

The Foreign Policy Centre



The Russia Foundation



The UK-Russia Forum

Ditchley Park Retreat
11 – 13 February 2005

Table of Contents

Retreat Hosts	3
Aims and Objectives	4
Retreat Attendees	5
Retreat Schedule	6
Conference Notes	9
Biographies of the Russian Participants	17
Biographies of the UK Participants	22

Retreat Hosts

The Foreign Policy Centre (FPC) is a leading European think tank launched under the patronage of the British Prime Minister Tony Blair to develop a vision of a fair and rule-based world order. Through its research, publications and events, the FPC aims to develop innovative policy ideas which promote:

- effective multilateral solutions to global problems,
- democratic and well-governed states as the foundation of order and development,
- partnerships with the private sector to deliver public goods,
- support for progressive policy through effective public diplomacy and
- inclusive definitions of citizenship to underpin internationalist policies.

The **'Future of Russia'** project was launched by The Foreign Policy Centre in November 2004. The project takes recent Russian developments and Russian perspectives as its departure point and aims to make sound policy recommendations for action, followed up with appropriate public dissemination, especially through seminars and media coverage. The FPC Future of Russia Project features prominent figures from Russian politics, as well as leading specialists and policy advisers from around the world.

The All-Party Parliamentary Group on Russia is one of the a number of groups in Parliament dedicated to bringing together people of all parties and both Houses to concentrate on relations with one particular country. Historically, the relationship between Russia and the UK has been too weak at the person-to-person and organisational level to allow for continual and frank communication. The All-Party Group on Russia has been eager to develop a relationship with the newly emerging class of politicians in the Russian Duma. For the Parliamentary All-Party Russia Group, the event will mark a continuation of its consistent engagement with the political reform processes and economic development of present-day Russia.

The Russia Foundation has been set up to promote a deeper understanding of Russian affairs in the UK and to encourage dialogue between Russia and the UK around the themes of democracy, good governance, political pluralism, freedom of expression, human rights, the rule of law, common security and economic cooperation. It sponsors and organises conferences, seminars, lectures and other events to further its objectives, and works with a wide variety of partner organisations.

Aims and Objectives

Thank you for joining us this weekend for the first UK-Russia Forum. We hope this will be the first of many.

For both Russian and British guests, this Retreat will provide an ideal forum to discuss the latest and most important Russian and European trends and developments.

There are many issues which call for greater understanding between Russia and the UK, and many issue areas where cooperation can be promoted. We hope to touch on several of these main topics during the weekend, and call your attention to the issues of:

- Convergence and divergence between Russia and the West now and in the future
- Joint political and economic problems and opportunities shared in the current era
- International relations across Europe and the Atlantic
- The shape and future of democracy in both the UK and Russia

Please take advantage of the opportunity provided by the residential setting to have a frank and open exchange with your peers and counterparts on the issues. Because Parliamentary exchanges and occasional meetings do not provide you with lasting contacts, we hope that at the end of this Retreat, you will feel comfortable to continue these discussions in the future and that the relationships you form will endure.

Should you have questions during the conference, please feel free to ask any member of the Foreign Policy Centre staff who will be happy to help.

Retreat Attendees

Tristan Ace	Foreign Policy Centre
David Atkinson, MP	Vice-Chair, All-Party Russia Group
Greg Austin	Director of Research, Foreign Policy Centre
Sergei Baburin	Rodina Deputy
Greg Barker, MP	Treasurer, All-Party Russia Group
Maria Blake	conference translator
Professor Archie Brown	Oxford University
David Clark	Chair, Russia Foundation
Sarah Clifton	LLM Communications
Steve Crawshaw	London Director, Human Rights Watch
Mary Dejevsky	The Independent
Keith Didcock	Deputy Director, Foreign Policy Centre
Oksana Dmitrieva	Independent Deputy
Konstantin Eggert	BBC Russia
Nana Eldzarova	Foreign Policy Centre
Alexander Fomenko	Rodina Deputy
Vladimir Inozemtsev	Editor-in-Chief of Free Thought
Andrew Jack	Financial Times
Lord Judd	Member of the House of Lords
Bridget Kendall	BBC Diplomatic Correspondent
Irina Khakamada	Our Choice Deputy
Evgenyi Kiselev	Russian media
Andrei Klimov	United Russia Deputy
Sergei Kolesnikov	United Russia Deputy
Alexei Kondaurov	Communist Party Deputy
Sergei Kovalev	Memorial and Institute for Human Rights
Galina Ladyzhenskaya	conference translator
Maria Lipman	Carnegie Moscow Senior Associate
Tony Lloyd, MP	Chair of the All-Party Russia Group
Bobo Lo	Chatham House
Shairi Mathur	Foreign Policy Centre
Alexei Mitrofanov	Liberal Democratic Deputy
Sergei Mitrokhin	Yabloko
Jennifer Moll	Russia Project Officer, Foreign Policy Centre
Alex Pravda	Oxford University
Bill Rammell, MP	Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
Joan Ruddock, MP	All-Party Russia Group
Lilia Shevtsova	Carnegie Moscow Senior Associate
Vladimir Sirotinsky	Our Choice Advisor
Simon Smith	Head, Eastern Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Jonathan Steele	The Guardian
Elizabeth Teague	Eastern Research Group, Foreign Office
Lord Truscott	Member of the House of Lords
Mark Urnov	Director, Ekspertiza Foundation
Grigory Yavlinsky	Head of Yabloko
Igor Zhukov	Director, National Centre for Geopolitics

Retreat Schedule

Friday 11 February

- 15.00 ***Russia and the West: Convergence or Divergence?***
Chaired by Professor Alex Pravda
Chief discussants: Gregory Barker, MP and Andrei Klimov
- 20.30 Rt. Honourable Bill Rammell, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,
Informal after dinner remarks

