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"Interference does not promote the development of democratic states. On the contrary, it makes them unstable." — Putin at Munich, 2007

Conference mocks FM Lavrov over Ukraine comments.

First Munich conference was held six months after the Cuban Missile Crisis.



In 2016, Prime Minister **Dmitry Medvedev** was sent to Munich to present a softer version of Putin's 2007 speech. He urged the West to join Russia in the "battle against terrorism" — or else.

All Eyes on Munich

By **Matthew Bodner** m.bodner@imedia.ru

Russia, like the rest of the world, will use the security conference to figure out the new U.S. administration

At last year's Munich Security Conference — a traditional get together for the transatlantic alliance — Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev delivered a stark warning. It was time for the West to end sanctions, he said, and join forces in a civilizational battle against radical Islam.

"It is either us or them," Medvedev intoned. "It is time for everyone to realize this."

His call fell on wearied, and unsympathetic ears. 2016 was a trying time for many of the attendees, after all. Russia's actions in Syria exacerbated a migrant crisis sweeping Europe. Ukraine continued to pose a security dilemma. U.S. global leadership was under question.

Doing his best to calm the West's collective nerves, then Secretary of State John Kerry in turn took the stage. He assured them Washington would not abandon its security commitments to Europe.

Today, Kerry is gone. And the transatlantic community is waiting with baited breath to find out what Trump's administration will bring. The 2017 conference, taking place Feb. 17-19, is expected to shed first light on that. Trump is sending his A-Team: Vice President Mike Pence, Defense Secretary James Mattis and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson.

Trump's delegation was also expected to feature former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn. But Flynn dramatically resigned his post on Feb. 14, over allegations he illegally contacted Russian officials.



Lavrov's main goal in Munich will be to talk with his U.S. counterpart Rex Tillerson.

Flynn was among the strongest voices pushing for a "reset" with Russia. It is not clear yet what impact the resignation will have on U.S. policy. But signals from Washington suggest the White House was already leaning toward continuity: sanctions on Russia and support for NATO.

The 2017 conference also marks the 10-year anniversary of Russian President Vladimir Putin's infamous speech in which he set out an aggressive expression of Moscow's worldview. He railed against NATO, U.S. hegemony, democracy-promotion, missile defense, and the militarization of outer space.

Observers were shocked by his candor. But for Putin, it was the start of an assertive Russian foreign policy designed to return Russia to its "rightful" role in the world. "It is hardly necessary to provoke us," he said. "Russia has a his-

tory of more than 1000 years, and it has always had the privilege of carrying out an independent foreign policy. We are not going to change this tradition today."

Ten years on, Putin's belligerent words feel prescient. But while Moscow has used force to gain outsized influence over international affairs, it has yet to drive a wedge between NATO allies. In fact Putin, ironically, reinvigorated NATO. In Trump, Moscow saw an unexpected opportunity to undermine the alliance. Trump himself appeared to sympathize with some of Russia's foreign policy concerns.

But in appearing too eager for a detente with Trump, Russia may have again missed its opportunity. Moscow's support for Trump seems to have become a political liability. It was not Flynn's controversial views on Islam that proved to be his undoing, but ties with Russia.

Moscow's elation over Trump was already beginning to show signs of wear before Flynn's resignation. The Kremlin's objectives for the 2017 Munich Conference now appear to be conservative. The senior representative on Russia's delegation will be Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov. Lavrov is not a policymaker. He will instead be there only to meet his U.S. counterpart, Tillerson. The two will first meet in Bonn.

"Russia will not be saying anything new," says Alexander Gabuev, an expert in Russian foreign policy at the Carnegie Moscow Center think tank. "They will be there to listen to what the Americans have to say." **TMT**



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TANK-THINKING

Grand Settlements Aren't Working in Ukraine. Time to Think Small

By **Balazs Jarabik**
Non-resident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace



SOFIA MIRODOVA

The status quo in Donbass is unsustainable. But a political settlement still seems distant — despite renewed speculation to the contrary.

Whatever noise it may make, Kiev is pursuing a tried and tested approach to the conflict: stalling for time. The perverse reality is that Ukraine's president, Petro Poroshenko, benefits politically from the conflict. Russian aggression and regular flare-ups are important to marshal international solidarity and crucial financial support. Separatist-generated violence is also the best antidote when Western diplomats try to nudge Kiev toward controversial political settlements.

Kiev is keen to preserve transatlantic unity on sanctions and is no doubt encouraged by signals from the foreign policy establishment in both the EU and the U.S., which suggest there is mounting pressure on the White House to pursue a more sensible policy toward Russia. A bipartisan group of U.S. Senators recently introduced the Russia Sanctions Review Act of 2017, which seeks to tie President Trump's hands on sanctions relief.

For its part, Moscow has made clear that military force will remain on the table until Kiev engages in genuine dialogue with the separatists. The large, newly-built Russian military bases just over the border make this signal unambiguous.

At the same time, the Kremlin knows that the self-proclaimed People's Republics do not enjoy the political identity or economic viability that would make them sustainable as separate entities. Leading rebel military commanders continue to

be eliminated, presumably at the hands of Russian special services. These changes could be seen as steps towards a political settlement.

But the "no compromises" attitude held by Ukrainian leadership sticks. It may prove to be a misreading of the situation. While the Minsk Agreements are certainly unpopular in Ukraine, peace is not.

The Minsk Agreements do not formally validate Russia's objectives, such as ensuring Ukraine becomes a neutral buffer against NATO expansion, or an easily manipulable federal entity.

Provisions concerning the autonomy and status of the Russian language in Donbass are also a far cry from earlier goals. But the roots of Kiev's mistrust are not hard to understand.

What is far less clear is whether the financial costs of reintegrating Donbass into Ukraine proper would be manageable. An audit of the Minsk Agreements by Ukrainian think tanks estimates that \$1.5 billion is needed to facilitate an economic recovery of the occupied territories, out of which \$1.2 billion would be used for rebuilding infrastructure. Subsidies would also have to increase significantly in the event of reintegration.

The public is divided, and Ukrainian politics are notoriously messy. A new government-authored plan for reintegration faces fierce parliamentary opposition. Veterans of Ukrainian volunteer battalions have initiated a blockade of the occupied territories, which has already led to shortages of anthracite coal coming from Donbass, and sets the stage for more serious energy headaches.

The political incentives are more attractive: preventing Donbass's reintegration means not having to reckon with four million war-torn voters.

Resisting Russia has become part of post-Maidan Ukraine's identity, and reintegrating Donbass looks like a Russian Trojan horse for many Ukrainians. No wonder that, as the International Crisis Group wrote in its December 2016 report, Kiev's main tactic in the confrontation with Russia is procrastination.

President Poroshenko has used the same delaying tactics in reforms and fighting corruption. If Kiev feels vulnerable, the president could hold early elections in 2017. Given that the patriotic-minded electorate is the most organized in Ukraine, a new Rada would almost certainly continue to embrace the same old status quo.

The West's options in this situation are far from ideal. The best bet is to apply necessary pressure for Kiev to comply with Minsk and engage seriously in the OSCE-led talks in Minsk and the German and French-led Normandy process.

The name of the game is incremental steps — bolstering the fraying ceasefire agreement, heavy weapons withdrawal, implementing the so-called disengagement zones, and prisoner exchanges.

By focusing on "low politics," not the promise of an unrealistic, dramatic breakthrough, the West can continue to work diligently with Ukraine to stabilize the ceasefire and keep the region moving toward peace. More serious pressure, as both the West and Kiev are aware, may only make Ukraine more fragile. **TMT**

Digital Medicine: First Steps to Regulating Telemedicine in Russia

GOLTSBLAT BLP

The Russian practice of Berwin Leighton Paisner (BLP)



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The last few years have seen a boom in remote diagnostics and healthcare solutions. Major manufacturers of both dedicated medical equipment and consumer electronics are flooding the market with more and more sophisticated gadgets for patients to monitor all their vitals in real time, transmit this information to doctors and receive the prompt advice they need.

Yet this sector is just the tip of the “telemedicine technologies” iceberg, though the average consumer does not always understand what this means. “Telemedicine” is most generally understood as a set of technical, legal and other arrangements for providing patients with medical help based on procedures, methods and options for transmitting data ensuring that medical staff, patients and other healthcare parties are identified correctly.

Regulating Telemedicine in Russia

So far, distant healthcare is not expressly covered by Federal Law No. 323-FZ of November 21, 2011, “On the Fundamentals of Public Healthcare in the Russian Federation.” Patients may get medical advice or prescriptions only by visiting or calling a doctor, which overburdens healthcare workers.

For instance, a therapist’s standard time per patient at treatment and preventive facilities is 15 minutes — not because this is enough for a

diagnosis but because of the “high traffic” and the need to see as many patients as possible. Telemedicine technologies could lift this burden from both GPs and specialists treating the same patients on a regular basis.

Until now, practical work under regional healthcare IT support programmes has consisted mainly in keeping patient-specific records of healthcare service delivery, maintaining e-case histories, booking doctor’s appointments online and gradually putting electronic document control systems in place. There has been no clear legal framework for exchanging telemedical data.

