

# Russian Foreign Policy Think Tanks in 2002

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## **1. Introduction**

This report provides a general picture of research institutes working in the areas of foreign and security policy in Moscow and St. Petersburg. In the following, I will briefly discuss changes in research financing and the consequent reorganisation of the research community. After this, major changes in the study of international relations in Russia are also discussed. A list of the most important research institutes in Moscow and St. Petersburg is appended to the report. In addition, information is provided on the forums and publications of most importance in the foreign-policy debate.

For the purposes of this report, some twenty Russian researchers and experts on Russian foreign and security policy were interviewed in Moscow and St. Petersburg in April–August 2002. I would like to thank all the persons interviewed, and also those who commented on my paper. The study has been commissioned and financed by the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

## **2. Decline in state funding and the fragmentation of the Academy of Sciences**

Over the last decade, the decline in the state funding has resulted in the fragmentation and reorganisation of the academic research community. In previous reports<sup>1</sup>, the issue of research funding has

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<sup>1</sup> Irina Dezhina, who works at the Institute for the Economy in Transition in Moscow, and Professor Loren Graham of MIT have investigated the state of basic research in Russia and the foreign funding flowing to it. Dezhina – Graham (2002). In addition, a RAND report commissioned by the White House has examined the amount and areas of emphasis of US funding in Russia. Wagner et al. (2002).

been investigated at a more general level, but the conclusions are in line with the those that emerged during the compilation of this report.

Up to the end of the 1980s, 97 % of research funding still came from the state budget, whereas in 1999 the corresponding figure was only 49.9 %. Researcher Irina Dezhina and Professor Loren Graham estimate that total funding for research has fallen to a third of the figures for the early 1980s<sup>2</sup>. They argue that support from foreign governments, private foundations and organisations prevented the complete collapse of Russian research in the 1990s. This view is supported by an estimate made by Alexander Konoshenko, head of the Finance Department at the Russian Academy of Sciences, according to which the Academy's budget currently amounts to only 18 % of the Soviet-era figure (the budget totals just under USD 300 million<sup>3</sup>). Slightly less than a third (29 %) of the budget comes from sources other than state funding, and the remainder is derived from rental income (6.7 %) and various ministries (12.1 %).<sup>4</sup> Thus the amount of state funding for the Russian Academy of Sciences currently amounts to only about a third of the Academy's total funding.

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<sup>2</sup> At the same time, it should of course be pointed out that Russia's budget has also become significantly smaller during the period in question. In 1991, the percentage of Russia's GNP spent on 'civilian research' was 1.03 %. The corresponding figure for 1999 was 0.32 %. Dezhina – Graham (2002), 8.

<sup>3</sup> The figure is based on estimates provided by Konoshenko during an interview, and they are mutually inconsistent. According to him, the Academy's budget funding was only about RUR 12.4 million (approximately USD 400 000) in 2001; this accounted for 52.2 % of total funding. At the same time, however, he stated that rental income amounted to USD 18 million, or 6.7 % of the budget. The total sum has been estimated using the latter figure.

<sup>4</sup> Sandul (2002), 9

The renting of facilities to outside bodies has thus become a widespread method of financing actual research activities. A concrete example is IMEMO (the Institute of World Economy and International Relations), which was regarded as the CPSU Politburo's most important research institute in the field of foreign policy; several floors of its tall building have been rented for use by the Swiss-Swedish conglomerate ABB. Similarly, the ground floor of the Academy's Institute for Systems Analysis houses a private furniture store.

The tough competition for funding and prestige has furthered the fragmentation of large research institutes into 'research centres' consisting of one or a few researchers. These centres have symbiotic relationships of varying degree with their former parent institutes. In most cases the system suits both parties. As compensation for a nominal salary, the researcher is granted free use of the institute's premises and facilities such as the telephone and the Internet. And the parent institute for its part can continue to justify its existence (an especially important point if its premises are situated in central Moscow) by claiming that it still has hundreds of researchers on its payroll. Small consultancies that have crystallised around one expert and larger research institutes form a complex network for discussions on foreign policy.

The State's declining role in the funding of research has contributed towards forcing the more traditional research institutes (bodies attached to the universities and the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the research centres run by various ministries) into opening up and seeking partners both in the business world and

abroad. Dezhina and Graham estimate that 16.9 % of Russia's scientific research was funded by foreign sources in 1999; in the case of the best research institutes the figure is even higher – 25–50 %.<sup>5</sup> The researchers have not precisely determined the origin of foreign funding by country. As an indication one can, however, refer to American estimates, according to which the USA's annual amount of research funding directed towards Russia has been about USD 350 million since the mid-1990s.<sup>6</sup>

Most of the funding for sociological and humanistic research is received from non-governmental actors such as private foundations and organisations. The best-known example is probably the Carnegie Moscow Center, whose activities are funded by a number of American foundations. Funding for the 'new' research centres (founded since the early 1990s) comes mainly from abroad, while the well-established research institutes, for example RISI, the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, receive most of their funding from the federal budget. During President Putin's term, more money has been directed towards scientific research<sup>7</sup>, and large-scale Russian enterprises have at the same time become active in this field. The YUKOS oil company, for example, has founded the first institute operating entirely with Russian funding and concentrating on

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<sup>5</sup> The amount of foreign funding has risen steadily since 1995: in 1995 it was 4.6 %; in 1996, 5.6 %; in 1997, 7.4 %; and in 1998, 10.3 %. Dezhin – Graham (2002), 29.

