



DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES
POLICY DEPARTMENT



**THE COMPOSITION OF
RUSSIA'S NEW CABINET
AND PRESIDENTIAL
ADMINISTRATION, AND
ITS SIGNIFICANCE**

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DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE UNION

DIRECTORATE B

POLICY DEPARTMENT

BRIEFING

THE COMPOSITION OF RUSSIA'S NEW CABINET AND PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATION, AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Abstract

The new Russian government represents a compromise between Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev. Although the latter had to step aside last September and relinquish the presidency, he was given more latitude to assemble the cabinet of ministers than in 2008. The new Russian power configuration following the recent reshuffle is more complex than it was previously. There are in fact now more centres of decision-making. The division of labour between the president and the prime minister will not necessarily correspond to the letter of the constitution.

One of the key questions at the moment is the role that the president's new aides and advisors will play. The emergence of a 'parallel cabinet' in the Kremlin would complicate the decision-making system and would leave Dmitry Medvedev in a weaker position. The situation in Moscow is rapidly changing. The authorities appear to be sending conflicting signals. While Dmitry Medvedev had made some concessions in December on the election of the governors and the registration of political parties, we note that in the last several weeks he has been tempted to backpedal.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On 21 May, Russia's head of state, Vladimir Putin, officially announced the composition of the new cabinet of ministers. Comprising 28 members, it will be led by former President Dmitry Medvedev, whose candidacy had been approved by the State Duma on 8 May.

The Russian government has been radically reshuffled. **More than two-thirds of the ministers in the outgoing cabinet were not reappointed.** These include certain influential figures known to be close associates of Vladimir Putin, such as former Deputy Prime Ministers Igor Sechin and Viktor Zubkov. A number of important 'technical' ministries (transport, energy, agriculture, natural resources, telecommunications), have also changed hands. Several particularly unpopular ministers (Rashid Nurgaliyev, interior; Andrey Fursenko, education; Tatyana Golikova, social issues) were dismissed.

While the government may look different, its policies will remain in place. Sergey Lavrov and Anatoly Serdyukov, foreign and defence ministers, respectively, retained their positions. No changes are therefore expected on the foreign policy and security front. Russia's main economic guidelines are also likely to be maintained. First Deputy Prime Minister Igor Shuvalov will retain control over key portfolios, in particular privatisations. The finance minister, Anton Siluanov, was appointed on the recommendation of his predecessor, Alexey Kudrin.

The composition of the new government reflects the new political balance within the Russian leadership, in particular between Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev. The latter had more room to manoeuvre than in 2008. He was thus able to select his chief of staff, Vladislav Surkov, and appointed his former sherpa, Arkady Dvorkovich, to the position of deputy prime minister in charge of industry (including energy). Also of note is the profile of the new interior minister, Vladimir Kolokoltsev, who is known for taking a hard line on corruption questions and who has earned the respect of the opposition for having kept the police 'in check' during the large demonstrations in Moscow last winter.

Vladimir Putin has, for his part, reshuffled his Kremlin administration. This process, which began in late 2011 with the appointments of Sergey Ivanov and Vyacheslav Volodin, continued at the end of May. **Several former ministers – including Elvira Nabiullina, previously in charge of economic development – have become aides or advisors to Vladimir Putin.** Indeed, it appears that the latter would like to create a **'parallel cabinet' in the Kremlin.** We also note that **the secret services (FSB,¹ SVR,²- drug control service) are to date still controlled by the president's inner circle.** Vladimir Putin can, moreover, rely on the chairman of the State Duma, Sergey Naryshkin (whom he has known since the mid-1980s when they both attended the KGB's school in Ufa), as well as on most of the leaders of United Russia, who are not eager to see the party headed by Dmitry Medvedev. Igor Sechin, who was just appointed head of the state oil group Rosneft, Vladimir Yakunin, president of the railways, and Sergey Chemezov, who runs the Rostekhnologii holding company, exemplify the grip the Putin network has on the strategic sectors of the Russian economy.

These moves within the Russian executive branch have occurred in a specific political context. In fact, **the Kremlin appears determined to render meaningless the reforms announced by Dmitry Medvedev in December 2011** following the large demonstrations in Moscow. The legislation on the regional elections and political parties passed in the spring bears little resemblance to their original intent, while various signals (the 6 May crackdown and dismantling of the opposition's 'camps' in

1 Federal'naya sluzhba bezopasnosti Rossiyskoy Federatsii, Federal Security Service

2 Sluzhba Vneshney Razvedki, Foreign Intelligence Service

Moscow, appointment of Igor Kholmanskih as the head of the Urals Federal District) indicate a tougher stance.

The recent appointments are expected to have only a limited impact on the relationship between Russia and the European Union. In our view, the latter should:

- **Maintain an ongoing dialogue with Dmitry Medvedev.** The former president, although weakened since Vladimir Putin's official return to the Kremlin, nevertheless represents a moderate element within the Russian executive branch and within United Russia, while Vladimir Putin is moving in a more radical direction vis-à-vis the protest movements.
- **Monitor very closely the transformations taking place on the Russian political scene.** While Alexey Navalny and Sergey Udaltsov have received the most media attention among those active in the street opposition, one of the most significant occurrences is '**A Just Russia**' party's shift toward an increasingly open form of opposition to the Kremlin (under the leadership of deputies Gudkov, Dmitrieva and Ponomarev, in particular). Yet the emergence of a true social-democratic party in Russia would be a critical development in the country's political life.
- **Identify and support new players from the Russian middle class in the major provincial cities** (see conclusions). The recent municipal elections in Yaroslavl and Astrakhan in fact show that opposition mayors can now be elected. The recent wave of governor appointments before the new federal law takes effect indicates that the Kremlin is aware of United Russia's inevitable decline in the provinces.

Methodology

Taking into account the fact that this briefing relates to a hot topic, the sources used include primarily Russian daily press articles (dated 22, 23 and 24 May 2012 – *Kommersant*, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, *Vedomosti*, *Moskovskie Novosti*). The author also conducted interviews with political scientists based in Moscow.

1. A WHO'S WHO OF THE MEDVEDEV GOVERNMENT

1.1 Deputy Prime Ministers

The new Russian cabinet includes seven deputy prime ministers: Igor Shuvalov, Dmitry Rogozin, Vladislav Surkov, Dmitry Kozak, Alexander Khloponin, Arkady Dvorkovich and Olga Golodets.

Igor Shuvalov, the only one with the title of first deputy prime minister and thus the number two in the government, is unique in Moscow's circles of power. This liberal anglophile, ideologically close to Dmitry Medvedev on economic and societal issues but loyal to Vladimir Putin, is one of the last representatives from the Yeltsin 'family.' In fact, it was the oligarch Alexander Mamut, highly influential in Moscow in the 1990s, and Alexander Voloshin, the former Kremlin chief of staff from 1999 to 2003, who gave him his start. We note that Igor Shuvalov was the target of a vicious press campaign this spring: several articles published in Moscow revealed possible conflicts of interest (he held shares in industrial groups, including Gazprom, which he supervised in his capacity as first deputy prime minister from 2008 to 2012).

Dmitry Kozak and **Alexander Khloponin**, in charge respectively of the preparations for the winter Olympics in Sochi and of the North Caucasus federal district, already held these positions in the previous government. A lawyer by training, Dmitry Kozak has worked with Vladimir Putin since the early 1990s when they were both at the Saint Petersburg mayor's office. Considered a man of integrity, he has the complete confidence of the head of state, who generally puts him in charge of sensitive or highly symbolic issues (more specifically, he was the president's plenipotentiary representative for the Southern Federal District). Based on the information we gathered in Moscow, Dmitry Kozak could be named Russia's prosecutor general in early 2014 after the winter Olympics. The former governor of Krasnoyarsk and a close associate of Mikhail Prokhorov, Alexander Khloponin is attempting to pursue an economic development and land use policy in the North Caucasus. He was appointed to his position in early 2010 by Dmitry Medvedev, with whom he has more ideological affinities than with Vladimir Putin.

