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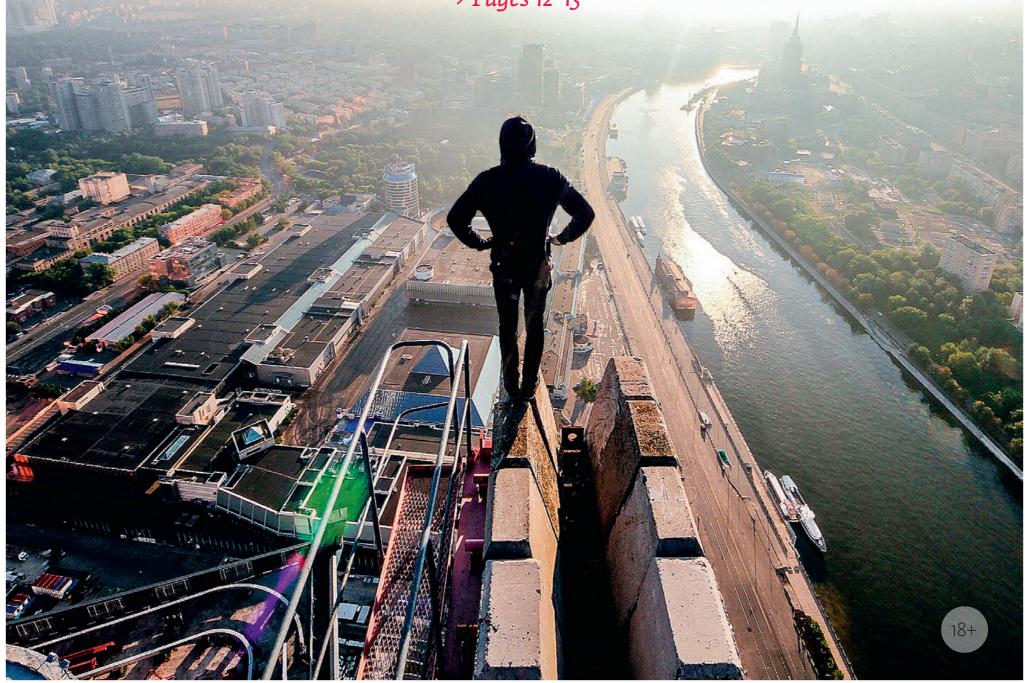
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"Migrant workers make huge profits for those that employ them." **Gavkhar Dzhurayeva**, head of the Russian Migration and Law Center.

### The Moscow Times

Funerals postponed after Khovanskoye brawl

#### 10Bln rubles

Official size of the funeral services sector in Moscow



At almost 2 hectares, the Khovanskoye cemetery claims to be the largest in Europe. More than 1 million people are buried here

# Over Dead Bodies

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

# A mass brawl broke out at a Moscow cemetery last week, killing at least three people. Is it the shape of things to come?

t could have been a scene straight out of "The Sopranos." On May 7, 15 cars rocked up to the Khovanskoye cemetery on the southwestern outskirts of Moscow. Dozens of men poured out, dressed in tracksuits, and brandishing Kalashnikov rifles and other weapons.

A bizarre, 90-minute battle among gravestones followed. A group of cemetery workers fought the invaders off with work tools, including shovels, hedge scissors and crowbars. According to official estimates, around 200 people participated in the fight, but witnesses say up to 500 people were involved.

As the dust settled, police put the death toll at three, all Tajik citizens. A source with connections to the cemetery staff told The Moscow Times that around twenty people were killed, most of whom were illegal migrants.

Three days after the incident, order had been restored to the neat lines of burial plots at Khovanskoye. The corpse filmed lying on the parking lot tarmac of the cemetery had been removed. And there was no trace of the debris and battered cars captured earlier by cameras. But many worry it is a sign that the combination of ethnic tensions and an economic crisis will bring back the 1990s-style turf wars the capital thought were a thing of the past.



Cars and debris are left lying on the tarmac, following the brawl on May 14.

#### **Ethnic Rivalries**

Russian media outlets were quick to point to an ethnic component in the dispute. Official reports had identified the attackers as hailing from Russia's North Caucasus region and those who had resisted them as being migrants from Central Asia. Later media reports specified the attackers as citizens from the Russian republics of Chechnya and Dagestan.

According to one version of events, the attack on illegal migrants from ex-Soviet states Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Moldova was a

spat over jobs. Migrants from mainly Tajikistan have traditionally found work in the capital's cemeteries by providing services like mending enclosures around burial plots or refreshing flowers. Some are officially employed by the cemetery. Most are not.

At Khovanskoye, a lone staff worker digging a grave said that more than 100 illegal migrant Tajik workers had fled following tighter police control in the days following the brawl. He seemed unfazed by the change and called the Tajik workers "swindlers."

The view that migrant workers form the core of the problem has found resonance among politicians. Already, there have been calls for stricter visa regimes or closing the border entirely to migrant workers from Central Asia. And one politician compared Moscow's future to the so-called migrant crisis experienced by Europe. Presumably referring to large-scale sexual assaults and robberies by men of North African and Arab appearance in Germany's Cologne on New Year's Eve, deputy speaker of the State Duma and a member of the ultranationalist LDPR party Igor Lebedev said: "We need to act now or we'll be looking at a Munich situation," the Interfax news agency reported.

But Gavkhar Dzhurayeva, head of the Migration and Law Center, warns of xenophobia. She says media and politicians are quick to

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Cover photo by Kirill Vselensky

#### MEDIA VISION

# RBC Showed Us the Road, Only to Be Steamrolled by the State

By Natalya Sindeyeva
Founder and General Director,
Dozhd Television



t is no longer any real secret that the ruling regime knows how to crack down on "undesirable" elements. At Dozhd television, when we followed developments at over at RBC Media, we naturally rejoiced at our colleagues' journalistic triumphs. But we also worried for them, because we understood the situation could not continue forever.

Our station went through something similar two years ago, when authorities used trumped-up charges to deny us the right to broadcast on cable networks. RBC Media was subject to searches, new criminal charges and, ultimately, its editor-inchief was dismissed. Although the methods they used against us and RBC were different, the situations were similar and the mechanism was exactly the same: Once that huge steamroller of state-sponsored oppression gets going, there is no stopping it.

RBC holds a special place among Russia's independent media. In just 2½ years, its journalists managed to breathe new life into a struggling media company. They turned a lifeless organization with a vacuous newspaper, weak website, bland television programming and a bad reputation for running paid articles into Russia's largest and most influential source of independent information.

With an admittedly large staff and resources, RBC was able to spend the necessary time and money to hire the people it wanted. No other independent media outlet has such capabilities—not Dozhd television, not Slon.ru and not Vedomosti newspaper. But one must also know how to use such resources, and RBC did so effectively and professionally. RBC demonstrated that Russia

has real journalism and that journalists can be successful in their profession.

Significantly, RBC also managed to increase both its income and audience size during an economic crisis and a time of reduced advertising revenues. All media outlets in Russia are either state owned and funded or privately owned, which are mostly unprofitable and subsist on shareholder funding. RBC managers and journalists demonstrated that a private news agency can actually increase revenues during a crisis. I always felt a good-natured envy that RBC was able to do that.

The situation for Russian media has changed dramatically in the last few years, and the crackdown on Dozhd was not the first of its kind. This trend began in 2011 when the owner of the Kommersant newspaper interfered in editorial policy over the mass protests on Bolotnaya Ploshchad and fired staff members. Next, the editor-in-chief was dismissed at Lenta.ru, the largest independent Russian-language news website.

The situation only worsened after that — Russian legislators introduced laws limiting foreign ownership of media in Russia, and then advertising was banned on private cable channels. New political and economic limitations are constantly being placed on all Russian media outlets with editorial boards that operate independently of the government.

Dozhd and its media colleagues have problems with advertising. Advertisers are wary about placing ads with independent media and must constantly devise ways to keep the station afloat. We simply do not have the same budget for in-depth in-

vestigative work that RBC had at its disposal.

And we encounter other problems. For example, as an independent television channel, Dozhd strives to present different points of view on any given topic. However, the government has instituted an unspoken ban on officials giving interviews on our programs. This pressure makes the material we do present one-sided — we cannot offer an opposing point of view because nobody will give us one. RBC somehow managed to maintain communication with a number of government newsmakers.

That is all likely to change now, and it will be a huge loss for Russia's information landscape. Even when combined, all the remaining independent media outlets are smaller than RBC and cannot replace it. They lack the resources and audience. Consequently, a huge number of people will be deprived of an alternative point of view on major news stories.

Disrupting that balance is dangerous. Russian society has grown accustomed to the authorities pressuring and censoring the media. Society has forgotten that the primary mission of any journalist is to report on corruption and abuses of power — something that RBC never tired of doing. It has become commonplace to learn that a government official has told an editor-in-chief what to write — despite the fact that Russian law expressly prohibits such actions.