<sup>6</sup> The funding is aimed mainly at the fields of biomedicine, energy technology and physics. Most of the funding is connected with NASA's space technology projects.

<sup>7</sup> The priority areas of research are: information-telecommunications technology and electronics; space and aviation technology; new transportation technology; promising weapons and military equipment; industrial technology; environmental science and rational use of resources; and energy-saving technology. Sandul (2002), 9.

research on international relations – the ‘Institute of Applied International Studies’.

### **3. Foreign policy think tanks in Moscow**

In the main, appraisals of the opportunities for academic research institutes, private ‘consultancies’ or discussion forums to influence foreign-policy decision-making are very much at variance. A general trend can be seen in the steady decline in such opportunities in the case of academic research institutes since the late 1980s, when institutes attached to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, for example ISKRAN and IMEMO, were still deeply involved in the formulation of Gorbachev’s foreign policy.

The Center for Strategic Research (commonly also called the German Gref Institute) and RISI (sometimes called Russia’s ‘RAND’) are among the most important research institutes at the moment. According to some analysts, the Center provides direct access to the presidential administration. Russia’s relations with the EU or with European countries in the broader sense are handled by a committee established especially for this purpose and named ‘Russia in United Europe’. The committee is chaired by Vladimir Ryzhkov, a member of the Russian Duma.

According to some sources, the ‘Foreign Policy Planning Committee’ has been founded to supplement or replace the Foreign and Security Policy Council (CFDP) because part of the foreign-policy elite is “dramatically dissatisfied with Russia’s current



mechanisms for foreign-policy decision-making”<sup>8</sup>. However, experts are not in agreement as to whether the Committee has any chance of displacing the CFDP, or as to what new perspectives it may be able to contribute to the debate on Russia’s foreign-policy line.

Together with those already mentioned, the Carnegie Moscow Center has maintained its position as Moscow’s leading ‘new’ institute since the early 1990s. Its operations are mainly financed by American foundations. The Center is regarded as one of the most important participants in the discussion of foreign and security policy. The directors of research institutes attached to the Russian Academy of Sciences are also considered influential in the field of foreign-policy advice. The main channel of influence for individual researchers and the ‘new’ institutes is the debate being waged in the media, although the opportunity for free discussion has diminished.

#### **4. International relations studies in Russia: new starting points for research?**

During the 1990s, research and teaching in the field of international relations spread swiftly from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) – first to other universities in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and from there to the largest regional centres, such as the Universities of Yekaterinburg and Nizhny Novgorod – and has to some extent succeeded in consolidating its position within the university community. Despite this, research on international relations is still a fairly new field. Indicative of this is

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Konovalov, Moscow 19.6.2002.

the fact that the Russian Association of International Studies<sup>9</sup> was founded only in 1999. At the same time, it should be mentioned that the Association of European Studies was established as far back as the early 1990s.

Scholars are quite critical in their assessment of the situation. According to one appraisal, "the most important achievement of Russian research on international politics is that the field still exists at all". Such assessments largely conform with the views on the state of the field held by Aleksei Bogaturov, the deputy director of ISKRAN. Bogaturov strongly criticises Russian research on international politics, calling researchers "translators, who simply translate the local reality into the language of Western sponsors and the foreign public"<sup>10</sup>. Bogaturov stresses that Russian political research should certainly not detach itself from the tradition of Western thinking, but that attention should focus more on the special features of the Russian sphere of experience and that research on international relations should be developed by taking this route forward.<sup>11</sup>

Viacheslav Morozov, a researcher at St. Petersburg State University's School of International Relations, argues that the post-positivist orientation in research that has developed in Europe over the last decade is a virtually unknown concept in Russia. Morozov sees a very practical reason for this situation. At present, no Russian translations of most works on the theory of international relations are available, and only a very few scholars (mainly Morozov himself,

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<sup>9</sup> The association's home pages [www.rami.ru](http://www.rami.ru) provide up-to-date information concerning research on international relations in Russia as well as links to the more important universities.

<sup>10</sup> Bogaturov 2000, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Bogaturov 2000, 5-6.

Nikita Lomagin and Aleksander Sergounin) have put forward new (post-positivist) viewpoints in their research.<sup>12</sup>

A chapter of their own are issues of 'soft security' such as environmental safety and crime. To an increasing extent, these have indeed become items on the agenda – an example being the President's spring address to the Federal Assembly. But discussion of them is hampered by the lack of development of the necessary terminology. For example, the concept of 'soft security' has not yet been assimilated into the debate in Russia.

Researchers maintain, however, that the fundamental problem is that research on international relations study in Russia has not yet broken free to a sufficient extent from the Marxist tradition, or that it is non-theoretical altogether. At the best, research is characterised, as far as its starting points are concerned, by a realism-versus-idealism divide and by a predilection for geopolitical explanatory models.

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<sup>12</sup> Morozov 2002.

## Literature

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<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1504/MR1504.pdf>

## Interviews

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Danilov, Dmitry; researcher, Institute of Europe, RAN. Yekaterinburg 18.4.2002.

Demtchuk, Artour; researcher, MGU, Faculty of Philosophy, Moscow 25.4.2002.

Efimova, Elena; researcher, St. Petersburg State University, World Economy Department 4.9.2002.

Emerson, Michael; director, CEPS, Brussels. Yekaterinburg 17.4.2002.

Fedchenko, Vitaly; project coordinator, PIR Center for Policy Studies, Moscow 24.4.2002.

Gel'man, Vladimir; researcher, European University of St. Petersburg, Department of Political Sciences and Sociology, chair. 4.9.2002.