Saturday 12 February

- 09.30 – 11.00 Plenary Session
Political Challenges in Russia and Britain
Chaired by Bridget Kendall
Chief discussants: Tony Lloyd, MP and Grigorii Yavlinsky
- 11.15 – 12.45 Break-out Group sessions on Domestic Issues
- Can a balance be struck between freedom and responsibility in the media?***
Chair: Steve Crawshaw
Rapporteur: Konstantin Eggert
- Can Democracy be Managed?: Political Constraints of Executive Power***
Chair: Alexei Mitrofanov
Rapporteur: Mary Dejevsky
- What are the highest priorities in the War on Terror?***
Chair: Vladimir Inozemtsev
Rapporteur: Elizabeth Teague
- 14.15 – 15.45 Break-out Group sessions on International Issues
- Are International Institutions and Sovereignty Compatible?***
Chair: Sergei Kolesnikov
Rapporteur: David Atkinson, MP
- Ukraine: Bridge or Barrier for Russia and the EU?***

Chair: Bobo Lo
Rapporteur: Sergei Mitrokhin

***Is Democracy in Crisis?: Politics in an Age of Voter
Disillusionment***

Chair: Andrew Jack
Rapporteur: Oksana Dmitrieva

- 16.00 – 17.30 Plenary session in the Library
Is Sustainable Growth Possible in a Globalised Economy?
Chaired by Mark Urnov
Chief Discussants: Keith Didcock and Irina Khakamada
- 19.00 Seminar led by Professor Archie Brown
***Comparing our Problems:
Russian and British Politics Today***
Open Discussion to follow

Sunday 13 February

- 09.30 – 13.00 Plenary session in the Library
Lessons from Russia: Practical Responses
Chaired by Greg Austin
Chief discussants: Jonathan Steele and Evgenii Kiselev

Conference Notes

Russia and the West: Convergence or Divergence?

Overview:

In the opening session of the forum, many delegates that instead of the early 90s consensus that a North-West path should be followed, relationships should be based around core values instead. It is only by using these criteria, that the question as to Russia's divergence from Britain, or the West, can be better analysed.

This session was also used as a chance to dispel some myths that the Russians and the British have regarding each other. Highlighting that a choice between a Russian and a Western path need not be made, examples of Russia's European geographical, historical and cultural status were given.

An analogy was made between Russia and the West utilising the idea of a fence between the two: the general consensus was that the fence should be pulled down creating a space of commonality between the two.

Issues Raised:

- How far does Russia diverge from Britain, and the West?
- What explains this divergence? Historical, cultural factors?
- What explains the current Russian isolationist stance in the world? Economic success?
- The freedom of the press is a serious issue in Russia today
- UK dependency on Russia for oil and gas influences the bilateral relationship
- Does order and stability come at the expense of freedom?
- Where is the balance between democracy, stability and freedom being struck?
- What are Russia's aspirations for the next twenty years?
- Russia and international organizations: should Russia join the WTO? The EU?
- It has been difficult to implement democratic principles in Russia
- Stability is only an illusion: Russia is split in terms of political orientation – no opposition, no counter-measures, regime is losing support in the elite and conservative sections of society.
- Russia has a very special relationship with Britain – the extent to which Europe defines its relation in strategic terms with Russia depends on the UK.
- Russia has been rejecting democratic values in favour of pragmatic cooperation with the West. Political elite of Europe accelerating this process.
- To some political elites in the West, divergent Russian aspirations do not

matter since their primary concern is Russia as a reliable economic ally – interested more in pragmatic issues.

- US should not be surprised at Russia's support of Syria because political elite in the West do not imagine bringing them closer in terms of strategic values. Russia could be a different partner with different objectives
- If the West places emphasis on value similarities then the point of discussion should be values and not oil or economic issues.
- No signs from Blair / Bush that values are primarily important
- Current exchanges between Britain and Russia are largely superficial. A lack of depth in understanding between Russia and Britain
- Need to establish the basis for British-Russian relations
- Why has Russia developed differently than other post-Soviet states?
- Russia's role in Council of Europe highlights its European role
- Russia's way to democracy is through liberalism, individual ownership and property. Dialogue is necessary.
- What is the possibility of Russia building Eastern European allies?
- Need to exclude definitions of Russia and its place that defy reality
- Human Rights should be principle of bilateral relationship
- UK and Russia share same problem, re. how to bring Muslims into the mainstream in their societies
- The European choice is a necessary one for Russia to make

Political Challenges in Russia and Britain

Issues Raised:

- It is healthy in Britain to have one dominant political party?
- Russia and UK have a similar relationship with EU
- Referendum on constitution could dramatically change UK's relationship with EU
- UK and Russia have a similarly tense relationship with US
- Similar world-wide threats: civil rights freedom, democracy, security
- All these similarities did not exist 10-15 years ago.
- Today a civil society exists in Russia.
- How do we work together to face similar challenges?
- Common hope and disappointment when Russia didn't turn out like the West, post 1990.
- Kyoto only something that Russia adhered to, to appear as though they were playing the game.
- Common issues for Russia and Britain: international Crime, terrorism, drug trafficking.
- Relationship should not be built upon double standards
- The West must admit it failed in the early post-Communist era.
- Lack of effective opposition, a common problem for both Russia and Britain
- It is vital for Russia to attract foreign investment
- Russia had never had a pure Communist or a pure Democratic Government

- A weak authoritarian system exists in Russia today
- China a serious problem
- Common problems: Politics very narrow in both countries
- Problem is how and when to dissociate from the US

Can a balance be struck between freedom and responsibility in the media?