Impending Changes

In 2016, a relevant bill¹ (the Bill) was put forward for public debate. Authored by the Healthcare Ministry, the Bill offers much broader opportunities for both doctors and patients. It has been approved by the Russian Economic Development Ministry and is backed by the Russian Government’s Expert Council, so it is expected to be presented to the State Duma soon. The Bill is specifically proposed to cover:

- arranging distant visits to a healthcare practitioner followed by issue of patient assessment reports and treatment advice;
- holding distant case conferences;
- issuing e-prescriptions;
- using telemetric data (remote exchange of health-related information between patients and doctors, including in real time);
- maintaining electronic patient histories and exchanging information between companies and government agencies involved in healthcare.

If the Bill is passed as it is, without the scope of eligible telemedical activities being narrowed considerably, the appetite of telecommunications and pharmaceuticals players for this niche can be expected to grow rapidly, especially if government subsidies are available for distant healthcare and monitoring systems in the public sector.

On the other hand, private clinics are more likely to be the first to offer their patients telemedicine benefits. Many of them have

already passed a number milestones of digital technology (common electronic medical record and e-booking systems, remote consultations and document exchange between doctors), while these are only just beginning to make their way into public healthcare. Insurance companies can help roll out the service: if telemedicine packages are covered by private health insurance policies, this might speed up their implementation in healthcare facilities and help patients adapt quickly to the new services. A prime example is offered by the U.S., where major insurers are increasingly listing telemedical services in their policies².

Barriers to Telehealth

Despite the many potential benefits offered for patients in the very near future by the advance of telemedicine, such technologies might come up against both practical (clinics and patients lacking the necessary equipment) and legal complications.

For instance, data privacy and protection issues have been climbing higher and higher on the agenda in recent years. Russian legislation treats any information about patients’ health as “special” personal data³, which may be processed only in extremely limited circumstances (including with the patient’s consent).

Given the particular importance of health-related information, telehealth operators and all parties involved in data exchange must maintain a high level of security, using cryptographic information protection tools and facilities, which might be subject to licensing⁴.

In its current version, the Bill requires any parties involved in data exchange within telemedicine IT systems to use qualified digital signatures⁵. These are the most secure type of e-signature, verified by e-certificates issued by accredited centers. This tool authenticates electronic medical records, yet it adds to the cost and complexity of creating and integrating them owing to cryptographic protection and the need to engage a specialized firm to verify digital signature certificates.

In addition, it is equally important to protect patients against unqualified distant

medicare: as they advance, digital technologies have always been haunted by new types of fraud and telemedicine might also encounter unscrupulous individuals who generate unlicensed (non-compliant) “virtual doctor’s offices” seeking to access patients’ personal data and money by deception. Since regulation of medical services is the responsibility of the Healthcare Ministry, whereas personal data protection and telecom networks regulation are up to the Communications and Media Ministry (Minkomsvyaz) and the Federal Supervisory Service for Communications, Information Technology and the Media (Roskomnadzor), it is also vital for the role of watchdog over telehealth service terms and conditions to be distributed clearly and in detail when the Bill and its by-laws are further developed.

Control of telemedicine quality might also be promoted by market players setting up a self-regulating organization to assist businesses and the government elaborate a common system for assessing the quality of services and telemedicine service requirements (like MAST⁶ (Model for Assessment of Telemedicine) in Europe).

As time goes by, all these complications will no doubt be left behind but, once these services are ready for release onto the mass market, not only must their key features be secured in legal documents but also their user friendliness be guaranteed and patient awareness and safety procured.

¹ “On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation Concerning Application of Information and Telecommunications Technologies and Introduction of Electronic Documents in Healthcare,” <http://regulation.gov.ru/projects#npa=46654>

² <http://www.mobihealthnews.com/content/independence-blue-cross-offer-members-mdlive-also-reimburse-remote-visits-their-own-pcps>

³ Article 10, Federal Law No. 152-FZ dated 27 July 2006 “On Personal Data.”

⁴ Article 12, Federal Law No. 99-FZ dated 4 May 2011 “On Licensing Certain Activities”

⁵ Article 5, Federal Law No. 63-FZ dated 06 April 2011 “On Electronic Signatures”

⁶ <http://www.renewinghealth.eu/en/assessment-method>

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4 Looking Forward



"My presidential campaign will not be stopped" – Alexei Navalny following a verdict sentencing him to 5 years probation

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date of the next presidential election in Russia.

23 years

By 2024, Putin will have been in power longer than any other leader since Stalin.



"We are not expecting new slogans," – Alexander Shokhin, head of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs

Forward to 2024

By Mikhail Fishman m.fishman@imedia.ru

The suspense is now over for Russia's political elite: Putin is running

Late in 2016, things did not look so rosy for Vladimir Putin. The Russian economy was in decline, the country was isolated on the global stage, and the president was a figure shunned by Western nations. Some commentators even began to entertain the possibility that Putin would use the opportunity to exit the political scene.

Since then, the unexpected election of Donald Trump has punched holes in the anti-Putin front.

"With Trump as a potentially powerful ally, Putin is a kind of half-emperor of the world," says political analyst Gleb Pavlovsky. "His re-election now has a global aspect."

For Russia's elite, the electoral picture is, finally, clear: Putin is running, and he will be in office until at least the time of the next elections in 2024.

"It would be good if Vladimir Putin comes out with his vision by next December — what the nation will look like politically and economically by 2024," a senior Russian official said on Tuesday, Feb. 14.

This election will be one of continuity and no change. There will be no new challengers. Russia's most prominent opposition figure Alexei Navalny announced he would battle Putin for the presidency last December. But in an accelerated court case earlier this month, he was sentenced to five-years probation. From the Kremlin's perspective, he is barred from running.

Instead, Putin will face a manufactured opposition, consisting exclusively of members of the old guard. The RBC newspaper has reported that parliamentary party leaders Gennady Zyuganov, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and Sergei Mironov will all run. All three follow the Kremlin's lead and agenda. Grigory Yavlinsky, the long-time leader of centrist opposition Yabloko party, also announced that he would run.

Every one of these candidates has run more than twice. 2018 will be Zhirinovskiy's sixth presidential election.

At first glance, the 2018 election should present little chal-



SERGEI KARPUKHIN / REUTERS

Vladimir Putin addresses his supporters during the 2012 presidential campaign. Back then it was clear who he was fighting against — Russia's middle class. Today, the enemy is much less clear.

lenge to the sitting president. The street protests and dissent that characterised his last presidential election in 2012 are a distant memory. The nation is seemingly coming to terms with Putin's everlasting rule. Without competition or obvious alternatives, Putin's approval rating remain at record-highs.

Yet there are some signs this election may not be as straightforward as the Kremlin expects. The challenge is avoiding boredom. The faces are the same. The conclusion is foregone. There is no drama, and, consequently, no reason to go out and vote.

Putin cannot allow this, says political analyst Nikolai Petrov. "The nature of his rule has changed, and even 70 percent of the vote at 70 percent turnout will not be enough," he says, referring to the legitimacy benchmark reportedly set by the Kremlin.

Five years ago, on Feb. 23, 2012, Vladimir Putin addressed tens

of thousands of his supporters at Moscow's largest stadium Luzhniki. There, he recited lines from Borodino, a famous poem by 19th century writer Mikhail Lermontov that every Russian knows by heart. "Is Moscow not behind us? / By Moscow then we die," he screamed. "The battle for Russia is not over!"

In 2013, Putin identified the enemy as Russia's big city middle class, unhappy as it was with his return to the presidency. In 2018, he will also need to defeat an "unexpected adversary," says Pavlovsky.

Only this time around, finding one won't be so easy.

At this stage of his rule, Putin faces a dilemma, says Petrov. He can either move further ahead to full scale authoritarianism, or start liberal political and economic reforms. Moving in any direction will be difficult.

Former Finance Minister Alexei Kudrin and his associates are now formulating Putin's new economic program. Kudrin has pulled few punches in his recent statements regarding the Russian economy. The first draft of his program might be ambitious.

But few establishment voices expect Putin to change the system. "Some of Putin's ideas at this campaign may look fresh, and he might even use the term 'reforms' but there will be no break with the past," the Russian economist and former government official Evgeny Contmakher told The Moscow Times.

Putin's forthcoming presidential campaign will instead be aimed at maintaining the status quo.

"Russian business has a stake in Putin's new presidential term. We are not expecting new slogans and we do not want them to change," Alexander Shokhin, the head of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, the biggest Russian business lobbying body, said in a television interview.

Government officials are equally phlegmatic about the potential for dramatic changes.

"Live for today — that's our window of opportunity," one senior official told the Moscow Times. **TMT**

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In December, 2016 Otkritie Bank got Frank RG Premium Banking Award 2016 in nominations "Best banking products offer" and "Best non-banking privileges offer". 13 largest banks, including those with foreign capital participated in the research. More than 3,000 clients have been polled. Besides, the researches tested every service themselves.

An important advantage of Otkritie Bank's offer is an optimal balance between classic banking services and non-banking privileges as well as the high-quality of every service in the premium package. Special attention is paid to the details. For example, in case of free transfer a client not just gets a car with a driver, but he is met at the terminal with a plate, the driver always wears a suite, there is a bottle of water and fast Wi-Fi in the car. To get concierge service there is no need to make



The Bank also practices regular promotion offers which let "Aeroflot" Card holders quickly accumulate miles.

Servicing the card is free of charge if there is money left on the Bank account, or required monthly minimum of transactions is processed with the card

a telephone call; from anywhere in the world one can, with two clicks in mobile application, order a taxi, find a round-the-clock drugstore, or buy opera tickets.