Kakko, Laura; Embassy of Finland in Moscow 22.4.2002.

Khromov, Yurii; deputy director, RISI, Moscow 16.4.2002.

Khudoley, Konstanin; professor, dean, St. Petersburg State University, School of International Relations, 5.9.2002.

Kuznetsov, Boris; CIRP, St. Petersburg State University, World Economy department coordinator of international relations, 5.9.2002.

Konovalov, Alexander; director, Institute for Strategic Assessments, Moscow 19.6.2002.

Lomagin, Nikita; professor, European University of St. Petersburg 4.9.2002.

Mironova, Karolina; researcher, RISI, Moscow 16.4.2002.

Morozov, Viacheslav; researcher, St. Petersburg State University, School of International Relations.

Moshes, Arkadi; researcher, Institute of Europe, RAN, Moscow 22.4.2002.

Piontkovskii, Andrei; director, Strategic Studies Centre, Moscow 24.4. and 26.6.2002.

Pikayev, Alexander; Scholar-in-Residence, Carnegie Moscow Center 20.6.2002.

Polysayev, Veniamin I.; assistant of director, Voldemar P. Varava (1<sup>st</sup> deputy director of Institute), Vladimir A. Bogdanov (deputy of the Director), Minatom, Institute of Strategic Stability 24.6.2002.

Salmin, Alexei; director, Russian Public Policy Center, Moscow 20.6.2002.

Sutyurin, Sergei; St. Petersburg State University, head, Department of World Economy 4.9.2002.

Tkachenko, Stanislav; deputy-dean, St. Petersburg State University, School of International Relations 5.9.2002.

## List of research institutes

Carnegie Moscow Center  
Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST)  
Center for Policy Studies in Russia – PIR  
Center for Political and International Studies, CPIS  
Center for Strategic Research -foundation, Moscow  
Center for Strategic Research North-West -foundation, St. Petersburg  
Center for Strategic Studies  
Center for Trans-Atlantic Security  
Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Studies, CEPRI  
European University of St. Petersburg  
Gorbachev Foundation  
Institute for Ethnography, RAN  
Institute for the Economy in Transition  
Institute for Strategic Assessments  
Institute for USA and Canadian Studies, ISKRAN  
Institute of Europe, RAN  
Institute of Applied International Studies  
Institute of CIS Countries  
Institute of Far East Studies, RAN  
Institute of Oriental Studies, RAN  
Institute of World Economy and International Relations, IMEMO RAN  
Linguistic University of Nizhny Novgorod  
Moscow State Institute of International Relations, MGIMO  
Moscow State University, MGU  
Nizhny Novgorod State University  
Polity Foundation  
Russian Foreign Policy Foundation, RFPF  
Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISI)  
Russian Public Policy Center -foundation (RPPC)  
St. Petersburg State University, School of International Relations  
St. Petersburg State University, World Economy Department  
Ural State University, Faculty of International Relations

Name of the institute	Address	Leadership	Description
<b>Carnegie Moscow Center</b>	Tverskaia ul. 16/2 103009 Moscow Tel. +7 095 935 8904 Fax. +7 095 935 8906 Email: <a href="mailto:info@carnegie.ru">info@carnegie.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.carnegie.ru">www.carnegie.ru</a>	Director: Robert Nurick  Deputy director: Dmitry Trenin	The Carnegie Moscow Center was founded in 1993 and continues to be one of the one of Russia's most respected research institutes in the field of foreign and security policy. The Institute also functions as a high-level discussion forum. It is funded mainly by American foundations.
<b>Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST)</b>	Leninskii prospekt 45, office 480 Moscow Tel. +7 095 135 1378 Fax. +7 095 775 0418 <a href="http://www.cast.ru">www.cast.ru</a>	Director: Ruslan Pukhov	The CAST Center, founded in 1997, is an independent research institute. The Center's research activities concentrate on questions connected with Russia's armament, defence industry and security policy. The Center publishes the periodical <i>Ekspert Vooruzheniy</i> (Arms Export). The Center's activities are financed mainly by income from the periodical.
<b>Center for Policy Studies in Russia – PIR</b>	Business Center Trekhpudny Per., 9 103001 Moscow Tel. +7 095 234 0525 Fax. +7 095 234 9558 Email: <a href="mailto:info@pircenter.org">info@pircenter.org</a>  <a href="http://www.pircenter.org">www.pircenter.org</a>	Director: Vladimir Orlov  Deputy director: Yurii Fedorov	This non-profit, independent research centre was founded in April 1994. The emphasis of research is on issues connected with armament and preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is regarded as one of Russia's leading institutes in this field. The PIR Center publishes periodicals ( <i>Yaderny Kontrol</i> , <i>PIR study papers</i> ) and various research reports (e.g. <i>Nuclear Russia Today Newsletter</i> , <i>Arms Control Letters</i> ). In addition, it trains various groups in issues connected with disarmament and holds expert seminars. The Center's activities are funded mainly by American foundations (e.g. the Ford Foundation and the Monterey Institute), foreign governments (e.g. Norway and Great Britain) and Russian enterprises. In addition, the Center finances its activities through consulting work and the sale of publications. An interesting aspect is that according to information published on the Center's home pages, the organisation is exempt from taxation.