The authorities have made RBC a lesson for the independent media outlets still left in Russia, effectively telling them: "Don't make us angry or you'll regret it." Regardless, Dozhd will stick to its independent editorial policy, just as it did two years ago.

#### May 19 - 25, 2016 Looking Back



"This is a battle within Moscow's Muslim community, whether we like it or not." Alexander Malashenko, Carnegie Center.

suspects

(cemetery director included)



"This is not about different nationalities, but repartition of criminal business." Vladimir Markin, Russian Investigative Committee spokesman.

#### 80%

Estimated share of Moscow funeral services operating in the shadow economy.

#### ← Continued from Page 2

pin the blame on migrants. But the problem is elsewhere. The migrants who had been working at the cemetery formed just a small part of a sector fraught with criminality. Exploitation is common, she says, adding: "They are the victims."

#### A Morbid Business

A cemetery visitor who declined to give his name confirmed he had been approached by Tajik men in the past. They offered to clean up his father's grave for 10,000 rubles (\$153), a price he found much too expensive. But from the moment his father passed away three years ago, he's had many such offers. Alexei Suloyev, vice president of the Russian Union of Burial Organizations and Crematoriums, describes the funeral services sector as being dominated by widespread corruption.

Officially, the state-owned burial company Ritual has a monopoly over the capital's funeral services. But up to 80 percent of the sector operates in the shadows, says Suloyev. Medical personnel will leak the personal details of the recently deceased for 20,000 rubles, for example. This "funeral informant" business in Moscow alone is worth about 1 billion rubles annually, he said.

Migrants form only a small part of that lucrative shadow business. Following the Khovanskoye brawl, migrant workers told reporters that gangsters had demanded a "tribute" of as much as 90 percent of their profits. According to the cemetery workers, they had refused. The recent attack had reportedly been payback.

At least some of the attackers, and alleged extortioners. were Chechen. But it looks likely they might have been acting in cahoots with the cemetery's own management. The cemetery director Yury Chugayev has been detained on suspicion of having organized the attack, spokesman for the Investigative Committee Vladimir Markin told the Interfax news agency on May 17. Chugavey's predecessor was earlier removed from his post for illegally selling burial plots. And there was a former policeman among the more than 100 people detained at the cemetery riot.

Suloyev predicted there would be many more of such "surprises" as the investigation into the brawl unravels.

While it seems clear enough that the recent unrest was – at least in part — financially motivated, it would be dangerous to abandon all ethnic considerations, argues Alexei Malashenko, an analyst at the Carnegie Moscow Center think tank.

"As much as we want to close our eyes to it, there are huge tensions within Moscow's Muslim community," he says. Si-



More than 100 people were detained by police following the brawl at the cemetery Detainees included citizens from former Soviet states Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. as well as Chechens from the Russian republic in the North Caucasus.

multaneously, there is strong group loyalty. Several sources told The Moscow Times that the Saturday brawl had evolved into a massive fight partly because it had been joined by Tajik migrant workers from nearby markets who rushed to assist their compatriots.

According to Malashenko, the Khovanskoye brawl has heightened tensions and there is a high probability of ethnically-motivated revenge attacks. As at Khovanskoye, they will likely be initiated by certain members of the Chechen community, whom he described as enjoying a sense of impunity under the leadership of Chechen strongman Ramzan Kadyrov.

Chechens have been involved in several intimidating attacks on the political opposition, and were implicated in the February 2015 murder of opposition politician Boris Nemtsov. Russian authorities tend to turn a blind eye to such acts of violence, says Malashenko: "Moscow authorities dealing with Chechens know very well that Kadyrov stands behind them."

Following the fight, security has been increased at large cemeteries across the capital, the head of the city's trade and services department Alexei Nemeryuk has said. According to Yelena Andreyeva, acting director of Russia's Union of Funeral Organizations and Crematoriums, there is reason for concern. She says violence has become a frequent occurrence in the funeral services sector as rival interests try to squeeze each other out. In recent months, incidents have included arson attacks and armed showdowns, though none as large as the Khovanskove fight.

With practically no regulation in the sector, almost anyone can offer funeral services in Russia, she said. And as the country goes through a credit crunch, hitting small and mid-size businesses hard, many are moving into the burial business to try their luck at what seems a safe bet.

As Andreyeva says, crisis or no crisis, "people will continue dying." TMT





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#### Looking Forward 4



"I believe our guys, they are outstanding athletes. The allegations are absurd."

Vitaly Mutko, sports minister.

#### The Moscow Times

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Russian athletes have been banned by the IAAF from international competition.



"Doping is about motivation and opportunity. Every athlete has motivation to dope. So the question always is about opportunity." Richard Ings, former head of the Australian Anti-Doping Agency.



# Ready, Steady ... Dope!

By Daria Litvinova d.litvinova@imedia.ru, Twitter: @dashalitvinovv | Illustration by Ilya Kutoboy

## A new turn in Russia's doping crisis jeopardizes the country's chances in the 2016 Rio Olympics and the future of elite sports in general.

The cocktail already has a name — the "Rodchenkov." Its standard base is three shots of different steroids; the variable part is the alcohol mixer (the men get whiskey and the women, Martini). According to its inventor Grigory Rodchenkov, former head of the Moscow anti-doping laboratory, the potions delivered efficient results. In whistle-blowing comments made to The New York Times, he says he administered it to a range of Russian athletes during the 2014 Sochi Olympics.

According to the extraordinary testimony, he and his colleagues covered for the fraud at night by swapping urine samples through a fist-sized hole in a wall. Federal Security Service (FSB) officers were also said to have participated in the scheme, while the operation's masterminds were as senior as deputy ministers. Rodchenkov had to step down from running the laboratory in November 2015 after the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) issued a report accusing the facility of numerous violations. He later fled to the United States, settling in California.

If his allegations are true, Russia's impressive victory in Sochi — 33 medals, 13 golds among them — was a state-sponsored fraud. If proven, Russia's participation in the 2016 Rio Olympics seems unlikely. But this may only be the start of the country's problems. According to newspaper reports, the U.S. Justice Department has launched a wide-ranging criminal investigation of its own, which may result in fraud and conspiracy charges being brought against athletes, officials and others involved in doping schemes.

#### Truth or Dare

Following The New York Times interview, named Russian officials and sportsmen predictably denied any wrongdoing, calling the allegations "absurd," "defamatory" and "groundless." Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov called Rodchenkov "a defector" and his statements, "defector's slander." Athletes, meanwhile, insisted they had passed all the necessary anti-doping tests, and expressed righteous indignation. Dmitry Svishchev, a State Duma deputy, said that Rodchenkov was "making things up," but, just to be safe, called for an investigation into the claims.

It soon became obvious that Russian officials weren't keen on investigating. "Cocktails? It's silly. The sportsmen were under control before, during and after the Olympics," said Sports Minister Vitaly Mutko. "These are the speculations of a man accused [of being involved in a doping scandal]. When people are criticized, they can say a lot of

things." Mutko added that his ministry was ready to sue The New York Times for defamation.

Rodchenkov didn't respond to a request for comment from The Moscow Times. People who have known him for a long time, however, say that it would be inconsistent for him to invent a story like this. "He might embellish things, but he isn't about making things up," journalist Vladimir Ivanov, who has known Rodchenkov for years, told The Moscow Times. "He considers himself a brilliant chemist — which he, in fact, is — and is very proud of himself and his inventions."

The scheme described by Rodchenkov in the article is entirely feasible, agrees Richard Ings, the former head of the Australian Anti-Doping Agency. "If there's a laboratory with a lack of security, if there are athletes who are aware of the system, then the story outlined is plausible — and it's very scary that it could actually be done that easily," he told The Moscow Times.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) echoed his sentiment. Its spokesman told The Moscow Times that the IOC found these allegations "very detailed and very worrying." The committee called for an immediate investigation by WADA. "Based on the findings of a WADA inquiry, the IOC won't hesitate to act with its usual policy of zero tolerance for doping and defending the clean athletes," he said.

President of WADA Craig Reedie reacted promptly and promised to look into Rodchenkov's allegations. Given the upcoming Rio Olympics, investigating this story is crucial, he said: "We fully understand that [...] with the new doping allegations surfacing, we have more work to do to further secure athletes' confidence in clean sport."

#### Trouble In Paradise

Russia is already in trouble. The International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) has banned the national track and field team from participating in any international competitions, including the 2016 Olympics. On June 17 the IAAF will decide whether to lift the ban—and, according to Sergei Ilyukov, doctor for the Finnish national team and consultant for the Estonian anti-doping agency, the chances of that happening are slim, "The likelihood of the ban being lifted wasn't great starting out, but Rodchenkov's claims have made the situation significantly worse," Ilyukov told The Moscow Times.

Currently, the rest of the Russian national team is still supposed to make the 2016 Olympics. If Rodchenkov's allegations are proven, however, the IOC may decide to bar the entire Russian team from participating in the upcoming games, the committee's president Thomas Bach said in a statement.

