Notes

Prologue

1. Studies of democracy aid which include Russia explicitly are T. Carothers, and M. Ottaway and T. Carothers (eds). For studies of Russian NGOs and aid, see: A. B. Evans, Jr., L. A. Henry, L. M. Sundstrom (eds); S. Henderson; S. E. Mendelson and J. K. Glenn (eds); V. Sperling; L. M. Sundstrom. Also see M. M. Howard.
2. C. Sutherland.

1 Introduction

2. J. Dunn.
3. J. S. Mill.
4. A. de Tocqueville.
7. P. Freire.
8. L. Stenhouse.
10. T. Carothers, p. 269.
11. A. R. Wight.
15. J. J. Linz and A. Stepan, p. xiv. See also Table 4.3, pp. 62–4, and A. Stepan, p. 298.
23. C. Burnside and D. Dollar.
24. See, for example, H-J Chang, especially Chapter 5; E. S. Reinert, especially Chapters 3–5; D. Rodrik, p. 4.
25. T. Killick; and T. Killick with R. Gunatilaka and A. Marr.
31. Some economists allege that there is a weak indication that economic growth is associated with greater degrees of democracy (see, for example, Easterly, p. 130 and subsequent discussion) but Przeworski (p. 71 and subsequent discussion) argues that the evidence is thin for recipes for resuming economic growth under democratic conditions.
32. T. Carothers, p. 333.
33. L. M. Sundstrom, pp. 82, 101, 177; S. L. Henderson, p. 116, Table 4.10.
35. J. Ferguson.
36. E. Crewe and E. Harrison.
37. J. C. Scott. The prescriptions are drawn from page 345.
40. See, for example, Blackburn and Holland (eds) and Holland and Blackburn (eds).
41. D. Craig and D. Porter, pp. 61–2, 79.
42. H. Heclo and A. Wildavsky.
44. For example, see C. Shore and S. Wright (eds).
45. T. Carothers, pp. 283 and 340.
46. R. Barnett, p. 65.
47. V. Bunce argues particularly vehemently (p. 15) that case selection must not be driven by the ‘sunk case capital’ of the analyst. I admit to using ‘sunk case capital’, but all ethnographic work has to be based on a limited sample whose characteristics are largely unknown before the work starts. If ethnographic methods are valid at all, it is valid to use them to draw generalisations from ‘sunk-cases’ and then relate these to work in a wider context. Relevant examples which make use of a broadly ethnographic approach are T. Lankina (2004), Petro, and Stoner-Weiss (2006).

2 The Russian Context

2. This chapter is drawn entirely from secondary sources. Some of the books which I have found particularly useful are, in chronological order of their topics: R. Pipes (1995), G. Hosking, A. Brown, R. Braithwaite, J. Lloyd, R. Service, R. Sakwa, L. Shevtsova (2005), L. Shevtsova (2007). For a brief introduction to Russia since 1989, see S. Lovell. For compelling visual images of Russia today, see S. Roberts.
4. Moscow, 35 degrees 442 minutes east of Greenwich; Bering Straits, 169 degrees 43 minutes west.
5. W. B. Lincoln, Chapters 1–11.
6. Ukraine was added between 1650 and 1793; Belarus in 1772 and 1793; Kazakhstan from the late eighteenth century onwards; Georgia, Armenia
and Azerbaijan between 1801 and 1829; and Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and Tadzhikistan between 1864 and 1865. B. H. Sumner, p. 10.
7. For example, Cuba, Egypt, Syria and large swathes of Africa such as Mozambique.
10. L. Greenfeld p. 266.
13. For a fictional account of such places, even as late as the 1940s, see Asar Eppel
14. For example, in 1934 there were 62,000 accidents on the railways. S. S. Montefiore, p. 215.
15. S. S. Montefiore, p. 234.
17. G. Hosking, p. 94.
19. For Stalin’s paradoxical and baleful legacy, see G. Hosking, p. 268.
25. A. Brown, p. 130.
27. But the EU was developing an aid programme from the end of 1990 – see Chapter 3.
28. A. Brown, p. 159.
29. A. Brown, p. 158.
31. G. Hosking, Chapter 11.
33. G. Hosking, p. 376.
34. Yeltsin’s was a popular policy. In an opinion poll in September 1990, 48 per cent of Russians thought that Russia should have the right to revoke Soviet decisions affecting Russia; only 22 per cent were opposed. Both Yeltsin and his main opponent for chairman of the Congress, Aleksandr Glasov (Gorbachev’s candidate), called for Russia to regain control of its natural resources and industrial wealth. G. Hosking, p. 383.
35. A. Brown, p. 304.
40. S. Lovell, p. 93.
41. J. Lloyd, p. 251.
42. See D. Satter, p. 48, for the blatant breaches of the law by the major companies during the privatisation process.
43. S. Lovell, p. 99, describes some of the detail of this ‘most outrageous case of insider dealing in history’.