<p><b>Center for Political and International Studies, CPIS</b></p>	<p>Prospect Mira 36 129010 Moscow Tel. +7 095 280 3536, 6414, 4138 Fax. +7 095 280 0245 Email: <a href="mailto:cpis@orc.ru">cpis@orc.ru</a></p>	<p>Director: Alexander Nikitin, deputy chairman of Russia's Pugwash Committee</p> <p>Deputy director: Oleg Pavlov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Peace Committee</p>	<p>The CPIS was founded in 1989. The Center is an independent, non-profit research organisation, which produces commissioned studies and organises international conferences and seminars on topics such as international security, disarmament and conflict resolution.</p> <p>In 1992-97, the Center organised a series of international conferences in collaboration with the Russian Parliament's committees for international relations and defence, and the Foreign Ministry. These conferences dealt with East-West security problems. Between 1991 and 1996, more than 300 foreign experts from the EU and NATO and from the foreign and defence ministries of various countries participated in events organised by the CPIS. In 2000, the Center held six international conferences on topics including international conventions of war. Its home pages provide no information on activities in 2001 or 2002; nor have the pages been updated recently.</p>
<p><b>Center for Strategic Research - foundation, Moscow</b></p>	<p>Malaia Jakimanka ul. dom. 2/1 109180 Moscow Email. <a href="mailto:info@csr.ru">info@csr.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.csr.ru">www.csr.ru</a></p>	<p>President: Dmitrii Mezentsev</p> <p>Members of the board include German Gref, V.V. Ivanter and Vladimir Mau</p>	<p>The Center was founded in December 1999, and its task is to plan Russia's long-term strategic guidelines in a comprehensive fashion. The Center belongs to the circle close to Putin. The establishment of the Center alongside more traditional institutes indicates the increasing weight of economic interests within the field of Russia's foreign policy.</p>
<p><b>Center for Strategic Research North-West - foundation, St. Petersburg</b></p>	<p>Medikov prospekt 5 197022 St. Petersburg Tel. +7 812 380 0320, 380 0321 Email. <a href="mailto:mail@csr.spb.ru">mail@csr.spb.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.csr-nw.ru">www.csr-nw.ru</a></p>	<p>Director: Andrei V. Zasyplin</p> <p>Deputy director: Alexander Malinovski</p> <p>Chairman of the board: Yurii V. Kovalchuk</p>	<p>The Center's mission and mode of operation are similar to those of the Center in Moscow. It functions as an expert organisation of the presidential representative for North-West Russia. In collaboration with other regional actors the Center has prepared a doctrine, completed in 2001, for the development of north-western Russia.</p>



<b>Center for Strategic Studies</b>	Prospekt 60-letija Oktiabria 9 117312 Moscow Tel. +7 095 135 0259 Email. <a href="mailto:andrei@isa.ac.ru">andrei@isa.ac.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.isa.ac.ru">www.isa.ac.ru</a>	Director: Andrei Piontkovskii	The Center for Strategic studies is situated near the centre of Moscow and is under the aegis of the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for Systems Analysis. The Center, which is personified by Piontkovskii, analyses the guiding principles of Russia's foreign policy and the country's internal political situation. Piontkovskii writes columns in foreign and Russian periodicals and also plays a prominent role in the debate on Russia's security policy.
<b>Center for Trans-Atlantic Security</b>	Khlebnny per. 2/3 121814 Moscow Tel. +7 095 202 9895 Fax. +7 095 291 0085	Director: Valerii Mazing	The Center was founded under the auspices of ISKRAN in 2000. Its activities concentrate on research on international security and on relations between Russia and the United States.
<b>Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Studies, CEPRI</b>	Yakovo-Apostol'skii per. Dom 10 10364 Moscow  <a href="http://www.indem.ru/ceprs/ceprieng.htm">www.indem.ru/ceprs/ceprieng.htm</a>	Director: Emil Pain	The Centre was founded in 1991 on the initiative of the former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze as an adjunct to the Foreign Policy Association. It monitors relations between the former Soviet republics and Russia. In 1993, the Centre became an independent organisation. Its director, Emil Pain, was previously an adviser on nationality issues to President Yeltsin and served on Chernomyrdin's Chechnya Commission.
<b>European University of St. Petersburg</b>	Gagarinskaia ul. 3 191187 St. Petersburg Tel. +7 812 275 5137 Fax. +7 812 275 5139 Email. <a href="mailto:office@eu.spb.ru">office@eu.spb.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.eu.spb.ru">www.eu.spb.ru</a>	Rector: Boris Firsov  Dean of the Department of Political Science and Sociology: Oleg Kharkhordin	The idea of establishing a European University of St. Petersburg was first suggested in 1991 by the mayor of St. Petersburg, Anatoli Sobchack, and the university was officially founded in 1994. Of the scholars at the Department of Political Science and Sociology, Vladimir Gel'man, for example, is well known in Russia and abroad. His studies deal with issues associated with the regionalisation of Russia. The European University of St. Petersburg has for a long time now been co-operating with the Aleksanteri Institute in Helsinki.

