremlin proxies are known to interfere in cultural life. Raikin himself fell under attack this February, when pro-Kremlin activists tried to disrupt his staging of the play "All Shades of Blue," devoted to Russia's intolerance toward LGBT.

Zaldostanov singled out this play when responding to Peskov's unexpected criticisms. "We don't need faggots here — nobody can come and cut down our crosses," he said.

Authorities generally do nothing stop these groups, says Saprykin. Indeed, they seem to operate with the state's silent support. Together with the Ministry's plans to start officially vetting plays, this has created a lot of tension within the theatrical community.

"A significant amount of well-known, respected people became so pissed off with the situation that now they are resorting to open confrontation," Saprykin says.

Breaking the Rules

Such open confrontation has broken an unwritten contract within the cultural world — a consensus whereby directors of big institutions and influential artists kept silent in order to protect what they had. Big hitters in the cultural world were generally ready to cut a deal with the Culture Ministry, says Yuliya Bedero-va, an expert with the Golden Mask theater award. "They needed to protect the institutions and teams behind them," she says.

Now, that consensus has broken down, and the Kremlin has taken a softer-than-expected position. Perhaps, plans to vet plays will be put on a back burner. Perhaps the progressive culture scene will even be thrown a bone.

But such small victories may turn out to be pyrrhic. If the debate sparked by Raikin's speech demonstrated one thing it is who really holds the cards in cultural decision-making. Cultural institutions will now be in no doubt that they are answering to the Kremlin, not the Culture Ministry.

Most likely, the game of carrot and stick is yet to be fully played out in the Russian art scene.

*Yuri Saprykin is the editorial director of the Moscow Times publishing house, but he gave comments for this article in a personal capacity.

Michele Berdy contributed to this report. **TMT**



Out & About



November 3 – 9, 2016

7

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



BLACK CODE



The interior design is minimalist — with exposed brick features, glass walls, wooden furniture and an open kitchen.

Black Code Bistro Arrives on the Island

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

Contemporary cooking by the river

Black Code is a new bistro situated on Sadovnicheskaya Ulitsa, an upmarket street which runs down the middle of Bolotny Island in the heart of Moscow. A short walk from Novokuznetskaya metro station, the restaurant is situated opposite the University of Design and Technology.

Mikhail Shishlyannikov, the restaurant's founder and chef, had a rather unusual path into the restaurant business. He first trained as an engineer before completing an internship at a Moscow restaurant, giving up his former career and opening his own labor of love.

The restaurant's nondescript gray door opens to reveal a little surprise: its opposite side is painted a vibrant red. In the afternoons you can enjoy the flow of students on Sadovnicheskaya Ulitsa as they go to and from lectures, while in the evening the street is rather peaceful. It's a people-watchers dream.

The menu is a collection of all the most popular food blockbusters in Moscow and features everything from hummus to burgers, but with a twist to every dish. The deep fried zucchini is served with a yogurt dip and makes an addictively crunchy yet juicy snack (350 rubles) while the

Middle Eastern tabbouleh based on bulgur wheat with a dressing of parsley, olive oil and spices is light and refreshing (190 rubles). Another Middle Eastern staple, hummus, is made from green peas (290 rubles).

Main dishes are cooked in a special coal oven. Try polenta with shrimps (410 rubles) or the calamari steak with Greek sauce tzatziki (400 rubles). The salmon steak is just as good and is accompanied by young asparagus sprouts and arugula (470 rubles). If you're in the mood for something particularly filling opt for the cheeseburger with truffle oil (350 rubles). There's also a lamb version

and a vegetarian burger with guacamole (both 390 rubles).

If you still have room after all of that, try the passion fruit or chocolate mousse (both 220 rubles). While the drinks menu is hardly inventive, it contains a decent range of ale, lager and cider (from 220 rubles). Given that the corkage fee is only 300 rubles, you may prefer to bring your own bottle and keep down costs. **TMT**

+7 905 520 67 60

facebook.com/blackcodemoscow
42 Sadovnicheskaya Ulitsa
Metro Novokuznetskaya

NEWS & OPENINGS



KULINARY

Kulinary

Georgian in the mall

Kulinary is the latest culinary addition to Okean-ya shopping mall on Slavyansky Bulvar. The food comes quickly and it's very good. Try the traditional spicy veal soup kharcho, eggplant rolls with nuts or "nadugi" cheese (all 330 rubles). On the way out you can pick up lobiani — cheese pie with beans — and other goodies from the delicatessen stall.

+7 (495) 287 8182

kulinari.co
17 Kutuzovsky Prospekt
Metro Slavyansky Bulvar



NA CHILI

Na Chili

Burritos, beer and music

This Mexican fast joint has just opened up its third branch, this time going for a much trendier vibe. With exposed brick walls and a DJ spinning records in the corner, you easily imagine yourself to be in an art gallery somewhere in Brooklyn. For something hearty and comforting, dig into a classic "chicken-mole" burrito (350 rubles), but if you are feeling slightly more daring, try the mango and duck taco (400 rubles).

facebook.com/chilimoscow
17 Pokorovka Ulitsa
Metro Chistye Prudy



BELUGA CAVIAR BAR

Beluga Caviar Bar

A touch of decadence

Located at Moscow tourist trap GUM, Beluga offers a dash of local color for those wanting to experience vodka and caviar. The Art Deco style is reminiscent of "The Great Gatsby." Start with a shot of vodka and a spoonful of caviar — red (500 rubles) or black (2,400 rubles). Then try the grilled octopus with new potatoes (1400 rubles) and enjoy some trademark vodka-based cocktails.

+7 (929) 931 6050

GUM
3 Krasnaya Ploshchad
Metro Okhotny Ryad, Teatralnaya



ERWIN. REKA

Erwin. Reka

Fish suppers on a yacht

Given that Erwin is one of Moscow's most upmarket fish restaurants, it makes sense that the new branch has opened on the river itself. Diners can enjoy delicacies like the crab risotto (960 rubles) or clam spaghetti (860 rubles) from the comfort of a Radisson ice-class yacht which sets sail three times daily from the embankment in front of the Hotel Ukraina.