Issues Raised:

- Truth-seeking-UK-Russia
- The media in Russia is under Kremlin control.
- Negative trend in Russian media.
- Quality of media in Russia
- What is the way forward for Russian media?
- Does the press create a climate for political competition?
- Do people get used to lies?
- Free press is an instrument that can keep government reliable.
- Free press means diversity.
- Low quality of press in Russia. It was corrupted during 90's
- The main question: Whether media make framework for political competition.
- Russian media is dangerous (example: Beslan)
- British media is also controlled by government.
- British are vulnerable to political pressure
- Media is the part of the huge system

Can Democracy be Managed? Political Constraints of Executive Power

Issues Raised:

- Two Definitions of 'Managed Democracy'
 - 1) Exists as a necessary step in the development to democracy.
 - 2) Any definition that serves to qualify Democracy is not Democracy.
- Objective view of Democracy: Four points:
 - 1) Free and Fair elections with more than one political party
 - 2) Freedom to stand for office
 - 3) Political accountability
 - 4) Rule of Law
- Not simply objective, it rests on the idea of human rights
- Does/Did Democracy exist in some form in an authoritarian system?
- Is Putin a continuation on Yeltsin's path to Democracy or is he moving backwards?
- Are political party's necessary elements of Democracy?
- Consensus: Russia falls short of definition of Democracy: Why?
 - 1) Last election, 'free but not fair'
 - 2) Composition of Duma
 - 3) Abolition of elections for regional Governors
 - 4) Question of authority of upper chamber

Recommendations:

- Implement Brown's definition of Democracy because it is entirely mechanical
- Enshrine definition of human rights in Constitution

What are the highest priorities in the War on Terror?

Issues Raised:

- How do we define terrorism? Are the people fighting the occupation forces in Iraq terrorists or are they partisans like those who fought the Nazis in Belarus in WWII?
- Can terrorism be defeated?
- Do we understand the aims of the terrorists?
- Do we have our priorities right when fighting the terrorists?
- Lack of clear agreed definitions
- Need to agree on a consensus between Russia and Britain
- Terrorism a technique, always used to gain political ends
- State always involved because of a need to protect citizens
- A general consensus that both Bush and Putin's approaches are wrong and not going to work.
- War on terror cannot be won

Recommendations:

- Root causes need to be addressed
- Socio-economic causes have to be tackled
- Battle for "hearts and minds"

Are International Institutions and Sovereignty Compatible?

Issues Raised:

- What is sovereignty?
- Atkinson's definition: ability to pursue national interests without compromise
- What are the international institutions to which both the UK and Russia belong?
- UN, Council of Europe, OSCE
- Separately – UK belongs to EU
- Russia belongs to CIS, Eurasia
 - Russian view in group – current concepts of "sovereignty" and "international institutions" both outdated
- E.g. UN some noted was increasingly ineffective in fulfilling its role
 - Which international institution – OSCE? Council of Europe? (2 British views)

- International institutions to equally stem from agendas of developing / underdeveloped world

Recommendations:

- Global integration unavoidable but world government long way off so reform of UN and more effective judicial authority necessary for evolution of a New World Order to which sovereignty can be surrendered or shared
- EU likely pioneering this effort

Conclusion:

- While international institutions and sovereignty are compatible need to work towards a world order that we all accept for the future

Ukraine: Bridge or barrier for Russia and the EU

Issues Raised

- Putin's policy towards the Ukraine has had the affect of reviving the idea of Russia as a threat
- Will EU lose interest in Ukraine? Will Ukraine become discouraged in its dealings with the West?
- Can Russia take a more constructive approach to Ukraine?
- Ukraine represents a major failure on the part of Russia and is the playing field upon which the US and the EU battle will play itself out
- How will Ukraine affect CIS countries
- There is still time for Putin to develop his policy towards the Ukraine.
- The issue of Ukraine is also linked to the West, i.e. it was caused from within Yuschenko's own team, it then spread to the Western media and then the Russian media responded
- EU needs to remove elements of conflict, the Ukraine does not need to be a geo-strategic issue
- Ukraine poses the question as to the limits of NATO
- EU must keep option of early membership open for Ukraine
- A spontaneous uprising in Ukraine, which is a warning shot to Russia
- Important to consider transition in two stages, Ukraine is a further symptom of Russia's inadequate approach to foreign policy
- CEE has not helped to establish better relations between Russia and the West.
- Idea concerning keeping the Ukraine in the EU waiting room in order to force them to reform
- Why is Ukraine strategically important? 1) Need a stable Ukraine 2) international crime, drug/human trafficking, HIV/AIDS – furthermore Ukraine could act as a model for Belarus, Moldova etc – Finally if Ukraine is a success, then no longer will Russia be able to use the excuse that 'we are different'.

Recommendations:

- Timetable for Ukraine to join the EU
- EU, Ukraine, Russia Summit
- Co-operation on energy, defense
- Need to help Ukraine to establish an 'Eastern' policy

Is Democracy in Crisis? Politics in an Age of Voter Disillusionment

Issues Raised:

- Lack of really strong effective opposition in Britain
- Disillusionment of electorate is the consequence of the attempt to control the media
- Radicalisation of the Youth in Russia
- In Britain we have seen the convergence of politics to the centre ground
- In Russia public leadership is more important than the programme offered

Recommendations:

- More efficient opposition parties in Russia
- Political leaders in Russia need to be more responsive to public protests/discontent

Is Sustainable Growth Possible in a Globalised Economy?