<b>Gorbachev Foundation</b>	Leningradskii prospect 39, d. 14 125167 Moscow Tel. +7 095 945 6499 Fax. +7 095 945 7899 Email. <a href="mailto:gf@gorby.ru">gf@gorby.ru</a> , <a href="mailto:pressa@gorby.ru">pressa@gorby.ru</a> , <a href="mailto:public@gorby.ru">public@gorby.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.gorby.ru">www.gorby.ru</a>	Director: Dmitry Furman	The Gorbachev Foundation began operating in early 1992. As its name suggests, the Foundation's activities revolve around Gorbachev and mainly involve issues of domestic politics. The Foundation organises the 'Expertisa' round-table discussions.
<b>Institute for Ethnography, RAN</b>	Leninskii prospekt 32-A 117334 Moscow Tel. +7 095 938 1747 Fax. +7 095 938 0600 Email. <a href="mailto:anthpub@iea.msk.su">anthpub@iea.msk.su</a>		The Institute possesses extensive expertise in such areas as issues related to Chechnya.
<b>Institute for the Economy in Transition</b>	Gazetny per 5, stroenie 3 103918 Moscow, Russia Tel. 7-095-229-6413 Fax.7-095-202-4274 Email. <a href="mailto:iet@online.ru">iet@online.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.iet.ru">www.iet.ru</a>	Director: Yegor T. Gaidar	The Institute was first established in 1991, under the Academy of the People's Economy of the USSR, as the Institute for Economic Policy. In 1992, the Institute was re-established as an independent institution and since that time has been known as the Institute for the Economy in Transition. With that change, the mandate of the IET changed: its role as a specific institution designing normative acts for both the governments grew radically. In addition to the normative acts, the IET was involved in elaboration of development programs and in the restructuring of enterprises. Hence, the IET has been moving from purely Russian problems to more general and comparative ones.
<b>Institute for Strategic Assessments</b>	Giliarovskogo ul. 6 129090 Moscow Tel./Fax. +7 095 208 5220 Email: <a href="mailto:Oznobishchev_sko96@hotmail.com">Oznobishchev_sko96@hotmail.com</a> ; Konovalov <a href="mailto:konovalov@altavista.net">konovalov@altavista.net</a>	Director: Sergei Oznobishchev  President: Alexei Konovalov	The centre is also known as the Strategic Studies Institute, SSI, and employs a few researchers and office staff. The centre's director, Alexander Konovalov, is also one of the key figures involved in establishing the new 'Foreign Policy Planning Committee'. The centre co-operates with such institutes as PIR and the Marshall Center. Konovalov and Oznobishchev are both members of the Federal Council's consultative committee. The centre's financing is based on projects.

<b>Institute for USA and Canadian Studies, ISKRAN</b>	Khlebny per. 2/3 121814 Moscow Tel. +7 095 203 9412, 291 1166 Fax. +7 095 200 1207 Email. <a href="mailto:iskran@glas.apc.org">iskran@glas.apc.org</a>  <a href="http://iskran.iip.net">http://iskran.iip.net</a>	Director: Sergey M. Rogov	The Institute, which concentrates on research on the United States and Canada, was founded in the early 1990s. Its main task is to analyse the military-political situation, relations between Russia and the United States, and US foreign policy. The Institute's staff work in close collaboration with Russian military circles. Among its best-known researchers are Sergei Rogov and Georgi Arbatov.
<b>Institute of Europe, RAN</b>	Mokhovaya ul. 8-3 "B" 103873 Moscow Tel. +7 095 203 7343, 203 4385, 201 6708 Fax. +7 095 200 4298 Email. <a href="mailto:europe@mline.msk.ru">europe@mline.msk.ru</a>  <a href="http://isn.rsuh.ru/iu">http://isn.rsuh.ru/iu</a>	Director: Nikolai Shmelev	The Institute of Europe, founded in 1988 as an institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, studies European integration and the effects of the integration process on Russia as far as (security) politics, economics and regional policy are concerned. Institute has several area centers among which the "Center of Northern Europe" directed by Yurii Derjabin, a former Russian Ambassador to Finland. The present director, Nikolai Shmelev, previously worked as director of the Institute's 'Europe-CIS' centre. The Institute is financed mainly by funding from the Russian Academy of Sciences and by grants from the State and private foundations.

<b>Institute of Applied International Studies</b>	Kadashevskaja nab. 32/2 113035 Moscow Tel. +7 095 784 6503 Fax. +7 095 784 6504 Email. <a href="mailto:info@iair.ru">info@iair.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.iair.ru">www.iair.ru</a>	Director: Vadim Razumovskii	This independent institute was founded in March 2002, and its main task is to support research on international relations in Russia, raising its standard in the process. The most important research issues include problems associated with improving the co-ordination and effectiveness of Russian foreign policy, the integration of Russia into the global economy, and questions related to the new world order (strategic equilibrium). The most important personage behind the Institute (and the father of the idea) is Mikhail Khordokovski, the head of the YUKOS oil company. YUKOS is also responsible for funding the Institute.
<b>Institute of CIS Countries</b>	Bol'shaia polianka ul. 7/10 109180 Moscow Tel. +7 095 959 3451, 959 3452 Fax. +7 095 959 3449 Email. <a href="mailto:institute@zatulin.ru">institute@zatulin.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.zatulin.ru">www.zatulin.ru</a>	Director: Konstantin Zatulin	The Institute began operating in summer 1996. The aim of its activities is to define and support Russia's interests in the area of the former Soviet Union. The Institute employs some two dozen researchers, who draw up reports and evaluations concerning economic and political changes in the former Soviet republics. The Institute also strives to support contacts with Russian-speaking minorities. According to its own statement, the Institute's publications and studies are aimed at both an academic readership and policy-making bodies.
<b>Institute of Far East Studies, RAN</b>	Nahimovskii prospekt 32 117218, Moscow Tel. +7 095 124 0217 Fax. +7 095 310 7056 Email. <a href="mailto:Ifes@cemi.rssi.ru">Ifes@cemi.rssi.ru</a>	Director: Mikhail L.Titarenko	
<b>Institute of Oriental Studies, RAN</b>	Rozhdestvenka ul. 12 103753 Moscow Tel. +7 095 921-1884, 975-2396 E-mail. <a href="mailto:ivran@glas.apc.org">ivran@glas.apc.org</a>  <a href="http://www.orient.ru">www.orient.ru</a>	Director: Ribakov, R.B.	Absolutely the best – and probably the oldest (founded 1818) – institute engaged in research on Asia and the Middle East. Administratively, it is a part of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The Institute's home pages include a link to a comprehensive information service (EurAsian Orientalist Server).

