



House of Commons
Foreign Affairs Committee

The FCO's preparations for the 2018 World Cup

Ninth Report of Session 2017–19



House of Commons
Foreign Affairs Committee

The FCO's preparations for the 2018 World Cup

Ninth Report of Session 2017–19

*Report, together with formal minutes
relating to the report*

*Ordered by the House of Commons
to be printed 5 June 2018*

The Foreign Affairs Committee

The Foreign Affairs Committee is appointed by the House of Commons to examine the expenditure, administration, and policy of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and its associated public bodies.

Current membership

[Tom Tugendhat MP](#) (*Conservative, Tonbridge and Malling*) (Chair)

[Ian Austin MP](#) (*Labour, Dudley North*)

[Chris Bryant MP](#) (*Labour, Rhondda*)

[Ann Clwyd MP](#) (*Labour, Cynon Valley*)

[Mike Gapes MP](#) (*Labour (Co-op), Ilford South*)

[Stephen Gethins MP](#) (*Scottish National Party, North East Fife*)

[Ian Murray MP](#) (*Labour, Edinburgh South*)

[Priti Patel MP](#) (*Conservative, Witham*)

[Andrew Rosindell MP](#) (*Conservative, Romford*)

[Mr Bob Seely MP](#) (*Conservative, Isle of Wight*)

[Royston Smith MP](#) (*Conservative, Southampton, Itchen*)

The following Members were also members of the Committee during the Parliament:
Ms Nusrat Ghani MP and Nadhim Zahawi MP

Powers

The Committee is one of the departmental select committees, the powers of which are set out in House of Commons Standing Orders, principally in SO No 152. These are available on the internet via www.parliament.uk.

Publication

Committee reports are published on the Committee's website at www.parliament.uk/facom and in print by Order of the House.

Evidence relating to this report is published on the [inquiry page](#) of the Committee's website.

Committee staff

The current staff of the Committee are Tom Goldsmith and Hannah Bryce (Clerks), Dr Ariella Huff (Senior Committee Specialist), Ashlee Godwin, Dr Matthew Harries, Dr Eoin Martin, Emma Makey and Hannah Stone (Committee Specialists), Clare Genis (Senior Committee Assistant), Zara Emmett and Matthew Chappell (Committee Assistants) and Estelle Currie (Media Officer).

Contacts

All correspondence should be addressed to the Clerk of the Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA. The telephone number for general enquiries is 020 7219 6105; the Committee's email address is fac@parliament.uk.

Contents

Summary	3
Introduction	4
1 Risks to UK nationals	5
Hooligan violence	5
LGBT football fans	6
BAME football fans	7
Political tensions	8
Terror threat	9
Risks to UK nationals: Conclusions	9
2 The FCO's preparations	10
FCO travel advice	10
Consular services	11
Police co-operation	12
Russia's security plans	13
Reassurances	14
The FCO's preparations: Conclusions	15
3 Future World Cups	18
Future World Cups: Conclusions	18
Conclusions and recommendations	19
Formal minutes	22
Witnesses	23
Published written evidence	23
List of Reports from the Committee during the current Parliament	24

Summary

Up to 10,000 UK nationals are expected to travel to the World Cup in Russia. Those fans face a number of risks, including hooligan violence; attacks motivated by racism, homophobia or anti-British sentiment; and terrorist attacks. The threat of violence has been a “specific focus” for the FCO’s preparations. Despite an “unprecedented crackdown” on hooligan groups, we were told that the Russian authorities could not control those hooligans who operate at the margins. BAME and LGBT football fans face heightened risks.

The FCO considers the risks to fall short of the level at which it would be appropriate to advise against travel to the World Cup, but said that it would recommend not travelling if fans’ safety could not be guaranteed. We remain concerned about the safety of UK fans travelling to Russia—particularly in light of the expulsion of officials involved in the preparations—and call on the FCO to provide the information needed for people to make an informed decision about whether to go. Given the current volatility it is particularly important that the Government can communicate with UK fans during the tournament to give up-to-date advice. The numbers subscribed to the FCO’s travel advice seem worryingly low and, although there is now little time to do so, we urge the FCO to take additional steps to encourage UK fans to sign up for travel alerts.

The FCO has been leading cross-governmental preparations for the World Cup for more than two years and the Football Association told us it was “really pleased” with those preparations. We recognise the work of all those involved and we note the testimony that there will be additional consular support and rigorous security measures in place on match days in cities where England plays. However, we are particularly concerned about the safety of UK fans outside these times and places and call on the FCO to do more to make fans aware of the distinction between arrangements in place on match and non-match days and in England and non-England match cities.

There are limits to what the FCO can tell us about some of its concerns and preparations before the tournament. Following the World Cup, the FCO should report back to us by the end of September, setting out lessons learned. We regret that the World Cup is hosted by countries with poor human rights records. We also ask for the FCO’s report to set out how effectively FIFA’s new human rights conditions are operating and what further steps are needed.

Introduction

1. The FIFA World Cup takes place in Russia between 14 June and 15 July. The Government expects up to 10,000 UK nationals to travel to the tournament.¹ Matches will take place in 11 cities. England is due to play in Volgograd, Nizhny Novgorod, and Kaliningrad. If the team gets beyond the group stages, it could play in Moscow, St Petersburg, Kazan, Rostov-on-Don, or Samara.²

2. The FCO has a duty to assist with consular support to fans travelling to Russia. We wanted to ensure that adequate support is available in a country where there is a history of violence at football matches—and particular risks to LGBT and BAME people—in a context of fraught relations between the UK and Russia. We decided to undertake this short inquiry to assess the FCO's preparedness for the World Cup; to consider whether there are any urgent steps that might be taken to improve the support offered to UK fans; and identify any lessons to be learned in terms of preparation for similar events in the future.

3. As part of our inquiry we heard evidence from Harriett Baldwin, Minister of State for Africa at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with responsibility for consular policy, who spoke on behalf of the Government; Julia Longbottom, Director for Consular Affairs at the FCO; and Martin Harris, Director for Eastern Europe and Central Asia at the FCO. We also heard from Kevin Miles, Chief Executive of the Football Supporters' Federation; Deputy Chief Constable Mark Roberts, the National Lead for Football Policing; and Robert Sullivan, Director of Strategy and Communications at the Football Association. In addition, we raised the issue when taking evidence from the Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson. We also received a range of written submissions from journalists, academics, and representatives of advocacy groups and think tanks. We are grateful to our witnesses and those who provided written evidence.