"We choose partners ourselves while monitoring how the market works, how services are provided, and what other banks offer — says Olga Ovchinnikova, head of Otkritie Bank banking cards and consumer lending department. — Many competitors preferred to simply cut down services to their premium clients, while we, managed to expand our program".

In addition to accumulation of miles for premium flights, Otkritie Bank's complex privileges on "Aeroflot" Card include a number of options, not provided on default by the air company itself. Active card users also receive free transfers to airports, unlimited free access to airports' VIP-lounges all over the world, insurance during travels abroad (except Russia and the client's own country), legal counseling on Russian legislation, free withdrawal of cash anywhere in the world, and much more (detailed information about the Bank's products is available on www.open.ru/en).

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Group has awarded Otkritie Bank for the Best Banking Product. Besides, servicing the card is free of charge if there is money left on the Bank account and required monthly minimum of transactions is processed with the card, or if client simply place a deposit with the Bank.

"Aeroflot" Card won Frank RG Banking Loyalty Award 2016 for "Maximum amount of debit card transactions" due to some of

the most attractive terms of accruing miles available on the market.

The Bank also practices regular promotion offers which let "Aeroflot" Card holders quickly accumulate miles. In February and March, 2017 the Bank makes its client a special offer: on the eve of Men's and Women's Days almost twice as many miles will be accrued for the purchases.

In December, 2016 Otkritie Bank started servicing foreign clients in English in Smolenskiy additional office. Unique eco-design, comfort waiting and conference rooms create friendly atmosphere. The office has convenient location and schedule; English speaking managers are ready to consult clients on any financial subjects. Foreign clients are frequent fliers and in Smolenskiy office they can get "Aeroflot" card and appreciate its opportunities and advantages.

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*See: <http://www.frankrg.com/>



*"It's much easier to hack an electoral system than e-Bay or Citibank" — former hacker **Sergei Pavlovich***

10

Years Pavlovich served in a Belarusian prison.

Jan. 6, 2017

U.S. officials say Kremlin organized cyber campaign to support Trump.



"Carding" is the practice of trading credit card information stolen by hackers.



Inside A Hacker's Mind

By **Howard Amos** newsreporter@imedia.ru | Illustration by **Olya Khaletskaya**

Fifteen years ago, Sergei Pavlovich was a leading player in Russian-language cyber-crime. Today, he suggests electoral systems are ripe for abuse

Belarusian-born cyber-criminal Sergei Pavlovich was earning \$100,000 a month by the age of 20.

A leading figure in the cyber-underworld of the early 2000s, Pavlovich surrounded himself with the best Russian-language hacking talent. He bought credit card details from them before using so-called cash mules to convert the stolen data into money.

"You don't think of it as criminality: it's a game," Pavlovich, whose online nickname was Policedog, said in an interview in Moscow.

Pavlovich, 33, went on to serve 10 years in prison in Belarus for cyber-crime offenses. He retains a detailed knowledge of how criminals operate in the Russian-speaking online world, and knows many of the most successful hackers in the business.

His story is a rare glimpse into the Russian-language cyber-criminal community, which many experts suggest has been used by the country's security services to enhance its aggressive cyber-operations. According to U.S. intelligence agencies, Russia used hacking as part of a cyber-campaign to support Donald Trump during the U.S. presidential elections last year.

Pavlovich was what is known as a "carder," a profession that sprang up to coordinate the complex task of turning stolen credit card information into cash.

"Carders should be good at organizing. You need to know people," Pavlovich said. "Hackers very rarely resell, it's more advantageous for them to have a few regular clients."

Pavlovich is fast-talking and articulate. While behind bars, he wrote a book called "How to Steal a Million," describing his prison life and the cyber-crime scene. Since being freed in 2015, he has set up several businesses, including a fish delivery service, an online cashback scheme and a company that sells souvenir mock-ups of U.S. dollar bills.

He admits his own hacking skills would only have allowed him to break into relatively minor, or poorly-defended, organizations. Instead, he used his communication and management skills and leveraged connections in the cyber underworld.

This is not unusual. The most important people in the cyber-criminal community today are often those with no programming skills, according to Alexander Gostev, chief security expert at the cyber security firm Kaspersky Lab. "To create and manage a group demands a brain and ability," he said.

Pavlovich, who lived in the Belarusian capital of Minsk, first got involved in cyber-crime aged 13. His family had a computer at home, but his step-father "was a businessman who drank away all the money."

He began by buying credit card details online — for about \$1 per card — and using them to make purchases from internet stores, a practice known as stuff-carding.

Pavlovich focused on stealing computer parts, TVs and other electronics that were scarce in former Soviet countries. The hardest part was reselling the goods: "companies in Minsk found out about their origin and would only pay 30 — 40 percent of the market price," he recalled in "How to Steal a Million."

Just like hackers and cyber-criminals today, Pavlovich expanded his knowledge of his chosen profession through online forums, particularly one known as carderplanet.com, set-up in Ukraine in 2001. In his book "Spam Nation," U.S. cyber-security journalist Brian Krebs describes carderplanet.com as "the most brazen collection of carders, hackers and cyber-thieves the Internet had ever seen."

While studying for a journalism degree at Belarus State University, Pavlovich discovered so-called "dumps," a slang

term for a full package of credit card details, including PIN codes, that can be used to create counterfeit cards. With connections to talented hackers, Pavlovich bought and sold dumps and used money mules scattered across the globe to cash out.

"No-one told us that stealing was a sin, and even if they did, no-one bothered to explain why it was," Pavlovich writes in his book.

Almost all the stolen credit card details they used belonged to people in the United States, according to Pavlovich. Not only did this reduce the likelihood of police attention in Belarus, but it also made crimes appear victimless — particularly as insurance covered customer losses.

"There are enough well-off westerners to go by. Call it being patriotic, if you will. I don't remember when we adopted the rule, but it was a rule everyone respected: never steal from your people," said Pavlovich.

At the peak of his earning power in 2003, he only needed to work three hours a day to bring in \$100,000 a month. Pavlovich spent his money on exotic holidays, restaurants, women and expensive purchases like cars.

"Almost all our income was scattered in the wind," he said.

His luck ran out. He was arrested and convicted in 2004 and served almost three years in jail. In 2008, he was arrested and convicted again. This time, he was jailed for seven years. His second conviction was hailed at the time by the FBI as part of one the largest hacking and identity theft cases ever prosecuted by the U.S. Department of Justice. They said Pavlovich's group had stolen over 40 million credit and debit card numbers.

Throughout his career, Pavlovich said he worked with Russian hackers because they were able to break into almost anything.

"Russian hackers and Russian programmers are the best in the world because they don't work by instructions or according to the rules: they have an unusual approach and they find a way to hack things very quickly," he said.

Online marketplaces, banks or payment centers that contain financial details are the most heavily protected sites on the Internet, Pavlovich added.

"It's much easier to hack an electoral system than e-Bay or Citibank," he said. **TMT**



COURTESY OF SERGEI PAVLOVICH

Pavlovich (left) spent ten years incarcerated in Belarus for cyber crimes. He was released in 2015.

Out & About



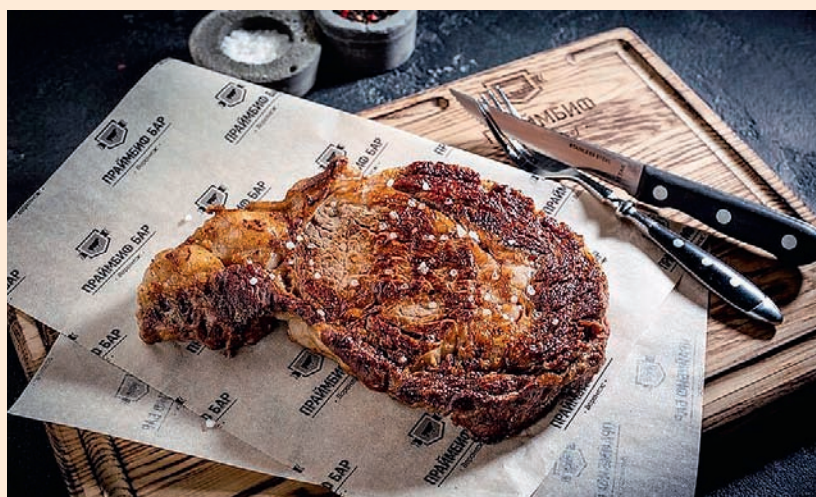
February 16 – March 1, 2017

7

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



PRIMEBEEF BAR / FACEBOOK



At PrimeBeef Bar, customers can not only enjoy freshly prepared burgers and steaks but can also pick up cuts to take home.

Meat Market

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

Leading provincial beef supplier's new Danilovsky outlet offers steak, burgers, and cuts to go

One of the latest additions to the trendy food court at Danilovsky Market, which has been undergoing a major renovation for the last year, PrimeBeef Bar is a cafe by PrimeBeef, a major supplier of meat from the Voronezh and Kaluga regions. As the supplier of premium Black Angus marbled beef to restaurants such as Voronezh, T-Bone and Cafe Pushkin, PrimeBeef is a vital part of the "meat" revolution on the Moscow dining scene. This family-owned enterprise got its big break when the ruble fell and high quality imported beef suddenly became much less accessible.