Three unnamed sources within the IAAF have confirmed to The Times newspaper that the association would not lift the ban in light of the new allegations. In written comments to The Moscow Times, IAAF spokespeople neither confirmed, nor denied this information, simply reiterating that the decision would be made public in June. Even without further sanctions, the Olympic ban on track and field athletes would be disastrous for Russia's medal count, Russian media outlets predict.

Russian sports officialdom is nervous. On May 15, Mutko was even moved to write an op-ed for The Sunday Times, in which he apologized and begged international sports authorities to let Russian track and field team participate in the Olympics. "Serious mistakes have been made ... We are very sorry that athletes who tried to deceive us, and the world, were not caught sooner," he wrote.

#### Coming Clean

If Mutko's statements mark a change in thinking, there may be progress to be made. "The first move is always admitting you have an issue, and this is a really good start," says Ings. Russia is a "proud country," he added, and authorities could be genuinely eager to protect the reputation of athletes and

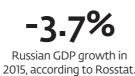
Political will is the key to resolving the crisis, agrees Ilyukov. Russian officials could jump on the opportunity and reverse the situation quite quickly. What's less clear is whether the state is ready to invest in cutting-edge support infrastructure so that its most exceptional sportsmen no longer need to dope. "They're not yet ready to invest in people, and people are very important in this industry. Right now Russian sport is like a [Russian-made] Lada automobile compared to a Mercedes," he said.

Both experts believed Russian elite sport will be forced to clean up its act. "The world is changing, and the international anti-doping framework is becoming more effective, making it harder for athletes all over the world to dope," Ings said. TMT

May 19 - 25, 2016



"It's very difficult to keep from spending oil and gas revenues on current expenditures." Russian President **Vladimir Putin**.





Russia's budget deficit is expected to comprise 3 percent of the GDP in 2016, with oil prices of \$40 per barrel, according to the Finance Ministry. \$89.57Bln

Russian oil export revenues in 2015, down 41.7 percent from the previous year.

# No Quick Fix

Why a rebounding oil price will not automatically jump-start Russia's stagnant economy.



Op-Ed by Vladislav Inozemtsev Director of the Center for Post-Industrial Studies and Berthold Beitz Fellow with the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP)

his year got off to a bad start. Oil prices fell to below \$30 per barrel and a budget deficit of at least 5 percent seemed inevitable. But now Russia's political elite is breathing a sigh of relief. Oil is up to more than \$40 per barrel and experts are predicting that prices are more likely to continue climbing than to collapse, as they did in winter.

Of course, oil price trends cannot be forecast with any certainty. But financial officials recently stated that if oil remains between \$40 and \$50 per barrel, the economy will enter a "new reality." What does that mean?

It refers to a course toward moderate belt-tightening — higher taxes and stricter collection of them, as well as limiting imports through protectionist measures. Government propaganda must be stepped up to convince the Russian people that scheming foreigners are the cause of their problems, not their leaders' failed economic policy.

This is simply "milking the economy." Oil and gas revenues will fall. They totaled 7.43 trillion rubles in 2014, dropped to 5.86 trillion rubles in 2015 and could fall to 4.5 trillion rubles in 2016. Therefore, authorities will have to cut project investment, reduce funding to the regions and scale back financial incentives for state employees.

That will lead to further decline in an economy kept afloat by government investment and purchases. Import volumes have dropped to half of their 2014 level, which means a decline in VAT revenues from the sale of those goods.

The additional pressure that places on business, coupled with the reduction in state orders and the shrinking incomes of government employees will lead to production declines. The authorities will use Central Bank emissions and quasi-emissions to limit spending from the government's reserve fund, but that will not halt the recession. The 1.4 percent drop in gross domestic product during the first quarter of 2016 will only fuel further

Economic recovery is unlikely in 2017; in fact, I expect Russia will see no economic growth even if oil prices rise to as much as \$65-\$70 per barrel.

Even if leaders manage to avoid cutting salaries for state employees and save money by eliminating the most useless ex-

#### **Brent Oil Price**



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

penditures, a general population frightened by the crisis and burdened by high interest rates is unlikely to increase personal spending. Higher oil prices will strengthen the ruble. That will result in lower profits for major raw materials corporations, thus reducing ruble revenues to the federal budget. Most businesspeople will continue to expect further stagnation and will be unlikely to invest in new projects.

If oil prices rise, authorities will readopt their 2010 attitude. At that time, they expected an imminent end to the crisis and immediately gave up on liberalizing business conditions or implementing economic structural reforms. Russia would enter a period of classic stagnation, marked by a lack of incentive for change.

This leads to a simple and rather pessimistic conclusion: Russia is trapped by its dependence on commodity markets.

Russia has no realistic plan for modernization, particularly given its isolation and lack of potential economic partners. Regardless of how oil prices and the ruble finally reach equilibrium, no qualitative change will result.

There are only two scenarios by which Russia could see renewed economic growth in the coming years.

The first requires continuously rising oil prices, as they previously did throughout President Vladimir Putin's terms in office.

However, data from the past decades indicates that oil prices must rise by 15-20 percent annually for economic growth to resume (all things being equal). In practical terms, that means oil prices must reach approximately \$80 per barrel by 2018 and no less than \$110 per barrel by 2020.

Such a scenario might provide economic growth of 2-4 per-

cent per annum and return the Russian economy to 2008 levels by 2019-2020. However, that scenario is unlikely—the current price war and the sharp increase in supply from new forms of energy such as shale oil and biofuels could effectively cap prices at \$60 per barrel.

There is a second option. Rather than implementing the necessary structural reforms, leaders could make it easier to do business in Russia by reinstating relatively free trade, returning a significant volume of land in central Russia to the marketplace, waiving taxes for new businesses, creating potent guarantees for foreign investment and launching mechanisms for stimulating demand.

The government could take the position that the creation of jobs and economic growth are temporarily more important than collecting taxes, and that it is better to let people earn money on their own than to put them on the government payroll. That would not require any radical political changes, but even that step remains unfeasible as long as Russia's business and government officials are so closely interconnected. Thus, this second scenario remains unlikely.

Therefore, even if oil prices become relatively high again, the new reality for Russia means coming to an almost unshakable near zero equilibrium in all areas: economic, social and political, Judging by the popularity of the ruling regime and its lack of accountability before the public, such a situation could last years—until the dilapidated post-Soviet economy finally produces major technological disasters or becomes deeply dysfunctional. But it will take another 3-5 years before that occurs.





# 6 Russian Tales



Opioid substitution therapy (OST) is still unavailable in Russia. Synthetic drugs, such as methadone and buprenorphine, are also banned.

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Official liquidation of the Russian Federal Drug Control Service



"Why among the arrested FSKN officers were only those who legally took part in the investigation of high-profile criminal cases like the so-called 'Three Whales' and 'Chinese Trafficking?" Viktor Cherkesov, then-head of the FSKN, 2007.



# Drugs Tsar, Dethroned

By Mikhail Fishman m.fishman@imedia.ru | Illustration by Evgeny Tonkonogy

The inside story of the end of Russia's Federal Drug Control Service — and that of its notorious head.

n May 10, an unusual post appeared on Facebook, apparently signed by Viktor Ivanov, the head of Russia's Federal Drug Control Service (FSKN). "Comrades and fellow soldiers," it began. "I want to apologize that I couldn't save our organization. We protected our national interests honestly." Someone somewhere seemed far from happy with the decision to dismantle one of the largest government agencies.

For any former senior level official to question President Vladimir Putin's logic is, in the context of the Russian system, a demonstration of significant disloyalty. The post—allegedly written by Ivanov himself—disappeared from Facebook within an hour. The FSKN press office described the publication as a "provocation" against the service and its head.

The decision to disband FSKN, along with the Federal Migration Service, was announced on March 30 as part of a broader reform, including the creation of a new National Guard. Under the plans, in little over one week, the agency will be no more, and Ivanov, a long-time associate of Putin, will retire. According to various sources in and around government, Ivanov had been kept in the dark about the plans until the very last minute.

This is a quite unusual way of doing business in Putin's

universe, and seems to be a sign of serious dissatisfaction somewhere within government.

#### The Power Broker

Ivanov's name features prominently in any account of Putin's rise to power. A career KGB officer, he moved to St. Petersburg in the 1990s to take up a role within the city administration. According to some reports, he did this on Putin's own recommendation. Since then, their careers have dovetailed. When, in the late 1990s, Putin headed the Federal Security Service (FSB), the successor to the KGB, Ivanov was assigned a top position in the service.

Ivanov always dealt with paperwork, not fieldwork, a former official who knew him at that time recalls. "He was always the HR manager," he says.

When Putin was elected president, the "HR manager," albeit with KGB roots, enjoyed a meteoric rise to become presidential deputy chief of staff. This was a position of enormous authority. It placed Ivanov in charge of the Kremlin's HR department, and gave him control over all issues relating to national awards and staffing within the justice system. It was here that he developed a reputation as the Kremlin's forceful power broker—alongside and together with Igor Sechin, a similarly faithful assistant hailing from Putin's St. Petersburg days.