Issues Raised

- Relativity: India and China challenging UK growth, but far behind in quality of life
- Novelty: competitive advantage and inability to create new econ activities econ strength built on commodities cannot be sustained.
- Interdependence: depends on the surrounding situation the EU is very strong internally, this is a strength.
- Russia only growing at 2.5 % China 8.9% India 6%
- The question therefore comes to do with the place of Russia in this system; need foreign capital/investment with the rule of law and through the using global/regional economic organisations.
- Questions concerning Russia's ability to develop its economy in an individual, self contained fashion, in the future we can only talk about sustainable development.
- Resources need to be used for capital investment, call to create conditions in Russia to be able to properly address these issues. Problem in Russia is that econ growth needs to grow at the same time as human rights

Comparing our Problems: Russian and British Politics Today

Issues Raised

- Russia and Britain are fighting an unnecessary war i.e. Chechnya and Northern Ireland many comparisons can be drawn regarding the atrocities that have been committed.
- Blame can be put at the door of Yeltsin and Blair.
- Solution in Russia, may be federalism and devolution, you can draw on the British devolution experience.
- Crucial issue is status of political parties, the weakness of political parties is an important factor in Russia it would be better to have fewer but better organised parties. Adversarial politics, is the lifeblood of democracy
- Migration: high on political agenda, for Russia it is a matter of absolute need formalised citizenship for new comers
- Differences between Russia and Britain, UK has a tradition of long, stable democracy, democracy through installments, Russia on the other hand has attempted the process very quickly, it is not a democracy, but a hybrid Russia is a kleptocracy + arbitrariness.
- Issues in Russia: Do people have the right to choose electors in free and fair elections? Should they be held to account by legitimacy and people? Rule of Law administered by independent Judiciary? In UK these criteria are met in Russia they are not and need to be if the terms of Democracy are to be met.
- In Russia The election of deputies and the deputies themselves, undermine the essence of democracy, need mass media to be independent
- Others argues that you couldn't compare Northern Ireland and Chechnya
- The possibility of political change in Russia is very high.
- It is very difficult to compare one country that is a democracy and one that isn't.

Lessons from Russia: Practical Responses

Overview:

At the final session of the conference it was concluded that there has been large agreement on many of the problems raised. The extent of the pessimism of the Russian participants was also noted. Many were interested that the Russians were in fact more pessimistic than the British, regarding the state of democracy in Russia

Issues Raised:

- Democracy must come first then political parties, because parties are an expression of will
- Bi lateral dialogue is essential on topics such as North Korea, China, Caucuses, Ukraine – therefore currently Russia, EU relations not on the

cards

- 2005 an important year for Britain i.e. G8 presidency
- Judicial aspect of reform in Russia v important
- Predictions concerning the life span of the regime ranged from 10-15 years, but interestingly not longer than 15 years.
- Criticism of post-Yukos Russia is not a good idea for the West it won't help the situation
- The lack of good advice offered by the west in the early 1990's was noted
- Little awareness of the extent of the problems that exist in Russia today i.e. Caucuses, increase in executive power, increase in bureaucratization, corruption, impunity
- Russia's economic success is an illusion because it is tied to oil and gas
- We are not at the stage where we have shared values, instead we need to take a sector specific approach.
- Three levels of negotiations, what was said formally, what was said informally, what was left unsaid.
- Britain's policy towards Russia currently seems uncertain.

Biographies of the Russian Participants

Sergei Nikolaevich Baburin (Rodina) is the Deputy Speaker and has been a Duma Member since 1993. He is currently a member of the Committee on Civil, Criminal, Arbitral and Procedural Law. He holds a Ph.D. in law, and is a member of the International Academy of Information and of the Writer's Union. Sergei Baburin became Chair of the Russian National Unity Party in 1994 and headed Narodnaya Volya, the party of the Russian renaissance, in December 2000. In 1990, he was elected as peoples' deputy and served in the Supreme Soviet of Russia. He later served as Deputy Chair of the State Duma. Sergei Baburin occupied various posts at the Omsk University including Dean of the Law Department. Mr. Baburin graduated from law department of the Omsk State University and finished his post-graduate studies at the law department of the Leningrad State University. Upon graduating, he was conscripted into the Soviet Army, where he received several awards for his military service in Afghanistan. He is the author of numerous books and publications.

Oksana Genrikhovna Dmitrieva (Independent) has been a Duma member of all the previous convocations and is currently on the Committee on Budget Issues and Taxes. She was appointed as Labor and Social Development Minister in 1998, but resigned after several months to teach at the St. Petersburg University of Economics and Finance, where she received her Doctorate in economics (then the Leningrad Institute of Economics and Finance). From 1999-2003, she was the Deputy Chairman of the Committee for the Budget and Taxes. In 2003, Dmitrieva was re-elected to the State Duma as an independent. She is currently serves as a State Duma deputy, chairman of the St. Petersburg division of the Political Party 'Entrepreneurial Development' and as a professor.

Konstantin Petrovich Eggert is editor-in-chief of the BBC Russian Service Moscow bureau. He also edits and presents "Radius", the Russian Service main evening news and current affairs program. From 1992 – 1998, Mr Eggert was Diplomatic Correspondent and Deputy Foreign Editor of *Izvestia* daily. His assignments included, among other areas, the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and the Balkans. He has written extensively on Russian foreign policy topics and security issues and contributed articles to the "International Herald Tribune", "Atlanta Journal and Constitution", "Milliyet", "Helsingin Sanomaat", "La Croix", "The World Today" (publication of the Royal Institute of International Affairs). Mr Eggert is a member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London) and member of the board of "Pro Et Contra", the quarterly journal of Carnegie Endowment Moscow Center. He is fluent in English, French and Arabic. Konstantin Eggert is an honours graduate of the Moscow University Oriental Studies College (history and Arabic language).

Alexander Vladimirovich Fomenko (Rodina) is a member of the Committee on Manufacturing, Construction, Science and Technology. He has worked for

various journals, including 'Literaturnaya Rossiya' and 'Politika'. He is also a member of the Russian delegation to the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly. Prior to this post, Fomenko was Vice President of the Yakovlev Experimental Construction Bureau.