<b>Institute of World Economy and International Relations, IMEMO RAN</b>	Profsoyuznaia ul. 23 117997 Moscow Tel. +7 095 120 5236 Fax. +7 095 120 6575 <a href="http://www.imemo.ru">www.imemo.ru</a>	Director: Nodari A. Simonia, (since September 2000), member of the Russian Security Council's commission for international relations Deputy director: Vladimir Baranovskii, member of CFDP	IMEMO was founded in 1956 and employs some 500 researchers. IMEMO undertakes comprehensive research on global economic problems, international economic relations and other issues related to Russian foreign policy. According to experts, IMEMO's role in shifting the emphasis of Russia's foreign policy from geopolitics to geoeconomics has been significant.
<b>Linguistic University of Nizhny Novgorod</b>	Minin ul. 31a Nizhny Novgorod Tel. +7 8312 36 2049 Fax. +7 8312 362049 Email. <a href="mailto:dia@lunn.ru">dia@lunn.ru</a> <a href="http://www.dia.lunn.ru">www.dia.lunn.ru</a>	Alexander Sergounin, professor  Andrei Makarychev, lecturer	The University is known through its researchers Sergounin and Makarychev. Sergounin has written about Russian thinking on foreign policy, for example, while Makarychev has described his research on Russia's regions.
<b>Moscow State Institute of International Relations, MGIMO</b>	Prospekt Vernadskogo, dom. 3 119454 Moscow Tel. +7 095 434 0089 +7 095 433 9202, staff, School of International Relations <a href="http://www.mgimo.ru">www.mgimo.ru</a>	Dean: Yu. A. Bulatov, School of International Relations	MGIMO, founded back in 1944, is one of the oldest institutes in its field. In 1994 it was accorded the status of a university. Administratively, it is subordinate to both Russia's education and defence ministries. The Institute is one of Russia's leading research and teaching centres in the fields of international political theory, security policy, the history of diplomacy and US studies. The Institute has a total of 4000 students, of whom about 500 are from abroad every year.
<b>Moscow State University, MGU</b>	Leninskie gori, MGU 119899 Moscow Email. <a href="mailto:info@log.philos.msu.ru">info@log.philos.msu.ru</a> <a href="http://log.philos.msu.ru">http://log.philos.msu.ru</a>	Arthur Demtchuk, Associate professor, Faculty of Philosophy	The Faculty of Philosophy at Moscow State University has its own institute of 'world politics and international relations', which concentrates specifically on teaching and thus does not have contacts to Russia's foreign-policy élite.

<b>Nizhny Novgorod State University</b>	Prospekt Gagarina 23 603950 Nizhnii Novgorod Tel. +7 8312 65 7923 Fax. +7 8312 65 85 92 E-mail: <a href="mailto:rector@nnucnit.unn.ac.ru">rector@nnucnit.unn.ac.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.unn.ru">www.unn.ru</a>	Director: Natalia Denisenko, Institute of Modern History and International Relations	
<b>Polity Foundation</b>	Zlatoustinskii B. per. 8/7 room 21 101000 Moscow Tel. +7 095 206 8149 Fax. +7 095 206 8661  <a href="http://www.polity.ru">www.polity.ru</a>	Director: V.A. Nikonov	<p>This Foundation was established in 1993 on the initiative of some well-known political scholars (G. A. Satarovim, A. M. Salmin, A. M. Migranyan). The Foundation is led by Viacheslav Nikonov, who was a policy adviser to the KGB's foreign intelligence service during the Soviet era. During the late 1980s, he acted as an assistant to Mikhail Gorbachev, and from 1993 to 2000 he was a member of the Duma. In his views Nikonov represents the more conservative wing.</p> <p>The Foundation's main area of activity is domestic politics; in 1996-2001, for example, it was involved in the development of election campaigns in Russia's regions. The Foundation has also been involved in international projects in collaboration with such organisations as the World Bank, the Carnegie Endowment and the heritage Foundation.</p>

<p><b>Russian Foreign Policy Foundation, RFPF</b></p>	<p>Kozlovskii per. 4, office 3 Moscow Tel. +7 095 924 7270</p>	<p>Director: Yurii Sayamov, consultant at CRES, Geneva</p> <p>Deputy director: Konstantin Borovoi</p> <p>Board member: Sergei Mndoiants, president of FDPR (Foundation for the development of parliamentarianism in Russia) since 1998, member of CFDP</p>	<p>The Foundation was established in 1992 on the initiative of the Foreign Ministry. Its founders included the <i>International Affairs</i> journal, influential banks (e.g. Menatep) and some enterprises (LUKoil, KAMAZ). The goal of the Foundation was to create a common forum for Russia's foreign-policy and business élites and in so doing to bring the interests of these various groupings closer together. The RFPF has also been active in creating contacts with Russia's regions. Its activities are policy-oriented, and the Foundation does not engage in any research worth taking seriously</p>
<p><b>Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISI)</b></p>	<p>Flotskaia ul. 15 125413 Moscow Tel. +7 095 454 9264 Fax. +7 095 454 9265 Email. <a href="mailto:mail@riss.ru">mail@riss.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.riss.ru">www.riss.ru</a></p>	<p>Director: Yevgeni M. Kozhokin</p> <p>Deputy director: Yurii S. Khromov</p>	<p>RISI was founded in 1992 and its work covers all the most important divisions of Russian foreign policy, from traditional security-policy issues to problems of 'soft security'. In the main, RISI's studies are intended directly for use by ministries, and especially for the presidential administration.</p> <p>An indication of greater activity in the Baltic region is the establishment of a RISI branch in Kaliningrad in 1996. RISI currently employs some 70 researchers. RISI has a wide co-operation network abroad – mainly with equivalent American and British institutes.</p>