Dmitry Rogozin and **Vladislav Surkov** (biographies attached) were both appointed to the government by Dmitry Medvedev following the December 2011 legislative elections. The co founder of the Congress of Russian Communities (KRO), Dmitry Rogozin had been 'exiled' to Brussels as Russia's NATO ambassador after violently opposing the sensitive social reforms of 2004–2005. With responsibility for the defence industries — a strategic sector at a time when Russia is preparing to allocate more than EUR500 billion to procure military equipment over the next ten years — Dmitry Rogozin is expected to utilise the moderate nationalist camp for the Kremlin's benefit. He is the new representative of the President for Transnistria and travelled there in May.

A government ideologue during Vladimir Putin's second term (in particular, he developed the 'sovereign democracy' theory and promoted the creation of the 'power vertical' in Russia after the Beslan tragedy in the fall of 2004) and former key architect of the Russian political scene and elections (with the exception of the last two legislative and presidential elections), Vladislav Surkov has nevertheless never belonged to the top circle of the Putin networks. Long the number two in the presidential administration in charge of domestic policy, he made some surprising comments at the end of 2011 during the opposition's first major demonstrations (in particular, he said that 'the best part of society' deserved respect). An expert in Russian bureaucracy, he is chief of staff and will be one of Dmitry Medvedev's key supporters.

Olga Golodets and **Arkady Dvorkovich** are the only two new deputy prime ministers. Olga Golodets, age 50, will be in charge of social issues. She was recommended for this position by Mikhail Prokhorov,

with whom she worked at the Norilsk Nickel group and subsequently at ONEXIM. Since 2010, Olga Golodets has been Moscow's deputy mayor for healthcare and education.

Since 2008, Arkady Dvorkovich (biography attached) has been an aide to President Medvedev and his sherpa for the G8/G20. This staunch liberal, who on 24 September 2011 had publicly expressed his disappointment after the announcement of Vladimir Putin's return to the Kremlin, was given oversight over the economy and energy. He could quickly find himself in trouble insofar as the main ministries that he will formally supervise (finance, energy, economic development) are controlled by people who are not in the Medvedev camp.

1.2 Foreign affairs, defence and 'economic bloc'

Unsurprisingly, Russia's top diplomat, **Sergey Lavrov**, was reappointed. His experience, thorough knowledge of international issues and ideological proximity to Vladimir Putin worked in his favour. He is also credited with what is viewed in Moscow as the brilliant management of the Syrian issue.

Criticised by one segment of the military high command (which has never viewed him as legitimate and which has not taken well to the 'desovietisation' of the army) and in repeated conflict with the defence industrials (on whom he blames the mediocre quality and high price of their production), Defence Minister **Anatoly Serdyukov** (biography attached) has the backing of the two heads of the executive branch to pursue the ambitious military reform initiated in 2008. Bear in mind that the Russian defence minister led the tax service in the early 2000s and as such was instrumental in formulating the charges against Mikhail Khodorkovsky. Anatoly Serdyukov is also the son-in-law of former First Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Zubkov, who was in charge of agriculture in the former government and who still chairs the board of directors of Gazprom.

Most of the government's 'economic bloc' was replaced. Finance Minister **Anton Siluanov** has spent his entire career in the finance ministry. He is pursuing the macroeconomic policy implemented in the early 2000s by Alexey Kudrin. In recent weeks, Anton Siluanov has successfully opposed the plan to create a public corporation responsible for developing the Russian Far East. The new finance minister, like his predecessor, is also hostile to the increase in military expenditure provided for in the ten-year arms procurement programme.

The new economic development minister has a very different background. From 2000 to 2006, **Andrey Belusov**, age 53, headed the Centre for Macroeconomic Analysis and Short-Term Forecasting of the Academy of Sciences, before spending two years as deputy minister of economic development and then being appointed director of the department of 'economics and finance' in the government apparatus in 2008. Andrey Belusov has a reputation for being an economist who advocates an active industrial policy by the state.

1.3 Energy, transport, natural resources, agriculture, telecommunications: the key 'technical' ministries

Most of the holders of these portfolios who had been in office since 2004 have been replaced. The new energy minister, **Alexander Novak**, is believed to be close to Mikhail Prokhorov, with whom he associated while at Norilsk Nickel between 1999 and 2002. He then became deputy governor of the Krasnoyarsk region alongside Alexander Khloponin, before being appointed deputy finance minister in 2008. Unlike his predecessor Sergey Shmatko, he is not part of the Putin networks and is a staunch liberal. He is expected to observe strict neutrality vis-à-vis Gazprom, Novatek, Rosneft and Rosatom.

The natural resources minister, **Sergey Donskoy**, age 43, spent part of his career in the oil sector at Lukoil and Zarubezhneft. He is on familiar territory as he was Yuri Trutnev's deputy from 2008 to 2011.

Sergey Donskoy has opposed the former deputy prime minister in charge of energy and the new head of Rosneft, Igor Sechin, on several issues.

Maksim Sokolov, who succeeds Igor Levitin at the transport ministry, notably headed the committee for investments and strategic projects for the city administration of Saint Petersburg (2004–2009) before heading the Russian government's 'Industry and Infrastructure' department. According to our information, he met Dmitry Medvedev and Vladimir Putin at the very beginning of the 1990s. Both men were then working at Saint Petersburg University (as law professor and vice-rector in charge of international relations), while Sokolov was a student. Active in the construction sector, Sokolov has a mixed reputation in the 'Capital of the North.'

Nikolay Fyodorov, the new agriculture minister, is a veteran of the Russian political scene. A university professor in the 1980s, he was elected to the Soviet parliament in 1989. A democrat, he was appointed justice minister by Boris Yeltsin in 1990. He was subsequently elected deputy to the State Duma (1993) and then president of the Chuvash Republic, a position he held until 2010. Holding a doctorate in economics, and respected in the corridors of power for his integrity and experience, he was tasked last year with working on the United Russia party's platform.

The industry minister, **Denis Manturov**, is a *protégé* of the head of Rostekhnologii, Sergey Chemezov. In particular, he led the holding company Oboronprom and is an acknowledged expert in the aeronautics and defence industries.

At 29 years old, Minister for Communications **Nikolay Nikiforov** is the youngest minister in Medvedev's cabinet. Since 2010, this Kazan native has served as deputy prime minister of the Tatarstan Republic in charge of computerisation and telecommunications. He is meant to personify the 'modernisation' called for by Dmitry Medvedev. In 2009, the latter had included him in the 'presidential reserve,' a pool of promising young leaders groomed to hold high office. According to our information, Nikolai Nikiforov is not close to any of the key oligarchs in this segment (Alisher Usmanov, Vladimir Evtushenkov, Mikhail Fridman).

1.4 The other important ministers in the Medvedev government and the government apparatus

The prime minister was able to keep his friend **Alexander Kononov** on as justice minister. Another of his close associates, **Mikhail Abyzov**, was appointed minister for relations with the 'open government,' in other words, with experts outside of the government and with civil society. Mikhail Abyzov, age 40, is a businessman who has worked, in particular, in the electricity sector and has always had interests in coal mines (Kuzbasrazrezugol) and engineering (E4). With a fortune estimated at USD1.3 billion, he had openly committed himself to Dmitry Medvedev before the latter had to relinquish the possibility of a second term in the Kremlin. This appointment is basically an affront to Abyzov, who had hoped to become deputy prime minister in charge of energy.

Oleg Govorun, the new regional development minister, and **Dmitry Livanov**, now in charge of the education and science portfolio, are both close associates of Deputy Prime Minister Vladislav Surkov. Oleg Govorun worked with him in the domestic policy department of the presidential administration before being appointed as the president's plenipotentiary representative to the Central Federal District in 2011. Dmitry Livanov is the former rector of the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys, where Surkov studied for a short time in the 1980s.