The extent of Ivanov's omnipotence was publicly revealed in court in 2008, when a leading Supreme Arbitration Court judge testified that Ivanov's staff directly intervened in judicial appointments. This is unconstitutional. One of Ivanov's former colleagues agreed that "of course" this was what was happening — "but this is how the system works, they were acting in the interests of the state, and besides, it has only gotten worse since."

It was around this time that Ivanov's rise was checked and his career problems began. He first ran into Dmitry Medvedev, who became president in 2008, and who found it difficult to deal with Putin's KGB associates. Ivanov was asked to move out of the Kremlin, and, in a clear demotion, he was transferred from his top position within the presidential administration to become head of the new Federal Drug Controls Service.

#### Breaking the Golden Rule

The idea for creating a special federal agency for drug control came from another of Putin's St. Petersburg security associates, Viktor Cherkesov, in 2002. It was largely modeled on the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration created in the early 1970s to fight drug smuggling.

Continued on Page 11 →

# Out & About



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





Director Valery Todorovsky made his television debut with the 12-part serial "Ottepel" in 2013. The Soviet melodrama has been compared to the U.S. series "Mad Men."

# Soviet-Era Cuisine With a Twist at Ottepel

By Andrei Muchnik artsreporter@imedia.ru

#### A restaurant that harks back to the Khrushchev thaw

t's unclear whether the name of this new restaurant at VDNKh has anything to do with Valery Todorovsky's "Ottepel" (The Thaw), which some consider the best Russian-language television serial to date. But both certainly draw inspiration from the period when Nikita Khrushchev was in power in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It was a time when censorship and repression relaxed—and there's definitely something of the "Khrushchev thaw" to the restaurant's interior.

Ottepel is located in the former silk industry pavilion, built in the 1950s, next to the architecturally domineering Zelyony Teatr (Green The-

ater). Originally a venue to exhibit the work of the advanced soviet silk industry, the building had fallen into complete disrepair by the 1990s. Newly refurbished, Ottepel looks like a romanticized and reimagined version of the U.S.S.R.

A plaque bearing an image of Chaika, the Communist Party nomenklatura's favorite car, takes pride of place on the building's facade, while a second Chaika image, made from lamps, hangs over the bar at the entrance. Although parts of the interior were built from scratch, even the immaculately reconstructed columns bear the acronym VPV, which stands for Vsesoyuznaya

Promyshlennaya Vystavka (All-Soviet Industrial Exhibition).

Staff wear Mondrian-inspired aprons and the menu is innovative—the restaurant specializes in upgrading well-known, simple Soviet dishes into high-end cuisine. Traditional Russian cabbage soup "shchi" (420 rubles) counts calamari among its ingredients while the ubiquitous cold soup "okroshka" (360 rubles) features salty pastrami.

The Soviet favorite "sosiska v teste" (a type of hotdog) is served with bacon, pickles and crispy onions. Open sandwiches have toppings like "forshmak" (Jewish herring salad) or smoked salmon

with cottage cheese. Another trending item is the "koryushka" served with potatoes (380 rubles). The smelt fish originates from the Baltic sea and is immensely popular in St. Petersburg. If you seek a filling meal, try chicken in Georgian "satsivi" sauce with fried polenta and cheese (610 rubles).

It's an innovative throwback to the Soviet era, and perfectly at home in the ramblingly grandiose exhibition park of VDNKh.

#### +7 (925) 317 4315

ottepel-restaurant.ru 119/311 Prospekt Mira Metro VDNKh

#### 



#### Mandy's Apothecary Irish Pub Svadba Soyek

#### A small taste of home

If you want a scotch egg, bangers and mash or a pie, the extensive menu at this new pub on Kuznetsky Most is unlikely to disappoint. While not everything is perfect—the lager came in an ale glass and the Guinness pie seemed to lack Guinness—there is a good atmosphere, traditional pub interior and the staff are

#### +7 (926) 411 4104

facebook.com/mandysapothecaryirishpub 19 Kuznetsky Most, Bldg. 1 Metro Kuznetsky Most



#### Georgian food in the park

Located in an oriental kiosk not far from the VDNKh's "city farm," Svadba Soyek (Jay Bird Wedding) is named after a Georgian folktale and serves traditional Georgian fare in a cozy dining hall. The khinkali are addictive and come in three varieties - pork and beef, suluguni cheese, and lamb. The pkhali beans (230 rubles) and satsivi chicken (290 rubles) are also superb.

#### +7 (495) 117 8297

facebook.com/svadbasoek 119/550 Prospekt Mira Metro VDNKh



#### Tyotya Motya

#### **Riverside views**

Tyotya Motya is the latest dining spot to open in Gorky Park. The cafe boasts several seating areas, but the best spot is undoubtedly on the upper terrace overlooking the Moscow river. Floral fabrics, outdoor heating and fairy lights are set to make it a go-to of the summer season. The extensive drinks list and relaxing ambiance compensate for the unremarkable food.

#### +7 (985) 364 1575

park-gorkogo.com/places/189 9 Krymsky Val, Bldg. 52. Metro Oktyabrskaya



#### Surf Coffee

#### Achingly cool coffee

This new coffee shop on Myasnitskaya offers a refreshing alternative to the hoards of generic chains dotted throughout the center. Their coffee is sourced from the surfing paradise of Central America (70 percent Costa Rican beans, 30 percent Guatemalan), while the interior looks like a fancy beach shack. Grab an iced coffee or a "Morning in Tahiti" smoothie, sink into a retro chair and channel your inner beach babe.

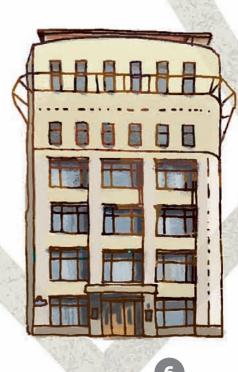
facebook.com/surfcoffeemoscow 16 Ulitsa Myasnitskaya Metro Lubyanka

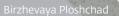
# Take it and go!

#### 5. Trinity-Sergius Lavra Guesthouse

Across the square to the left is a pale green five-story building with extraordinarily detailed white ornamentation. Many centuries ago, there was a much smaller building here that provided shelter to monks from the Trinity-Sergius Lavra. In the 18th century, the monastery asked a merchant to manage the property. He built a two-story hotel with a café on the corner called the Trinity, all of which provided a welcome income for the monastery. In 1874-76, the property was built up again, this time as a five-story mixeduse building in the faux old Russian style. It housed many offices, another incarnation of the famous Trinity café and a hotel mostly used by foreign commercial travelers. You may need a few minutes to see all the wonders of this remarkable building, now the International Commercial Arbitrage Court. 5/2 Ulitsa Ilyinka, Bldg. 1









#### 2. Church of the Prophet Elijah

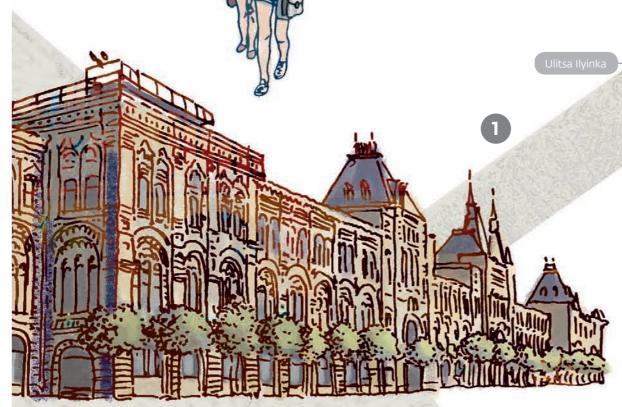
After a refreshing bit of shopping and ice-cream therapy, continue along Ilyinka. Just past the entrance to an underground car park is an ochre and white building whose simplicity belies its importance. Under a century or two of reconstruction is the Church of the Prophet Elijah, built in 1519-21, that was once part of a monastery after which the street is named: Ilya is the Russian version of Elijah. The street was first a place of monasteries, churches, and church courts, but over time there were more than 4,000 shops and stalls in this Kitai-Gorod neighborhood. This was no place for a cloister, so the monastery closed, but the church remained. Its cupola was torn down in the 1930s and the building converted into offices, but the small chapel has been recovered and now holds services.