1 [Be on the Ball: World Cup 2018](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 23 June 2017. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated this page, and details may have changed.

2 [Be on the Ball: World Cup 2018](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 23 June 2017. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated this page, and details may have changed.

1 Risks to UK nationals

4. Our inquiry identified a number of risks that face UK nationals travelling to Russia for the World Cup. These include: hooligan violence; attacks motivated by racism, homophobia, or anti-British sentiment; and terrorist attacks.

Hooligan violence

5. The threat of violence by Russian football hooligan groups has been a “specific focus” of the FCO’s preparations for the World Cup.³ These groups have a history of violent clashes with supporters of rival teams. At the 2016 European Championships in France, fighting between England and Russia fans left at least five UK nationals seriously injured and 30 hospitalised.⁴ Deputy Chief Constable Mark Roberts, the national lead on football policing, described the violence as “horrific”.⁵ The UK and French authorities attributed the worst of the violence to “co-ordinated groups of Russian supporters”,⁶ who were “well prepared for ultra-rapid, ultra-violent action”.⁷

6. The Russian government’s response fell short of clear condemnation of the violence, and President Vladimir Putin questioned how “200 of our fans could beat up several thousand English”.⁸ One senior Deputy of the State Duma, who sits on the executive committee of the Russian football association, praised the fans for defending “the honour of their country”.⁹ Russian hooligan culture is linked to far-right and nationalist politics, and some politicians have sought to cultivate direct connections with these groups, including by offering jobs to their members, as journalist Simon Parkin told us.¹⁰

7. Since Euro 2016, the Russian government has launched an “unprecedented crackdown” against hooligan groups.¹¹ The FCO told us that a group alleged to have been involved in the violence in France had been “effectively banned”,¹² and referred to a Russian government “blacklist of known troublemakers”.¹³ In the months leading up to the tournament, Moscow has reportedly increased the penalties for misconduct at sports events,¹⁴ carried out a series of raids and arrests against known members of hooligan groups,¹⁵ and published a list of over 450 people who are banned from attending official sports competitions.¹⁶ However, Simon Parkin told us that, while these measures have reduced the risk of widespread, major violence during the World Cup, the authorities “cannot possibly control those hooligans who operate at the margins”.¹⁷

3 [Q103](#)

4 [Police feared England fan deaths in ‘Battle of Marseille’ at Euro 2016](#), Sky News, 12 October 2016

5 [Q10](#)

6 HC Deb 14 June 2016 [Col 1633](#)

7 [Euro 2016: Who is to blame for the Marseille violence?](#), BBC News, 14 June 2016

8 [Putin: How Can 200 Russians Beat Up English Fans?](#), Sky News, 17 June 2016

9 [Moscow football official to violent fans: well done lads, keep it up!](#), The Guardian, 13 June 2016; Dr Andrew Foxall and Dr Richard Arnold ([WCR0003](#))

10 Simon Parkin ([WCR0002](#))

11 [Russian Hooligans’ Toughest Opponents? Russia’s Police](#), The New York Times, 28 April 2017; Simon Parkin ([WCR0002](#))

12 [Q103](#)

13 [Q106](#)

14 [Putin signs bill into law tightening penalties for fan misconduct at sports events](#), TASS, 17 April 2017

15 [Russian Hooligans’ Toughest Opponents? Russia’s Police](#), The New York Times, 28 April 2017; Simon Parkin ([WCR0002](#))

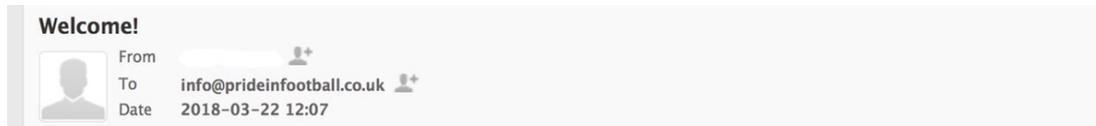
16 [Список лиц, которым запрещено посещение официальных спортивных соревнований в дни их проведения](#), 6 April 2018

17 Simon Parkin ([WCR0002](#))

LGBT football fans

8. In addition to the general threat of violence against football fans, we were told that some groups might face heightened risks. LGBT individuals in Russia not only face the risk of violence from vigilante groups, but lack adequate protection from the state. According to the FCO's Human Rights and Democracy Report 2016, LGBT individuals are at significant risk of "persecution and violence, with the Russian government taking little action to combat homophobia".¹⁸ One study documenting violence against LGBT people found that Russian police were "dismissive and reluctant to investigate effectively", and "did little to protect victims."¹⁹ In April 2017, the FCO condemned the reported mass detention, torture and killing of gay men in Chechnya, and called on the Russian authorities to investigate.²⁰ A year later, no investigation has taken place, as Stonewall, a campaign group, noted.²¹

9. The far-right culture of Russian hooligan groups could place LGBT fans at particular risk of violence during the World Cup. Pride in Football, an alliance of LGBT fan groups, gave us copies of two threatening emails it had received that used homophobic language, and warned that LGBT people would not be welcome in Russia for the tournament. One made explicit threats of violence, and included an image of a knife (see below).²² Russia's World Cup Local Organising Committee has been sent the emails, but has not yet responded, according to Pride in Football.²³ Another risk factor for LGBT fans at the World Cup is the dispersal of large numbers of foreign visitors to provincial Russian cities. Some of the host cities have a "very different regime" to St Petersburg on LGBT issues, according to the Football Supporters' Federation (FSF).²⁴



Salut children of sluts!
 We wait you in Russia! I will personally put to a knife your members faggots 😊



Пидоры ебливые, вашим матерям глотки вспарывал э, приезжайте дырвые, раша вас ждет)))

-
- 18 [Human Rights and Democracy 2016](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office, July 2017
- 19 [License to Harm: Violence and Harassment against LGBT People and Activists in Russia](#), Human Rights Watch, 15 December 2014
- 20 [Minister condemns persecution of LGBT community in Chechnya](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 7 April 2017
- 21 Stonewall ([WCR0005](#))
- 22 The Russian text in the email can be translated as follows: "Fucking faggots, your mothers' throats will be ripped open, come and get stabbed, Russia is waiting for you".
- 23 Pride in Football ([WCR0006](#)). As of 15 May 2018
- 24 [Q14](#)