<b>Russian Public Policy Center - foundation (RPPC)</b>	Louchnikov ul. 2 10100 Moscow Tel. +7 095 206 8292 Fax. +7 095 206 8579 Email: <a href="mailto:salmin@politeia.ru">salmin@politeia.ru</a> , <a href="mailto:postmast@ropcent.msk.ru">postmast@ropcent.msk.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.rppc.ru">www.rppc.ru</a>	Director: Alexei Salmin, member of CFDP (as of 4/2000)	The Center was founded in 1991 by decree of President Yeltsin. In 1995, it was transformed into a foundation. In addition to the presidential administration, its founders include the Polity Foundation, the Moscow municipal administration and some other foundations. The Center has an extensive co-operation network throughout Russia and the CIS area. Its research activities mainly involve regional and foreign-policy research; other fields include research on culture and religion. About 15% of its funding is derived from contract work and the sale of publications; but most (84%) comes from 'other sources', which are not more precisely specified. The Center has a fairly small organisational structure.
<b>St. Petersburg State University, School of International Relations</b>	Smolnogo ul. 1/3 199034 St. Petersburg Tel. + 7812 276 1259 + 7812 279 1947 Fax. +7812 276 1270 Email: <a href="mailto:khudoley@khud.usr.pu.ru">khudoley@khud.usr.pu.ru</a> , <a href="mailto:tkachenk@dip.pu.ru">tkachenk@dip.pu.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.dip.pu.ru">www.dip.pu.ru</a>	Dean: Konstantin Khudoley  Deputy dean: Stanislav L. Tkachenko	The School of International Relations was founded in 1994 and currently has 600 students. School organises regularly international conferences and has number of partners in Russia and abroad.
<b>St. Petersburg State University, World Economy Department</b>	Tchaikovskogo ul. 62 191123 St. Petersburg Tel. +7812 272 0330, Sutyurin Fax. +7812 275 4966 Email: <a href="mailto:sutyurin@svs.usr.pu.ru">sutyurin@svs.usr.pu.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.spbu.ru">www.spbu.ru</a>	Director: Sergei Sutyurin	St. Petersburg State University's World Economy Department began teaching international relations some 25 years ago. The teaching of global economics has now consolidated its position as a part of the University's teaching work.
<b>Ural State University, Faculty of International Relations</b>	Lenin ul. 51 620083 Yekaterinburg Tel./Fax. +7 3432 55 5907 Email: <a href="mailto:Valeri.mikhailenko@usu.ru">Valeri.mikhailenko@usu.ru</a>  <a href="http://www.usu.ru">www.usu.ru</a>	Director: Valeri Mikhailenko	The teaching of international relations began at Ural State University in 1993, and the Faculty of History opened its own 'institute of international relations', headed by Professor Mikhailenko. In 2001, this institute was transformed into the Faculty of International Relations.



<b>Discussion forums</b>		
<b>Name</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Further information:</b>
<b>Carnegie Center</b>	An active forum for discussion and research. Affected by fluctuations in relations between Russia and the United States	<a href="http://www.carnegie.ru">www.carnegie.ru</a>
<b>Foreign Policy Planning Committee</b>	This committee was founded some time ago in Moscow, and its members are largely the same as those of CFDP. The committee operates in the same way as CFDP, but appraisals of its degree of influence are conflicting.	Alexander Konovalov: <a href="mailto:konovala@hotmail.ru">konovala@hotmail.ru</a>
<b>'Russia in United Europe' committee</b>	This influential discussion forum is led by Vladimir Ryzhkov, a member of the Duma. The committee meets once a month to hear talks by high-level Russian and foreign experts, by officials or by diplomats.	Further information: <a href="mailto:eu-rus@politea.ru">eu-rus@politea.ru</a>
<b>PIR Research Council</b>	High-level discussion sessions have been held within the framework of the research council since 1998. The council's members include researchers from Russia's foreign affairs administration and from foreign and Russian institutes.	Further information: <a href="http://www.pircenter.org">www.pircenter.org</a>
<b>Foreign and Security Policy Council (CFDP)</b>	In spring 2000, the CFDP had some 130 members from such fields as the business world, the military-industrial complex, the national administration, the press and circles in the area of research on security policy. It is generally considered that recently the CFDP's influence has markedly declined.	Further information: <a href="http://www.svop.ru">www.svop.ru</a>