+7 (985) 441 6844

facebook.com/Erwin.Reka/
Tarasa Sevchenko Naberezhnaya
Metro Kievskaya

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!**

From the Kremlin to the Arbat A Short Walk Up A Mighty Street

By **Michele A. Berdy** m.berdy@imedia.ru | Illustration by **Yevgeny Tonkonogy**

Znamenka might be best known as home to the Defense Ministry, but in the past it was the home and inspiration for the arts



6. Former General Headquarters

Across the street is another building once owned by an Apraskin — General Stepan Apraskin, who bought two plots of land and built himself a long, 2-story house in the 1790s. After being used by the French during the war of 1812, it became a theater, then an institute and finally part of the Alexander Military Institute. During the 1917 Revolution, the cadets fought against the Bolsheviks here — which ended with the building being turned into the Revolutionary Military Council. Right after the war in the 1940s the building was enlarged and significantly changed to make it the imposing structure you see now, with the elaborate Soviet crest under the roofline. This, and the more modern white building across the street, are the main buildings of the Ministry of Defense. After you walk, you can go in the Arbatskaya metro station or have some fun in the neighborhood.

19-21 Ulitsa Znamenka



Ulitsa Znamenka

6

5



5. Apraskin-Buturlin Manor House

A few houses up the street on the right is a spacious yellow classical manor house with an illustrious artistic history. Owned first by the Apraskin family, it was sold in the mid-1760s to Count Vorontsov, who built a wooden theater on the property. That was rented out in 1776 to the Znamenka Opera House, headed by Prince Urusov and the Englishman Michael Maddox. When that theater burned down, Maddox began construction of a building we know now as the Bolshoi Theater. Later the estate was sold several times and eventually owned by members of the Buturlin, who hosted many literary figures including Count Leo Tolstoy. Tolstoy must have liked the house. He made it the palace of Count Bezukhov in "War and Peace" and the Oblonsky house in "Anna Karenina." After being a boarding school and military housing, it was passed to Gnesin Musical Academy in 1962 — albeit with the bust of Bolshevik military leader Mikhail Frunze in the courtyard. After almost 15 years of careful reconstruction, it reopened in 2014. Stop in for a concert and imagine Tolstoyan characters dancing, dining and gossiping.

12 Ulitsa Znamenka

4. Church of St. Nicholas the Miracle Worker

Before you continue up Znamenka, turn right onto Starovagankovsky Pereulok and then right again through the gates to the little yellow and white church. First stop and admire Pashkov House, which from this side looks like a cozy country manor house. Then stop into the church dedicated to one of Russians' favorite saints, Nicholas the Miracle Worker. The church was of course built, burned, rebuilt, taken down and built again a dozen times since the first chapel was put up here in the 15th century. After being a warehouse from 1924 until 1992, it is once again a parish church — like it was 150 years ago when a writer named Nikolai Gogol came here to worship. Before you leave, walk around the courtyard until you find the small bust of the last Russian tsar, Nicholas II.