Vladislav Leonidovich Inozemtsev earned his PhD in Economics before becoming an adviser of the Parliamentary Faction of the Svobodnaya Rossiya party and the Mezhsobankovskiy Finansovyy Dom joint-stock company of Moscow, among others. At the Moscow-Paris commercial bank, he has been vice-president, assistant to the Chairman of the Board and until 2003, the Chairman of the Board. In 1996, he founded the Centre for Post-Industrial Research, where he is the Science Director. In 2003, Inozemtsev also became the Editor-in-chief of the *Svobodnaya Mysl* (Free Thought) magazine. He has widely published in Russia, France, the UK and US, and currently serves as the Chairman of the Board of Advisors of the *Russia in Global Affairs* journal.

Irina Mutsouvna Khakamada (Our Choice) has been a Duma member since 1993. She earned her PhD from the Department of Economics at Moscow State University. As a Duma deputy, Khakamada has served as a member of the Committee on Economic Policy, as a member on the delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council, and as a member of the State Duma Committee on Budgeting, Taxation, Banking and Finance, among many others. By decree of the government of the Russian Federation, she was appointed the Chairman of the State Committee for Small Business Support and Development. In June 2000, Khakamada was elected as the Deputy Chairman of the State Duma. Currently, she is a member of the Political Advisory Council for the President and is a member of the Council on External and Defence Policy, as well as numerous other governmental and non-governmental organisations. She ran for President of Russia in 2004.

Evgenii Alekseevich Kiselev has been working in television since 1987, as a reporter and anchorman for the Central Television News Board. In 1991, he co-founded the first alternative news programme on Russian television. In 1992, Evgenii Kiselev first launched his personal news programme 'Itogi' on the Ostankino channel. Kiselev co-founded the NTV (Independent Television) channel in 1993, of which he was vice-president, chairman of the board of directors, and, in 2000-2001, chief executive officer. In May 2001, he became the chief executive officer of the TV-6 channel and has been the chief editor of the television channel TVS since 2002. Since 2003, Kiselev has been the chief editor of 'Moscow news' weekly. He has also been the director and anchorman of numerous documentaries, from the series 'Modern History', 'The President of All Russia', 'The Afghan Trap', 'Spartak – playing on the field of history', and others. He has been a member of the Russian Television Academy from its founding in 1996. He also holds two 'TEFI' awards from the Russian Television Academy for his personal news programme 'Itogi' (1996) and for the talk-show 'Voice of the People' (2000), as well as the International Press Freedom Award (1995), the

'Golden Pen of Russia', which is the award of the Union of Journalists of the Russian Federation, and other press awards.

Andrei Arkadievitch Klimov (United Russia) has been a Deputy in the State Duma since 1999. He has served as the Deputy Chairman of the Regions of Russia group, a member of the Federal Affairs and Regional Policy Committee of the State Duma on the Russian Federation and head of the sub-committee on socio-economic development of the regions and inter-regional communications. He is currently the Deputy Chairman of the Deputy's Group and head of the Subcommittee on regional policy development and inter-regional affairs. He is also the coordinating Chairman of the Deputy's Group 'Russia-Benelux.' Klimov earned his PhD in Economics and has worked as a Deputy of Perm's regional council and as the President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Komi-Permyatski autonomous district.

Sergei Ivanovich Kolesnikov (United Russia) has been a State Duma Deputy since 1999 and currently serves as the Deputy Chairman Committee for Education and Science. From 1999 to 2003, Kolesnikov served as the Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Health Care and Sports and was a member of the Commission for population and development. In 2003, he was also awarded the Distinguished Professor in Science of Russia award and was awarded the Pirogov Prize, which is the highest award of the Russian Medical Academy, in 2001. He was also elected co-president of the Nobel Peace Prize winning 'International Physicians for the prevention of nuclear war'. Kolesnikov is the author of more than three hundred scientific articles in Soviet, Russian and international journals and holds sixteen patents.

Alexei Petrovich Kondaurov (Communist Party) has been a Deputy of the State Duma since 2003 and is currently a member of the Committee on Education and Science. From 1971 – 1973, he worked in the Scientific Research Institute of the Ministry of Finance of the Soviet Union. Kondaurov began working for the KGB in 1973 and retired from the FSB with the rank of major-general in 1994. Since retiring from the FSB, he occupied various positions in MENATEP-YUKOS and advised the chairman of 'YUKOS-MOSKVA'.

Sergei Adamovich Kovalev is a biologist by training but gained prominence as a human rights campaigner, Russian Duma deputy, former head of a parliamentary human rights committee and a strong opponent to Russia's war in Chechnya. He got involved in human rights in the late 1960s and was a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR in 1969. In 1974, he was arrested and exiled and did not return to Moscow until 1987. Kovalev is one of the founders of the human rights organisation *Memorial*, which works primarily on current human rights violations and is one of the authors of Russia's Declaration on Human and Civil Rights. From 1990 to 2003, Kovalev served as a member of the State Duma in

numerous posts. He has received numerous awards in recognition of his activities, and was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995 and 1996.

Maria Aleksandrovna Lipman is the editor of *Pro et Contra*, a policy journal published by Carnegie Moscow Center and co-chairs the Carnegie Moscow Center Civil Society Program. Before joining Carnegie Moscow Center she was the deputy editor of the Russian news weekly magazines. Lipman was co-founder and deputy editor of *Itogi*, the first news weekly magazine in Russia, from 1995 to 2001. *Itogi* was published in cooperation with Newsweek; it was part of Russia's first privately owned media group Media-MOST destroyed by the Russian government in 2001. That same year Lipman co-founded a new news weekly *Ezhenedel'ny Zhurnal* which had the same editor as *Itogi* and mostly the same team of journalists. Since 2001 Lipman has written an op-ed column on Russian politics, media and society for the *Washington Post*. Lipman also has contributed to several Russian and U.S. publications and has been featured as an expert on a range of international broadcast media.