PrimeBeef Bar is not the owners' first foray into the restaurant business. In 2016, PrimeBeef opened a kiosk called "Myasnoi Kult" (Meat Cult) at the central market in the owners' hometown of Voronezh. It proved quite a hit, with locals standing in line all summer to try the burgers.

Flushed with success, PrimeBeef has now moved on to Moscow. Managed by one of the company's co-owners, Andrei Nitsenko, PrimeBeef Bar is rather large by Danilovsky Market standards. Apart from a couple of tables on the ground floor, it has separate seating upstairs, providing a great view of the renovated market.

If all you want is a cut of meat to take home and cook, there are about a dozen different cuts to choose from: Strip-loin steak is 2,700 rubles per kilo, while rib-eye steak is 3,300. Ground beef is also available for those with an eye on bringing the recent burger craze into their kitchen.

If you've come to have a meal, start with a hearty oxtail soup (200 rubles) or a DIY-style beef tartare, where you can mix the ground beef, onions, garlic, pepper and egg yolk in just the proportion you want it (470 rubles).

There are two types of burgers on offer — a classic cheeseburger (290 rubles) or a burger

with truffle oil (330 rubles), both of which can be accompanied by a side order of french fries or coleslaw (150 rubles). The Danilovsky steak is good value at just 550 rubles and comes with a side of home-made fries or grilled vegetables.

Wash it all down with one of PrimeBeef Bar's signature lemonades — lychee with coconut, passion fruit with falernum or yuzu with mandarin (200 rubles) — or just a cup of tea. **TMT**

+7 (916) 300 5075

facebook.com/primebeef.rus.bar

74 Mytnaya Ulitsa
Metro Tulsckaya

NEWS & OPENINGS



AVIATOR / FACEBOOK

Aviator

Another restaurant with a view

Aviator can be found on the 52nd floor of the Federation Tower, the highest in Moskva-City. While the owners advertise molecular cuisine, in fact it's a new take on familiar European dishes. Try the chicken liver pate coated in mango and cherry (680 rubles) or the crème brûlée with porcini and truffles (750 rubles). Alternatively, order a glass of wine (from 900 rubles) or a water pipe.

+7 999 987 9777

aviator.city
12 Presnenskaya Naberezhnaya
Metro Vystavochnaya



BUFFET NO.11

Buffet No.11

Snack stop on the metro

The Soviet-style salads, chicken cutlets and shchi (cabbage soup) served up at this nostalgic buffet located between the two platforms of the Filevskaya Line at the Arbatskaya metro station are hardly the stuff to set the culinary world on fire, but if you have time to kill on your way home from work or feel parched enough to buy a 20-ruble plastic cup of fruit kompot (20 rubles), there's now somewhere to do it.

Ulitsa Vozdvizhenka
Metro Arbatskaya (Filevskaya Line)



FUDA / FACEBOOK

Fuda

High-end Chinese in Khamovniki

Two water features, screens and lanterns — they're all here, but Fuda's semi-palatial interiors are a more upscale take on the traditional Chinese format, and the menu offers more than sweet-and-sour by numbers — at a price. While not worth going out of your way for, dishes like Fuda's spicy Szechuan-style carp (1,280 rubles) will refine your notion of what Chinese cuisine is about.

+7 (495) 150 21 88

fuda.su
28 Komsomolsky Prospekt, MDM building
Metro Frunzenskaya



LYUBI ZHIZN / FACEBOOK

Lyubi Zhizn

Cheap Asian food in Chertanovo

Way out at the Columbus shopping mall in Chertanovo, Lyubi Zhizn (Love Life) may well be the cheapest pan-Asian restaurant in Moscow, dishing up an excellent Singaporean laksa spicy soup at just 270 rubles (\$4.70), as well as the Indonesian rice dish nasi with shrimp and chicken (280 rubles). There's also a great selection of smoothies, teas and a shop with Asian food and spices.

+7 (495) 150 8886

enjoylife.ru
13A Kirovogradskaya
Metro Prazhskaya

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!**

Art and Entertainment in Old Factories

By **Daria Demidova** artsreporter@imedia.ru | Illustration by **Ilya Kutoboi**

An old industrial neighborhood which owes its name to medieval tanneries is now a fine example of Moscow's gentrification



The nearest branch of Otkrytiye bank is located at 27, Sennaya Square (Metro: Smolenskaya)

1

Zemlyanoi Val

КУРСКИЙ ВОКЗАЛ

1. Kursky Railway Station

The starting point for this walk is the bustling Kursky station, Moscow's busiest railway hub, used by up to 11,000 passengers a day, mostly heading to destinations in southern Russia. Historically, traffic to the south was very busy. But in 1896, this small station had just two main lines: one to Nizhny Novgorod and another to Kursk. Since then, the station has gone through several reconstructions. It has expanded into the modern glass block you see today hiding behind the Atrium mall.

29 Zemlyanoi Val

4. Vinzavod

Wander through the Arma complex until you come out on Mru-zovskiy Pereulok. Across the street is a former distillery that was Moscow's largest winery and brewery in the 20th century, producing 42 million liters of liquor every year. In 2000, the factory went bankrupt, but art managers thought the space would be great for exhibitions. That is how Russia's first modern art center, Vinzavod (meaning "winery"), opened in 2007. It now houses over a dozen art galleries as well as a number of workshops.

1 4th Syromyatnichesky Pereulok, Bldg. 6

Ulitsa Kazakova

Nizhny Susalny Pereulok

3

2. Gogol Center

At back of the railway station go up to Platform 1 and then descend to Tunnel 3, which will take you to Nizhny Susalny Pereulok. Take the road to Ulitsa Kazakova and turn left. Stop in front of number 8, the Gogol Center, Moscow's most avant-garde theater. It looks traditional from the outside, but appearances can be deceiving. After an overhaul in 2012, newly appointed director Kirill Serebrennikov entirely transformed the traditional drama theater into a platform for all kinds of theatrical experiments. The Gogol Center is also very different from typical theaters in that it has four resident companies. It also runs a tutoring program for young actors and directors.

8 Ulitsa Kazakova

4

4th Syromyatnichesky Pereulok

5

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3. Arma

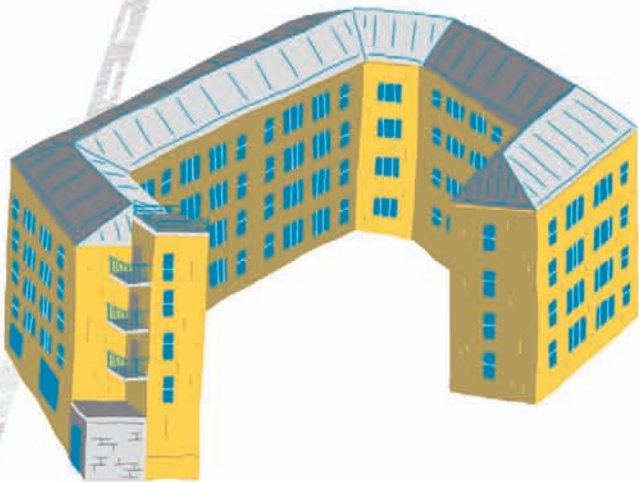
Double back to Nizhny Susalny Pereulok. Once an industrial zone, the neighborhood has been considerably gentrified – proof is on your left: an old coal gas factory called Arma. In the early 2000s, production stopped, and for some time nobody cared, until the four cylindrical towers caught the attention of developers and event managers. Here for a while marathon parties garnered Arma the reputation of being Europe’s rave capital. But during the day, it is an oddly peaceful place for a wander.

5 Nizhny Susalny Pereulok

5. Communal House in Syromyatniki

After spending some time in Vinzavod, take the exit onto 4th Syromyatnichesky Pereulok, turn left and walk until the brick walls end. On your left you’ll see a large apartment building. This is one of the city’s Communal Houses, built in the 1920s to help ease the local housing crisis. Constructivist architects came up with a solution for life in the New Soviet Age with private living spaces but with communal bathrooms and kitchens. The initial plan was for a pentagon, but only two blocks were put up. The exteriors have changed over the years, but the house’s special feature – full glazing on the pentagonal staircase landings – is still there. The house is still habitable, and given its proximity to the Garden Ring, it’s not cheap either.

3/5 4th Syromyatnichesky Pereulok, Bldg. 4



Naberezhnaya Akademika Tupoleva

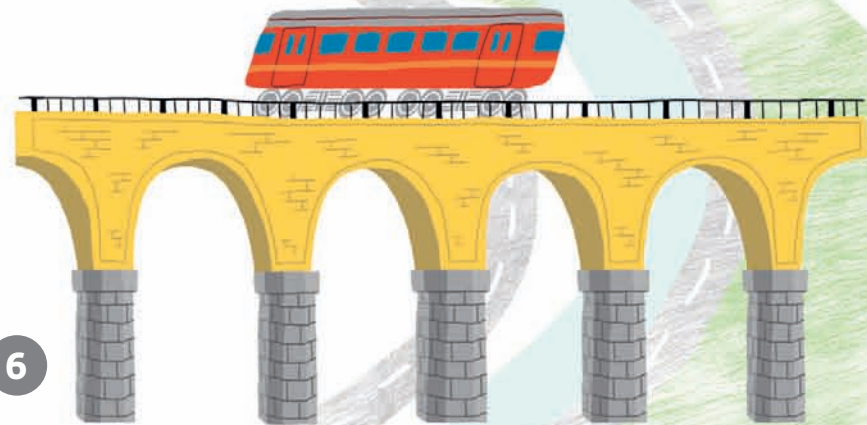
8. Yauza River Gateway

At the Yauza embankment, turn left. After the bend in the road, you’ll see a beautiful ensemble of three cream-colored towers and an artificial island. With their Doric columns and statues reminiscent of a Greek temple, you would never guess that these neoclassical structures only house technical facilities and were built in the 1930s. Aside from their aesthetic value, these buildings are part of the Yauza’s sluice and a 4-meter dam that regulates the water flow. From here, turn left on Mruzovsky Pereulok and head back to Kurskaya metro station.