Vladimir Medinsky is undoubtedly the most controversial member of the new government. This graduate of the MGIMO,³ former press attaché for the Russian embassy in Washington and member of the State Duma since 2003 is in fact noted for taking very bold public stances on Stalin and World War II. His appointment as Minister for Culture, which Vladimir Putin insisted on, sends a very clear — and extremely negative — message to the Russian liberal intelligentsia and to the opposition. Medinsky was also a member of the delegation to the EU-Russia Parliamentary Cooperation Committee (from December 2007 to December 2011, according to the Duma).

Lastly, we note that Dmitry Medvedev appointed several former members of his Kremlin administration to the government apparatus. Among the most notable are **Sergey Prikhodko**, who will be in charge of diplomatic issues, **Natalya Timakova**, Dmitry Medvedev's spokesperson, and **Maksim Akimov**. Age 42, the latter had until now been the deputy governor of Kaluga, a region that has been able to attract significant foreign investment in the automotive sector thanks to shrewd management.

2. VLADIMIR PUTIN'S KREMLIN TEAMS

The Russian president began to (re)form his Kremlin teams in December, following the State Duma elections. Sergey Naryshkin, who was elected chairman of the lower chamber of the Russian parliament, was replaced as chief of staff of the presidential administration by **Sergey Ivanov**. A product of the KGB, where he served in Sweden, in particular, Sergey Ivanov was secretary of the national Security Council and then defence minister. Once approached to succeed Vladimir Putin in the Kremlin in 2008, he has in recent years been deputy prime minister in charge of the defence industries, among others. His appointment as chief of staff of the presidential administration is evidence of Vladimir Putin's confidence in him and is a promotion from his previous position.

Another influential figure in Vladimir Putin's administration is **Vyacheslav Volodin** (biographic background attached). He replaces Vladislav Surkov and now supervises domestic policy. Vyacheslav Volodin retains considerable influence within United Russia, in particular through his friend Sergey Neverov, deputy chairman of the State Duma and secretary of the party's presidium. There have been persistent rumours in Moscow in recent days of the possible election of Vyacheslav Volodin as chairman of the State Duma should Sergey Naryshkin replace Mikhail Fradkov as head of the SVR, a scenario regularly cited in the Russian media.

Sergey Ivanov's other deputies in the presidential administration are **Alexey Gromov**, **Dmitry Peskov** and **Anton Vayno**. All three worked in recent years alongside Vladimir Putin at the White House, the seat of the Russian government. Dmitry Peskov remains Vladimir Putin's spokesperson, while Anton Vayno will coordinate the work of the president's aides and advisors (see below).

Konstantin Chuychenko, former university classmate and friend of Dmitry Medvedev, remains the head of the control department within the presidential administration. He is also expected to oversee the financial monitoring agency, an entity that is set to expand its prerogatives and become an anti-corruption body.

Yuri Ushakov, the former Russian ambassador to Washington and former number two in the government apparatus in charge of foreign relations since 2008, had wanted the foreign ministry. In the end, he was named Vladimir Putin's aide on diplomatic issues, replacing Sergey Prikhodko.

Vladimir Putin also reappointed **Nikolay Patrushev** as head of the national Security Council. The former director of the FSB was however thought to be on the way out. He will now count among his deputies

3 Moscow State Institute of International Relations

Rashid Nurgaliev, the former interior minister. The two men know each other well as they worked together in the FSB's regional management in Karelia in the 1990s.

Immediately after announcing the composition of the new government, Vladimir Putin also disclosed the appointment of several new aides and advisors. **They share the characteristic of being former ministers and thus of having a certain degree of influence in Russia's corridors of power.** An economist by training who spent most of her career in the finance ministry, **Tatyana Golikova**, the former social issues minister, will be in charge of the development of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, in particular. She is the wife of Viktor Khristenko, who heads the newly created Eurasian Commission for the rapprochement between Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. **Elvira Nabiullina**, who held the economic development portfolio between 2008 and 2012, replaces Arkady Dvorkovich as aide to the president on economic issues. She is the wife of Yaroslav Kuzminov, the rector of Moscow's very prestigious Higher School of Economics (HSE). **Igor Shchegolev**, the former telecommunications minister and former diplomat assigned to Russia's Paris embassy in the 1990s, and **Yuri Trutnev**, former natural resources minister after serving as governor of Perm, have also become aides to Vladimir Putin. This is also the case for **Andrey Fursenko**, former economics minister (and Vladimir Putin's former dacha neighbour near Saint Petersburg, as were Vladimir Yakunin, head of the national railway company, and Alexey Mordashov, head of the steel group Severstal). **Igor Levitin**, who held the transport portfolio, is now an advisor to the president.

Not reappointed to the government as he is personally incompatible with Dmitry Medvedev, and not invited to join the presidential administration owing to his prior status and influence, former Deputy Prime Minister for Energy **Igor Sechin** has become chairman of Rosneft. Formally, this is neither a government nor presidential advisor position, but his influence in Moscow makes this appointment more significant than most of those announced on 21 and 22 May. In his prior positions, Igor Sechin had in particular been in charge of Latin America. He has played a critical role in establishing the strategic partnership between Moscow and Caracas since 2005. Igor Sechin speaks French and Portuguese, a language he used in Mozambique in the 1980s.

3. NEW POWER CONFIGURATION IN MOSCOW AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION

The new Russian government represents **a compromise between Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev.** Although the latter had to step aside last September and relinquish the presidency, he was given more latitude to assemble the cabinet of ministers than in 2008. Dmitry Medvedev thus prevailed when it came to his interior minister. While Vladimir Putin wished to appoint his old friend Viktor Ivanov (a former member of the KGB who was aide to the president until 2008 before taking the helm of the federal drug control service), the position ultimately went to Vladimir Kolokoltsev. A career police officer (unlike the two prior ministers, Boris Gryzlov and Rashid Nurgaliev), he is notable for having conducted an effective anti-corruption campaign in the Orel region and for his desire to engage in a real dialogue with the opposition since the end of 2011.

On the other hand, Dmitry Medvedev had to yield ground on a number of portfolios. He had wished to replace Igor Sechin with Sergey Kirienko, the head of Rosatom, or with his friend Mikhail Abyzov. The former turned down the position, as he believed that the Kremlin would be making the decisions on energy issues, while the latter will have to make do with a symbolic position.

Most of the new ministers are technocrats, compatible with both the Kremlin and the White House. Vladimir Fyodorov, the agriculture appointee, is admittedly one of the figureheads of the pan-Russian Popular Front formed in 2011 to support Vladimir Putin's return to the Kremlin, but his democratic

beliefs and integrity make him perfectly acceptable to Dmitry Medvedev. Igor Shuvalov is loyal to Vladimir Putin, to whom he owes his rise since 2004, but he is genuinely closer to Dmitry Medvedev on questions related to the state's role in the economy and to civil liberties.

The new Russian power configuration following the recent reshuffle is **more complex** than it was previously. There are in fact now **more centres of decision-making**. Within the government itself, we discern two 'Medvedevian segments' (the first comprising loyal supporters, such as Alexander Konovalov, Arkady Dvorkovich and Mikhail Abyzov, the second centred around his new ally Vladislav Surkov and his friends, such as Oleg Govorun — regional development minister — and Dmitry Livanov – holder of the education and science portfolio).

Vladimir Putin can count on a core group of loyal supporters, such as Anatoly Serdyukov, Dmitry Rogozin and Andrey Belousov. But the relationships between the president's loyal supporters are not necessarily simple. The defence minister is in fierce negotiations for the equipment contracts for the Russian army and favours procurement from the West, while the deputy prime minister in charge of the military-industrial complex takes a more traditional view.