#### 1. GUM

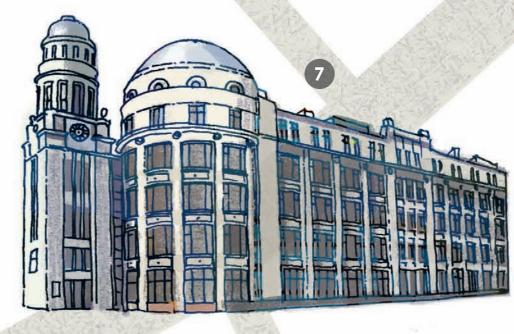
This walk begins on Red Square, at the corner of Ulitsa Ilyinka at one end of GUM, Russia's most famous department store. The GUM we know—the last in a series of arcades here—was built at the very end of the 19th century in a faux old Russian style to fit in with the architecture of the square, but with a glass ceiling, fountains and other architectural wonders of the age. It was originally called the Upper Trading Rows; the Middle and Lower Trading Rows trailed behind it down the hill to the river. From 1918-21 it was taken over by the young Soviet government as offices, and in the 1930s it was almost torn down. But it survived that and the lean years of the late Soviet era to re-emerge as the city's premier shopping arcade. Stop in to peer into shop windows, or better yet—buy one of GUM's famous ice-cream cones.

1 Ulitsa Ilyinka

## 6. The Ryabushinsky Brothers Bank and Manufacturing Company

Across the square is a rather plain, brick, six-story building of ambiguous style — the unfortunate victim of bad reconstructions over the decades. The structure was designed by the brilliant art nouveau architect Fyodor Shekhtel for the Ryabushinsky family in 1908. It was originally a five-story building with subtle and delicate ornamentation. That was all torn down when another story was added. All that remains are some bas-relief wreaths containing whimsical sea horses above the fourth floor of what is now the Finance Ministry. After sighing, walk back to Ulitsa Ilyinka and continue away from Red Square.

1 Birzhevaya Ploshchad



#### 4. The Old Stock Exchange Building

Continue along the street until you come into a small, but impressive square — one of the capital's hidden treasures. This is Stock Exchange Square, and the magnificent yellow building on the right side of the street was once the Stock Exchange and, since the 1990s, the Russian Chamber of Commerce. In the 19th century, Ulitsa Ilyinka grew from a trading hub to Russia's banking and business center, with almost a dozen of the country's largest banks situated here. This transformation into Russia's Wall Street was facilitated in the late 1800s, when traders using part of Gostiny Dvor for their deal-making asked the governor general for permission to build a real Stock Exchange. They bought land and built their exchange in 1875 in the eclectic style. Pause for a moment and marvel at the building — and that you had no idea this beautiful little square even existed. 6 Ulitsa Ilyinka

#### 7. Northern Insurance Company Building

If the first incarnation of Ilyinka was a street of churches and the second was a trade and business center, the third and current incarnation is a street of government. As you walk along the street, the windows in the large and ornate former banks and businesses are closed by white curtains, presumably so that pedestrians won't interrupt the gravitas of the decision-making processes within. When you arrive at the end of the street where Ilyinka stops at Novaya Ploshchad (New Square), you'll see two buildings on the left that make up one complex. These were once the Northern Insurance Company buildings, built in the Russian art nouveau style in 1911 to house the company's offices, trade center and warehouses. The round corners and domed rooftops blended perfectly with the nearby church and secular architecture. Like almost every other building in Kitai-Gorod, these were claimed by the Bolsheviks in 1918 to house the growing government. It is now part of the presidential administration. 21-23 Ulitsa Ilyinka



#### 3. Gostiny Dvor

On the other side of the street is the massive Gostiny Dvor, originally something like a caravansary for traveling traders (who were called gosti), where they had stalls, storerooms, and places to sleep. Like so much in this ancient part of the city, the original wooden and stone buildings have been burned or torn down many times. This building was commissioned by Catherine the Great from one of her favorite architects, Giacomo Quarenghi. It was almost finished in 1805 but suffered from the pyromaniacal French army in 1812. It was finally finished by another famous architect, Osip Bovet, in 1830, and its neoclassical lines became the model for many other such structures across the country. After almost a century as a place of trade, it was used for offices in the early Soviet period and then slipped into nearly irredeemable disrepair. Around the turn of the 21st century it was reconstructed, although conservationists weep over the end result. It is now filled with shops, banks, restaurants and cafes, with a great expanse for expos and special events.

4 Ulitsa Ilyinka



# Moscow's Other Main Street Walk From Red Square to New Square

By Michele A. Berdy m.berdy@imedia.ru | Illustration by Maria Zaikina

Monasteries to traders, banks to bureaucrats, this street has seen it all

#### The Moscow Times No. 5755



Christoph Trapper, Intern at Rödl & Partner Russia

"Kamchatka is a small bar in the center near TSUM. It has a rustic interior and a Russian feel despite the odd tourist who ends up there. Russian hits from the 80s and 90s give it a great atmosphere on a night out. But be warned — the crowd can get a bit rowdy."



#### Terrace Dining: What's Hot in Moscow This Summer

Nothing says summer is coming like an al fresco meal on a sun-drenched patio. Whether it's rooftop views across the city or tranquil terrace dining you're after, here are the Moscow restaurants where eating out means just that.



#### Wing or Leg

Patio in the park

Wing or Leg takes the concept of British pub grub, strips it down to its bare essentials and then reconstructs it with a twist. Chef Dmitry Zotov's elegant food has a touch of haute cuisine about it while remaining innately innovative and modern. The popular chain has restaurants on Patriarch's Ponds and Prospekt Mira, but the gastropub's third location in the heart of Gorky Park boasts one of the city's best terraces. Sofas, wicker chairs, plump cushions and hanging plants create the ambiance of a grandmother's porch. The terrace faces the park's volleyball courts, so you will never be short of entertainment if conversation stalls during your meal. While the menu suggests everthing will be chicken, there's plenty on offer for all palates.

+7 (916) 268 5118

park-gorkogo.com/places/180 9 Ulitsa Krymsky Val Metro Oktyabrskaya



#### Karlson

A bird's-eve view

Like the eponymous and much-loved

Swedish children's book character, Karlson restaurant can be found on the roof. The Ginza project eatery is located on the top floor of the Central City Tower business center, boasting breathtaking views of the river, Kremlin and other central Moscow landmarks. The kitchen serves highend Italian and Mediterranean cuisine, which is delivered to your table by waiters sporting blue denim jumpsuits. Try one of their perfectly tender steaks or opt for a fresh seafood dish like the Murmansk cod with pesto and caramelized carrots. As you might expect from the setting, prices are toward the upper end of the scale, but there's no better spot from which to view the Moscow river from the comfort of your dining table.

#### +7 (495) 280 0428

ginza.ru/msk/restaurant/karlson 20 Ovchinnikovskaya Naberezhnaya, Central City Tower business center Metro Novokuznetskaya



#### Tramplin Restaurant

Innovative al fresco dining

Tramplin Restaurant is the ultimate find for any hunter of views. Situated 178 meters above the Moscow River next to the winter ski slope at Vorobyovy Gory (Sparrow Hills), this restaurant offers a complete panoramic view of the city below. The terrace is partially covered and heated so even chillier nights and summer rains can't stop diners from enjoying the spectacular view. Funky furniture, an experimental menu, an extensive bar list and a

wonderful playlist make this place the perfect al fresco spot to while away a summer afternoon or evening with friends. Try the pea soup with smoked spring roll followed by the chocolate and orange dessert with lime marshmallows. You'll deserve it after the steep walk up to the restaurant from the embankment below.

#### +7 (910) 480 2211

tramplin-rest.com 28 Ulitsa Kosygina Metro Vorobyovy Gory



#### Strelka Bar

A summertime institution

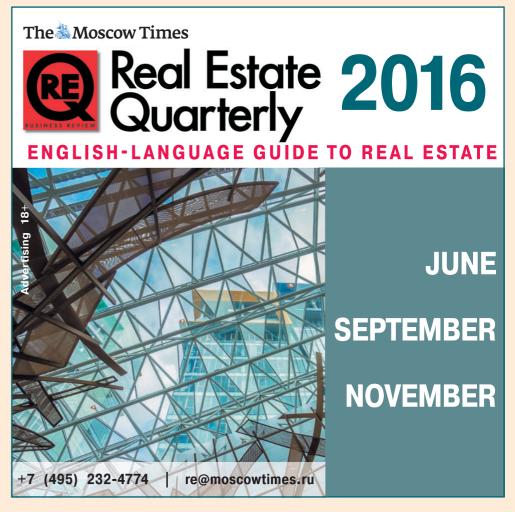
Summer in Moscow wouldn't be the same without the Strelka Bar roof terrace. Located right on the bank of the Moscow River directly facing the Christ the Savior Cathedral, this lively spot is ideal for spending long summer evenings while basking in the beauty of the bustling embankment. The cocktail list is one of the best in the city and the menu boasts a great selection of international dishes and an excellent all-day breakfast. If you like sharing, you can order smaller items like the shrimp skewers, smoked haddock nuggets with wild garlic sauce and zingy hummus from the tapas menu. During the summer, the courtyard morphs into an outdoor cinema, screening international films in their original languages.