2 Naberezhnaya Akademika Tupoleva



8



7. Andronikov Railroad Bridge

After a stroll around Artplay, come back out on Nizhnyaya Syromyatnicheskaya Ulitsa and turn left, heading down toward the Yauza River embankment. Look to the right to admire Andronikov Railroad Bridge – an archway structure apparently inspired by ancient Roman aqueducts and first built in 1865. The small openwork balconies on the plain walls of the bridge enhance the Italian resemblance. During the renovation of 1950 – 1951, the balcony railings were made straight and simple and a fourth arch was added to allow for a roadway.

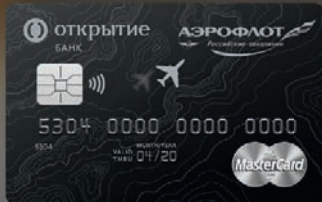
6

7

Nizhnyaya Syromyatnicheskaya Ulitsa



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UP TO 3 MILES PER EACH 50 RUBLES



"Otkritie FC" Bank (PJSC). General banking license No. 2209 issued Nov 24, 2014. Реклама.


Pietro Ferrero, lawyer

Pinzeria By Bontempi is the best Italian restaurant in Moscow. Chef Valentino Bontempi has invented the “pinza” — a special thick pizza with little in common with classical pizza. Waiters are attentive, and the menu is of uncompromising Italian quality.



VALERIA_AKSAKOVA / FREEPIK

8 Things to Do During Maslenitsa Pancake Week

Maslenitsa, also known as Pancake Week, is the last week before Lent. It celebrates the end of winter, symbolized by the burning of effigies. The celebration has been getting more popular in recent years and now there is a Maslenitsa event on practically every street corner. To help you navigate the Maslenitsa week and eat only the best pancakes, The Moscow Times has compiled a list of the most interesting events in the city.



MOS.RU

Moscow Maslenitsa

Pancake heaven for everyone in the capital

More than 30 pancake stalls will appear in the city center streets on Novy Arbat and Tverskaya streets between Feb. 17-26. Here, you can attend a pancake-making masterclass or be inspired by recipe for sumptuous blini — with toppings like berries, condensed milk, or seafood. Public spaces will be decorated with straw Maslenitsa effigies, ice sculptures, and a Russian toy-themed carousel. Don't know what pancake frisbee or shooting is? This is your one chance to find out what these alternative carnival games are all about.

More info (in Russian) at mos.ru/city/festivals/maslenitsa



KUSKOVO ESTATE

Kuskovo Estate

Party like a count

The Kuskovo Estate will host its own Maslenitsa festival. While taking a tour of the manor of Count Sheremetev, you can learn about the extravagant celebrations held for distinguished guests in the 18th century. Enjoy a folklore ensemble and the tour for 550 rubles per person. For an additional 150 rubles, you can snack on pancakes and fragrant tea in the museum cafe. Individual appointments can be reserved on Feb. 25 and 26.

kuskovo.ru/news1/news178/
2 Ulitsa Yunosti
Metro Ryazansky Prospekt



IZMAILOVO KREMLIN

Imperial Carnival at the Izmailovo Kremlin

Wave goodbye to winter pre-revolutionary style

Over Feb. 20 to 26, the Center for Russian Culture at the Izmailovo Kremlin will be hosting the largest and most traditional celebration in the city. The program this year is features activities such as pancake-making masterclasses, folk dancing, and a child-friendly adaptation of Rimsky-Korsakov's opera “The Snow Maiden.” The Kremlin will also be housing new installations during the week: Expect a snow maze, an ice slide and much more.

kremlin-izmailovo.com
73 Izmailovskoye Shosse
Metro Partizanskaya



MOSCORSAD.RU

Maslenitsa in the Hermitage Gardens

Celebration in the heart of the city

Don't feel like traveling all the way to Ded Moroz's Manor or the Izmailovo Kremlin for Maslenitsa? No need to fret, since some of the best celebrations will be taking place right in the city center, in the Hermitage Gardens! With an array of spectacular performances, dancing, and singing, this year's celebration promises to be a real treat for the eyes. But the cherry on top has got to be the preparation of a huge pancake worthy of a Guinness world record. Grab yourself a hot drink and a slice of this culinary wonder and get ready to shed those end-of-winter blues.

Feb. 26, from 1 p.m. to 7 p.m.
mosgorsad.ru
3 Karetny Ryad
Metro Chekhovskaya



NIKOLA-LENIVETS

Maslenitsa Weekend at Nikola-Lenivets

Burn some art

The popular Nikola-Lenivets park in the Kaluga region, 200 kilometers southwest of Moscow, is organizing a whole Maslenitsa program from Feb. 23 to 26. Check out the site-specific land art installations, before taking part in burning one. The art object to be burned is called “Pyramid.” It was constructed over the winter by Russia's most prominent land artist — also the founder of Nikola-Lenivets Park — Nikolai Polissky.

maslenitsa.nikola-lenivets.ru
Nikola-Lenivets, Kaluga region.



KOLOMENSKOYE PARK

Kolomenskoye Park

More pancakes in the park

Say farewell to the long winter with spirit at Kolomenskoye's weekend celebration. The two-day event (Feb. 25 and 26) will include games, dances, concerts, and, of course, pancakes. The first day will feature a Maslenitsa performance, while the second day will be a rowdy affair, offering of competitions and singalongs to live music.

mgomz.ru/kolomenskoe
39 Prospekt Andropova
Metro Kolomenskaya



USADBA DEDA MOROZA

Maslenitsa at Grandfather Frost's Manor

Pancakes and tea with Ded Moroz

Ded Moroz (Grandfather Frost) is the Russian version of Santa Claus. On Feb. 26, Ded Moroz's Manor in southeast Moscow will host its very own Maslenitsa carnival. For one day only, Ded Moroz will give up his home to make way for a celebration of singing, dancing and, of course, pancake-eating. The Talitsa folk ensemble will be performing folk songs for you to get up and dance to, no matter how old you are. And of course the day would not be complete without the burning of effigies — with the help of artists from the Moscow Fire Theater.

Usadba Deda Moroza
dedmorozmos.ru
168D Volgogradsky Prospekt
Metro Kuzminki



FLACON

Maslenitsa at Flacon

Compete against hipsters at the design factory

The Flacon design factory will host its own Maslenitsa festival on Feb. 26, giving guests a full schedule of Russian history and contemporaneity. The festival will kick off with a performance of weapons, fist-fighting and archery. After that, the guests themselves will be able to compete in Russian games played since pagan times: sack races, tug of war, balance beam battles and more. The festivities will end with a majestic fire show and the traditional burning of winter effigies.

flacon.ru/events/affiche/maslenitsa-blin
36 Ulitsa Bolshaya Novodmitrovskaya
Metro Dmitrovskaya

The Moscow Times
CONFERENCES

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- Analysis of major changes to the Civil Code of the Russian Federation regarding the protection of intellectual property rights.
- The protection of intellectual property rights in Russia and abroad.
- Penalties and highlights in the disposal of trademark right in light of the latest changes to the Civil Code of the Russian Federation.
- Challenging or the cessation of trademark rights.
- Methods of brand protection under the conditions of unfair competition.

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Director of Intellectual Property Practice for Russia and the CIS, PWC

Dmitry Grigoriev
Head of Legal Department, European Media Group LLC

Vitaly Kalyatin
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16+
Реклама



"I don't think true believers try to underscore their beliefs with religious attributes." **Olga Vasilyeva**, Education Minister

> 20Mln

Muslim population in Russia.



In his first public comment in 2012, Putin said he thought hijabs in school complied with the principle of secularism. Earlier, he described the wearing of hijabs as "fashion."

47%

Of Russians support a ban on wearing hijabs in school.

Hijab Politics

By **Eva Hartog** e.hartog@imedia.ru | Illustration by **Yevgeny Tonkonogy**

A ban on Islamic headscarves in Mordovia has ignited a nationwide debate over the line between religion and state

Yelena Galyuk's daughter was 14-years-old when she started wearing the hijab to school.

Two days later, her parents were called into the principal's office. "We were told there were two options: either take the headscarf off or take her out of school," says Galyuk.

Already in her teens — and having spent much of her childhood at her St. Petersburg school — her daughter did not want to leave. So every day for her remaining years there, she took off her hijab at the school gates.

"For Muslims, it's the equivalent of walking in your underwear," her mother told *The Moscow Times*.

The family learned their lesson. They moved their other daughter to a private school when she reached the age of ten. Another Muslim mother who faced similar problems, took her children out of school and homeschooled them herself.

These rules are not unique to St. Petersburg schools, they occur across Russia, but most of the time they go unnoticed. Then, every so often, a scandal thrusts Russia's troubled relationship with hijabs back into the national spotlight.