10. LGBT individuals in Russia also risk prosecution: in 2013, the country implemented a law banning propaganda on “non-traditional sexual relations”.²⁵ The FCO travel advice warns that “the definition and scope of prohibited activity is vague”, and that foreign nationals convicted under the law could face arrest, detention, fines and deportation.²⁶ The Russian football association has said that the law will not criminalise fans for displaying the rainbow flag, or for “expressing feelings”.²⁷ The FCO told us that it had received assurances from the Russian football association regarding the display of the rainbow flag in football grounds.²⁸ However, the FSF said that Russian LGBT groups had advised them to take these assurances “with a pinch of salt”.²⁹ Stonewall also told us that LGBT groups in Russia “have questioned whether fans who raise the rainbow flag at World Cup matches will be safe”, and pointed out that the former chair of the Russian LGBT Network was detained while holding a rainbow flag at a demonstration on 1 May.³⁰ Pride in Football told us that, if the commitments of the Russian football association were delivered, “perhaps [...] we’ll feel safe enough to hold up a rainbow flag”.³¹ The FSF’s guide to fans also states that LGBT rights have been a “taboo” for the authorities in the lead-up to the tournament, unlike when the country hosted the 2014 Winter Olympics.³²

11. The FCO told us that it had discussed the security of LGBT fans with Russia’s Local Organising Committee and with host cities, and had received assurances on the safety of “fans of all backgrounds”.³³ It said it would “continue to raise our concerns” with the Russian authorities.³⁴ However, when we pressed Harriett Baldwin MP—the FCO Minister of State with responsibility for consular policy—repeatedly on this issue, her response about the nature of the assurances was vague.³⁵ Moreover, when we asked the Minister whether she had confidence in the ability and willingness of the Russian police to keep UK nationals safe, regardless of their background or sexual orientation, she did not offer this assurance, but instead stated that: “the approach to policing in Russia is different from the approach to policing at a football match in the UK.”³⁶

BAME football fans

12. The FCO’s travel advice warns of “racially motivated attacks” in Russia, and states that travellers of Asian or Afro-Caribbean descent may “attract some unwanted attention in public places and should take care”.³⁷ As with LGBT football fans, the far-right culture of Russian hooligan groups could place BAME fans at a greater risk. Simon Parkin described hooligan groups as “a machine for recruiting and radicalising young men to the far right”

25 [Foreign travel advice: Russia](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated its advice, and details may have changed.

26 [Foreign travel advice: Russia](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated its advice, and details may have changed.

27 [Rainbow flags allowed at World Cup, but LGBT fans cannot ‘propagate’ to minors](#), The Guardian, 30 November 2017

28 [Q130](#)

29 [Q16](#)

30 Stonewall ([WCR0005](#))

31 Pride in Football ([WCR0006](#))

32 [Free Lions: The England Fans’ Guide to Russia](#), Football Supporters’ Federation, 18 May 2018

33 [Q123](#)

34 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

35 [Qq120–123](#)

36 [Qq145–147](#)

37 [Foreign travel advice: Russia](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated its advice since, and details may have changed.

that has “seeded racist ideology at the centre of the country’s football culture”. He noted that, despite the government’s crackdown on hooligans, a “general atmosphere of racism and homophobia remains at football matches”.³⁸

13. Racism is common in Russian stadiums: anti-discrimination groups recorded 190 racist or far-right incidents in Russian football between June 2015 and May 2017.³⁹ Since September 2017, three matches involving English and Russian teams have been followed by allegations of racial abuse committed by fans or players, though only one resulted in official sanctions.⁴⁰ In May 2018, FIFA fined the Russian football association over racist chants by fans against French players.⁴¹ However, the association’s anti-discrimination chief has previously denied that racism exists in Russia, stating that “It is something against the opposition, not against a person.”⁴²

Political tensions

14. The deterioration in UK-Russia relations following the Salisbury incident could increase the risk of violence against UK nationals during the World Cup. Following the incident, the FCO updated its travel advice to warn UK nationals in Russia that, due to “heightened political tensions between the UK and Russia, you should be aware of the possibility of anti-British sentiment or harassment”.⁴³ The UK police have said that the deterioration in relations means that any provocative actions by UK fans are more likely than usual to trigger violence, warning that displaying a St George’s flag in public could bring “increased attention and risk”.⁴⁴ Dr Andrew Foxall and Dr Richard Arnold, of the Henry Jackson Society and Muskingum University, respectively, told us that there is a risk that UK nationals could be the targets of hostile actions by the Russian state during the World Cup, such as being arrested for organising a public event without permission. They also expressed concern about the willingness and ability of the Russian police to prevent low-level crimes against UK nationals.⁴⁵

15. Despite these tensions, the FCO considers that the risks fall short of the level where it would be appropriate to advise UK nationals not to attend the World Cup. The Foreign Secretary told the House on 15 May: “We are not actively trying to dissuade fans preparing to go to Russia for the World Cup, as we do not think that would be right.”⁴⁶ The FCO told us that it would only advise UK citizens not to travel in “a very serious situation where we did not feel that we could guarantee the safety of UK citizens travelling,” and said “that is not our current assessment.”⁴⁷

38 Simon Parkin ([WCR0002](#))

39 [A Changing Picture: Incidents of Discrimination in Russian Football 2015–2017](#), Fare network, June 2017

40 [Spartak Moscow: Uefa disciplines club for racist behaviour at Liverpool game](#), BBC News, 20 October 2017; [The FA and Kick It Out disappointed over UEFA racism allegation decision](#), Press Association, 7 March 2018; [CSKA fans chanted racial abuse at Arsenal during Moscow match - Reuters witness](#), Reuters, 13 April 2018

41 [Russia: World Cup hosts fined £22,000 for France game racism](#), BBC News, 8 May 2018

42 [2018 World Cup: Racism ‘does not exist’ in Russia - Alexei Smertin](#), BBC News, 18 September 2015

43 [Foreign travel advice: Russia](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated its advice since, and details may have changed.