The division of labour between the president and the prime minister will not necessarily correspond to the letter of the constitution. Vladimir Putin will, for example, retain control over the energy sector, but he seems ready to let Dmitry Medvedev play an important role on the international scene, in particular in the relationships with western countries.

One of the key questions at the moment is the role that the president's new aides and advisors will play. While some of them appear to be at the end of their political careers (Yuri Trutnev), this is not true for most of the others (Elvira Nabiullina). **The emergence of a 'parallel cabinet' in the Kremlin would complicate the decision-making system** and would leave Dmitry Medvedev in a weaker position.

The situation in Moscow is rapidly changing. The authorities appear to be sending conflicting signals. The most burning issues are **civil liberties and the change in the political system, the economic model, and privatisations** (particularly in the energy sector). While Dmitry Medvedev had made some concessions in December on the election of the governors and the registration of political parties, we note that in the last several weeks he has been tempted to backpedal. The Kremlin moved quickly on about fifteen governor appointments before the new law takes effect on 1 June. This has the effect of limiting the elections scheduled for the fall to four regions that are not particularly sympathetic to the authorities. Similarly, the introduction of 'filters' on potential candidates for governor clearly penalises the parties that are not currently represented in the local and regional assemblies. The Kremlin is in 'reaction' mode after the winter demonstrations. The bill seeking to exponentially increase the fines payable for offences committed during the marches and the mounting pressure on the few deputies that support the street opposition confirm this attempt at intimidation by the authorities, who are helpless in the face of the ongoing mobilisation in Moscow and the continued erosion of their base of regional support.

From an economic standpoint, we are already seeing **a sharp dichotomy between the priorities set by Dmitry Medvedev** — in particular a faster pace for privatisations — **and certain measures taken by the Kremlin at the end of May**, in particular the inclusion of several state energy groups on the list of strategic enterprises (RusHydro, FSK, MRSK). Indeed, the Kremlin will have direct oversight of the energy sector, an impression reinforced by the appointment of Igor Sechin as the head of Rosneft.

Against this backdrop, one of the important issues is that of United Russia, which elected Dmitry Medvedev as its leader on 26 May. According to our information, one of the components of the agreement on the division of the spheres of influence between the White House and the Kremlin

specifically concerns the party of those in power. Dmitry Medvedev would like to reform the ideology of United Russia (a very conservative party, generally nostalgic for the USSR, hostile to the West and resistant to the very idea of modernising the political system) and to turn it into a European-style centre-right group that does not aim to manage the country on its own indefinitely.

The recent appointments to the Russian state apparatus are expected to have **a limited impact on the relationship with the European Union**. Several issues will, however, have to be closely monitored.

The **development of Abkhazia and South Ossetia** falls within the new scope of responsibility of Tatyana Golikova, the former social issues minister and new aide to the president. This decision confirms that an active policy will be upheld vis-à-vis the secessionist entities of the former USSR, also evidenced by the appointment of Dmitry Rogozin as special representative for Transnistria.

During his electoral campaign (and even starting in the fall of 2011), Vladimir Putin made the **creation of a Eurasian Union** a core priority. We can therefore expect renewed pressure on Ukraine,⁴ whose growing isolation on the international scene fuels the Kremlin's optimism.

In the energy sector, one of the dominant trends in recent months has been **the rise of Novatek, the leading independent gas producer** in Russia. The appointments of the liberal Alexander Novak as energy minister and of Arkady Dvorkovich as deputy prime minister in charge of energy create an environment conducive to breaking Gazprom's monopoly on Russian gas exports.

The Russian political environment has changed significantly since last fall. Vladimir Putin and his circle's desire to return to the regime's 'golden age' of 2004–2008 appears increasingly unrealistic. While the authorities are not threatened in the short term by the protest movements — a very small minority at this stage — they can nevertheless not ignore them. The middle class in the two capitals and the large provincial cities is no longer satisfied with the compromise of the 2000s — restrictions on political space in exchange for higher consumption. Its demands are not socio-economic but political, which poses an even greater challenge to those in power. Professing to modernise the country without taking into account the aspirations of the social strata likely to drive it will not be sustainable for very long.

A strengthening of the strategic partnership between the European Union and Russia depends to a significant extent on the democratic transformations of the latter. Yet, for the first time in more than fifteen years, **the outlook appears rather favourable**. The European Union admittedly has limited influence over Russia's domestic situation. It should nevertheless maintain a rich dialogue with the forces in favour of political modernisation within the power structure, starting with Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev. The reforms that he will initiate within United Russia seem as decisive for the country's political culture as his actions as the head of the government. Igor Shuvalov, Arkady Dvorkovich and Alexander Novak, who are convinced of the need for ambitious relations with Brussels, are also the EU's natural partners.

The European Union should also **send a clear and firm message on the freedom to protest**, which is clearly targeted by the bill under discussion in the Duma, and on the possible waiver of parliamentary immunity for Gennady Gudkov, a Just Russia deputy who has openly supported the recent opposition rallies in Moscow.

Lastly, it is important to make a long-term effort in the regions to establish contacts with representatives of civil society. This involves steadier efforts from the EU Delegation in Moscow; the Delegation should carry out more missions in the Russian regions to develop relations with local journalists, bloggers, NGOs and political parties. Democratic changes in Russia will not be genuinely

4 Moscow will indeed link the reduction in gas prices to political compromises by Ukraine.

possible until the emerging provincial middle class takes up the demands currently made by the protestors in Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

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ANNEX 1: EXECUTIVE BIOGRAPHIES

VLADIMIR BELUSOV

Minister for Economic Development

Born March 17, 1959.

Education

1981: Graduated with honours from the Lomonosov Moscow State University, Department of Economics.

DSc (Economics).

Experience

1981-1986: Intern researcher, junior researcher at the Central Economic Mathematical Institute at the USSR Academy of Sciences, man-machine system modelling laboratory.

1986-2006: Junior researcher, researcher, senior researcher, laboratory head at the Institute of Economics and Scientific and Technical Progress Forecasts at the USSR Academy of Sciences (later Institute of National Economy Prognostication at the Russian Academy of Sciences).

2000-2006: General director, Centre for Macroeconomic Analyses and Short-Term Prognostication.

2000-2006: External adviser to the Prime Minister.

2006-2008: Deputy Minister of Economic Development and Trade, Deputy Minister of Economic Development.

2008-May 2012: Director, Government Department of Economy and Finance.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Economic Development by Presidential Executive Order.

SERGEY DONSKOY

Minister for Natural Resources and Ecology

Born October 13, 1968 in Elektrostal in the Moscow Region.

Education

1992: Graduated from Gubkin State Academy of Oil and Gas with a degree in Automation and Telemechanics

Experience

1992-1993: microprocessor-based systems lab engineer at the Gazpriboravtomatika design bureau

1993-1996: worked at financial companies Your Securities, the investment and industrial group SINT, the settlement firm SINT and the investment firm SINT.

1996-1998: worked at the company Prema-Invest as dealer and analyst in the Financial Instruments Department; Head of the Information Analysis Section; leading analyst at the Analysis and Marketing Department.

1999-2000: served at the Fuel and Energy Ministry as adviser, Deputy Head of Department and then Head of the Production Sharing Agreements Department

2000-2001: worked at LUKoil's Main Department for Investment and Finance and Main Department for Corporate Financing and Investment.

2001-2005: Head of Department at Zarubezhneft.

2005-2008: Head of the Economics and Finance Department at the Ministry of Natural Resources.

2008-2011: Deputy Minister for Natural Resources and Environmental Protection.

2011-May 2012: Chief Executive of state geology holding company Rosgeologia.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister for Natural Resources and Environmental Protection by Presidential Executive Order.

ARKADY DVORKOVICH

Arkady Vladimirovich Dvorkovich, aged 40, is deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation.