#### +7 (495) 771 7416

strelka.com

14 Bersenevskaya Naberezhnaya, Bldg. 5 Metro Polyanka, Kropotkinskaya







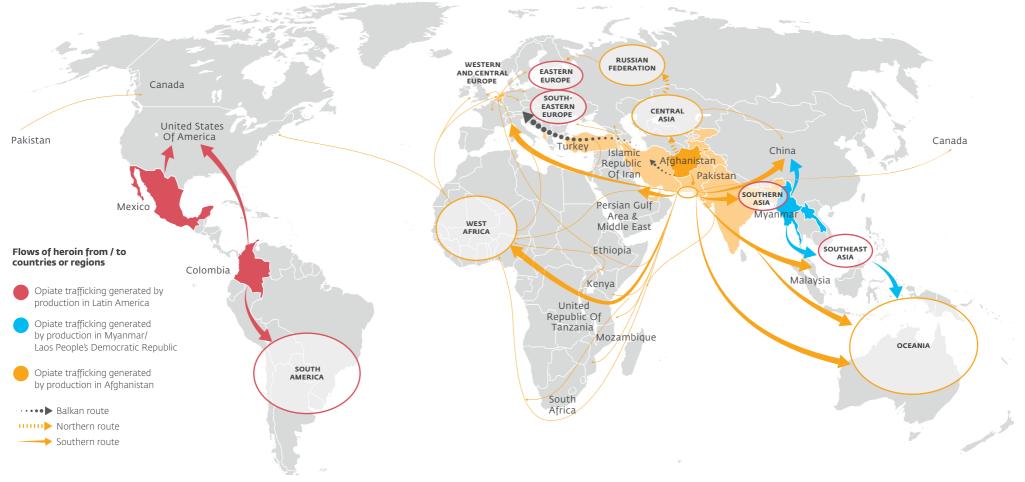
"There is no evidence of a decline in the demand for heroin in the Russian Federation." The United Nations 2015 Drug and Crime Report. 1.8M

Injecting drug users in Russia

"He doesn't deny that there were contacts but not the kind of contact that they are claiming." **Viktor Ivanov**, FSKN head, regarding allegations that his deputy Nikolai Aulov had business with Russian mobster Sergei Petrov.



#### Main global trafficking flows of opiates



Sources: UNODC, responses to annual report questionnaire and individual drug seizure database.

#### ← Continued from Page 6

The idea of creating the new agency came naturally enough. The drug threat had, by the early 2000s, become very serious, with Russia forming a huge market for opiates coming from Afghanistan and Central Asia. As a former security services official says, the Interior Ministry was simply unable to deal with the inflows due to their own involvement in drug trafficking. The new agency was given priority resourcing: 40,000 officers, all necessary operational hardware and, more importantly, the authorization to use it. The FSKN wiretapping department gained legendary status

"Their investigators were given a full forensic set of their own and didn't need to stand in line to get it," explains one former FSKN official. "This was quite a big deal."

Every Russian law enforcement agency has a natural inclination to look to expand authority and their areas of control, and the FSKN was no exception. As the years past, they began to prosecute businesses that had little to do with trafficking but dealt with, for example, industrial drugs or chemicals. They targeted veterinarians, industrial chemistry entrepreneurs, and even bakers producing poppyseed muffins.

The tale of Cherkesov's eventual downfall began in August 2000, even before the FSKN was formed, when Russian customs seized a furniture shipment on the charge of falsifying its weight and price. This apparently routine operation turned into an epic years-long struggle within Russia's corrupt security clans once it transpired that top FSB officials were involved. Several people were killed and dozens arrested in relation to the case.

Putin tasked his then-trusted lieutenant Cherkesov with securing surveillance and criminal evidence, something the FSKN was famous for. But the operation did not go to plan, as highly influential players have been hurt. In 2007, several of Cherkesov's FSKN officers were arrested on the grounds of obtaining illegal surveillance in the furniture case. Cherkesov responded to the arrests by publishing an accusatory and highly revealing op-ed in Kommersant newspaper.

But by doing so, he broke Putin's number one rule: Never air your dirty linen in public. Within the space of a few months, Cherkesov was dismissed and Ivanov had taken over the helm of FSKN.

#### Spanish Inquisition

Eight years on, FSKN itself is soon to be no longer, and now it's Ivanov's resignation that doesn't look entirely honorable. Until recently, Putin was always known for his care of his close associates. He never threw his advisers to the street—least of all, his longtime security service associates. But now Putin seems to be in the process of revising his own approach. Getting rid of old friends is no longer such a problem.

The switch was evident a few months ago with the rough dismissal of the head of Russian Railways Vladimir Yakunin, a former FGB officer and long-time loyal aide. "It's as if Putin's old guard finally lost immunity after what happened to Yakunin," says analyst Alexei Makarkin. "Putin has turned to purging his inner circle. Now he kicks people out without thought or compensation."

The disbandment of FSKN was presented to Ivanov as a fait accompli. He was offered a deputy minister of interior position, but was given short shrift when he refused. "He tried to reach out to Putin, failed, and now has no other option but to retire," a source says.

Different power and security state institutions continue to fight each other for their place in the sun. Russian security is in many ways like a snake biting its own tail, sodden in corruption and racketeering. The line between Russian law enforcement, the state and organized crime is becoming increasingly difficult to draw.

Putin's dissatisfaction with Ivanov may have derived from a scandal that took place thousands of kilometers away in Spain, Makarkin says. In early May, a Spanish judge issued international arrest warrants for 12 Russians suspected of organized crime including Nikolai Aulov, the deputy head of FSKN and Ivanov's close associate from the 1990s.

"Aulov has a very bad reputation even within the law enforcement community," says Roman Anin, a Russian investigative journalist. "All those who know him are highly allergic to his name," Anin adds. Phone conversations tapped by Spanish prosecutors suggest he was close to Gennady Petrov, a top Russian mafia boss.

Speaking to the Guardian earlier this year, Ivanov confirmed that Aulov, his deputy, had been in regular contact with Petrov. "Petrov provided [to Aulov] operationally useful information on a number of topics. The rest is made up," the paper quoted Ivanov as saying.

Regardless of the denials, the warrant for Aulov's arrest was embarrassing for Ivanov. "It's absurd," a former FSKN official says. "How can somebody wanted by Interpol for links with the mob hold a top position at a special service specifically designed to fight the mafia?"

Anin says that the Aulov problem could plausibly have affected Ivanov's fate. The recent Western crackdown on criminal groups with Russian links has certainly set alarm bells ringing within Russian establishment. Putin may now be motivated to be harder and more scrupulous toward his long-time associates.

#### **Complete Annihilation**

Analyzing the real efficiency of Russian law enforcement is an impossible task. High levels of secrecy limit the information on offer, while official statistics are usually subject to various tricks and manipulations. During its years of existence, FSKN was no exception in this regard, and it is hard to properly assess its record.

Nonetheless, the controversial anti-drugs activist and current mayor of Yekaterinburg Yevgeny Roizman says that the FSKN proved its worth as a competent authority. The amount of heroin smuggled into Russia has begun — finally — to decline, he says, and that is thanks to their activities.

Most experts and insiders surveyed by The Moscow Times agreed that the liquidation of FSKN is a risky call, and the situation with drug trafficking will deteriorate. Roizman believes the agency kept other government ministries on their toes. "There will be less competitiveness," he says. "The FSKN and the interior could never come to terms and always tried to let each other down. Now the interior will know nobody is after them."

With the Russian economy shrinking for a third consecutive year, and the fighting among law enforcement clans intensifying, the FSKN was always likely to be a target for restructuring. Indeed, Ivanov apparently rebuffed an attack at his agency last year, when the press leaked that a decree to liquidate FSKN had been already sent to the government. This time, as the Facebook post on May 10 said, Ivanov just couldn't save it.

Come June 1, nothing will remain of the former agency. "Not one FSKN general will move over to the Interior Ministry," says the source close to the security services. "It is complete annihilation."

### 12

# Living Here



"Death is not the worst thing that can happen. If you are afraid of everything you must live in a sterile laboratory." **Mustang Wanted.** 

#### The Moscow Times No. 5755

220,000

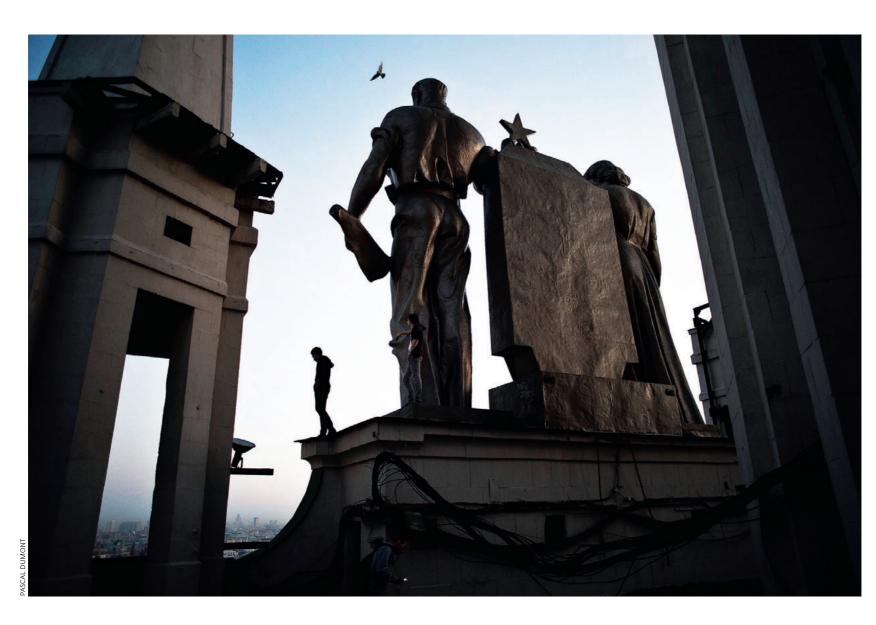
subscribers to Mustang Wanted's YouTube channel



Google Russia paid a roofer from Siberia to scale the Shanghai Tower in China. The stunt was used to advertise the "OK Google" application.