44 [England fans told to furl the flag at World Cup](#), The Sunday Times, 22 April 2018

45 Dr Andrew Foxall and Dr Richard Arnold ([WCR0003](#))

46 HC Deb 15 May 2018, [Col 124](#)

47 [Q149](#)

Terror threat

16. Terrorists are “very likely” to try to carry out attacks in Russia, according to the FCO, while groups aligned with al-Qaeda and Daesh continue to call for attacks.⁴⁸ Dr Andrew Foxall and Dr Richard Arnold stated that Daesh had issued threats against the World Cup. They argued that the terror threat in Russia has evolved since the country hosted the Winter Olympics in 2014, going from a regional jihadi project to an international one with firm links to the country, while Russian involvement in Syria has popularised the cause of anti-Russian attacks.⁴⁹

Risks to UK nationals: Conclusions

17. **Russia presents particular risks as a World Cup host, due to the history of violence by football hooligans; intolerance and discriminatory state policy towards LGBT individuals; the history of racist abuse in and around football matches; current heightened political tensions; and the threat of terrorist attacks. We remain concerned about the safety of UK fans travelling to Russia, and the apparent lack of specific provisions to protect targeted groups, particularly LGBT football fans.**

18. *The Committee calls on the FCO to set out, clearly and publicly, the specific assurances it has received from the Russian authorities on the safety of LGBT fans, including on how the “anti-propaganda” law will be applied to foreign visitors, so that fans can make an informed decision based on the level of risk to which they will be exposed. LGBT fans should have as much information as possible on the extent to which they can expect to be safe if, for example, flying the rainbow flag, engaging in public displays of affection, or using bathrooms that correspond to their gender identity.*

48 [Foreign travel advice: Russia](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated its advice since, and details may have changed.

49 Dr Andrew Foxall and Dr Richard Arnold ([WCR0003](#))

2 The FCO's preparations

19. The FCO is responsible for leading cross-Government preparations for the World Cup, which have been underway for more than two years. Since March 2017 it has chaired a cross-Government committee that includes relevant Government departments, the police, and the Football Association (FA).⁵⁰ An Embassy team has visited all 11 match cities to build relationships with local authorities,⁵¹ and the FCO has published a website with guidance for fans attending the World Cup.⁵² There are plans for a “mobile embassy” of approximately 10 people to station itself in cities where England plays, to provide consular support to UK nationals for a day either side of match days.⁵³ The FCO carried out a crisis response exercise in February that tested the Government’s ability to respond to a major incident at the World Cup, including against a “strained political background”.⁵⁴ Additional staff will be on standby in the UK, in case of such an incident.⁵⁵ Witnesses also highlighted the use of football banning orders to prevent British fans from travelling if they are known to be involved in hooliganism.⁵⁶ DCC Roberts told us that these banning orders, which are currently in place against 1,751 individuals, were “very effective”.⁵⁷ No British nationals were arrested for football-related disturbances at the 2010 and 2014 World Cups, or at Euro 2012 in Poland and Ukraine, though there were arrests at Euro 2016.⁵⁸

20. The FCO has carried out its preparations in coordination with the FA, the Home Office’s UK Football Policing Unit, UK police, and supporters’ groups. DCC Roberts told us that the support the police had received from the FCO was “really strong”,⁵⁹ while the FA said that it was “really pleased with the preparation and the co-ordination” with the FCO.⁶⁰ Preparations have been more extensive than for previous tournaments, in part because it is being held in Russia, according to the Football Supporters’ Federation.⁶¹ The FA told us that the long period of preparation had put it in a good position: “No matter what twists and turns the politics may have taken in recent days, we feel as if [...] we are in as good a place as we can be.”⁶²

FCO travel advice

21. The Government has launched a campaign, “Be on the Ball”, to give advice to UK nationals attending the World Cup. It includes guidance on health insurance and visas, and provides a phone number to call for consular assistance at any time of day.⁶³ The FCO said that the aim of the site is to “outline all the different things that a fan travelling to

50 [Q101](#); Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

51 [Letter from Harriett Baldwin MP Minister of State to the Chair of the Committee](#), 26 March 2018; Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

52 [Be on the Ball: World Cup 2018](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 23 June 2017. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated this page, and details may have changed.

53 [Q101](#); [Letter from Harriett Baldwin MP Minister of State to the Chair of the Committee](#), 26 March 2018

54 [Qq113–114](#); Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

55 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

56 [Q93](#); Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

57 [Q93](#)

58 [No tolerance for hooligans at Russia World Cup - UK police chief](#), Reuters, 29 January 2018

59 [Q53](#)

60 [Q4](#)

61 [Q4](#)

62 [Q39](#)

63 [Be on the Ball: World Cup 2018](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 23 June 2017. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated this page, and details may have changed.

the tournament would want to be aware of, the various different risks [...] and the ways in which they can mitigate those risks”.⁶⁴ However, at the time of writing the site did not feature information on risks to LGBT or BAME individuals, or information on current UK-Russia political tensions. The site directs readers to consult the FCO travel advice, which does discuss these issues. However, as journalist Richard Heller noted, even in the FCO's travel advice the guidance for LGBT people “is presented under the unremarkable heading of ‘Local laws and customs’”, where people may not think of looking.⁶⁵ Nor does Be on the Ball address cyber security, though the FCO's guidance on Overseas Business Risk notes the threat of “IT attack” against computers and other electronic devices by the Russian security service (FSB),⁶⁶ and the National Cyber Security Centre published a blog post in May with advice on cyber security for those attending the World Cup.⁶⁷ When we asked why Be on the Ball does not address risks to minority groups, the FCO told us that the site is not intended to duplicate its travel advice, and is “specific and practical” about the match cities.⁶⁸ However, in response to the concerns we raised with the Minister of State, the FCO has committed to adding this information to the Be on the Ball website.⁶⁹

22. The FCO has worked with supporters' groups and the FA to try to ensure that Be on the Ball reaches as many football fans travelling to the World Cup as possible.⁷⁰ The site has had almost 25,000 unique page views since it was launched in July 2017.⁷¹ The FCO told us that the number was not “as high as we would like” and that they “need to do more to publicise it in the run-up to the event”. The FCO also told us that some 8,800 people are currently subscribed to its travel alerts on Russia.⁷² Given that some 150,000 British nationals visit the country each year,⁷³ it appears likely that many football fans have not subscribed to travel updates.