Executive biography

- Born 26 March 1972 in Moscow.
- 1994: graduated from the Economics School of Lomonosov Moscow State University.
- 1997: graduated from Duke University (USA).
- August 2000: appointed advisor to the Minister of Economic Development and Trade, German Gref.
- March 2001: deputy minister of economic development and trade of the Russian Federation. In charge of macro-economic analysis, the banking sector and fiscal policy.
- April 2001: joined ad hoc group on the liberalisation of the Gazprom share market. Arkady Dvorkovich worked alongside Dmitry Medvedev, then number 2 in the presidential administration.
- 2002: joined the supervisory board of the public banks Vneshtorgbank and Roseximbank.
- January 2004: appointed member of the board of directors of the Deposit Insurance Agency (ASV).
- 18 April 2004: appointed head of the presidential administration's expert group.
- June 2004: became the head of state's representative to the National Banking Council.
- August 2004: joined the board of directors of Transneft, the state-controlled company operating Russia's oil pipelines.
- October 2005: member of the Council for the Implementation of Priority National Projects. Reporting to the presidency, this body was directed by Dmitry Medvedev, promoted to first deputy prime minister.
- June 2007: appointed to the inter-ministerial nanotechnology council chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Ivanov.
- 13 May 2008: Arkady Dvorkovich became aide to Dmitry Medvedev.
- 19 May 2008: appointed as the Russian president's sherpa to the G8 (then the G20).
- 21 May 2012: became deputy prime minister in the Medvedev cabinet.

Arkady Dvorkovich is married and has two children. His wife, Zumrud Rustamova, is deputy director general of the mining company Polimetall.

NIKOLAY FEDOROV

Minister of Agriculture

Born on May 9, 1958 in Chedino, Mariinsky Posad District, Republic of Chuvashia.

Education

1980: Graduated from the Law Department of Kazan State University.

1985: Graduated from the graduate studies department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of State and Law.

Professor, PhD (Jurisprudence), DSc (Economics).

Experience

1980–1982, 1985–1989: Lecturer at the State University of Chuvashia.

1989: Elected People's Deputy of the Soviet Union.

1990–1993: Minister of Justice of the Russian Federation.

1993–1994: Deputy of the First State Duma of the Federal Assembly.

1994: Elected President of the Republic of Chuvashia; re-elected in 1997, 2001 and 2005.

1995–2001: Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Legislation and Courts of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly; Deputy Chairman of the Federation Council Committee for International Affairs.

2010- May 2012: Member of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly.

November 2011: Chairman of the Federation Council Committee for Constitutional Legislation, Courts and Civil Society.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Agriculture of the Russian Federation by Presidential Executive Order.

OLEG GOVORUN

Minister for Regional Development

Born January 15, 1969 in Bratsk, Irkutsk Region.

Education

1993: Graduated from the Moscow Institute of Forest Engineering.

Experience

1993-1995: Worked in the private sector in Moscow.

1995-1997: Deputy manager, project manager, expert at ROSPROM, department for liaison with government agencies.

1997-2000: Manager, deputy head, ALFA BANK, department for liaison with state agencies.

2000-2004: First deputy head, Central Territorial Board of the President of the Russian Federation.

2004-2006: Deputy head, Domestic Policy Board of the President of the Russian Federation.

2006-2011: Head, Domestic Policy Board of the President of the Russian Federation.

September 2011-May 2012: Presidential Plenipotentiary Envoy to the Central Federal District.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Regional Development by Presidential Executive Order.

Married, with three sons and a daughter.

VIKTOR ISHAYEV

Minister for Development of the Far East

Born April 16, 1948 in the village of Sergeyevka, Anzhero-Sudzhensk District, Kemerovo Region.

Education

1979: Graduated from the Novosibirsk Water Transport Engineering Institute.
Professor, PhD (Economics), Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Experience

1964: Held a variety of posts from shipwright to deputy director at the Khabarovsk Shipyard.
1971-1973: Soviet Army service.
1988-1990: Director, Sidorenko Aluminium Hardware Plant, Khabarovsk.
1990-1991: First Deputy Chairman, Khabarovsk Territorial Executive Committee, Head of Central Economic Planning Board.
1991-2001: Head of the Khabarovsk Territory Administration.
2001-2009: Governor and Prime Minister of the Khabarovsk Territory.
2009-May 2012: Presidential Plenipotentiary Envoy to the Far Eastern Federal District.
May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister for the Development of the Far East and Presidential Plenipotentiary Envoy to the Far Eastern Federal District by Presidential Executive Order.
Married, with a son and daughter.

VLADIMIR KOLOKOLTSEV

Home Office Minister

Born on May 11, 1961 in Nizhny Lomov, Penza Region.

Education

1989: Graduated from the Higher Political School of the Interior Ministry with a degree in Jurisprudence.

DSc (Jurisprudence)

Experience

1982: Worked for the Interior Ministry's department for protecting foreign diplomatic missions accredited in Moscow.

1984: Appointed platoon commander of a separate battalion in the Patrol Guard Service of the Interior Ministry's Directorate for the Gagarinsky District Executive Committee of Moscow.

1989–1992: Officer of the criminal investigation department of the Interior Ministry's Directorate for the Kuntsevsky District Executive Committee of Moscow; Deputy Head of the 20th Militia Station of Moscow; Head of the 8th Militia Station of Moscow.

1992–1997: Senior officer in the 2nd section of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Interior Ministry's Main Directorate for Moscow; Head of the 108th Militia Station of Moscow; Chief Investigative Officer of the 2nd District Criminal Investigation Department of Moscow's Central Administrative Area.

1997–2001: Head of the 4th district section of the Interior Ministry's Moscow Department of Organised Crime; Head of the District Investigative Bureau of the Central District Department of Organised Crime at the Interior Ministry's Main Department of Organised Crime for the Southeastern Administrative Area of Moscow.

2001–2007: Head of the 3rd District Investigative Bureau of the Interior Ministry's Main Department for the Central Federal District; Deputy Head of the Investigative Bureau of the of the Interior Ministry's Main Department for the Central Federal District.

2007–2009: Head of the Interior Ministry Directorate for the Orel Region

From April to September 2009: First Deputy Head of the Interior Ministry's Criminal Investigation Department.

September 7, 2009: Appointed Head of the Interior Ministry's Main Directorate for Moscow by Presidential Executive Order.

June 10, 2010 (): Promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General (police) and on March 24, 2011, to the rank of Lieutenant General (police) by Presidential Executive Order.

May 21, 2012 (): Appointed Minister of the Interior of the Russian Federation by Presidential Executive Order.

Married, with a son and a daughter.

ALEXANDER KONOVALOV

Minister of Justice

Born on June 9, 1968, in Leningrad (now St Petersburg).

1992: graduated from St Petersburg State University with a degree in Law (1992). PhD in Law. Senior Counsellor of Justice.

1986-1988: served in the Soviet Armed Forces.

1992: assistant prosecutor of the Vyborgsky District of St Petersburg.

1992-1994: investigator at the Office of the Public Prosecutor of the Vyborgsky District of St Petersburg.

1994-1997: prosecutor in charge of supervision of compliance with security legislation of the St Petersburg Office of the Public Prosecutor.

1997-1998: Deputy Prosecutor of the Moskovsky District of St Petersburg.

1998-2001: Prosecutor of the Moskovsky District of St Petersburg.

2001-2005: Deputy Prosecutor of St Petersburg.

2005: Prosecutor of Bashkortostan.

November 2005: the President's Plenipotentiary Envoy to the Volga Federal District.

May 12, 2008: appointed Minister of Justice of the Russian Federation.

May 21, 2012: Reappointed Minister of Justice of the Russian Federation by a presidential decree.

Member of the Russian Security Council.

SERGEY LAVROV

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Born on March 21, 1950, in Moscow.

1972: graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

1972-1976: worked at the Soviet Embassy in Sri Lanka.