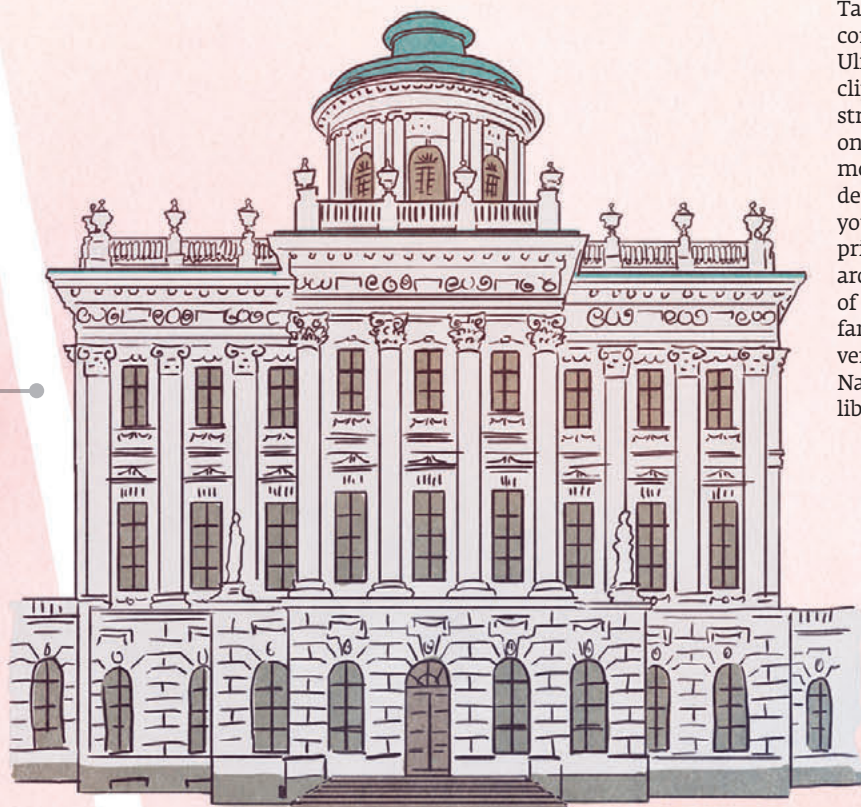
14 Starovagankovsky Pereulok

Starovagankovsky P

4

Metro
Biblioteka
Imeni Lenina





Mohovaya Ulitsa

Pereulok

Metro
Borovitskaya



1

Borovitskaya Ploshchad

2

3

Ulitsa Volkhonka

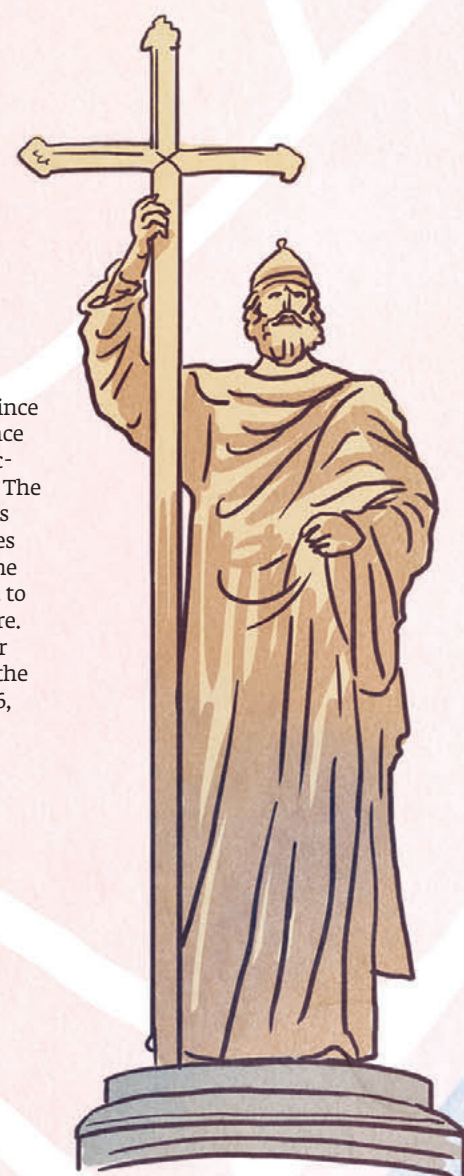


1. Pashkov House

Take the metro to the Borovitskaya station and exit onto the constantly clogged traffic making the turn onto Mokhovaya Ulitsa. Turn right and try to imagine a few horse carriages clip-clopping on the cobblestones and magnificent gardens that stretched all the way to Tverskaya Ulitsa. On the right, rising up on a steep hill is Pashkov House, considered by many to be the most beautiful classical house in Moscow. Given its size, grandeur and location — with a view over the walls of the Kremlin — you'd think the house was built for a grand duke or an ancient princely family. Actually, it was built — probably by the great architect Vasily Bazhenov — in 1786 for a Captain Pashkov, son of Peter the Great's orderly. Despite the great honor, the Pashkov family didn't live in it for long, and by 1839 it was part of the university, and in 1861 became home to the Rumyantsev Museum. Nationalized right after the 1917 Revolution, it became the state library in 1921. And so it remains.

2. Prince Vladimir

After Nov. 4, across the street from Pashkov House will be Prince Vladimir, rising up on the grassy hill before the main entrance to the Kremlin. This monument to the Kievan prince who accepted Christianity in 988 has been extremely controversial. The first plan to install a 24-meter Vladimir on Sparrow Hills was scuttled due to the fragile nature of the hillside. Other venues were suggested and rejected, and several petitions against the statue of a Christian leader in a secular state were presented to the authorities. But the statue had support on high, as it were. Finally it was decided that a smaller Vladimir by the sculptor Salavat Shcherbakov would be placed on the space between the Vagankovo and Borovitsky hills and dedicated on Nov. 4, 2016, National Unity Day. Take a look and see what you think.



3. Shilov Gallery

After due consideration of Prince Vladimir and a pause to take in the beauty of Pashkov House, the Kremlin, the Great Stone Bridge and the Moscow River, turn right on Znamenka, named like so many Moscow streets for a church torn down in the 1930s — in this case a church called the Mother of God of the Sign. Now this short street seems largely official and military, owing to the Defense Ministry buildings near Arbatskaya Ploshchad. It's hard to imagine it when there 11 tiny lanes between Znamenka and Vozdvizhenka, manor houses, and a roiling artistic life. But even today there are still some lovely and curious houses. For example, on the other side of the street you'll notice a pretty, pink 3-story classical mansion. This is the Alexander Shilov Gallery, which opened in 1997 when the artist donated about 300 canvases to posterity. Oddly, a manor house built on this exact spot in the 1830s by the architect Yevgraf Tyurin for his paintings was torn down and a pseudo 1830s picture gallery was built in its place. Now there are closer to 1,000 lush Shilov canvases on three floors: mostly portraits, some landscapes — all a bit sentimental, but realistic and pleasant.

5 Ulitsa Znamenka



Ot Klemann, Dancer at Ballet Moscow

“Proeverij De Nachtwacht” near Patriarch’s Ponds is a little slice of the Netherlands in Moscow. With its typical Dutch food like cheese or bitterballen, Dutch football game screenings and its own “Leidseplein” street sign, this pub is like a short visit to Amsterdam.



DRINK AND DRAW

Where to Get Creative in Moscow

Don’t become a hermit because of the early snow this year — there are still plenty of things happening around the city away from the cold, icy streets. When it comes to feeding your creative urges, you’ll find the capital is a Pinterest project-lover’s dream. Here are our top picks of workshops, masterclasses and creative spaces where you can let your imagination run wild and maybe even create a Christmas present or two.



POTTERY WORKSHOP

Pottery Workshop

Get your hands dirty

Looking for a new hobby and feeling inspired by that Unchained Melody scene from “Ghost”? We’ve got it covered. Moscow’s Mosgonchar pottery studio offers classes to aspiring potters of all levels — from first timers to experienced types looking to tighten up their technique. Creatives from the age of two and up can try their hand at the potter’s wheel through individual classes — lasting from 60-90 minutes — or opt for a group session with a gang of friends. It’s the perfect fun, creative and ‘playful’ day out. Prices start from 1400 rubles.

+7 (495) 971 8678

mosgonchar.ru
26 Prospekt Mira
Studio is within the Apothecary’s Garden
Metro Prospekt Mira



CAFE DIDU

Cafe Didu

Where plasticine meets food

On weekdays, guests at Cafe Didu can enjoy great food while sculpting away the hours from the comfort of their dinner table. Diners are invited to use the plasticine lying on the tables and transform it into whatever their imagination comes up with. These creations are then exhibited all over the cafe for future guests to marvel at. More than 140,000 clay figurines are now on display in the cafe, including a

reproduction of the Mona Lisa, which even made it into The Guinness Book of Records. As for the food, don’t be concerned: plasticine does not feature in any of the dishes.

+7 (495) 624 1320

cafe-didu.ru
24 Myasnitskaya Ulitsa
Metro Chistiye Prudy, Turgenevskaya

Drink and Draw

Release your inner Aivazovsky over a glass of Merlot

Drink and Draw Moscow combines two of the greatest things in life — art and fine wine. Pick up a paintbrush and try to avoid dipping it in your glass of wine rather than your water pot as you enjoy the informal masterclasses held fortnightly. Each workshop has a unique theme — from the avant-garde to Impressionism — and is lead by a talented artist. Whether you are a total beginner, or are already a dab hand with oils, these relaxed evenings are a great way to socialize with like-minded creatives. Each class costs 1500 rubles and includes painting materials, professional guidance and, of course, good wine.