Alexei Valentinovich Mitrofanov (Liberal Democrats) has been a Duma member since 1993 and is now the Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Legislation and the State System. He has previously served as Deputy Chairman of the Committee on International Relations, Chairman of the Committee on Geopolitics and member of the Committee on Financial Markets and credit organisations. Prior to his tenure in the Duma, Mr. Mitrofanov served as a television producer for the Sokol Entertainment Center. He ran unsuccessfully for the mayor of Moscow in 1999 and 2003. From 1985 to 1988, Mr. Mitrofanov served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. Alexei Mitrofanov graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and from the USA-Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Science.

Lilia Fedorovna Shevtsova is a Senior Associate of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Program Director at the Moscow Carnegie Center. Shevtsova is a member of editorial councils and boards of the journals *Polis*, *Pro et Contra*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Demokratizacija*, *Megapolis*. She is a member of the Women in International Security (WIS) Advising Board, the Executive Council of Russian Political Association, the Executive Council For Central and Eastern European Studies and of Board of the Institute for Human Sciences at Boston University. She is a participant of the Bilderberg meetings. Shevtsova has authored and co-authored several books, including *Socialism and Catholicism; Inside the Russian Enigma; Democratization in Russia; Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality; Regime of Boris Yeltsin; Political Russia; Civil-Military Relations and Democracy; New Russia; Europe by Nature; Political Parties in Russia; Political leadership: From Gorbachev to Putin; State Beyond Crisis*; and several others. From 1990 – 2004, Shevtsova published about 480 articles and interviews in Russian and Western press.

Vladimir Sirotinsky (*Our Choice*) is the financial advisor of 'Our Choice' and a member of 'Club 2015'. Since 1988, he has headed his own company called I.M.C. Corporation. In 1994, Sirotinsky began his activities as Vice-President of the 'Institute of Small Business Development' and has taken part several times in the World Economic Forum in Davos. He is also a current member of the Council on External and Defence Policy. Sirotinsky has also taken an active role in 'Club 2015 – Scenarios for Russia' a community of influential businessmen in Russia who work on various economic and political projects to advance Russia.

Mark Yurievich Urnov is currently Dean and Professor of the Department of Political Science, State University Higher School of Economics. He earned his PhD in Economics and has since worked as a Senior Research Associate in both the Soviet government and in the USSR Academy of Sciences. From 1993 – 1994, Urnov served as the Projects Leader of the Gorbachev Foundation and was the head of the Analytical Directorate of the President of the Russian Federation from 1994 – 1996. In his roles in the Expertise Foundation and in the Russian government, Urnov has been the author of many large-scale sociological investigations on Russian public opinion as well as economic and political issues.

Igor Leonovich Zhukov is currently the Head of the National Centre of Geopolitics. Since 1993, he has also been a Representative to the Republic of Moldavia in Russia. Zhukov has held numerous positions, and has been a Senior Lecturer at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, a referent for the Soviet Peace Defending Committee, Head of the Department of Foreign Policy and International Relations for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and has served in the UN-Russia Cooperation Association. Zhukov is also the advisor on international issues to Deputy Mitrofanov.

Biographies of UK Attendees

Tristan Ace is currently the Press Assistant at the Foreign Policy Centre. He graduated in October 2004 with an MA in Central and Eastern European Studies from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. His first degree was in Philosophy and Politics at the University of Warwick. His current interest is Russia and its relationship with Central and Eastern Europe.

David Atkinson, MP (Conservative) has represented the Bournemouth East constituency in the House of Commons since 1977. He has been a member of the British delegation on the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe since 1979 and was the Chairman of the Committee for Relations with Non - Member Countries 1991-95. He has just retired as Chairman of the European Democrat Group, and is being replaced by Senator Mikhail Magelov [Russia]. He was the Council's first Rapporteur on the Soviet Union in 1989 and recommended the accession of Russia in 1996. He remains the Rapporteur on the Monitoring of Russia's commitments and will be introducing his latest progress report to the Assembly at the forthcoming April Part - Session.

Greg Austin joined the Foreign Policy Centre as Director of Research in 2004 after holding senior posts in the Department of Peace Studies at Bradford University and the International Crisis Group in Brussels. His previous appointments were in the Australian National University, the Australian parliament, and the Australian government. His government service included appointments as a Ministerial adviser, defence intelligence analyst, and a diplomatic post in Hong Kong. His books include *China's Ocean Frontier: International Law, Military Force and National Development* (1988), *Japan and Greater China: Political Economy and Military Power in the Asian Century* (2001), and *The Armed Forces of Russia in Asia* (2001). He holds a PhD and Master's degree in International Law.

Gregory Barker, MP (Conservative) became an Associate Partner of the leading financial public relations firm, Brunswick Group Ltd. in 1997. The following year he was appointed head of International Investor Relations for a major Russian oil company, where he helped lead the company's drive to modernize in the post Soviet economy and open up to Western markets. He returned to Britain in May 2000, to continue as a director of Bartlett Scott Edgar, the recruitment advertising business, of which he helped lead a management buy in 1998. The company was sold to TMP Worldwide in 2001. Gregory was elected Conservative Member of Parliament for Bexhill and Battle in June 2001. He has also served in the Territorial Army (HAC) and in 2003 completed the Armed Forces parliamentary scheme. Gregory has been a member of the Environmental Audit select committee since 2001, and in November 2003 was

appointed to the Opposition Front Bench as a Conservative whip.