#### 8 years

Possible jail term for roofer photographing government buildings



Kirill Vselensky stands aton a Sovietera skyscraper on Moscow's Kotelnicheskava Naberezhnaya. Ukrainian roofer Pavlo Ushivets, also known as "Mustang Wanted," was the apparent instigator of the plan to paint blue the upper half of the building's enormous yellow star.

# Highs and Lows

By Joseph Birch newsreporter@imedia.ru

Russia's daredevil "roofers" enjoy a cult following the world over, but unwanted attention from the authorities means that for many the party might be coming to an end.

e make our way down a narrow alleyway. A four-digit code opens the heavy green door of the complex, but once inside, bolt cutters are the keys of choice. We pass several forced gates, scale a fragile wooden ladder, traverse backwards through a small hole, and exit onto the rooftop. From there, the imposing and bustling metropolis of Moscow opens up below.

Leading the urban mission is Kirill Vselensky, 23, a prominent member of the city's death-defying "roofer" community. Operating in a legal gray area and without safety equipment, roofers like Vselensky have developed a cult following in Russia, and have inspired similar movements across the world. Footage of their feats has attracted millions of web views, and some even struck sponsorship deals with multinational companies.

Defiance of authority and the rule of law is in the roofers' blood. To a significant degree, it is part of their appeal. But while the movement was at one point allowed to operate freely, a brush with politics last year led to unwanted attention from authorities. Surveillance, arrests and prison sentences followed; Vselensky was among the most highprofile of casualties.

In the days leading up to his arrest in August 2014, Vselensky had hosted Pavlo Ushivets, a Ukrainian roofer friend

better known as "Mustang Wanted." Mustang is perhaps the biggest name in the urban explorer community across all of Eastern Europe, renowned for gravity-defying acrobatic antics on bridges, towers and moving trains. But in those scorching summer days, which coincided with the hottest phase of the war in eastern Ukraine, it was Mustang's nationality and roll call of Ukrainian nationalistic stunts that brought him the most attention in Russia.



As the roofers' audience grows, many impressed viewers are keen to get involved. Many roofers make money by arranging romantic rooftop dates for couples. It is unclear what role Vselensky played in Mustang's most famous stunt, in which the roofer led a group up one of Moscow's Seven Sisters skyscrapers and repainted its Soviet star in the Ukrainian colors of blue and yellow. Vselensky denies taking part. "I told him it was a bad idea and that it would be stupid to do something like that in Russia at that time. I advised him but he didn't listen," he says. But his association with the Ukrainian did him no favors, and after a raid by the Federal Security Service (FSB) on his home, Vselensky was sentenced to two years imprisonment.

One year and seven months later, Vselensky walks a free man. The word freedom, indeed, is emblazoned in bold lettering across the front and back of the T-shirt he is wearing. But he looks quite different from the social media photos of his younger self. His brown hair now contains the occasional shock of gray. His tired eyes are puffy, sunken.

Vselensky, too, has returned to a different Russia. Following the general crackdown on his roofer subculture, it is also now much more difficult to make a living. Before, he could get money from marketing stunts and his photo agency, Off-Limits. Nike and Chupa Chups had even written him checks. Today, such sponsorship is impossible to

# Living Here



"Mustang is a hero of Ukraine. We won't give our Mustang to Russia." Anton Gerashchenko, deputy head of the Ukrainian Interior Ministry.

\$5,000

Price paid by Life News for Ukraine star stunt footage

#### 7.000 rubles

Price for romantic rooferstyle date



THE WORD'S WORTH

There have been three deaths recorded as a result of roofing since 2014. One schoolgirl fell from a roof in the Moscow suburbs.

← "I get so many messages from people asking me to take them roofing," Kirill Vselensky says.

**↓** Kirill Vselensky says that new roofers don't need ment - only Photo taken above Central Plaza in Hong

Kong





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



↓ Kirill Vselensky believes aspir ing roofers should "show respect" to established





find. "People understand our hobby is illegal and is being targeted, so they stay away," Vselensky said. However, he has plans to resurrect his social media profile, which, despite laying dormant for nearly two years, still boasts hundreds of thousands of followers.

Vselensky says that the roofing movement had already begun to change even before his arrest. "We had a closed group and you had to be invited, but later, more and more people became interested in what we were doing, especially after journalists started to write about us."

There are now marked differences within the subculture in Russia. The original roofers — the "Old School" — are the romantics of the movement. They are the photographers and the artists, choosing buildings based on aesthetic values alone. "For us, it's all about a connection with the urban landscape," Vselensky says. The newer roofers have less poetic ambitions, and are more concerned with racking up as many climbs as possible, and the taller

Increased attention from authorities also means that gaining access to the urban jungle has become more complicated. Police now regularly monitor CCTV, are more ready to hand out fines, and guards have become more thorough with their patrols. As the crackdown spread, posts emerged showing roofers battered and bloodied following heavy-handed treatment by security officers. Now specifically targeted by the law, roofers often find themselves facing a night in a prison cell before being given a simple fine.

Ivan Kuznetsov, an elite roofer who has scaled six of the city's iconic Seven Sisters, says the new attention is not only down to politics. "I think the main reason is due to children seeing our photos taken at a great height, trying to recreate them and falling," he said.

Despite the disclaimers that usually precede YouTube

roofer videos, Russia has witnessed several incidents of inexperienced amateurs trying, and failing, to recreate stunts. In 2014, Russian transport police released a gruesome video showing a 14-year-old boy balancing atop a railway bridge. As he loses his footing, the boy instinctively grabs hold of a 30,000-volt electricity cable before being knocked unconscious and falling 30 meters to his death.

Over the next two years, roofing claimed the lives of two more victims. In 2014, a schoolgirl fell from a roof in Moscow's suburbs. A year later, a young woman fell from a bridge while taking a "selfie" photograph in the Moscow City financial district.

The second reason for the increased attention was, undoubtedly, politics. "It's obvious, our government doesn't want a repeat of what happened when Mustang painted the star," Kuznetsov said. As the other roofers, Kuznetsov was noncommittal when it came to the question of whether Russian roofing was at all political in essence.

On his part, Vselensky says Mustang Wanted has since apologized for implicating him in the Stalin Sister stunt. He claims not to be especially angry, but has resolved to avoid politics. "Politics are dangerous — that's my main lesson from prison," he said. "I just regret the loss of such a long part of my life."

Despite the obvious troubles, Vselensky maintains that the fallout from the Mustang affair was not particularly significant. He told The Moscow Times that roofing was simply enduring a "complicated" stage.

Other members of the movement, however, are not so sure, and blame Mustang Wanted personally for ending a golden period for the movement. "After the incident, many roofers stopped climbing as the laws became far stricter," Kuznetsov said. "It's fair to say many Russian roofers really don't like Mustang. They can see how the police started to pay attention. He changed everything." TMT

like a stroll down memory lane as much as the next guy, but lately a spate of possible "new" laws seems a bit too close to the "old" laws for comfort, I'm thinking about the discussion concerning налог для официально неработающих трудоспособных граждан (a tax on able-bodied citizens who are officially not working). My first question is, of course, what constitutes официально (officially)? And my second question is: Вы чё ребята, спятили? (Yo, guys, you nuts or what?)

However you dress this up with words like налог (tax), an "officially not-working able-bodied citizen" is called тунеядец and what this not-working citizen does is called тунеядство. Тунеядство is a compound word formed from туне, an old word meaning "for free, without pay" and ясти, another old word meaning "to eat." So тунеядство is "eating for free." This is дармоед and дармоедство in more modern Russian. This is exactly what English speakers call freeloading, mooching, sponging, or bumming.

Alas, those words are a bit too slangy for this bureaucratic concept, which is usually rendered as "parasitism." In fact a synonym for this in Sovietese is социальный паразитизм (social parasitism).

Let's re-examine some of the lexicon of social parasitism in case it makes a full comeback.