+ 7 (903) 156 9849

Cafe Exlibris

vk.com/drinkdraw
6 Bobrov Pereulok
Metro Chistiye Prudy



GINGERBREAD MUSEUM

Gingerbread Museum

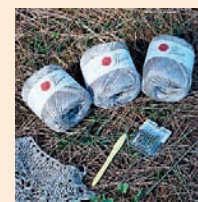
Satisfy your sweet tooth

Take a trip down memory lane and relive some of your fondest Christmas moments

by creating gingerbread masterpieces at the Moscow Gingerbread Museum. The museum offers a wide selection of workshops for children and adults alike. Whether you fancy decorating 3D Christmas trees, gingerbread houses, or even gingerbread postcards, there is something for all of the family to enjoy. As the Christmas season approaches there will be more holiday-themed classes, many including unlimited quantities of traditional Russian tea to enjoy whilst you create your edible masterpieces. Classes from 450 to 2500 rubles.

+7 (495) 722 8150

музей-пряника.рф
9/13 Chernigovskiy Pereulok
Metro Novokuznetskaya



ILI-ILI

Ili-ili

Knit, drink tea, be happy

This knitter’s paradise in the hipster Flacon Art and Design Center offers creatives the chance to enjoy a hot drink while finishing off the sleeves of their Christmas jumper project. Browse through the extensive selection of cozy wools on offer, seek advice from the experienced and friendly staff or join in on one of the many classes on offer to take your knitting skills to the next level — knitted jumpsuit anyone? For those who enjoy a comforting bit of yarn this shop is a must-visit during the colder months.

Flacon Art and Design Center

ili-ili.net

36 Bolshaya Novodmitrovskaya Ulitsa, Bldg. 2
Metro Dmitrovskaya

конференции

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“Prince Vladimir was baptised first in Crimea, in Chersonesos, before he baptized all of Rus.”
President Vladimir Putin

25m

planned height of monument.



Since 2005, Nov. 4 is the Day of National Unity. Around this day in 1612, Russian militia led by Kozma Minin and Dmitry Pozharsky, expelled Polish forces from Moscow.

17.7m

final height of monument erected on Borovitsky hill.

Vladimir's Monument

By [Anna Mongait](#) newsreporter@lmedia.ru | Photos by [Andras Fekete](#)

Controversial state icon due to be unveiled on National Unity Day, on Nov. 4



← Scherbakov's work captures the zeitgeist of the moment, combining themes of war and religiosity.

→ Planners envisioned that the Moscow Vladimir would stand higher and grander than its Kiev counterpart.



Borovitsky Hill in Moscow — also known as Kremlin Hill — is arguably the best-known and most impressive site in the city. On one side stands the magnificent Pashkov House, Moscow's leading classical mansion of the late 18th century. On the other side are the Kremlin wall, the Grand Stone Bridge, and the esplanade with its view of the famous House on the Embankment, built especially for the first Soviet ruling elite in the late 1920s. Lining the third side, the old wide streets lead outward to Moscow boulevards.

During the 20th century, plans to put a monument on the hill failed twice. The first was a monument to the World War II victory. The second was a statue of Lenin.

This time, things will be different. On Nov. 4, President Vladimir Putin, Patriarch Kirill, and other ministers and officials will personally unveil a monument to Prince Vladimir on the hill.

Prince Vladimir has become the hero of Russia's so-called “official conservatism.” Ruling in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, Vladimir baptized the ancient Kievan Rus in A.D. 988 and delivered Orthodoxy to the country. His rise as the new ideological icon of modern Russia stems from the annexation of Crimea and the armed conflict with Ukraine. According to a legend supported by the Kremlin, Prince Vladimir was baptized in Korsun, the Russian name for the Ancient Greek town of Chersonesos on the Crimean coast.

Initially, the statue was a project of national pride. The greatest monument to Vladimir, by Peter Clodt, stands in Kiev, the historical capital of the Kievan Rus. This fact is a sore point for many in Russia today.

Planners envisioned that the Moscow Vladimir would stand higher and grander than his Kiev counterpart on a similar scenic overlook — namely Sparrow Hill, another beautiful part of the city over the Moscow river. The original plan called for Vladimir to be mounted on a horse, but scaled to match the iconic statue of Christ the Redeemer overlooking Rio de Janeiro.

According to rumors, Bishop Tikhon, Putin's confessor and an ideologue of the Russian Orthodox Church, was the driving force behind the monument.

A design competition was technically announced. Anonymous Russian donors collected 100 million rubles to fund the project. When the contest was said and done, however, the winner surprised no one. Salavat Shcherbakov, a sculptor much favored by Russian government bodies, presented two possible versions: Vladimir standing or mounted on a horse.

A handsome man with blue eyes and a well-groomed gray beard, Shcherbakov is possibly the luckiest sculptor in Russia. He has a habit of winning the most important state competitions to produce monuments. Soon, three of his monuments — Patriarch Hermogenes, Emperor Alexander III, and his current project of Prince Vladimir — will stand

near the Kremlin walls. Putin attended the unveiling of the first two, and he's scheduled to unveil the third.

Shcherbakov himself considers Prince Vladimir a uniting force and a leader untarnished by the controversy surrounding many of his later imperial and Soviet counterparts.

“For Russian patriots, Vladimir is an unambiguous, universal figure,” he told *The Moscow Times*, “Peter I, Stalin, Lenin, and Ivan the Terrible — opinions differ regarding all of them. There is no question regarding Prince Vladimir. But it is not so straightforward for those who see a stronger Russia as a threat”.

In designing his sculpture of Vladimir, Shcherbakov relied on the only known likeness of the prince: a medieval coin minted during his lifetime that is now stored in the Kremlin museum. He says the Patriarch and Bishop Tikhon also helped him present Vladimir as the Russian Orthodox Church sees him and even offered guidance on designing the sculpture.

“We wanted Prince Vladimir to peer at us through the intervening 1,000 years,” Shcherbakov said. “We live in the country he founded and on the spiritual basis of the Gospel he adopted. Thanks to him, we overcame the Horde and all the difficulties and the climate,” he said.

Shcherbakov's star is only rising. Besides his Prince Vladimir monument, the sculptor recently won a competition to install stone memorial plaques in Russia's 40 World War II “cities of military glory.” It is a huge project commanding major recognition, akin to the honor of producing a series of Lenin monuments during the Soviet era.



Salavat Shcherbakov is quite possibly the luckiest sculptor in Russia, with a habit of winning the most important state competitions.

The “Great Victory” in World War II is the main ideological pillar of modern Russia. As a result, the memory of World War II has long paid the bills for Shcherbakov and the many employees of his workshop.