Most recently, that spotlight moved to Belozerye, a village deep in the Mordovian republic with a predominantly Muslim Tatar population. Late last year, a local principal there introduced a ban on headwear for teachers, most of whom wore plain white headscarves. Those who refused to comply were threatened with dismissal.

Leaked audio recordings suggested the order had come from the regional branch of the education ministry as a security measure ahead of the 2018 World Cup. Later, media reports claimed officials had taken their cue from the FSB after several Belozerye residents joined militant fighters in Iraq and Syria.

"The authorities were concerned," says Alexander Verkhovsky, head of the SOVA think-tank, which monitors extremism. "Law enforcement sees headscarves as a sign of Salafism," he said, referring to an ultra-conservative form of Islam.

State television clearly laid out the incriminating evidence: eight mosques for only 3,500 villagers, residents linked to extremist activity, and photos — allegedly found



in social media — of girls in full hijabs posing with kalashnikovs. It all suggested headscarves were the everyday manifestation of the "Mordovian Caliphate"

But Belozerye residents have angrily dismissed that depiction of their town.

"Just because we don't sell vodka here and our children go to school with their heads covered, we're being called extremists!" an angry father told cameras outside the Belozerye school.

"People have been wearing headscarves for generations," lawyer Marat Ashimov told *The Moscow Times*. "It was even accepted in Soviet times."

The debate over headscarves is familiar territory for Ashimov. Several years ago, he was among those who appealed a regional hijab ban for Mordovian schoolgirls at the Supreme Court, arguing it encroached upon Muslims' religious rights under the Russian Constitution. The appeal was dismissed.

Since then, politicians have deferred to the ruling when asked whether hijabs should be allowed. "We don't want to take sides in the discussion at this moment," Putin's spokesman Dmitry Peskov said when asked for his view on the Belozerye scandal.

That, combined with a law dictating that state schools must be secular, seem to suggest hijabs are forbidden in Russian classrooms.

But outside the courtroom, things are less black and white. In a significant portion of the country, schools turn a blind eye to the handful of students who wear the hijab. In others, like in Belozerye before the latest uproar, a compromise has been reached on the type and color of hijabs allowed. And yet, in other Muslim regions, like the republics of Chechnya or Dagestan, wearing hijab is little short of a requirement.

In fact, in 2010, Chechen leader Ramzan Kadyrov praised men who attacked women in Chechnya with paintball pellets for not covering their heads.

Occasionally, such differences in implementation can stir up the kind of regional and religious discord the Kremlin has tried hard to keep under control.

Following the Belozerye scandal, Educa-

tion Minister Olga Vasilyeva stated that true believers did not need "religious attributes." That comment sparked an aggressive backlash from Grozny.

"It's astonishing that the minister is imposing her personal view on millions of citizens," Kadyrov wrote on his Instagram. His own daughters would never take off their hijabs, he added. A Chechen parliamentarian took the conflict even further, accusing Vasilyeva of "fascism."

While the Kremlin promotes official secularism, incidents like this only fuel the perception among Russian Muslims that they are being singled out. Muslim leaders argue that the Jewish community has not faced problems regarding kippahs, or that many students wear Orthodox crosses.

Disgruntled Muslim parents also point to the piercings, short skirts and low cut shirts and blouses seen on other students. "And then they say it is my daughter who is inadequately dressed!" says mother Galyuk, an ethnic Russian who converted to Islam as an adult.

According to Alexei Malashenko, a scholar in residence at the Dialogue of Civilizations think tank, Russian officials' intervention in situations like Belozerye creates "artificial and unnecessary conflict."

"Headscarves are being politicized in a way that pits identity against supposed attacks on that identity," he says. "The state is interfering with religion, and it shouldn't."

Malashenko cites a situation in the early 2000s when a number of Russian Muslims refused to be photographed for their IDs without their veils. "The Interior Minister said: take the picture in whatever way you want. And the problem disappeared," he says.

In Belozerye, the issue is unlikely to disappear. Despite the scandal, video footage from the village shows students and teachers continuing to wear their headscarves.

Perhaps the only tangible result of the ban is that some families have taken their children out of the educational system. Faced with a choice of school hijab, the answer for many Russian Muslims is all too obvious. **TMT**

Islamic Headlines

A small Mordovian village school shot to national attention after introducing a ban on Islamic headwear.



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pectopah



"Import substitution is not new to drag. Russian women are the most beautiful in the world. There is no competition."
— drag queen **Evelina Grand**

1993

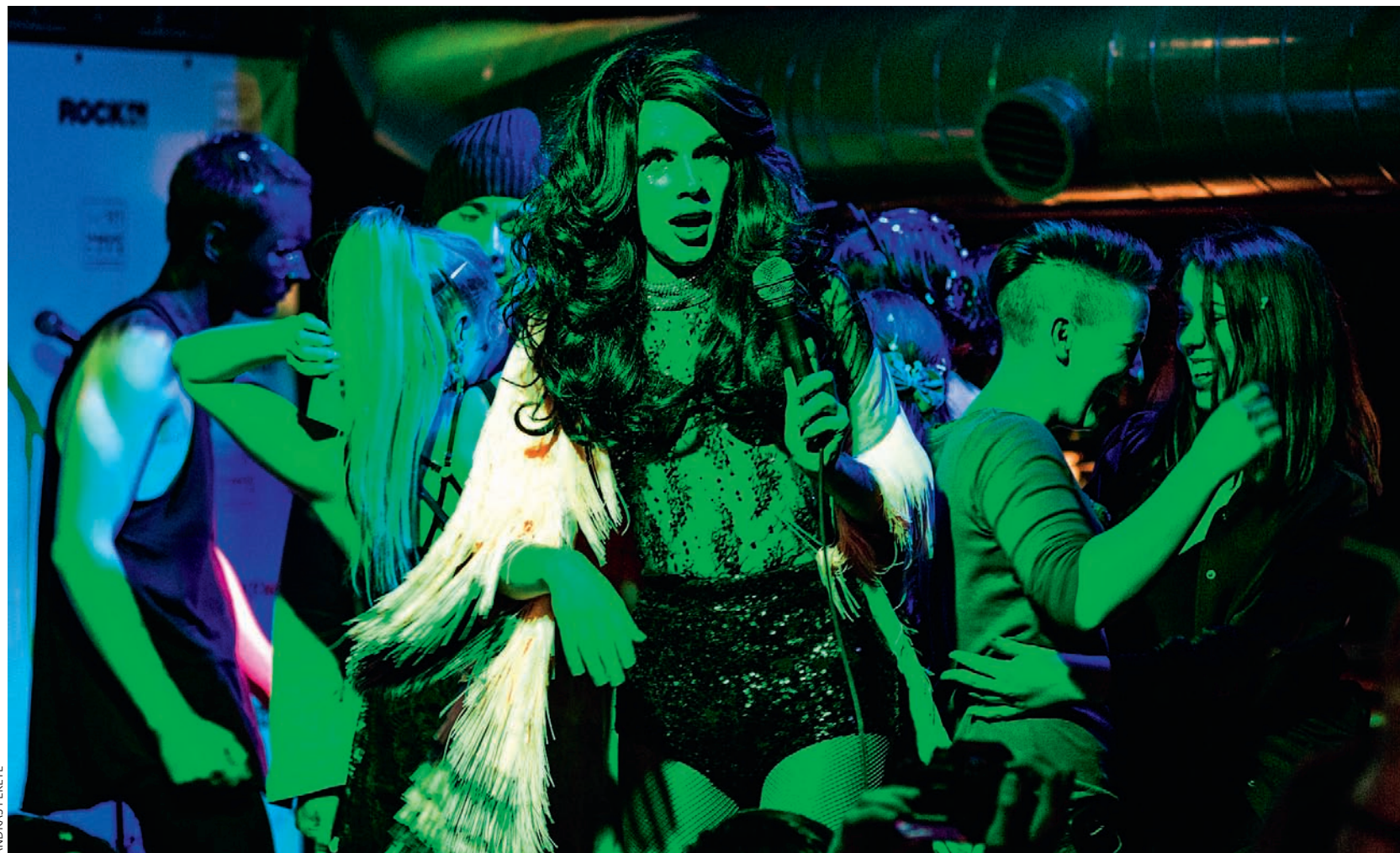
Homosexuality is decriminalized in Russia.

27

homophobic attacks recorded by the SOVA anti-extremism center in 2013.



Vladislav Mamyshev-Monro became famous for performing — amongst other characters — a drag version of Marilyn Monroe.



Despite legal headaches and general homophobia, Moscow has a vibrant and varied gay scene.

The Queens of Moscow

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

The money is bad, the costumes expensive and the threat of physical assault real. But none of this seems to bother Russia's small community of 'travesti' performers

On the dimly lit back patio of Moscow's Imagine Cafe, Kamilla Crazy White is holding court. As she sips a cocktail, fawning admirers venture to her table, kissing and embracing her. But Kamilla quickly shoos them away.

"Don't distract me. I'm doing an interview," she says, turning back to two The Moscow Times reporters. "Now, where was I?"

Tonight, the young Russian drag queen is the belle of the ball at Moscow's hottest "freak party." Organisers — who insist on anonymity — have marketed the event as a festival of flamboyant costumes, underground music and free sexuality. It is a metaphorical middle-finger to Russia's official state-sponsored conservatism.