From the very start of Soviet power, тунеядство was a Very Bad Thing. In December 1917 — that is, two months after the Revolution — Vladimir Lenin wrote about it: Тысячи форм и способов практического учёта и контроля за богатыми, жуликами и тунеядцами должны быть выработаны (We must develop thousands of forms and way to register and discipline the affluent, crooks and freeloaders). Among the methods used successfully around the country, Lenin noted: поставить их чистить сортиры (making them clean the outhouses) and расстреливать на месте, одного из десяти, виновных в тунеядстве (shooting on the spot one out of ten people guilty of not working).

I bet that got everyone's attention.

By 1936, working wasn't just a right, but an obligation written into the constitution: Труд в СССР является обязанностью и делом чести каждого способного к труду гражданина по принципу: "кто не работает, тот не ест" (Labor in the Soviet Union is an obligation and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen according to the principle: "he who does not work, does not eat.")

Not working — тунеядство — was defined this way: когда лицо уклоняется от общественно полезного труда и проживает на нетрудовые доходы более четырёх месяцев подряд или в общей сложности в течение года (when a person eschews socially useful labor and lives on non-earned income for more than four months in a row or a total of four months over the course of the year).

Общественно полезный труд (socially useful labor) was труд в санкционированной государством форме (labor in a form sanctioned by the state). That's what got Joseph Brodsky in trouble. When he was on trial for тунеядство in 1964, he said he worked as a poet. But the judge asked: А кто это признал, что вы поэт? (Who said that you were a poet?)

Today you can rent out your apartment, self-publish your poetry, or live off your stock dividends — just pay income tax. But if you are officially not working, you may also have to pay a no-income tax.

Всем ясно? (Got it?) **ТМТ** 

# Tips for Life

The Moscow Times No. 5755

lifehacks to help you



## *My* Russian girlfriend makes me sit down for a moment before we leave the house on trips. Why?

**TMT:** If she dashes to the door with the car keys in her hand, she's probably just not that into you. If she sits down with you and pauses for a moment, you're looking at Russian superstition rearing its head. It's traditional to sit in silence for a minute or so before embarking on a journey.

It was believed that allowing yourself a moment's pause to put your thoughts in order would trick any bad domestic spirits into believing you were not actually leaving. Therefore, only good spirits would accompany you on your trip and you would have

good fortune. It's an obscure explanation that most Russians won't have heard before. In modern times, this little practice is just a nice way of clearing your mind from the madness of cramming too many things into a minute suitcase. It's also a chance to try to remember anything that might have been forgotten. Sit down politely and focus on the present. Did you pack lunch? Are the passports in your bag or still on the counter?

Russians have a bit of a thing about leaving on trips and forgetting things. It's hard enough getting yourself organized, let alone your friends/spouse/charming but forgetful children. But in Russia it can be even more of a headache. Returning to the house, just like leaving it, means you're upsetting the bad house spirits. If it's not super important, it's best to just go without. However, if it's a plane ticket or your child's favorite toy, you can dash back so long as you head to a mirror and stare yourself in the eye. Some say you should smile but that seems a little creepy. Either way, this little trick should quiet the pesky house spirits and allow you to carry on your trip, free from supernatural meddling.



### Where can I recycle my old clothes?

TMT: It's time for wool and thermals to make way for your sunnier wardrobe. Before you pack away those worn boots and tired sweaters, think again. While Moscow is hardly a recycling paradise, there are places that can recycle, resell or donate your unwanted clothes. It might require a little effort on your part, but the ecofriendly satisfaction will be worth it.

If your clothes are in excellent condition but you've simply decided they aren't to your taste, why not donate them to "Blagobutik," a thrift shop that sells donated goods to raise funds for charity. There is a shop at Flacon Design Factory and at the Altufyevo Auchan megastore — as well as various collection points across the city.

If you love an anti-cafe, head Tsiferblat on Tverskaya Ulitsa. On the second floor you can leave unwanted items and pick up anything you fancy in return. "Lavka Radostei" is another quirky spot that collects clothing, shoes and accessories. Purportedly the first European-style charity shop in Russia, visitors can donate their items and then make a monetary donation if they would like anything from the shop floor.

There are also charitable organizations and churches who accept clothing. The Red Cross in Moscow will take winter clothing and unwanted bedding and donate to disadvantaged families, single mothers and the homeless.

Heading to the mall this weekend? All branches of H&M in Moscow should have a box near the cash register where you can donate items. H&M will sort the clothes for you and either send them for resale or for textile recycling. You get 15 percent off your next purchase when you drop off a package of secondhand clothing. Which is great, until you end up leaving the shop with more than you came with. Blagobutik: blagobutik.ru

Tsiferblat anti-cafe: ziferblat.net Russian Red Cross Moscow: redcross-mos.ru H&M: www2.hm.com/ru ru Lavka Radostei: lavkaradostej.ru

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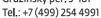


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See www.themoscowtimes.com for more listings.



## The Lost World: Festival Fun from **Moscow's Polytechnic Museum**

By Andrei Muchnik artsreporter@imedia.ru

Moscow's Polytechnic Museum hosts its third annual Polytech Festival this weekend at VDNKh's Ploshchad Promyshlennosti. The enormous replica of cosmonaut Yury Gagarin's Vostok rocket will serve as a suitably impressive backdrop for a weekend of scientific and technological wonders.

"Every year the festival gets better and better, because we learn from our mistakes," Ivan Bogantsev, director of the Polytech Festival, said in an interview with The Moscow Times. "This year the program is more balanced and there's something for every age and audience. We have famous speakers and unusual theater performances. If you want to bring

kids, come in the morning when there will be plenty of activities like creating a 3-meter high fire tornado!"

The theme of this year's festival is "The Lost World," after the eponymous Arthur Conan Dovle novel, which explores mankind's insatiable craving for discovery. And there are discoveries aplenty to be made. The festival's unique combination of scientific experiments, multimedia art, contemporary theater and educational lectures — not to mention an innovative children's program — means that there is something for Muscovites of all ages to unearth over the weekend. TMT

For the full program see: fest.polymus.ru/en

### **3 Festival Events Not to Miss**

#### **Second Body**

Multimedia ballet

"Second Body" is a cutting edge performance by the Anarchy Dance Theater from Taiwan. The project combines dance, video mapping and minimalist electronic music. A video projection will be mapped onto dancers' bodies to create their "second bodies." This interesting concept explores the bridge between the digital and the physical world.

May 21 and 22 at 10:30 p.m.

#### **Black Market Yami-Ichi**

"Live" Internet market

Black Market Yami-Ichi was invented by the Japanese art collective Exonemo and the art group IDPW.org. It's a market of Internet-related art objects, created both by IDPW.org and local Moscow artists. You will be able to see things like social media "likes," "canned" internet spam or the physical performance of a retweet. Quirky for sure, but worth a visit. May 21 from 2 to 9 p.m.

#### **Lecture Program**

Insightful talks

A series of lectures will be held over the weekend, conducted by experts in their fields on subjects from neurobiology to how to be a citizen of the natural world. Particular highlights include lectures from James Gleick, former editor of The New York Times, who will discuss the information age and Olivia Judson (also know as Dr. Tatyana), an evolutionary biologist, who will talk about sex in its various incarnations and how it affects our life on earth. May 21 and 22

#### **May 19-25**

**EXHIBITION: Russian Space** 

Avant-garde artwork and the original Vostok space capsule used by Yury Gagarin

Multimedia Art Museum

mmam-mdf.ru

16 Ulitsa Ostozhenka. Metro Kropotkinskaya Through Sept. 4

#### **FESTIVAL: ARCH Moscow**

International Festival of Architecture and Design featuring exhibitions and talks TsDKh (Central House of Artists)

archmoscow.ru/eng 10 Ulitsa Krymsky Val. Metro Oktyabrskaya Through May 22

#### **CONCERT: Sound Up**

Neoclassical concert by German composer Martin Kohlstedt and Igor Vdovin

Russian State Library

facebook.com/SoundUpRussia 3/5 Ulitsa Vozdvizhenka. Metro Alexandrovsky Sad May 24 at 9 p.m.

#### **CONCERT: Three Master Musicians**

Anne-Sophie Mutter, Yefim Bronfman and Lynn Harrell in concert Tchaikovsky Concert Hall

meloman.ru 4/31 Triumfalnaya Ploshchad Metro Mayakovskaya May 20 at 7 p.m.

#### **EXHIBITION: Soviet Film Posters**

An exhibition of culturally and historically significant film posters from the Soviet era Manege Exhibition Hall

moscowmanege.ru 1 Manege Square Metro Okhotny Ryad, Alexandrovsky Sad Through June 13





# **Doing business with Russia. Opportunities and rules of the Russian market**

#### **KEY TOPICS**

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- Foreign investments raising tools and support mechanisms.
- Realistic assessment of the economic risks and opportunities for foreign companies.
- Opportunities for the foreign companies to participate in the import substitution programs.
- Regulatory sphere of Russia. The positive changes and problem issues.



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