His works capture the zeitgeist of the moment, combining the theme of war against all possible enemies with the growing religiosity of the country. Both these themes carry enormous ideological significance.

Shcherbakov also created controversial “Polite Man with Kalashnikov, Girl and Cat” monument that was recently unveiled in Sevastopol to mark Russia's annexation of Crimea.

But when the Moscow authorities chose his design for the monument to Prince Vladimir and decided to erect it on Sparrow Hills, Shcherbakov anticipated only glory and honor, not resistance. Instead, local citizens, environmental activists, and even some officials spoke out against the construction.

The authorities usually take little note of such protests, but this time they decided to concede. The plan to place the grandiose monument on Sparrow Hills was annulled, ostensibly because of a simple, technical reason. The authorities said they discovered that the limestone soil would not support the weight of the enormous structure, and the statue would fall into the Moscow River, dragging the hill with it.

Shcherbakov did not believe that explanation for a second. He feels an important battleground was lost to ideological opponents.

“We realized that we were in the epicenter of the struggle,” he said. “It was a clash of worldviews, a global confrontation, and not simply a whim: ‘Oh, we don't want it here because this is where we walk our dogs’. The soil is not the problem. After all, our engineers build bridges and skyscrapers and place foundation supports on the seabed.”

“Sure, it might slip a couple of centimeters in 100 years, but that's not serious,” he said.

Following an online poll, the authorities concluded that Borovitsky Hill near the Kremlin wall and Putin's working residence was a better choice. It seemed natural enough choice: everyone understood that the monument was designed to glorify two Vladimirs — the former and the current.

The only barrier to the authorities was UNESCO, because the hill is part of a World Heritage Site. As a result, the mega-25 meter project was scaled down a merely rather large 17.7 meter project.

Only a few hundred meters from the monument to Prince Vladimir, a huge monument to Peter the Great — designed by Zurab Tsereteli, court sculptor to former Moscow Mayor Yury Luzhkov — has stood for the last 20 years. The Moscow public initially hated that monument as well, primarily because of its size. Later, they grew accustomed to it.

Perhaps, in time, they will also grow accustomed to Prince Vladimir. **TMT**



"The courts spend just four minutes deliberating on each deportation case." **Svetlana Gannushkina**, chair of the Civic Assistance NGO.

10%

of GDP - remittances received by Kyrgyzstan.

Dec. 11, 2010

the date of the Manege Square riots organized by Russia's far-right.



The twice-weekly train ride from Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, to Moscow takes four days.



The shipping container hostel in Chelobityevo now focuses on internal Russian migrants, arriving from provincial towns. The migrant laborers who previously lived in the town have been forced out of the country by the economic crisis.

Life on the Edge

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

In slum settlements on the outskirts of Moscow, labour migrants are adjusting to the realities of Russia's economic crisis.

Not so long ago, the migrant population of Chelobityevo in northern Moscow lived in fear of the police. These were times when uniformed officers would descend on the village unannounced, beating and arresting undocumented workers in their path. Once, migrants were forced to strip naked in freezing winter temperatures, their clothes then tossed onto a bonfire. More commonly, the police would confiscate cash or make the migrants their personal slaves — putting them to work in police stations or even at officers' own homes.

The local Russian population wasn't much better. While happy to rent spare rooms, basements, and sheds to the laborers, they resented the migrants and the shanty town they built on the outskirts of town. The locals expressed particular anger over a hostel for foreign workers constructed from stacked shipping containers. There, in a letter to a local news site, they claimed migrants were living in unsanitary conditions, that criminals sold drugs openly, and that the hostel management hired local children to keep a lookout for police.

As tensions surrounding labor migration reached a fever pitch in the late 2000s, Chelobityevo's divided population became an infamous case of social discord. Today, the shipping container hostel remains, but Chelobityevo has a different feel. With the country sinking into decline, the migrant labor force, previously at the forefront of economic change, is itself transforming. Many have decided to head home; others are being squeezed out by new labor laws.

The hostel has decided even to change its business model, with a new focus on internal Russian migrants arriving from provincial towns. "This is what the director decided," says Takhmina, a Tajik woman who lives and works in the hostel.

"It's easier this way, and there are fewer problems with the authorities."

Next door at another hostel, an elderly Tajik woman waves reporters from The Moscow Times toward the exit, where a poster warns residents not to open the door for migration officers.

Migrant Life in Moscow's Shadow



"Almost everyone has gone home now that there's no more work," she says.

A Changing Country

Since the early 2000s, unemployment and poverty have driven millions of people from post-Soviet countries to seek work in the booming Russian economy. In cities across Russia, they toiled at construction sites, sold goods at markets, and swept the streets — all with the goal of sending money home to their families. Central Asians entered the labor force in particularly large numbers, and, today, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are likely the two most remittance-dependent countries in the world.

But integrating foreign laborers has been far from smooth. Many Russians resent the migrants' cultural differences and poor command of Russian. Politicians — both pro-government and opposition — have attempted to harness anti-migrant sentiment to promote their own careers. In 2013, up to 1,000 Muscovites rioted through the depressed Biryulyovo neighborhood in southern Moscow shouting "Russia for Russians" and "white power" in response to a murder committed by an Azerbaijani immigrant.

Ironically, Russia's plunge into poverty has given these crowds what they wanted. As a result of falling oil prices, which have drastically weakened the Russian ruble, work in Russia is now much less profitable. As a result, the number of foreign laborers has decreased — perhaps by 20-25 percent, according to Sergei Abashin, an anthropologist who studies labor migrants in Russia.

Continued on Page 11 →



In dollar terms, money sent home from Russia by Tajik migrants was down by 44% in the first six months of 2015 compared with the same period in 2014.

9%

the fall in real wages between 2014 and 2015.

Russia's new migrant laws are "a kind of deportation by stealth," **Madeleine Reeves**, anthropologist and migration specialist at Manchester University.



35%

Every ruble a Tajik migrant sends home buys 35 percent fewer somoni than in June 2014.

Russian migration: at a glance

803

Since 2007, there have been 803 violent hate crimes against Central Asians.

445

Since 2007, there have been 445 violent hate crimes against people from the Caucasus.