1976-1981: worked in the Department of International Economic Organisations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1981-1988: First Secretary, Adviser, Senior Adviser to the Soviet mission to the UN.

1988-1990: Deputy Head of the Department of International Economic Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1990-1992: Head of the Department of International Organisations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1992: Head of the Department of International Organisations and Global Problems at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1992-1994: Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

1994-2004: Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the UN.

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

March 9, 2004: appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

May 21, 2012: Reappointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by a presidential decree.

Married, with a daughter.

DMITRI LIVANOV

Minister of Education and Science

Born February 15, 1967 in Moscow.

Education

1990: Graduated with honours from the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys, Department of Physical Chemistry, with a degree in Physics of Metals.

1990-1992: Postgraduate course at the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys.

1992: PhD in Physics and Mathematics (solid state physics)

1997: DSc in Physics and Mathematics (solid state physics).

2003: Graduated from Moscow State Juridical Academy with a degree in Jurisprudence.

Experience

1992-2000: Researcher, senior researcher at the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys, laboratory of synthesis; associated professor, Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys, Chair of Theoretical Physics.

1997-2000: Vice-Rector for research, Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys.

2000-2004: Vice-Rector for international cooperation, professor, Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys, Chair of Theoretical Physics.

April 2004: Professor, Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys, Chair of Non-Ferrous Metal Technology (part-time).

2004-2005: Director, department of state policy in science, technology and innovation, Ministry of Education and Science.

2005-2007: State Secretary and Deputy Minister of Education and Science.

April 2007: Rector, National Technological Research University/Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Education and Science by Presidential Executive Order.

DENIS MANTUNOV

Minister of Trade and Industry

Born February 23, 1969 in Murmansk.

1994: Graduated from Lomonosov Moscow State University with a degree in Sociology.

1997: Completed his PhD in Economics at Lomonosov Moscow State University.

2000 – 2002: Doctoral programme at the Moscow Aviation Institute.

2006: Graduated from the Presidential Academy of Public Administration with a degree in Law.

1998 – 2000: Deputy Director General of the Ulan-Ude Aviation Plant.

2000 – 2001: Business Director of the Mil Moscow Helicopter Plant.

2001 – 2003: Deputy Chairman of the State Investment Corporation (Gosincor).

2003 – September 2007: Director General of Oboronprom.

September 11, 2007: Appointed Deputy Minister of Industry and Energy by a government executive order.

May 19, 2008: Appointed Deputy Minister of Industry and Trade by Government Executive Order No. 700.

February 2, 2012: Appointed Acting Minister of Industry and Trade.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Industry and Trade of the Russian Federation by a presidential decree.

VLADIMIR MEDINSKIY

Minister of Culture

Born July 18, 1970 in Smela, Cherkassy Region (Ukraine).

Education

1992: Graduated with honours from Moscow State Institute of International Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Professor, DSc.

Experience

1991-1992: Embassy of the Russian Federation in Washington, D.C., USA.

1992-1998: Worked in book publishing and advertising; postgraduate studies at Moscow State Institute of International Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

1998-1999: Head of Information Policy Department, Ministry of Taxation.

1999-2000: Board head, central election headquarters of the Motherland-All Russia bloc.

2000-2002: Adviser to the Deputy Speaker of the State Duma.

2002-2004: Executive committee head, Moscow city branch of the United Russia party, head of the United Russia party election headquarters for Moscow.

2003-2007: Deputy of the State Duma (4th convocation) of the Federal Assembly.

2004-2005: Deputy head, Central Executive Committee of the United Russia party.

2007-2011: Deputy of the State Duma (5th convocation) of the Federal Assembly, deputy head of the State Duma Committee for Natural Resources and Environmental Protection; head of the State Duma Committee for Culture.

2010-2012: Member of the Presidential Commission to Counter Attempts to Falsify History to the Detriment of Russia's Interests.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Culture by Presidential Executive Order.

VITALI MUTKO

Sports Minister

Born on December 8, 1958 in the Krasnodar Territory.

Studied in Leningrad, where he graduated from the River Vocational College, the Water Transport Institute and (by correspondence) the Law Department of Leningrad State University.

Worked as a technician on the vessels of the North-Western River Shipping Line and was chairman of the trade union committee of the River College.

1983-1991: instructor, section head, secretary, chairman of the Kirov regional Council of People's Deputies, head of the region's administration.

1992-1996: Deputy Mayor of St Petersburg, Chairman of the city Committee on Social Issues.

From 1993: President of Football Club Zenit; under his leadership the team moved into the Russian football elite. In 1999, it won the Russia Cup and in 2002 won bronze at the Russian football championship.

The Russian Football Premier League (RFPL) was organised in 2001 at the initiative of Mutko, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Russian Football Union, President of the Russian Football Premier League and Vice President of the Football Federation of St Petersburg and North-West Russia.

2002: elected to the Executive Committee of Russia's Paralympic Committee. For the past 13 years, Mutko has been the volunteer chairman of St Petersburg's Special Olympic Committee for the rehabilitation of people with mental disabilities. For 10 years he has chaired the Golden Pelican charity movement.

2003: appointed member of the Federation Council of Russia's Federal Assembly, representing the St Petersburg Government.

2008: appointed the Russian Minister of Sport, Tourism and Youth Policy.

May 21, 2012: Reappointed Minister of Sport of the Russian Federation by a presidential decree.

Married, with two daughters.

NIKOLAY NIKIFOROV

Minister for Communications

Born on June 24, 1982 in Kazan.

Education

2004: Graduated from the Economics Department, Kazan State University.

Experience

2001–2005: Deputy Director of Kazansky Portal.

2004–2005: Deputy Director General of Modern Internet Technologies.

2005–2006: Information technologies adviser to the Prime Minister of Tatarstan.

2006–2010: Director General of the Centre for Information Technologies of the Republic of Tatarstan.

2010 to May 2012: Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Tatarstan for Information Science and Communications.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Communications and Mass Media of the Russian Federation by presidential decree.

Personal

Married, with a daughter and two sons.

ALEXANDER NOVAK

Minister of Energy

Born August 23, 1971 in the town of Avdeyevka (Ukraine).

Education

1993: Graduated from the Norilsk Industrial Institute with a degree in the Economics and Management in the Steel Industry.

2009: Graduated from the Lomonosov Moscow State University with a degree in Management.

Experience

1988-1997: Hydrometallurgy machine operator, 1st grade; technician, assistant engineer for labour efficiency and wages, economic expert, finance office head of the accounts department, Zavenyagin Steel Combine, Norilsk.

1997-1999: Department head, board head, deputy director for economics, Zavenyagin Steel Combine, Norilsk.

1999-2000: Deputy director for economics/board head, deputy director for personnel/board head, Norilsk Mining Company Transpolar Branch.

2000-2002: Norilsk Deputy Mayor for economics and finance, Norilsk First Deputy Mayor.

2002-2007: Deputy Governor of the Krasnoyarsk Territory in charge of the Central Finance Board of the territorial administration.

2007-2008: First Deputy Governor and Prime Minister of the Krasnoyarsk Territory.

2008-May 2012: Deputy Minister of Finance.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Energy by Presidential Executive Order.

Married, with two children.

VLADIMIR PUCHKOV

Minister of Emergency Situations

Born January 1, 1959 in Novinka village in the Volgograd Region's Zhirnovsky District.

Education

1988: Graduated from Kuibyshev Military Engineering Academy.

1991: Completed a full-time post-graduate course.

2000: Graduated from the Russian Presidential State Service Academy and received a degree in State and Municipal Administration and Management.

PhD (Technology).

Experience

1975-1979: Cadet of the Tyumen Higher Command Military Engineering School.

1979-1983: Served with the Engineer Corps in the Far Eastern Military District.

1983-1986: Senior officer at civil defence headquarters in Kungur, the Perm Region.