<b>Periodicals, publications series</b>		
<b>Name</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Further information:</b>
<b>Arms Control Letters</b>	Starting in 1998, the PIR Center has published monthly expert reports on recent issues connected with disarmament and the spread of nuclear weapons.	Further information: <a href="http://www.pircenter.org">www.pircenter.org</a>
<b>Carnegie papers</b>	The Carnegie Center publishes a number of high-quality research reports every year, in addition to the quarterly <i>Pro et Contra</i> . All reports are also published on the Internet.	Further information and reports: <a href="http://www.carnegie.ru">www.carnegie.ru</a>
<b>Current Europe</b>	A publication of the Institute of Europe which has appeared four times a year since 2000. The journal has an international council and an editorial board proper which includes Vladimir Baranovskii, Yurii Borko, Alexei Arbatov, Sergei Karaganov and Anatoli Utkin.	
<b>Diplomatic Journal</b>	The Russian Foreign Ministry has published this journal since 1992. Its contents include official documents and press statements.	
<b>Economy and Politics in Russia and Post-Soviet States</b>	This periodical is published by IMEMO. It deals mainly with issues associated with the politics and economy of the CIS area.	
<b>International Affairs</b>	Published since 1954. The editorial board includes high-level representatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry, MGIMO and the MFA. The publication deals with problems of global politics, relations between Russia and foreign countries, and current issues.	
<b>International Economic and International Relations</b>	The journal has appeared since 1957 and is published by IMEMO. The editorial board includes IMEMO's deputy director Vladimir Baranovski and Yurii Borko.	
<b>Yaderny Kontrol</b>	The journal has been published since 1994 and is regarded as one of the most important publications dealing with security policy and armament. It is published by the PIR Center.	Further information: <a href="http://www.pircenter.org">www.pircenter.org</a>

<b>Politeia</b>	The 'Russian Public Policy Center' foundation established this journal in 1996. Its editor-in-chief (and also director of the foundation) is A.M. Salmin. The journal deals, among other things, with the following general subject areas: Russia's party-political world; Russian foreign policy – relations with the CIS states and the 'far abroad'; political history and political thought. The most recent numbers have published mainly lectures given at 'Politeia' seminars.	Further information: <a href="http://www.politeia.ru">www.politeia.ru</a>
<b>Nuclear Russia Today Newsletter</b>	Nuclear Russia Today is an electronic newsletter which compiles summaries of information on articles and documents concerning armament and nuclear weapons published in the Russian media.	Further information: <a href="http://www.pircenter.org">www.pircenter.org</a>
<b>Observer</b>	Published since 1992. Deals with questions of domestic and foreign politics, security policy and the economy, and with a variety of other topical subjects. The journal has published articles and interviews by both Russian and foreign experts or decision-makers in the field of foreign policy.	Further information: <a href="http://www.nasledie.ru">www.nasledie.ru</a>
<b>Russia in Global Affairs</b>	This Russian counterpart to <i>Foreign Affairs</i> has been established under the direction of the CFDP. Behind it are not only the CFDP but also the RSPP – an industrial and entrepreneurs' association steered by the former prime minister Yevgeni Primakov – and the newspaper <i>Izvestiya</i> . The journal appears every second month in Russian and English. The first number will be published in November 2002. The journal's editorial board includes a number of top names in Russia's foreign-policy elite, including Sergei Prikhodko, a former foreign-policy adviser to Putin.	
<b>Strategic Stability</b>	The Academy of Military Sciences has published Strategic Stability since 1997. Its goal is to provide information on matters pertaining to reforms in the armed forces, to strategic nuclear forces and to strategic equilibrium.	On Internet at: <a href="http://www.sipria.ru/ss.html">http://www.sipria.ru/ss.html</a>

<b>”Vek” Magazin</b>	Published since 1992. The journal has published a number of articles on nuclear weapons by Viktor Mikhailov, the director of the Institute of Strategic Stability, on questions concerning nuclear weapons. In general, the journal deals with issues pertaining to politics, the economy, Russian foreign relations and culture.	On Internet at: <a href="http://www.wek.ru">www.wek.ru</a>
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<b>Search services, others</b>		
<b>Name</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Further information:</b>
<b>AES – Association of European Studies</b>	The aim of this NGO, founded in 1992, is to promote research on Europe in Russia. The organisation’s home pages provide up-to-date information on Russian research on the EU.	<a href="http://aes.org.ru/eng/index.htm">http://aes.org.ru/eng/index.htm</a>
<b>Civil-Military Relations in Central and Eastern Europe</b>	This EU-funded research project provides a list of the most important research institutes in the field of foreign and security policy in countries including Russia.	<a href="http://civil-military.dsd.kcl.ac.uk/links/LinkRussia.htm">http://civil-military.dsd.kcl.ac.uk/links/LinkRussia.htm</a>
<b>NUPI: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs</b>	Extensive list of Russian research institutes in the area of foreign and security policy	<a href="http://www.nupi.no/russland/RussLinks/RussLinksRussianStudies.html">http://www.nupi.no/russland/RussLinks/RussLinksRussianStudies.html</a>
<b>Nordic Network for Security Studies</b>	Links to foreign and security policy research institutes in the Nordic countries, the Baltic states and Russia, and to international organisations and other bodies active in this field.	<a href="http://www.nnss.org/index_links.htm">http://www.nnss.org/index_links.htm</a>
<b>Russian Association of International Studies – RAMI</b>	The Association’s pages provide convenient access to the pages of institutes dealing with international relations issues at the most important universities etc. In addition, the pages contain a comprehensive list of the association’s members throughout Russia, and of upcoming and past events.	<a href="http://www.rami.ru">www.rami.ru</a>
<b>UPI: Finnish Institute of International Affairs</b>	Analytical reports and links related to Russia and the Baltic states	<a href="http://www.upi-fiia.fi/">http://www.upi-fiia.fi/</a>



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