392

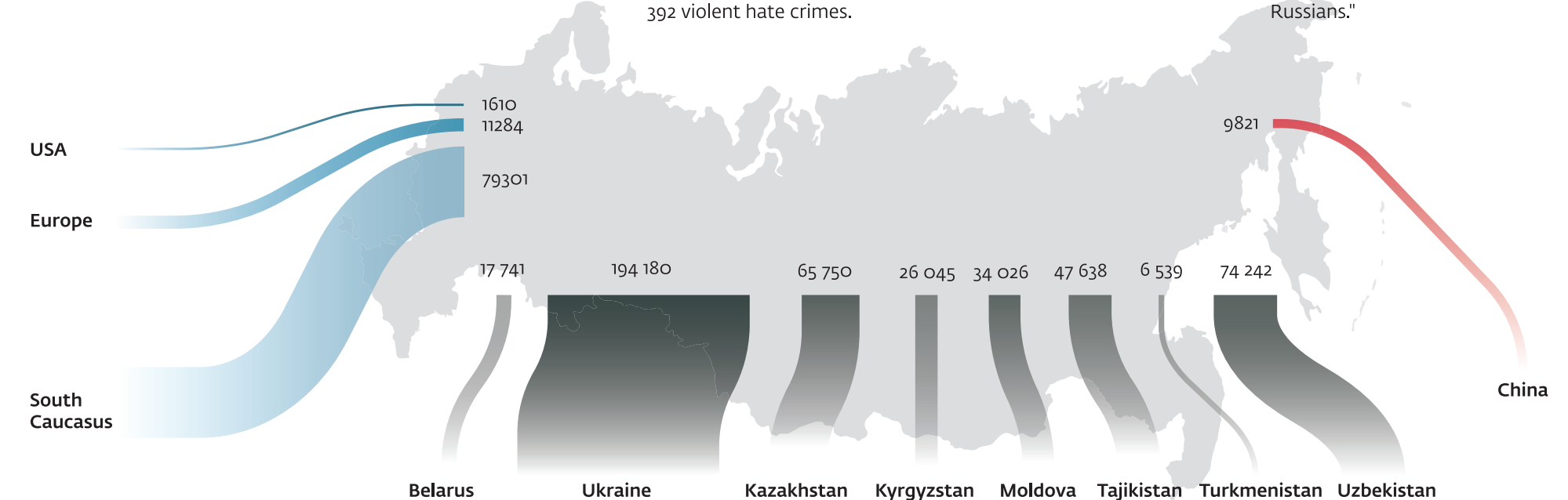
Between 2007 and 2016, the highest number of violent hate crimes was recorded in 2007 — 392 violent hate crimes.

527

Criminal sentences for hate crimes peaked in 2010 — 527 sentences.

52%

As of August 2016, 52 percent of Russians strongly or moderately support the idea of "Russia for Russians."



Source: Russian Federal State Statistics Service

← Continued from Page 6

Meanwhile, adjustments to migration laws have had a similar effect, pushing migrants out of the country. Starting in 2015, the Russian government has only required labor migrants to purchase a special patent to work in Russia. On the surface, this new, simplified requirement has made it easier for post-Soviet labor migrants to legally work in the country. But the elevated cost of the patent has imposed "a very large burden on migrants, especially during an economic crisis," Abashin says. Additionally, migrants must now pass an exam proving a basic knowledge of the Russian language and the country's laws and history.

Russia has also streamlined the processes for keeping migrants out. Deportations have increased, and, in 2013, Russia established a comprehensive electronic migration database. The border service is now able to enforce a strict law denying entry to individuals who have committed more than two administrative offenses — including traffic tickets and housing registration violations — within three years.

The result is that many migrants arriving back at Sheremetyevo Airport after a visit home discover that they have been automatically denied entry for a period of up to ten years.

"It's a kind of deportation by stealth," says Madeleine Reeves, an anthropologist and migration specialist at the University of Manchester. "There has been a real increase in the severity of how the law is being implemented, especially in terms of re-entry."

Svetlana Gannushkina, chair of the Civic Assistance NGO,

believes all these developments have "quieted the nightmare" that was Chelobityevo, but she hardly considers them positive. The "two administrative offenses" standard is an overly blunt instrument, she says.

Getting one's name removed from the database is nearly impossible — even going to court is no guarantee. "The courts spend just four minutes deliberating on a deportation case," says Gannushkina. "They often don't call for translators, meaning that people don't understand what they've signed."

Room for Hope

It is unclear which development — economic crisis or changing laws — has had a larger effect on migration. But the cumulative effect is clear: fewer migrants are coming to Russia and more are leaving.

Azim Makhsumov, a Tajik national who works with migrants at the Ryazan-based NGO "We Are Different, We Are One," says it is the best skilled labor migrants — the ones who made up to \$1000 a month — who leave first. When the economic crisis eroded their pay, many realized that they could earn a comparable income in their native countries.

Migrants who never commanded such high salaries are often the ones now attempting to weather the crisis. But they can hardly manage to send money home.

However, not all the developments are negative. Over the years, there has been a

clear increase in the number of migrants moving to Russia with their families. In Ryazan, Makhsumov has watched the Tajik community grow, and now many Tajik children study in the local schools. Some Tajik men are marrying Russian women and mixed families are emerging.

Since the West imposed sanctions on Russia, Makhsumov has also noticed that "negative attention" toward migrants has decreased. On a day-to-day level, he believes relations have improved. According to data from Moscow's Sova anti-extremism center, he may be onto something. Since their peak in 2007-2008, hate crimes against people from Central Asia and the Caucasus have consistently fallen, with the exception of a brief uptick in 2013.

Perhaps most encouragingly for Makhsumov, the number of Tajik citizens studying

in Ryazan's universities has increased from around 25 people five years ago to more than 100 today.

"These are people who came here, worked for a few years to save up some money, and used it to get an education," Makhsumov says.

Such gradual assimilation does not surprise Abashin. He emphasizes that public concern about migration usually focuses on temporary migrants — often young men — and the places where they live in large numbers: construction sites, markets, dormitories, and far-flung neigh-

Many migrants arriving back at Moscow's airports after a visit home discover they have been denied entry for a period of up to ten years.



ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO / AP



VEDOMOSTI

borhoods under active development. By contrast, immigrants, a growing minority of Central Asian diasporas in Russia, tend to avoid these areas and integrate more rapidly into daily life in the places where they live. "Of course, there is still xenophobia," Abashin says, "but without the previous fear and conflict."