Soon enough, it is Kamilla's turn to take the stage. Dressed in a raspberry-colored wig, a fluffy pink and purple shawl, black leggings and imposing high-heeled boots, she gyrates and lip-syncs to three Lady Gaga numbers. The crowd cheers ecstatically.

Drag — the performance art of impersonating women — has a storied history in modern Russia. But with the country's political shift toward so-called traditional values and Christian conservatism, it now finds itself in an odd place.

Communism Undressed

Known as travesti in Russian, drag flourished in the heady days of Perestroika and the early years after the Soviet collapse. In the late 1980s, character actor Vladislav Mamyshev-Monro grew famous for performing surreal, feminized interpretations of Soviet leaders — including Gorbachev.

Mamyshev-Monro was inspired to take up drag by the

movie *Some Like it Hot*, the only Marilyn Monroe film tolerated by Soviet censors. He even adopted the surname Monro as an homage to the iconic actress and performed as her. His artistry helped to push drag into the mainstream.

Other acts, often emerging from Russia's burgeoning gay scene, also gained popularity. During the early 2000s, *Birds of Paradise*, a four-member drag collective, toured across Russia, and even won a contract with a cosmetics company.

The group inspired Felix Mikhailov's 2009 film "Jolly Fellows," the first mainstream Russian film about drag queens. The film depicts five male drag performers recounting their life stories during a road trip. It ends on a sobering note when the protagonists are confronted by violent, homophobic thugs. Their implied murder served as a stark reminder of the hostile environment in Russia. A year after the film's release, Mamyshev-Monro was himself assaulted.

Since then, the situation has hardly improved. In 2013, Russia passed a law criminalizing so-called "gay propaganda" directed toward minors. The law had a chilling effect on the public presentation of gay people and gay culture.

The law also appears to have affected societal attitudes. When Austrian Thomas Neuwirth's bearded drag persona, Conchita Wurst, won the Eurovision Song contest in 2014, many Russians expressed outrage. Some wrote to officials calling for Wurst to be banned from visiting the country.

For Russian conservatives, Wurst came to symbolize all that was supposedly rotten and immoral in the West. That said, other Russians were less concerned. The Eurovision star's song shot to number one on Russia's iTunes download chart.

The Conchita Wurst controversy went against a general trend of drag disappearing from the mainstream. In the early 2000s, you could still see drag performances on Russia's main television channels, says Dr. Yael Demedetskaya, chairwoman of the Transgender Foundation NGO. Slowly, over the next decade, they largely disappeared from TV screens.

Russia's prolonged economic crisis has also delivered a major blow to drag performers, whose costumes are expensive to produce and maintain. All this has meant that Russian drag has suffered as an art form.

"I used to love these shows, but the quality has fallen significantly," Demedetskaya says.

Some performers say public tastes have changed since the adoption of the anti-gay propaganda law. Anton, a popular drag performer known as Evelina Grand onstage, says he is still invited to perform on television and before large live audiences. But the audiences have shifted.

"I had a lot more performances for the 'straight' public a few years ago," he told The Moscow Times in an email. "Now 90 percent of my performances are in gay clubs."

On Friday night, Evelina Grand and two other performers took to the stage in one such Moscow gay bar, Club Studio. Between extravagant musical numbers, they told bawdy jokes to the supportive crowd.

Spotting three "real women" in the crowd, the queens joked that "we'll get a couple of 'naturals'" — Russian gay slang for straight men — "in here. Just hope they don't mistake your holes for the more glorious ones in the wall." The crowd roared with laughter and applauded. The queens were clearly in their element.



"I saw the divas and I just knew I wanted to be like them." — drag queen **Kamilla Crazy White**

\$85

Approximate pay for a drag performance.



Derived from French, the term "travesti" ("disguised") refers to men and boys who played female roles in theater.

2013

Russia passes its infamous law against "gay propaganda."



← Evelina Grand (left) is a regular performer at Moscow's Studio Club, lip-syncing popular Russian pop and joking with patrons.

→ Mona Peperoni (right) says few of her fellow performers have strong political views.



to try to put the character onstage. But Zaritovsky hardly intended to become a professional.

Then, in 2011, he was fired from his job as a theater teacher at the local House of Children's Arts. Administrators had discovered that he was gay and an LGBT activist. But this deeply unpleasant incident had one silver lining: A month later, the gay club Malovich offered Zaritovsky a job as a drag performer.

Since then, he has performed drag full-time, and is now a regular performer at Petersburg's Art Kafe Kabare. At times, he has even incorporated politics into his act, satirizing Vitaly Milonov, the arch-conservative St. Petersburg Duma deputy known for championing anti-gay legislation.

His humor has a dark underbelly. Fueled by Milonov's anti-gay law, homophobic violence peaked in 2013, with the SOVA anti-extremism center recording a record 27 homophobic attacks across Russia. That same year, unidentified attackers fired guns at Moscow's Central Station nightclub, and later released noxious gas inside the building. Attackers eventually even attempted to crash the roof down on clubgoers. Ultimately, Central Station was forced to relocate to a less central location.

But Russian drag is rarely politicized. Zaritovsky says he has tried, without success, to convince the gay community to get involved in activism. But some Russian gays also buy into negative stereotypes about LGBT activists. Many believe activists only attract negative attention from politicians and the police.

"It's easier for people to be hidden and not stick their necks out," he says. "It's self-defense."

Kamilla Crazy White seems to be one of these apolitical drag artists. Before her performance, she told The Moscow Times that Russia's anti-gay legislation wasn't a big problem and that the country is "too cold for gay pride parades."

But like many drag artists, Kamilla is also struggling to build a career onstage in difficult economic conditions. The costs of costumes, wigs and cosmetics have all gone up, while pay has hardly increased.

"As Dmitry, I allow myself a lot less," she says. "Dmitry always saves."

Inside Imagine Cafe, embracing her many admirers, Kamilla is too busy to worry about money or what strangers think.

Kamilla says she traveled to the club in a taxi, dressed in full costume. On the way, other drivers honked at her and stared.

"Maybe seeing me made them happy. Or maybe they wanted to shout 'fag' at me," she says with a shrug. "Either way, no harm done." **TMT**

All In A Day's Work

This rapport between performer and audience is what initially attracted Dmitry — Kamilla Crazy White's real-life persona — to drag.

He gave his first shows as a child, when he and his friend would don wigs and women's clothing to perform parodies of Russian pop stars for elderly neighbors. Later, Dmitry joined a local theater and eventually entered the Moscow Province College of Arts.

Then one day, he visited Central Station, Moscow's oldest gay club, and watched a drag performance.

"I saw the divas and I just knew I wanted to be like them," he says.

After taking part in several drag contests at the club — where he debuted Kamilla Crazy White — Dmitry was offered a job. Kamilla became a hostess at the club and was later invited to perform a few numbers onstage. Soon, she was managing other artists at the club.

But it hasn't been easy. It takes several years to build up a reputation as a drag performer, and the pay at gay clubs is not astronomical. For each appearance, Kamilla often makes only

5000 rubles (roughly \$85). And the work can be unstable. In November, after six years at Central Station, Dmitry stuck out on his own to seek freedom to grow as an artist.

Taking the stage at Imagine Cafe on Saturday, Kamilla announced that Saturday marked a monumental event: her seven-year anniversary in the drag world.

After so many years, Dmitry says that he and Kamilla have basically become the same person, and many people use the names interchangeably.

Politicized Art

Unlike being gay or transgender, drag is not an identity in and of itself. But for many performers, their stage personas are extensions of themselves.

St. Petersburg-based Grigory Zaritovsky performs as Mona Peperoni, "a hot Italian woman with a French accent" that Zaritovsky attributes to his inability to pronounce the Russian letter "r." Although Mona is his artistic creation, Zaritovsky says he believes she "was always there inside me."

Mona came to life in 2007, when Zaritovsky donned drag to help a female friend celebrate her birthday. Later, he decided

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The Moscow Times
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1,000+

Number of editorial spreads shot by Piel for Condé Nast.

1987

Piel wins the Leica Medal of Excellence for Commercial Photography.



Denis Piel is renowned for his photographs of women.

THE WORD'S WORTH

Taking It Slow the Russian Way

Плестись: to wend



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

You'd think I'd be used to Moscow winters by now. And although I love the snow, by mid-February I start running out of energy. I'm like a big balloon with a slow leak, deflating and falling behind in everything.

In this state, creativity comes slowly. So I have languidly taken my time looking into how to be late in Russian.

These are important words, since being late is a Moscow thing. There's traffic, or a metro so packed you have to wait for three trains before you can squeeze on, or — let's be real — an alarm clock you slept through because it's still pitch-black at 8 a.m. If you're late, a good word to use is *задержаться* (to be detained), which is nicely unspecific. After all, at their airport when they announce "Самолёт задерживается на три часа" ("The plane will be three hours late") you don't know if it's because they are waiting for a spare part or because the pilot is sitting in traffic.

Sometimes *задерживаться* is to stay for a while — Поехали на неделю, задержались на лето (We went for a week and stayed for the summer). But sometimes people or things don't stick around for as long as you'd like. Ваня наш нигде подолгу не задерживался (Our Vanya never stayed in any place for long.) Деньги никогда не задерживались у моего бывшего мужа (With my ex — money never stuck around for long.)

Another all-purpose word is *запаздывать* (to be late). Запаздывает зарплата — уже три месяца без денег! (Our salaries are being held up — we haven't been paid in three months.) Язык всегда запаздывает — сначала явление, потом его название (Language always lags behind — first a phenomenon appears, then the name for it.)