Consular services

23. On 17 March, Russia expelled 23 UK diplomats, giving them a week to leave the country,⁷⁴ and announced the closure of the UK's consulate in St Petersburg by 1 August.⁷⁵ Among those expelled were members of the team working on preparations for the World Cup⁷⁶—including the official leading these preparations⁷⁷—and “a number of consular and crisis staff”.⁷⁸ Then, Russia announced on 30 March that the UK had a month to reduce the staff numbers at its missions to the same level as those of Russia in the UK.⁷⁹ A

64 [Q94](#)

65 Richard Heller ([WCR0001](#))

66 [Guidance: Overseas Business Risk - Russia](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office. As of 21 May 2018

67 [Avoid scoring a cyber security own goal this summer](#), National Cyber Security Centre, 15 May 2018

68 [Qq117–118](#)

69 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

70 [Q48, Q102](#)

71 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

72 [Qq115–116](#)

73 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

74 [Russia spy poisoning: 23 UK diplomats expelled from Moscow](#), BBC, 17 March 2018

75 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

76 [Q100](#)

77 Oral Evidence from the Foreign Secretary 21 March 2018, [HC 538](#), Q223

78 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

79 [Press release on Russia's response to unfriendly UK steps](#), The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 30 March 2018

Russian Foreign Ministry spokesperson said that this would mean cutting more than 50 staff, in addition to those already expelled, though this has not been confirmed by the UK Government.⁸⁰

24. The Foreign Secretary told us on 21 March, in reference to the expulsions: “You can’t imagine anything more counterproductive for the UK’s ability to help fans when in Russia. I will not hide from the Committee that there is an issue and there is a discussion.”⁸¹ The FCO said that it had “made it clear” to the Russian local organisers that the expulsions would make preparations for the World Cup “more challenging”, but assured us that its “staffing plans post-Salisbury are robust enough to fill the gap”.⁸² The FA and police also told us that the expulsions had not fundamentally undermined their preparations for the tournament. The FA said that “we haven’t seen a drop-off of the support we have required from the FCO since they lost that individual from Moscow”.⁸³ For DCC Roberts, the loss of these officials was “not optimal. However, if the question is whether we still think that, collectively, we can provide a really effective service to the UK nationals going, yes we do.”⁸⁴

25. The FCO has adjusted its plans for consular provision following the expulsions, though it offered us limited details on these. It said on 2 May that it would “attempt to reinforce the number of staff” in both Russia and London supporting British nationals travelling to the World Cup.⁸⁵ The Minister of State told us on 9 May that the Department had made “reallocations within Russia, in terms of responsibilities and training”, and had “reached out” to Russian speakers with consular experience within the broader consular network, to reinforce staff numbers.⁸⁶ The FCO is also working “very closely” with the other 30 countries that are sending teams to the World Cup.⁸⁷ It is producing a guide, to be shared with consular teams from all the other countries, including the direct numbers of UK consular staff, to allow them to more easily contact UK officials if they find a British person in need of assistance.⁸⁸

Police co-operation

26. The UK and Russian police have been developing their co-operation for the World Cup over the last two years.⁸⁹ UK police have visited Russia on at least four occasions in this period, while Russian police have visited the UK at least twice.⁹⁰ DCC Roberts told us that, as with previous World Cups, the UK is sending a senior police officer and a team of spotters to the tournament. They will not be uniformed—on the decision of the Russian authorities, and they will have no powers—as is always the case in similar deployments.⁹¹ Two British officers will be stationed in an international coordination centre in Moscow,

80 [Britain and Russia lock horns as Moscow cuts UK diplomats](#), Reuters, 31 March 2018

81 Oral Evidence from the Foreign Secretary 21 March 2018, [HC 538](#), Q223

82 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

83 [Q47](#)

84 [Q44](#)

85 [PQ 140654](#) [on Russia: Football], 2 May 2018

86 [Q151](#)

87 [Q151](#)

88 [Q153](#), [159](#)

89 [Q1](#)

90 [Be on the Ball: World Cup 2018](#), Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 23 June 2017. As of 3 May 2018. Note: the FCO has updated this page, and details may have changed.

91 [Qq32–34](#)

where they will receive information from other countries' police on other games that have taken place.⁹² DCC Roberts did not reveal to us the number of officers who will travel to Russia, but said that it was in line with the numbers sent by comparable countries.⁹³

27. If England progress beyond the group stages, they will play in other Russian host cities. However, the UK's policing operation at the World Cup is "very much focused" on England's three primary match cities, according to DCC Roberts.⁹⁴ He said that "pre-visits have been undertaken for the other potential host venues. As and when that hopefully arrives, we will move the effort and focus on to those and aim to give the same level of reassurance, as far as we can, for each of those."⁹⁵ It was not clear to us from the evidence exactly what preparations have taken place.

28. The FCO called UK-Russia police co-operation the "main mitigation we can put in place" against the risk of hooligan violence,⁹⁶ and a key "test" for Russian assurances in terms of fan security.⁹⁷ The Department has told us that it continues to assess how the Salisbury incident has affected this co-operation, stating that it "continues to monitor the Russian reactions to Salisbury closely".⁹⁸ The Foreign Secretary said in March, following the expulsions: "There are questions now about how that co-operation will go on".⁹⁹ The FCO told us in May that a recent Arsenal match in Moscow provided "an opportunity for us to see, post-Salisbury, how that co-operation was continuing. It does continue, but we keep a close eye on that, and that is also part of the assessments we make about the World Cup as we approach the tournament."¹⁰⁰ DCC Roberts stated that the policing plan had not changed, and that "We still anticipate the same number of officers going as we did pre-Salisbury."¹⁰¹

29. UK-Russian co-operation on counter-terrorism has continued after the Salisbury incident. As the FCO explained: "it is in areas of counter-terrorism and in preparation for sports events that we continue to have close co-operation with the Russian authorities".¹⁰² More broadly, the Football Supporters' Federation said that co-operation with venues, stadium management, and local organising committees had not yet visibly been affected by the Salisbury incident, as of April 2018: "All of the people we collaborated with on the Russian side were still as positive and friendly as they had been previously. Whether it had not filtered down at that point or it just didn't impact on their existence in the same way, I don't know."¹⁰³