This distinction is especially noticeable in Chelobityevo. Just a few years ago, the village was defined by temporary migration and interethnic hostility. Today, Central Asians are still a visible presence in the town, but many are now individuals with permanent professions: shopkeepers and auto mechanics, for example. The number of temporary workers has decreased.

Now, it is difficult for Takhmina, the hostel worker, to imagine the scenes of police brutality that previously characterized the community.

"The police used to come here frequently," she says, shrugging her shoulders, "but I haven't seen anything happen while I've been here." **TMT**



"One year in Moscow can count as seven," **Savino** jokes about Moscow's crazy pace of life.

THE WORD'S WORTH

A Holiday By Any Other Name

Единство: unity



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

Almost 100 years ago on Oct. 25 there was a coup d'etat in Russia that went down in history as Великая Октябрьская Революция (Great October Revolution), or Великий Октябрь (Great October) for short. With something as world-shaking as a revolution, you've got to have a holiday to celebrate it. But by the time the Soviet state got around to that, they'd already switched from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar and jumped ahead 13 days. So from 1918 to 1991 they celebrated День Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции (Day of the Great October Socialist Revolution) on Nov. 7, apparently untroubled by the incongruity.

Or maybe celebrating October in November was practice for the Soviet policy of calling black white. At some point people stopped believing that black was white and that Great October was in November, and the Soviet Union collapsed.

The new government condemned the revolution and would not celebrate it, but they knew that their beleaguered people needed a few days off in November. So they kept Nov. 7 as a holiday, but in 1996 renamed it День согласия и примирения (Day of Accord and Reconciliation). Unfortunately, there was neither accord nor any desire to reconcile, so the country was back to calling black white.

In 2004 the government decided to scrap Nov. 7 altogether, but they still wanted a November holiday. After much flipping through history books and clicking on calculators, they decided that Oct. 22 in the 17th century — aka Nov. 4 today — would be a fine holiday. On that day, they said, a rebel army led by the peasant Kuzma Minin and the prince Dmitry Pozharsky attacked the "польские интервенты" (Polish invaders) and kicked them out of the Kremlin. Or close enough. This, they said, demonstrated образец героизма и сплочённости всего народа вне зависимости от происхождения, вероисповедания и положения в обществе (an ideal of heroism and unity of the entire nation regardless of origins, religious belief or place in society). Or close enough.

Although the holiday is called День народного единства (Day of National Unity), for the first several years it was celebrated with something called Русский Марш (Russian March) with people holding signs proclaiming Россия для русских (Russia for Russians), which seemed to be in rather violent opposition to the central idea of the holiday. And we were back to calling black white again.

This year the day will be marked by the unveiling of a large monument to Prince Vladimir, clearly because he has just the sort of multi-national, multi-confessional background that epitomizes терпимость (tolerance) and сплочение (unification). He was the illegitimate son of a Kievan Prince of Scandinavian origin who, with the help of an army from modern-day Norway, conquered the Slavic lands to become the leader of Kievan Rus in present-day Ukraine. Once a practicing pagan with a slew of concubines, he accepted Christianity in 988.

Meanwhile, in St. Petersburg, the holiday is being celebrated with posters: мы едины для мира — a strange, almost ungrammatical statement that is most likely a translation from the English: We're united for peace. Close enough.

If the year 2016 has taught us anything, it's that a lot of people all over the world love calling black white. So a Christian saint on a secular holiday is no problem, and a bad Russian translation of an English slogan fits the bill.

С праздником! (Happy holiday!) **TMT**

The Moscow Times
No. 5779

11 years

Savino has spent this long in Russia.

The Sea

is the one thing Savino born and raised in Naples, Italy, misses in Russia.



A fan of Georgian food, Savino is a frequent guest at Chito-Ra — an authentic Georgian chain that has three restaurants in Moscow.



Savino first arrived in Russia in 2005 to finish his Ph.D. dissertation in St. Petersburg.

"The Crazy Pace of Life Is the One Thing in Moscow I'd Change"

By The Moscow Times newsreporter@imedia.ru

Giovanni Savino, a 32-year-old historian and philologist, has spent 11 years in Russia and the last four in Moscow

The Moscow Times (TMT): What is your job here?

Giovanni Savino (G): I teach history and area studies in several universities here. My main job is teaching at the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA). In other universities I also teach translation and lexicology.

TMT: How did you end up in Moscow? What drew you here in the first place? Did you want to come here? Why or why not?

G: I first arrived in St. Petersburg in 2005 to finish my Ph.D. dissertation. As a historian, I specialized in the history of the Russian Empire. My dissertation was devoted to Russian nationalism in the beginning of the 20th century, and St. Petersburg was the perfect place to continue my research. I spent several years there, going back and forth between Italy and Russia, and then moved to Moscow in 2012 because the job market in Italy was too unpredictable.

TMT: What has been the hardest aspect of doing your job?

G: Bureaucracy. It's just evil — for both Russians and foreigners. It's a system where if a specialist doesn't want to do something, he just won't do it. And I'm talking not just about government bodies — they often operate quite efficiently. For example, once I spent a whole month without a passport because a girl from HR forgot to start the proceedings with the Federal Migration Service.

TMT: What has surprised you most about Moscow when you first came here?

G: Living in St. Petersburg sort of prepared me for some aspects, but still Moscow is very different — in terms of distances, scale of things, understanding of time and pace of living. I'm from Naples, and trust me, Naples is far from being the most relaxed city in many ways, but here, it's a completely different story — so chaotic.

Another thing that struck me is that Russia is a very beautiful country. But Russians often fail to acknowledge that — instead they focus on either condemning the "bloody regime," or defending it. They seem lost.

TMT: How has Moscow changed since you first arrived?

G: It has changed a lot, and you can see it. Last winter the trend was very good — a lot of things were changing for the better. But this year it seems they went too far. A year ago you could see that Moscow became more like other European capitals, and this year some of the autumn decorations just startled me. Those didn't look like Europe, they looked more like a parody of Europe.

TMT: Which Russian food have you fallen in love with?

G: Borscht, of course! But to be honest, I'm a fan of Georgian cuisine.

TMT: What is your favorite place to shop for food?

G: I hate Azbuka Vkusa — it is too expensive, and the quality of the goods isn't always good. I prefer Auchan or Lenta, usually you can buy food of far better quality there for a much lower price.