If you don't like those words, there's *отставать*, which describes all kinds of ways of getting behind, such as taking your time when you shouldn't. Moms and dads are always shouting to their kids: Ребята, не отставать, нас ждут люди! (Come on, kids, don't dawdle! People are waiting for us!) Inanimate objects can also run late: Часы на кухне отстают на десять минут (The clock in the kitchen is slow by 10 minutes.) As can musicians: Скрипач отставал от оркестра (The violinist got behind the orchestra.) Or countries: Мы всё больше отстаём от развитых стран по продолжительности жизни (We are lagging further and further behind the developed countries in longevity.) Sometimes you can just be behind in everything: Вот видите, как вы отстали от жизни! (Look how behind the times you are!)

But my new favorite word for lingering and lagging is *плестись*. When the word is used with a person, it means to take your time going somewhere, often due to impediments: В один вечер, когда снег уже подтаял и на дорогах была жидкая, грязная каша, я плелась к дому (I wended my way home one evening when the snow had melted and the roads were covered with thin, filthy, porridge-like slush.) Or fatigue: Я позади всех плёлся, потому что измотался за день (I trudged behind everyone because I was worn out for the day.)

You can also lag behind everyone — *плестись в хвосте*: Жизнь — это скоростная трасса, если можешь — обогнать, не можешь — плестись в хвосте (Life is a superhighway. Overtake if you can. But if you can't — bring up the rear.)

In February I'm definitely bringing up the rear. **TMT**



Work for the likes of Vogue pushed Piel to global prominence.

Ladies' Man

By **Ruth Moore** artsreporter@imedia.ru | Twitter: @ruth_skii

The intimate art of iconic fashion photographer Denis Piel

With one vest strap slipping off her shoulder and an otherworldly beauty, the young model fixing you with an unyielding stare from the gallery walls is easily recognizable as a 16-year-old Uma Thurman. The man behind the image, photographer Denis Piel, has just opened his first exhibition in Russia, "Film Stills," at the Lumiere Brothers Center for Photography.

"What I remember about that day is that I couldn't stop shooting. There was just one marvelous picture after another," he said in an interview with The Moscow Times.

With his sunshine-yellow shirt and warm Australian accent, Piel cuts something of a contrast to the glossy, high-end fashion photographs he's best known for. Born in France and raised Down Under, Piel's career led him to Europe and then New York, where he became one of the few photographers to secure an exclusive contract with publisher Condé Nast.

The current exhibition focuses on the peak of his career as a fashion photographer during the 1980s. Inspired by "Film-capes," a retrospective of Piel's photography from that era — due to be published later this year — the show features some of Piel's most iconic shoots with models and actresses such as Christy Turlington, Andie MacDowell and Goldie Hawn.

The idea for the show was born when Piel and the director of the Lumiere Center, Natalia Grigoreva, met at the fine art photography fair Paris Photo. Choosing to focus on the cinematic quality of Piel's work, Yana Iskakova, the curator of the exhibition, studied hundreds of Piel's photographs before making her final selection.

"A photo doesn't presuppose any movement," Iskakova told The Moscow Times. "It's a captured moment. But sometimes you get the impression that there is some storytelling within that still image, as if you are viewing a film still. You begin to imagine the images that came before and after it — that is the feeling Denis's photography evokes."

A flair for the cinematic is a central feature of Piel's style: Like a film director, he would brief the fashion team on the "story" and talk with the model about the role they were playing, offering more ideas as the shoot progressed.

"I'm looking for emotion and reality, not a posed picture. A girl can pose as long as she likes but I won't click the shutter. It's when she stops that suddenly there's a picture," he said.

Piel's habit of observing everything, even the in-between moments of a shoot, kept his models on their toes. Sometimes he would even end a shoot

but still have his camera in his hand in case he saw something he liked.

"He would ask models to do things like remember an event from when they were five years old," said Iskakova. "The girl wouldn't have to reply but something behind her eyes would perceptibly change and he'd know it was time to take the shot." It was Piel's ability to breathe life into the glossy pages of magazines such as Vogue and Vanity Fair that made him in such high demand as a fashion photographer. He shot more than 1,000 editorial spreads over a decade working for Condé Nast. When asked about his work with some of the biggest names in fashion and film, Piel shrugs: "They weren't stars at the time."

The photographs of Uma Thurman for Vogue Italia were, in fact, the future actress's first professional shoot. Not that you'd guess from the unguarded way she appears before the camera.

"Sensuality is key to what I do," said Piel of his often sexually charged photographs. One photograph from the exhibition features Andie MacDowell raising her dress above her thighs in front of a balcony window. The voyeuristic shot, published in Vogue Italia in 1981, is intimate and dramatic at the same time. MacDowell had turned down requests to pose for photographer Helmut Newton, making the pictures even more significant.

"When the pictures came out everyone asked her how she did it. They said things like, 'those photos they weren't you,' and in a way it's true, because she was a totally shy person," said Piel.

Piel remembers the glamor of those years: the beautiful women, exotic travel and possibilities of fashion photography. When asked whether it was a surreal experience, he smiles.

"It's a story I don't tell very often but every year I'd take a month off. I'd travel somewhere remote with a limited amount of money and live for that period completely by myself alongside a local community. That was my grounding — it was a retreat."

Piel and his family eventually moved to southwest France, where they now run an organic, sustainable farm. Camera always in hand, Piel recently published a book, "Down to Earth," featuring photographs taken over the course of one agricultural cycle on his land. Images of fields and earth are punctuated by nude models lying in spring meadows and tilling soil.

"I'm still looking for cinematic moments," he said. **TMT**

"Film Stills" runs through March 7 at the Lumiere Brothers Center for Photography, 3 Bolotnaya Naberezhnaya. Metro Kropotkinskaya



Uma Thurman. New York, 1986. Vogue Italia

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SCREENSHOT FROM THE FILM "THE MAN WHO WAS TOO FREE"

Nemtsov, Epitaph to the New Russia

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

Two years after the murder of opposition politician Boris Nemtsov in central Moscow, a documentary film about his life titled "The Man Who Was Too Free" is set to shed new light on the controversial Kremlin critic. The film will be shown at select theaters in Moscow, as well as St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Yaroslavl — the cities most closely linked to Nemtsov's life. The Moscow Times spoke to the film's director Vera Krichevskaya about the "The Man Who Was Too Free."

How did the idea of the movie come about?

[Screenwriter] Mikhail Fishman and [producer] Yevgeny Gindilis began collecting information and conducting interviews shortly after Nemtsov's death for a different film project, but a lot of it was left unused. Fishman called me at the end of 2015, saying he had some brilliant

footage and invited me to be a part of the project. Only then did we start looking for funding, getting more interviews, and the film started to take shape. On one hand, it was an easy film to work on. On the other, it was difficult: easy, because Nemtsov is such a great character, a witness and participant of the new Russia's history; difficult, because there's simply too much archival footage, and there's no voiceover. We wanted to tell his story as fully as possible but leave ourselves outside of the frame.

Why is there no narrator in the movie?

Of course there's a narrator. It's Boris himself! His story holds the film together. Who can talk about Nemtsov's life better than the man himself? I assembled the narrative from fragments of dozens of Nemtsov's radio and TV interviews.

What does the film focus on?

We wanted to tell two stories: one of Nemtsov's life and the other of Russia as a new country, which began at the same time as Nemtsov's career and ended, symbolically, when its hero was shot on the bridge. Although the notion of Russia as a "country of hopes" disappeared around 2004, Nemtsov's murder for me was really the end of a whole epoch.

Why did you decide to leave the murder investigation out of it?

Firstly, none of us is an investigative reporter. Secondly, the trial isn't over and many of the key figures are practically inaccessible. As a Russian citizen, I'm eagerly awaiting the results of the trial, but as a professional I can't cover the topic of Nemtsov's murder investigation.

Why is Anatoly Chubais, one of Nemtsov's closest associates, not in the movie?

He refused to be interviewed.

The events of the 1996 elections are covered quite extensively in the film — what do you think of their significance?

As a nation, we still haven't processed the events of 1996. If we had, we might have questioned all the election results and the events that took place after 1996. Russia would have been better off if it shed the Communism and its heritage once and for all. **TMT**

Several screenings of the film with English subtitles will be held in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Details can be found on the websites of the theaters. **The Documentary Film Center** cdkino.ru
Karo Film Oktyabr karofilm.ru/theatres/10
Karo Sky at Aviapark mall karofilm.ru/theatres/35
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Disclaimer: Mikhail Fishman, the film's screenwriter, is editor-in-chief of The Moscow Times

Feb. 16 – March 1

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The 23rd edition of Russia's biggest performing arts and theater festival began on Feb. 14. One of the most prestigious events of the cultural calendar, the Golden Mask Award provides professionals and the general public with a full picture of developments in Russia in all theatrical genres: drama, ballet, opera, operetta, musical and puppet theater.

Russian performances chosen from among last season's premieres by experts and nominated for the award will be staged in Moscow throughout the spring, and will be evaluated in over 30 nominations by two juries of prominent Russian directors, actors, choreographers, conductors, and theater critics.

The Awards Ceremony will be held on April 19. A full schedule is available (in Russian) on the festival's website, with an abridged list in English. goldenmask.ru

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