Maria Blake is a member of AICC and the Institute of Translating and Interpreting, UK (ITI). She has been a freelance linguist in the UK since 1991. Blake has regularly interpreted for numerous organisations including, the UN, various agencies of the British government and several businesses. In 2004, she worked for the for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Ministry of Defence, Chatham House, World Congress for Democracy and USAID, among others.

Archie Brown is Professor of Politics at Oxford University and a Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford. He is a Fellow of the British Academy and a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His books include *The Gorbachev Factor* (1996), *The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century* (co-editor with Jack Hayward and Brian Barry, 1999), *Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader* (editor, 2001), *Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition* (co-editor with Lilia Shevtsova, 2001) and *The Demise of Marxism-Leninism in Russia* (editor, 2004).

David Clark is Chairman of the Advisory Council of Russia Foundation. He was a Special Adviser at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office between 1997 and 2001. David started work as parliamentary researcher after graduating from Edinburgh University in 1988 and joined Robin Cook's staff in 1994, where he was closely involved in the development of Labour's foreign policy prior to the 1997 general election. His academic qualifications include an MA in War Studies from King's College London. Since leaving the Foreign Office he has worked as a freelance political commentator and consultant. He has written numerous op-ed columns for a range of national newspapers, including *Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Mail on Sunday*, and appeared regularly as a guest on current affairs programmes on radio and television.

Sarah-Jayne Clifton is the Parliamentary Assistant for the Russia Foundation. She earned a BA Honours degree in geography from Christ Church College, University of Oxford, specialising in political economy and the geography of Russia and the former Soviet Union. She then completed an MSc in International Politics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, graduating in September 2004.

Steve Crawshaw has been the London director of Human Rights Watch since 2002. Before that he worked for many years as a journalist with *The Independent*, reporting especially from Russia, Eastern Europe and the Balkans. He studied Russian and German at Oxford and Leningrad Universities, and is the author of *Goodbye to the USSR* (1992, 1993), and of *Easier Fatherland: Germany and the Twenty-First Century* (2004).

Mary Dejevsky is chief leader writer at *The Independent*, where she writes the paper's main editorials. She also writes signed columns, mostly on international relations. As a Russia specialist and occasional special correspondent, she covered the Russian parliamentary and presidential elections; last autumn she was a member of an international group of journalists and academics who met President Putin in Moscow. She joined *The Independent* as Comment editor in 1992, becoming successively Paris correspondent (1995-7), Washington bureau chief (1997-2001) and diplomatic editor (2001-2004). She graduated in Russian and German from Oxford, spending a year in the then Soviet Union and spent six years with the BBC World Service, before moving to *The Times*. She became the paper's Moscow bureau chief in 1988, covering the collapse of communism and the rise of Russia. As well as her current writing responsibilities, she also broadcasts regularly on British and US radio and television.

Keith Didcock is the Deputy Director of the Foreign Policy Centre. He joined the Centre in 2003 after a career in investment banking with BZW, CSFB and ING Barings, working in European M&A and advising the UK and European governments on various privatisation projects. He is responsible for the Foreign Policy Centre's strategy and development. He has a first class Masters degree from Edinburgh University.

Nana Eldzarova graduated with a BA degree from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. She is currently a Mouisard Research Scholar at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the Russia Project Assistant at The Foreign Policy Centre.

Andrew Jack is the Financial Times' outgoing Moscow bureau chief. He was previously a specialist reporter and Paris correspondent. He is author of *Inside Putin's Russia* (2004: Granta, London; OUP, New York) and of *The French Exception* (2001, Profile Books, London; Editions Odile Jacob, Paris). A graduate of Cambridge University, he was the Choate Fellow at Harvard. He is a member of the advisory council of the Russia Foundation.

Lord Frank Judd (Labour) was created a Life Peer in 1991. From 1966-79, he served as a Member of Parliament for Portsmouth, serving in numerous capacities, including Parliamentary Secretary of State for Defence for the Royal Navy (1974-76) and Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (1977-79). Additionally, Lord Judd served as the Director of Voluntary Service Overseas from 1980-85 and as Director of Oxfam from 1985-91 and has served as a member, trustee and chair of many other organisations, including the British Council, International Alert and Saferworld. Lord Judd is currently a member of the Joint Committee on Human Rights. At the Council of Europe, he served as

the Rapporteur on Chechnya to the Joint Working Group on Chechnya of the Parliamentary Assembly and the Russian Duma until 2003.

Bridget Kendall, MBE has been BBC diplomatic correspondent since 1998. She is based in London and covers top foreign stories for radio and television news. In the last five years, she has followed daily diplomatic and military developments from London in the run-up and aftermath to the recent war in Iraq, the war in Afghanistan, and the NATO intervention in Yugoslavia. She has reported from the ground during the military crises in Macedonia and Chechnya and is a regular presenter for the BBC's flagship interactive programme *Talking Point*. Ms Kendall has made several long documentaries for BBC television, including profiles of Vladimir Putin, Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev. She recently completed a five-part radio series for the BBC about daily life today in Russian rural regions, the Far North and Siberia. Ms Kendall has received many awards for journalism, including the James Cameron Award for distinguished journalism and the Voice of the Listener and Viewer's Radio Award. In 2003, she was the Roskill Lecturer of Churchill College, Cambridge.

Galina Ladyzhenskaya is a member of the World Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIIC). She has been a freelance interpreter and translator since 1978. Ladyzhenskaya has regularly interpreted for numerous organisations, including the UN, EU, OSCE, OECD, EBRD, NATO, the British government and various businesses. She also interpreted for the Nobel Peace Prize ceremonies for Mikhail Gorbachev.