1986-1991: Completed a full-time post-graduate course at Kuibyshev Military Engineering Academy.

1991-1994: Deputy Head Master and Senior Civil Defence Lecturer.

1994-1995: Laboratory head, deputy head and head of a military unit section.

1995-1997: Headed an R&D directorate at the All-Russian Research Institute for Civil Defence and Emergencies Situations.

1997-1999: Deputy Head of the Department for Protection of the Population and Territories at the Ministry of Civil Defence, Emergencies and Disaster Relief.

1999-2006: Deputy Head, Head and Director, Civil Defence Department, Ministry of Civil Defence, Emergencies and Disaster Relief.

2006-2007: Head, Northwestern Regional Centre, Ministry of Civil Defence, Emergencies and Disaster Relief.

2007– May 2012: State Secretary – Deputy Minister of Civil Defence, Emergencies and Disaster Relief.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Civil Defence, Emergencies and Disaster Relief by Presidential Executive Order.

DMITRY ROGOZIN

President's Representative for Transnistria

Born in 1963

Education:

1986 Graduated from Moscow State University (journalism)

1988 Graduated from Moscow State University (economy)

1996 PhD (philosophy)

Experience

1990: elected President of the Association of Young Leaders of Russia , Forum-90, and was also named First Vice President of the research and education company RAU Corporation

1992: Created the Association for the Renaissance of Russia

1993: appointed Head of the Congress of Russian Communities

1995: elected to the State Duma (Lower Chamber of Russian Parliament) to represent the single mandate district of Anninsky #76

1999, was active in creating the Unity party but soon after the establishment of the Unity - All Russia alliance left the party

1999-2003 International Affairs Committee of the State Duma, Head

2003-2004 Deputy Chairman, State Duma

In 2003 by Presidential decree was appointed an envoy to Kaliningrad dealing with the enlargement of the European Union

2004-2006 Leader of the Fraction, State Duma

2008 by Presidential decree was appointed Permanent Representative of Russia to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

2011 appointed as a Special Representative on anti-missile defence and negotiations with NATO countries on this issue.

December 2011: appointed deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Government in charge of defence and space industry

2012 was appointed an envoy to Transnistria

ANATOLY SERDYUKOV

Anatoly Serdyukov is the Russian Federation's defence minister.

Executive biography

Born 8 January 1962 in Kholmsky in the Krasnodar region.

Anatoly Serdyukov's second wife is Yulia Zubkova, the daughter of Viktor Zubkov, former first deputy prime minister in charge of agriculture and chairman of Gazprom's Supervisory Board. He has two daughters, the eldest of whom is from his first marriage. Enjoys Alpine skiing and fishing in the Astrakhan region.

1984: graduated from the Leningrad Institute of Soviet Trade (LIST - now the Saint Petersburg institute of trade and economics).

1984-1985: military service in the Soviet Army.

1985-1991: department head in store no. 3 of Lenmebeltorg, state-owned furniture retailer in Leningrad.

1991-1993: deputy managing director of Lenmebeltorg in charge of sales.

1993-1995: marketing director for the joint-stock company Mebel-Market (formerly Lenmebeltorg).

1995-2000: managing director of Mebel-Market.

October 2000: joined the Federal Tax Ministry. He was the number 2 in the department in charge of large-scale taxpayers in Saint Petersburg.

June 2001: appointed deputy director of the regional tax ministry for the city of Saint Petersburg.

November 2001: director of the Federal Tax Ministry for the city of Saint Petersburg.

12 November 2003: joined the government of Saint Petersburg following Valentina Matvienko's election as head of the 'Capital of the North'.

20 February 2004: head of the Federal Tax Ministry for the city of Moscow.

2 March 2004: deputy tax minister.

9 March 2004: the Tax Ministry became the Federal Tax Service. Anatoly Serdyukov became the interim director.

26 July 2004: appointed director of the Federal Tax Service.

2006: defended a state doctoral thesis in economics on 'The development and implementation of fiscal policy in Russia'.

15 February 2007: became the Russian Federation's defence minister.

12 April 2007: Anatoly Serdyukov joined the Russian Federation's national Security Council.

September 2007: kept in office by Vladimir Putin. Anatoly Serdyukov had submitted his resignation following the appointment of Viktor Zubkov, his father-in-law, to the position of Prime Minister.

May 2012: reappointed to the position of defence minister.

ANTON SILUANOV

Minister of Finance

Born April 12, 1963 in Moscow.

1985: Graduated from the Moscow Finance Institute with a degree in finance and credit.

August 1985 – March 1987: Economist, senior economist at the Finance Ministry of the RSFSR.

March 1987 – May 1989: Served in the Soviet Army.

May 1989 – January 1992: Chief economist, first rank economist, chief economist, sub-department deputy head and adviser at the Finance Ministry of the RSFSR.

February 1992: Department deputy head at the Economy and Finance Ministry of the Russian Federation.

February 1992 – October 1997: Department deputy head at the Budget Board, division head and deputy head of the Budget Department, and deputy head of the Budget Department at the Finance Ministry.

October 1997 – July 2003: Head of the Department for Macroeconomic Policy and Banking. Since March 22, 2001 has been member of the board of the Finance Ministry.

July 2003 – May 2004: Deputy finance minister.

May 2004 – December 2005: Director of the Department for Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations at the Finance Ministry.

May 2005 – September 2011: Deputy finance minister.

Sept. 27, 2011: Appointed acting finance minister.

December 16, 2011: Minister of Finance.

May 21, 2012: Reappointed Minister of Finance of the Russian Federation by a presidential decree.

VERONIKA SKVORTSOVA

Minister of Health

Born November 1, 1960 in Moscow.

Education

1983: Graduated from the 2nd Moscow State Medical Institute.

1985: Completed a Postgraduate Clinical Residency Programme and an Advanced Postgraduate Programme specialising in neuropathology.

PhD (Medicine), Professor.

Experience

1988-1997: Senior laboratory technician, assistant, assistant professor at the Neuropathology Department of the Russian State Medical University.

1997-2005: Head of the Fundamental and Clinical Neurology and Neurosurgery Department of the Russian State Medical University.

2004: Elected Associate Member of the Russian Academy of Medical Sciences.

2005-2008: Director of the Russian Stroke Research Institute.

2008-2012: Deputy Minister of Healthcare and Social Development.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Healthcare by a Presidential Executive Order.

MAKSIM SOKOLOV

Minister for Transport

Born on September 29, 1968 in Leningrad (now St Petersburg)

Education

1987–1989: Conscripted to the armed forces.

1991: Graduated with honours from the Economics Department of St Petersburg State University.

PhD (Economics).

Experience

1991–1993: Lecturer at the Economics Department, St Petersburg State University.

1992–1999: Director General of Rossiya.

1999–2004: Director General of Corporation S.

2004–2009: Chairman of the Committee for Investment and Strategic Projects for the city of St Petersburg.

2009: Member of the St Petersburg Government; Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, Industrial Policy and Trade.

2009– May 2012: Director of the Government Department of Industry and Infrastructure.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Transport of the Russian Federation by Presidential Executive Order.

Married, with three sons.

VLADISLAV SURKOV

Vladislav Yurevich Surkov, aged 46, is deputy prime minister and head of the government apparatus.

Executive biography

Born 21 September 1964 in Solntsevo in the Moscow region.

1983-1985: military service in the Soviet army in Hungary.

Studied at the Moscow institute of culture and the Institute of steel and alloys.

Did not complete these university studies.

- 1987: appointed head of the advertising department of the centre for scientific and technical programmes of the foundation for youth initiatives, an entity created by Mikhail Khodorkovsky alongside the Communist Youth (Komsomol) in Moscow.

- 1988: director of the communication agency Metapress.

May 1991: joined Menatep, where he held the positions of head of the advertising and information department, then number 2 of the communication department. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the bank Menatep.