Russia's security plans

30. We heard evidence that Russia's security systems for the matches are effective. The FCO said that the Russian authorities and local organising committees had "consistently assured us that this will be the safest World Cup on record with stadiums and other venues

92 [Q71](#), [Q80](#)

93 [Q82](#)

94 [Q65](#)

95 [Q66](#)

96 [Q105](#)

97 [Q130](#)

98 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

99 Oral Evidence from the Foreign Secretary 21 March 2018, [HC 538](#), Q206

100 [Q105](#)

101 [Q79](#)

102 [Q103](#)

103 [Q61](#)

protected by enhanced security measures during the tournament”.¹⁰⁴ The FA said that its security team had been “impressed with what they have seen on the ground in Russia”,¹⁰⁵ while the FSF said, of Russia’s hosting of the 2017 Confederations Cup, an international tournament:¹⁰⁶

The controls of entry into the stadiums were as tight and as rigorous as you would get when going through an airport here. [...] Huge numbers were dedicated to the task. There was no question in my mind, both at the stadiums and the city centres, and the fan zones created there, that those areas were very secure.¹⁰⁷

Similarly, FIFA said in February that it had “complete trust in the security arrangements and comprehensive security concept developed by the Russian authorities”, and pointed to the experience of the Confederations Cup as evidence.¹⁰⁸

31. The FCO also pointed to the lack of major incidents at recent matches in Russia involving English teams, noting that, of 2,500 British football fans that have visited Russia since September 2016, they have “only needed to provide consular support to those who have lost their passport or overstayed their visa.”¹⁰⁹ However, the World Cup will pose a more complex security challenge than the Confederations Cup, the 2014 Winter Olympics, or recent matches played by English teams in Russia. It involves many more UK nationals, as well as the protection of 11 host cities and the transport networks between them, as Dr Andrew Foxall and Dr Richard Arnold pointed out.¹¹⁰ Only 200 UK nationals attended April’s Arsenal match in Moscow, for example.¹¹¹

32. Witnesses suggested to us that the Russian security forces were likely to take a “paramilitary” approach to security at the World Cup, using overwhelming numbers to prevent disorder.¹¹² The Football Supporters’ Federation described the use of “enormous numbers of military personnel” at a Russia-England game in Moscow in 2007, which was able to outweigh the “hostile atmosphere” and “political tensions” between the two countries at that time: “there was no real danger of anything getting out of control, just by weight of numbers alone”.¹¹³

Reassurances

33. The FCO has said that its primary objective for the World Cup is the “safety and security of British people visiting Russia”.¹¹⁴ However, fan safety at the tournament is the responsibility of the Russian government. As a result, the FCO is reliant on its

104 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

105 [Q4](#)

106 The Confederations Cup is an international men’s football tournament held every four years, usually in the country hosting the next FIFA World Cup.

107 [Q9](#)

108 [FIFA sure of World Cup security despite fresh Russian fan violence](#), Reuters, 23 February 2018

109 Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))

110 Dr Andrew Foxall and Dr Richard Arnold ([WCR0003](#))

111 [Q99](#)

112 [Q8](#), [Q37](#)

113 [Q9](#)

114 [Letter from Harriett Baldwin MP Minister of State to the Chair of the Committee](#), 26 March 2018

assessment of the Russian government's ability and commitment to keep fans safe. The Foreign Secretary told the House in May, "it is up to the Russians, and on their honour, to guarantee the safety" of visiting fans.¹¹⁵

34. The FCO and other witnesses told us that they were satisfied by the Russian government's ability to keep fans safe. They also said they were satisfied by evidence of the Russian government's commitment to this. According to the FCO, the UK and Russia "clearly share exactly the same objective of safety and security" for the tournament.¹¹⁶ DCC Roberts stated that:

I have every confidence that, should they deploy their security apparatus to prevent disorder, they are perfectly well able to do that. I guess the question is whether the desire is there. Everything we have seen and been told and that has been fed back from the Foreign Office is that there is a desire to do that.¹¹⁷

35. The Russian authorities have also attempted to reassure UK football fans directly. The national tourist office has opened an information centre in London, whose aim is to "dispel any doubts or uncertainties British people may have about travelling to the event, and help them decide to go to Russia".¹¹⁸

36. We recognise that there is a limit to how openly the FCO and others involved in preparations can speak before the tournament begins, due to their need to maintain good relations with the Russian authorities. Preserving these relationships is itself an important part of managing the risks. As DCC Roberts explained to us: "We have to maintain a relationship with the Russian authorities in order for us to try to work with them, to influence and advise on their behaviours so that they treat our visiting guests in the best possible way".¹¹⁹ We also recognise that exaggerated media reports on this issue may themselves pose a risk to fans, by undermining UK-Russian security co-operation. Speaking about Euro 2012, which was hosted in Poland and Ukraine, DCC Roberts said: "scare stories went round about racism and violence, and I spent the first week there trying to reassure the Polish police on the basis of UK media reports and negating false stories so that we could have the relationship with the Poles."¹²⁰

The FCO's preparations: Conclusions

37. We note the evidence of the preparations for the World Cup that the FCO has been making over the last two years, and the testimony that UK-Russian co-operation on this point has been continuing post-Salisbury. We recognise the work of officials and others involved in these preparations, particularly those diplomatic staff who have remained in Russia following the expulsions and their colleagues who had to leave as a result of those expulsions. We believe it was wrong for the Russian government to expel British diplomats, particularly the officials leading on preparations and the safety of fans for the World Cup, and remain concerned that this will have hindered preparations and could put the safety of British fans at risk.

115 HC Deb 15 May 2018, [Col 124](#)

116 [Q94](#)

117 [Q7](#)

118 [Helping you get the most from the World Cup 2018](#), Visit Russia, 1 December 2017

119 [Q3](#)

120 [Q4](#)

38. We have been told that there will be rigorous security measures and consular support in place in cities where England plays, on match days, particularly within stadiums and official fan zones, and we look forward to seeing this happen. We are, however, concerned about the safety of UK fans outside these times and places, particularly those travelling to matches in which England is not participating. In addition, while reasonably extensive preparations have been made for the first three England matches, we are concerned that preparations for any subsequent matches will be more rushed. *The FCO should do more to make fans aware of the distinction between arrangements that will be in place on match and non-match days, and in England and non-England match cities.*

39. We welcome declarations by the FCO and other witnesses that they have received adequate reassurances on Russia's commitment to keep fans safe. However, in our view these reassurances are undermined by:

- i) Russia's decision to expel UK officials working on World Cup preparations;
- ii) Supportive attitudes on the part of some Russian politicians towards previous hooligan violence;
- iii) The advice of Russian civil society groups not to trust the government's reassurances on LGBT issues; and,
- iv) The present volatility of UK-Russian relations.