Tony Lloyd Esq, MP (Labour) is currently the Chair of the All-Party Russia Group. He was a councillor in Trafford District Council from 1979 – 1984 and was a Member for Stretford from 1983-87 and for Manchester Central since 1997. He was a Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office from 1997-99. In addition to his interest in Russia, Mr. Lloyd is also interested in Civil Liberties, Disarmament, Immigration, Race Relations, Industrial Policy, Human Rights, Overseas Aid and Development, Poland and the Balkans. He has served as the Leader of the Labour Delegation to the Council of Europe and Western European Union since 2000, serves as the Chair of the Trade Union Group of Labour MPs and also is the Chair of the non-profit organisation 'Let's Get Serious'.

Bobo Lo is an Associate Fellow of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) and a Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Moscow Center. He has written extensively on Russian foreign and security policy as an independent researcher and, previously, as First Secretary and then Deputy Head of Mission at the Australian Embassy in Moscow (1995-99). His recent books include *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy* (Royal Institute of International Affairs and Blackwell Publishing, 2003) and *Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era: Reality, Illusion*

and Mythmaking (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). Dr Lo is a regular contributor to *The World Today* and *Oxford Analytica*, and appears frequently in the electronic and written media as a commentator on Russian domestic and foreign policy.

Shairi Mathur is the Project Officer for India at the FPC. She recently completed her second Masters at Kings College (London) in War Studies. Her first Masters was in the History of International Relations at the LSE on a Chevening scholarship. Before moving to the UK she worked for WISCOMP (Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace) - a Women's NGO in New Delhi.

Jennifer Moll is the Project Officer for Russia at the Foreign Policy Centre. She earned her BA in Russian Language and Literature and International Studies from Dickinson College (USA) and Moscow State University. After earning her M.Phil in International Relations from Cambridge University, she spent her year as a Fulbright Scholar in Tartu, Estonia.

Alex Pravda is the Director of the Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre, St Antony's College, University of Oxford. Before coming to Oxford he was director of the Soviet foreign policy programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House). He has acted as special adviser to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons. He has taught at the University of Reading and, on a visiting basis, at Stanford University and the University of Michigan. His publications include *Developments in Russian Politics* (co-edited, Macmillan, 2001) and *Leading Russia: Putin in Perspective* (edited, forthcoming Oxford University Press, 2005).

Bill Rammell, MP (Labour) as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs is responsible for Afghanistan, Russia, South Caucasus and Central Asia, United Nations, Conflict Prevention, East Asia, Drugs and International Crime, Sustainable Development, Human Rights, Energy security, and Environment and climate change, among many others. He was appointed to this post on 28 October 2002. Before entering Parliament, Bill Rammell was a senior manager at the University of London Union, Head of Youth Services for Basildon Council and worked for NUS and British Rail. He was elected MP for Harlow in 1997 and has been Parliamentary Private Secretary to Tessa Jowell MP since June 2001. He was a member of a Select Committee on European Scrutiny until 2001.

Joan Ruddock, MP (Labour) represents Lewisham Deptford, an inner city constituency in London. The vision she has shown championing political causes has put her at the forefront of both the feminist and environmental movements in this country. She won her seat after many years as an anti-poverty and equalities campaigner and gained national prominence as chair of CND in the early eighties. In 1997 she was appointed the first full-time Minister for Women

in the new Labour Government, a post that was discontinued a year later. In October 2001 she established the UK Women's Link with Afghan women – an organisation which campaigns for the restoration of Afghan women's human rights and their full participation in the future governance of Afghanistan. She is a member of the back-bench Foreign Affairs Committee and is a Vice-Chair of the all party associate group on the future of Afghanistan. In September 2004 she led the British Inter-Parliamentary Union Delegation to Russia and is a member of the all-party Russia group.

Simon Smith has been head of Eastern Department in the Foreign & Commonwealth Office since September 2004. The Department covers Russia, and the countries of the South Caucasus and Central Asia. From 2002-2004 he was head of the FCO's NE Asia & Pacific Department, covering Japan, the Korean peninsula, Mongolia, and Oceania. Between 1998 and 2002 he was Economic and Commercial Counsellor at the British Embassy in Moscow.

Jonathan Steele is the Guardian's senior foreign correspondent and main columnist on international affairs. He has been following Soviet and Russian issues for the Guardian since 1970. He served as the paper's Moscow bureau chief from 1988 to 1994. He is the author of three books dealing with Russia: *The Limits of Soviet Power* (1984) which pointed out the Soviet Union's relative global weakness at a time when Reagan and Thatcher were claiming it was a growing threat; *Andropov in Power* (1983), a study of the KGB chief and CPSU general secretary, and *Eternal Russia: Yeltsin, Gorbachev and the Mirage of Democracy* (1994). Jonathan Steele travels widely and has frequently been in Afghanistan and Iraq in recent months and years. He is also a regular visitor to Moscow.

Elizabeth Teague covers Russian internal political developments in Eastern Research Group at the Foreign Office and has been a regular visitor to the countries of the former Soviet Union since 1968. Having studied Russian at the University of Surrey and received her PhD in Russian politics from the University of Birmingham, she worked from 1980 to 1993 as an analyst of Soviet and Russian politics in the Research Department of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Inc. in Munich. After that, she worked as an Adviser to the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities in The Hague, looking at the situation of Russian minorities in the newly independent states on Russia's borders. She has also spent time as a Research Fellow at the US Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C., and as an analyst of Russian politics for the Jamestown Foundation. She has worked in the Foreign Office since 1998.

Lord Peter Truscott (Labour) was raised to the peerage in 2004. After earning his D.Phil from Oxford University in Modern History, he worked as a political organiser for the Labour Party from 1986-89, as a Member of European Parliament (MEP) for Hertfordshire from 1994-99 and as the Labour Party

spokesmen for foreign affairs and defence from 1997-1999. He has been an Associate Research Fellow at the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) since 2000. Lord Truscott has also written *Russia First* (1997), *Kursk: Russia's Lost Pride* (2002) and *Putin's Progress* (2004).