- June 1996-February 1997: vice president of Rosprom.

- February 1997: joined Alfa-bank, where he became vice chairman of the board of directors.

- 23 January 1998: appointed number 2 at Russian Public Television, ORT.

- 1999: became advisor to Alexander Voloshin, the head of the presidential administration.

- 3 August 1999-May 2008: deputy to the head of the presidential administration. From 2004 to 2008, Vladislav Surkov was also aide to the head of state, Vladimir Putin.

- May 2008: 1st deputy to the head of the presidential administration.

- May 2012: deputy prime minister in the Medvedev cabinet and head of the government apparatus.

MAKSIM TOPILINE

Minister for Employment and Social Protection

Born April 19, 1967 in Moscow.

Education

1988: Graduated from the Plekhanov Moscow Institute of the National Economy with a degree in Economics.

PhD (Economics).

Experience

1988-1991: Junior researcher, Research Institute of Labour at the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Welfare; postgraduate studies, Research Institute of Labour at the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Welfare.

1991-1994: Senior researcher, branch head, Research Institute of Labour.

1994-1996: Consulting expert, Labour, Employment and Migration Sector, Department of Labour, Healthcare and Social Protection of the Population, Government Executive Office of the Russian Federation.

1996-1997: Consulting expert, Social Policy and Labour Sector, Department of Labour and Healthcare, Government Executive Office of the Russian Federation.

1997-2001: Head of the Social Development Department, Government Executive Office of the Russian Federation

2001-2004: Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Development.

2004-2008: Head of the Federal Service for Labour and Employment.

2008-May 2012: Deputy Minister of Healthcare and Social Development.

May 21, 2012: Appointed Minister of Labour and Social Development by Presidential Executive Order.

Married, with two daughters.

VYACHESLAV VOLODIN

Vyacheslav Viktorovich Volodin, aged 47, is number 2 in the presidential administration.

Executive biography

Born 4 February 1964 in Alexeevka in the Saratov region.

Education

- 1986: graduated from the Saratov Institute of Agricultural Mechanisation (SIMSKh – Saratov).
- 1995: Russian civil service academy for the Russian presidency.
- 1996: presented a state doctoral thesis in law.

Professional experience

- 1987-1992: doctoral student, graduate assistant, teacher then senior lecturer at the Saratov Institute of Agricultural Mechanisation.
- 1990: elected to the Saratov City Council.
- 1990-1992: chairman of the commission for youth and member of the presidium of the Saratov City Council.
- 1992-1993: deputy mayor of Saratov, in charge of general affairs.
- 1993: directed the campaign team for Dmitry Ayatskov, who ran for the Federation Council (senate).
- 1994: elected to the Saratov Regional Assembly, of which he became the deputy chairman. He held this office until 1996.
- April 1996 – April 1999: deputy governor of the Saratov region alongside Dmitry Ayatskov.
- December 1999: elected deputy to the State Duma on the 'Fatherland-All Russia' (OVR) list.
- 2000: became vice president of the OVR parliamentary group, headed by Evgeny Primakov.
- 2001: joined the governing committee of the United Russia party, formed by the merger of OVR and Unity.
- December 2003: re-elected member of the State Duma. Vyacheslav Volodin received 82% of the votes in his constituency of the Saratov region.
- 2004: elected vice chairman of the State Duma.
- April 2005: elected secretary of the Presidium of the General Council of the United Russia party.
- 2007: United Russia campaign director. Re-elected to the State Duma, where he remains deputy to Boris Gryzlov.
- 2009: appointed head of the public service chair at Moscow State University.
- 21 October 2010: appointed by Dmitry Medvedev to the position of deputy prime minister in charge of the government apparatus. He took over from Sergey Sobyenin, appointed mayor of Moscow.
- 27 December 2011: became number 2 in the presidential administration, in charge of domestic policy.

ANNEX 2: GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENTIAL STAFF

GOVERNMENT



Dmitry Medvedev
Prime minister



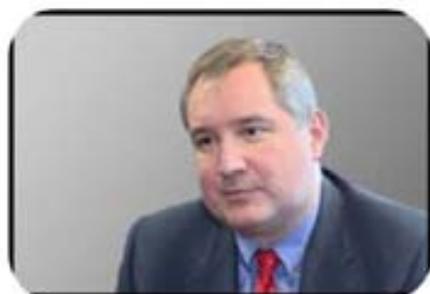
Igor Shuvalov
1st Deputy Prime minister



Olga Golodets
Deputy Prime minister
in charge of social affairs



Arkady Dvorkovich
Deputy Prime minister in charge
of economic and energy policies



Dmitry Rogozin
Deputy Prime minister
in charge of defense industry



Dmitry Kozak
Deputy Prime minister in charge
of preparation of the Sochi
winter Olympic games



Vladislav Surkov
Deputy Prime minister in charge
of government apparatus



Alexander Khloponin
Deputy Prime minister in charge
of the North Caucasus Federal
District

GOVERNMENT



Maxim Sokolov
Minister of Transport



Dmitry Livanov
Minister of Education and
Science



Veronika Skvortsova
Minister of Healthcare



Maxim Topilin
Minister of Labour and
Social Security



Vladimir Medinsky
Minister of Culture



Vladimir Kolokoltsev
Minister of Interior



Vladimir Puchkov
Minister of civil Defence,
Emergencies and Disaster
Relief



Andrey Belousov
Minister of Economic
Development



Oleg Govorun
Minister of Regional
Development



Alexander Novak
Minister of Energy



Mikhail Abyzov
Minister of the
relations with the "open
gouvernement"



Sergey Donskoy
Minister of Natural
Resources and
Environmental Protection



Nikolay Fyodorov
Minister of Agriculture



Viktor Ishayev
Minister for the
Development of the Russian
Far East



Nikolay Nikiforov
Minister of
Communications



Anatoly Serdyukov
Minister of Defence



Denis Manturov
Minister of Industry and
Trade



Anton Siluanov
Finance Minister



Alexander Konovalov
Minister of Justice



Sergey Lavrov
Minister of Foreign Affairs



Vitali Mutko
Minister of sports

PRESIDENTIAL STAFF



Sergey Ivanov
Head of the Presidential
Staff



Vyacheslav Volodin
First Deputy Head of the
Presidential Staff



Alexey Gromov
First Deputy Head of the
Presidential Staff



Anton Vayno
First Deputy Head of the
Presidential Staff



Andrey Furserenko
Assistant to The
President



Elvira Nabiullina
Assistant to The
President



Yuri Trutnev
Assistant to The
President



Igor Shchegolev
Assistant to The
President



Yuri Ushakov
Assistant to The
President



Tatiana Golikova
Assistant to The
President



Konstantin Chuychenko
Assistant to The
President



Larissa Brycheva
Assistant to The
President



Evgueny Shkolov
Assistant to The
President



Dmitry Peskov
Spokesman of the
President



Vladimir Ostrovenko
Chief of the Presidential
protocol



Igor Levitin
Counsellor to the
President



Alexander Abramov
Counsellor to the
President



Alexander Bedritsky
Counsellor to the
President



Sergey Grigorov
Counsellor to the
President



Vladimir Tolstoy
Counsellor to the
President



Sergey Ushakov
Counsellor to the
President



Mikhail Fedotov
Counsellor to the
President



Veniamin Yakovlev
Counsellor to the
President



Nikolay Patrushev
Secretary of the Russian
Federation National
Security



Rashid Nurgaliev
Assistant to the
Secretary of the Russian
Federation National
Security



Dmitry Kalimulin
President's Chief
Speechwriter

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES

POLICY DEPARTMENT

Role

Policy departments are research units that provide specialised advice to committees, inter-parliamentary delegations and other parliamentary bodies.

Policy Areas

- Foreign Affairs
- Human Rights
- Security and Defence
- Development
- International Trade

Documents

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