40. The FCO told us that it would advise UK nationals not to attend the World Cup if it could not guarantee their safety. Given the volatile state of UK-Russia relations, and the fact that the FCO's assessment of Russian reactions to Salisbury is ongoing, it is particularly important that the Government can communicate with UK fans during the tournament. In the context of 150,000 UK citizens travelling to Russia annually, the fact that only 8,800 people are subscribed to the FCO's travel advice seems worryingly low, and suggests that many fans intending to go to the World Cup do not receive the alerts.

41. *Given the volatility of the relationship and the nature of the Russian state, it is essential that, if the security situation deteriorates, the Government is prepared to act fast and decisively to advise fans against travel to the World Cup or to advise those in country to avoid a location, stay in their hotels, or even leave the country should the situation demand it. Although there is now little time to do so, the FCO should, as a matter of urgency, take additional steps to encourage UK fans to sign up for its travel alerts, so that it can keep as many fans as possible informed of any developments while they are in Russia. It should learn from this experience to ensure more people are subscribed to its travel alerts before future similar events.*

42. It is important that LGBT, BAME and other minority groups have all the necessary information to make an informed decision on whether to attend the World Cup, how to stay safe while there, and what steps to take if they face intimidation or violence. Though the Government recognises the issue, we are concerned that their approach in this area has been overly complacent. While we welcome the FCO's commitment,

following our suggestions, to update the Be on the Ball website with warnings about the risks to LGBT and BAME individuals, not to have taken this step earlier means that the FCO has missed a trick.

43. We recognise that the FCO is limited in what it can reveal publicly about its concerns, and about the levels of consular staffing, before the World Cup has concluded. *Given these restrictions, the FCO should report back to us after the tournament has concluded. This report should cover its consular operations, police co-operation, and any challenges the FCO faced, as well as an assessment of how far Russia's assurances were fulfilled in practice. It should also set out what it has learned from the tournament, to help inform preparations for future events. We ask the FCO to provide us with this information by the end of September.*

3 Future World Cups

44. We welcome FIFA's introduction in 2017 of human rights requirements for countries bidding to host the World Cup. This step followed controversy over the selection of Russia for the 2018 tournament and Qatar for 2022, related to their governments' treatment of LGBT individuals, among other concerns. Under the new rules, bidders must formally commit to respecting international human rights standards. They must submit a report identifying human rights risks associated with the tournament, and the mechanisms that will be put in place to address them, including an independent expert assessment of the country's human rights context.¹²¹ These requirements have been applied to the selection process for the 2026 host. On 13 June, FIFA members are expected to select either Morocco, or a joint bid from the USA, Canada and Mexico. This will be a test case for FIFA's reformed bidding process, as—for example—same-sex relationships constitute a criminal offence in Morocco.¹²²

Future World Cups: Conclusions

45. We regret that the World Cup is hosted by countries with poor human rights records, and which pose a heightened degree of risk to football fans. *The FCO should monitor the selection process for the 2026 World Cup hosts, and report back to us its assessment of how effectively the new conditions have served to ensure that host countries respect human rights—including the rights of LGBT and BAME individuals. That report should also set out what further steps are needed to ensure that FIFA treats human rights considerations adequately; and how the FCO and other departments intend to feed back to FIFA on this point. We ask to receive this report by the end of September.*

121 [Guide to the Bidding Process for the 2026 FIFA World Cup](#), FIFA, 7 November 2017, chapter 5

122 [AP Exclusive: Morocco World Cup Bid Masks Homosexuality Ban](#), Associated Press, 16 April 2018

Conclusions and recommendations

Risks to UK nationals

1. Russia presents particular risks as a World Cup host, due to the history of violence by football hooligans; intolerance and discriminatory state policy towards LGBT individuals; the history of racist abuse in and around football matches; current heightened political tensions; and the threat of terrorist attacks. We remain concerned about the safety of UK fans travelling to Russia, and the apparent lack of specific provisions to protect targeted groups, particularly LGBT football fans. (Paragraph 17)
2. *The Committee calls on the FCO to set out, clearly and publicly, the specific assurances it has received from the Russian authorities on the safety of LGBT fans, including on how the “anti-propaganda” law will be applied to foreign visitors, so that fans can make an informed decision based on the level of risk to which they will be exposed. LGBT fans should have as much information as possible on the extent to which they can expect to be safe if, for example, flying the rainbow flag, engaging in public displays of affection, or using bathrooms that correspond to their gender identity.* (Paragraph 18)

The FCO's preparations

3. We note the evidence of the preparations for the World Cup that the FCO has been making over the last two years, and the testimony that UK-Russian co-operation on this point has been continuing post-Salisbury. We recognise the work of officials and others involved in these preparations, particularly those diplomatic staff who have remained in Russia following the expulsions and their colleagues who had to leave as a result of those expulsions. We believe it was wrong for the Russian government to expel British diplomats, particularly the officials leading on preparations and the safety of fans for the World Cup, and remain concerned that this will have hindered preparations and could put the safety of British fans at risk. (Paragraph 37)
4. We have been told that there will be rigorous security measures and consular support in place in cities where England plays, on match days, particularly within stadiums and official fan zones, and we look forward to seeing this happen. We are, however, concerned about the safety of UK fans outside these times and places, particularly those travelling to matches in which England is not participating. In addition, while reasonably extensive preparations have been made for the first three England matches, we are concerned that preparations for any subsequent matches will be more rushed. (Paragraph 38)
5. *The FCO should do more to make fans aware of the distinction between arrangements that will be in place on match and non-match days, and in England and non-England match cities.* (Paragraph 38)
6. We welcome declarations by the FCO and other witnesses that they have received adequate reassurances on Russia's commitment to keep fans safe. However, in our view these reassurances are undermined by:

- (i) Russia's decision to expel UK officials working on World Cup preparations;
 - (ii) Supportive attitudes on the part of some Russian politicians towards previous hooligan violence;
 - (iii) The advice of Russian civil society groups not to trust the government's reassurances on LGBT issues; and,
 - (iv) The present volatility of UK-Russian relations. (Paragraph 39)
7. The FCO told us that it would advise UK nationals not to attend the World Cup if it could not guarantee their safety. Given the volatile state of UK-Russia relations, and the fact that the FCO's assessment of Russian reactions to Salisbury is ongoing, it is particularly important that the Government can communicate with UK fans during the tournament. In the context of 150,000 UK citizens travelling to Russia annually, the fact that only 8,800 people are subscribed to the FCO's travel advice seems worryingly low, and suggests that many fans intending to go to the World Cup do not receive the alerts. (Paragraph 40)
 8. *Given the volatility of the relationship and the nature of the Russian state, it is essential that, if the security situation deteriorates, the Government is prepared to act fast and decisively to advise fans against travel to the World Cup or to advise those in country to avoid a location, stay in their hotels, or even leave the country should the situation demand it. Although there is now little time to do so, the FCO should, as a matter of urgency, take additional steps to encourage UK fans to sign up for its travel alerts, so that it can keep as many fans as possible informed of any developments while they are in Russia. It should learn from this experience to ensure more people are subscribed to its travel alerts before future similar events.* (Paragraph 41)
 9. It is important that LGBT, BAME and other minority groups have all the necessary information to make an informed decision on whether to attend the World Cup, how to stay safe while there, and what steps to take if they face intimidation or violence. Though the Government recognises the issue, we are concerned that their approach in this area has been overly complacent. While we welcome the FCO's commitment, following our suggestions, to update the Be on the Ball website with warnings about the risks to LGBT and BAME individuals, not to have taken this step earlier means that the FCO has missed a trick. (Paragraph 42)
 10. We recognise that the FCO is limited in what it can reveal publicly about its concerns, and about the levels of consular staffing, before the World Cup has concluded. *Given these restrictions, the FCO should report back to us after the tournament has concluded. This report should cover its consular operations, police co-operation, and any challenges the FCO faced, as well as an assessment of how far Russia's assurances were fulfilled in practice. It should also set out what it has learned from the tournament, to help inform preparations for future events. We ask the FCO to provide us with this information by the end of September.* (Paragraph 43)

Future World Cups

11. We regret that the World Cup is hosted by countries with poor human rights records, and which pose a heightened degree of risk to football fans. *The FCO should monitor the selection process for the 2026 World Cup hosts, and report back to us its assessment of how effectively the new conditions have served to ensure that host countries respect human rights—including the rights of LGBT and BAME individuals. That report should also set out what further steps are needed to ensure that FIFA treats human rights considerations adequately; and how the FCO and other departments intend to feed back to FIFA on this point. We ask to receive this report by the end of September.* (Paragraph 45)

Formal minutes

Tuesday 5 June 2018

Members present:

Tom Tugendhat, in the Chair

Ian Austin Andrew Rosindell

Chris Bryant Mr Bob Seely

Mike Gapes Royston Smith

Stephen Gethins

Draft Report (*The FCO's preparations for the 2018 World Cup*), proposed by the Chair, brought up and read.

Ordered, That the draft Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraphs 1 to 45 read and agreed to.

Summary agreed to.

Resolved, That the Report be the Ninth Report of the Committee to the House.

Ordered, That the Chair make the Report to the House.

Ordered, That embargoed copies of the Report be made available, in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order No. 134.

[Adjourned till Wednesday 13 June at 2.15pm

Witnesses

The following witnesses gave evidence. Transcripts can be viewed on the [inquiry publications page](#) of the Committee's website.

Tuesday 8 May 2018

Question number

Kevin Miles, Chief Executive, Football Supporters' Federation, **Deputy Chief Constable Roberts**, National Lead for Football Policing, and **Robert Sullivan**, Director of Strategy and Communications, Football Association

[Q1-94](#)

Wednesday 9 May 2018

Harriett Baldwin, Minister of State, **Julia Longbottom**, Director for Consular Affairs, and **Martin Harris**, Director for Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

[Q94b-156](#)

Published written evidence

The following written evidence was received and can be viewed on the [inquiry publications page](#) of the Committee's website.

WCR numbers are generated by the evidence processing system and so may not be complete.

- 1 Mr Richard Heller ([WCR0001](#))
- 2 Mr Simon Parkin ([WCR0002](#))
- 3 Dr Andrew Foxall and Dr Richard Arnold ([WCR0003](#))
- 4 The FA Group ([WCR0004](#))
- 5 Stonewall ([WCR0005](#))
- 6 Pride in Football ([WCR0006](#))
- 7 The Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0007](#))
- 8 The Foreign and Commonwealth Office ([WCR0008](#))

List of Reports from the Committee during the current Parliament

All publications from the Committee are available on the [publications page](#) of the Committee's website. The reference number of the Government's response to each Report is printed in brackets after the HC printing number.

Session 2017–19

First Report	Violence in Rakhine State and the UK's response	HC 435
Second Report	The future of UK diplomacy in Europe	HC 514
Third Report	Kurdish aspirations and the interests of the UK	HC 518
Fourth Report	2017 elections to the International Court of Justice	HC 860
Fifth Report	The UK's response to hurricanes in its Overseas Territories	HC 722
Sixth Report	Global Britain	HC 780
Seventh Report	Global Britain and the 2018 Commonwealth Summit	HC 831
Eighth Report	Moscow's Gold: Russian Corruption in the UK	HC 932
First Special Report	The United Kingdom's relations with Russia: Government Response	HC 332
Second Special Report	The UK's relations with Turkey: Government Response	HC 333
Third Special Report	'Political Islam': Government Response	HC 334
Fourth Special Report	Violence in Rakhine State and the UK's response: Government Response	HC 868
Fifth Special Report	The future of UK diplomacy in Europe: Government Response	HC 918
Sixth Special Report	Kurdish aspirations and the interests of the UK: Government Response	HC 983
Seventh Special Report	2019 elections to the International Court of Justice	HC 1012
Eighth Special Report	Article 50 negotiations: Implication of "No Deal": Government Response	HC 1053
Ninth Special Report	The UK's response to hurricanes in its Overseas Territories: Government Response	HC 1052