TMT: What do you do on a Saturday night?

G: I usually go out with my friends or my girlfriend. With my friends, we sometimes do improvised gastronomic tours around Moscow — during these we're not looking for fancy places, but rather those with great and inexpensive food. For example, just recently I found out that there's a small Chai-hona right in front of the mosque near the Prospect Mira metro station. For just 1500 rubles (\$25) we had quite a meal, and it was delicious. And, of course, as a fan of Georgian food, I often go to Chito-Ra, not far from the Kurskaya metro station.

TMT: If you could change one thing about Moscow, what would it be?

G: The pace of life. The pace of life in Moscow is completely crazy. It kills the collective conscience of society! Just the other day I observed people coming up to a cash machine, stopping for a second and then going away. Turns out it didn't have any cash in it. But they didn't even bother to warn someone who was coming to it right after them. There is no solidarity among people! **TMT**

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EVENT Smart Food Expo Get geeky over kitchens

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EXHIBITION Leonid Sokov Soviet Pop Art

Don't miss Iconic artist Leonid Sokov's current exhibition at the Tretyakov Gallery. One of the best and brightest representatives of the Sots art movement — a controversial trend that emerged during the 1970's and mixed elements of Socialist Realism with American Pop Art — Sokov's works challenge and rethink traditional art. This exhibition features around 30 of Sokov's works in the museum's possession. **The State Tretyakov Gallery** tretiyakovgallery.ru 10 Krymsky Val Metro Park Kultury, Oktyabrskaya Through Jan. 29.

FILM Dr. Strange Weekend popcorn-fodder

Marvel's latest superhero action film "Dr. Strange" hit Moscow theaters this week. If car crashes, space travel, time travel, stunning graphics and a very funny script aren't enough to tempt you, perhaps Benedict Cumberbatch as the flawed but genius Doctor Stephen Strange. With a supporting cast including Rachel McAdams, Tilda Swinton and Mads Mikkelsen you can't really go wrong with this IMAX comic-book blockbuster. **Karo IMAX** karofilm.ru 57 Kutuzovsky Prospekt 57 Metro Slavyansky Bulvar

EVENT Guided tour of the Narkomfin building

Discover Moscow's Constructivist past Are you interested in discovering new parts of Moscow? Now you can take a guided tour through the famous Narkomfin building and explore the history of avant-garde architecture and Soviet communal housing. Designed by Ginzburg in 1928, the apartments within the building were designed to encourage socialist living but now remain almost uninhabited. During the excursion visitors can see some of the original "cells" offering minimal, though private, living space for occupants and enjoy the view from the building's rooftop. Tours are available in both English and Russian this month. **Narkomfin building** engineer-history.ru/ekskursii/narkomfin-house/ 25 Novinsky Bulvar, Bldg. 1 Metro Barrikadnaya English tours Nov. 12 and Nov. 26



'The Duelist': Drama, Intrigue and Pistols

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

With its high society setting, pistols at dawn premise and star-studded cast, it's hardly surprising that Alexei Mizgirev's latest film has topped the box office in Russia this autumn. "The Duelist," which follows the tale of a retired officer who works as a duelist representative — standing in for others in duels — is set to enjoy a limited release in the United States this December. Best known for his art-house films such as "Buben, Baraban" (Tambourine, Drum) and "Convoy," Alexei Mizgirev's "The Duelist" marks a change from the director's usual offerings. A blockbuster pure and simple, the film was produced by Alexander Rodnyansky and his company Non-Stop Productions, which was also responsible for Golden Globe winner and Oscar nominee "Leviathan" by Andrei Zvyagintsev. The film's setting is familiar to any Tolstoy reader: high society in late 19th century St. Petersburg. This, however, is no "Anna Karenina." The plot of "The Duelist" focuses on the character of Yakovlev, who earns a

living by fighting on behalf of other people in duels. The idea came to Mizgirev when he read 19th century Russian duel law and found a loophole: it allowed for a duelist to be replaced by a substitute. Dueling was an important way for an individual to maintain their honor in society. "Nowadays, people come to ignore disrespect. We tolerate it the best we can and keep on going. In the 19th century, nobility knew that honor was not a formal supplement to the rest of everyday routine, they believed it was a vital necessity," said Mizgirev. The cast is impressive. Pyotr Fyodorov, famed for his roles in Fedor Bondarchuk's blockbusters "Stalingrad" and "Inhabited Island," plays Yakovlev. German actor Martin Wuttke (of "Inglorious Basterds") plays Baron Staroe, who finds clients for Yakovlev, while Yuri Kolokolnikov ("Game of Thrones") has a memorable cameo as one of Yakovlev's opponents. There's violence, Russian roulette, bullets, an early bicycle called

a "velocipede" and even a touch of magical realism courtesy of a group of Aleutian shamans. Honor is the central thread of the narrative. Yakovlev is driven by revenge after suffering several wrongs in his past. His nemesis, the demonic Count Beklemishev, is played by Vladimir Mashkov, best known in the West as a Russian agent in "Mission: Impossible — Ghost Protocol." One of the subplots is a love triangle that involves both men and Princess Marfa Tuchkova — the first major role for relative newcomer Yuliya Khlynina. There's an unlikely and rather awkward sex scene in a horse-drawn carriage in the middle of the street and in full daylight, but other than that, the plot is quite solid. While Mizgirev states that he "wanted to make a movie about emotions rather than costumes," the film is visually stunning. Producers tried to meticulously recreate the scenery and atmosphere of the era, with all of the pistols and revolvers in the film dating from the 19th century. According to Alexander Rodnyansky, the film was made with a Western audience in mind — originally producers had considered an entirely English production. However, it soon became apparent that the film might lose its potential in Russia. And for a good reason, as it turned out — "The Duelist" has amassed nearly \$6 million at the Russian box office to date. "The Duelist" is the third Russian film to be made in IMAX format, placing great emphasis on the film's visual effects. Despite the fact that some of St. Petersburg's bridges and cathedrals are not in their historically accurate spots, the portrayal of the constant rain and flooding immediately transport you to the "northern capital." Producers hope this recreation of Russia's visually glorious past will entice foreign audiences: after its U.S. debut the movie will premiere in China, one of the largest film markets in the world. **TMT** "The Duelist" is currently showing at "Karo" and "Formula Kino" cinemas in Russian with English subtitles.

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