44. N. Woods, p. 119.

45. J. Lloyd, p. 85.


47. N. Woods, pp. 128–32.


49. R. Sakwa, p. 29.

50. V. V. Putin, pp. 214–15.

51. S. Lovell, p. 85.


53. See F. Fossato, p. 6, for a vivid example of Putin’s manipulation of the media in January 2004.

54. P. Hanson, pp. 1, 6–7.


57. The Russian Federal statistical system, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, still collected amazingly detailed production statistics – all available to the public, on request. The concept of ‘commercial-in-confidence’ was still lacking.

58. Two small examples: Tomsk imported wooden chicken coops from Kazakhstan; on a plane to Siberia I bought a packet of mango juice which bore the legend ‘made in Murmansk’ (in the Arctic north).

59. G. Hosking, p. 400.

60. R. Pipes (1995), p. 75: ‘the Russians learned from the Mongols a conception of politics which limited the functions of the state to the collection of tribute (or taxes), maintenance of order, and preservation of security, but was entirely devoid of any sense of responsibility for public well-being.’

61. C. Thubron, p. 3.


63. Hungarian philologists come every summer to study the language of the Khantsi.

64. F. Hill and C. Gaddy (2003) have enumerated the huge economic costs which these entail and have argued that Siberia should be abandoned apart from its mines and wells. But their calculations omit the substantial social capital of the older settlements.


66. As in Omsk, there is a system of local self-help committees. See N. Petro, p. 27.


68. R. Orttung and P. Reddaway, p. 298 et seq.


70. V. Gel’man, p. 943.

71. For example, in Tomsk, there was a law dating from Tsarist times banning the sale of processed fish, in order to protect the river fishermen. Needless to say, it was not enforced – but neither had it been repealed.

72. J. Gibson.

73. M. Kurkchiyan, p. 31.
75. F. Varese.
79. S. Ashwin.
80. C. Humphrey (2002).
81. R. Rose, p. 2.
82. See, for example, T. Shanin.
83. S. Henderson, p. 123.
85. B. Hedberg.
86. Stoner-Weiss (2006) interviewed 824 officials in 72 regions in 1999. More than a quarter of the sample had been trained in public administration under the Soviet system. p. 82.
87. K. Jowitt, cited by S. Lovell, p. 16.
89. J. C. Scott, p. 350.

3 The EU TEMPUS TACIS Programme

4. J. Delors, p. 199.
5. L. Richardson, p. 158.
8. L. Delcour, p. 27.
9. A. Brown, Chapter 8, especially pages 260–74.
11. L. Delcour, p. 43.
14. L. Delcour, p. 54.
15. ‘A new field of research, “transitology”, was one of the few growth industries in Russia in the first half of the 1990s. ... Emphasising transferable social-science techniques over local knowledge, it often proceeded from the unspoken assumption that Russia must ... to avoid disaster, transform itself into a version of America, Britain or Germany. It also presupposed that the USSR was usefully comparable with other regions of the world that were parting company with dictatorship, even if their political structures and social conditions were very different from the Soviet case.’ S. Lovell (p. 6).
17. L. Delcour, p. 42.
18. L. Delcour, p. 54.
22. L. Delcour, p. 94.
23. See L. Delcour, pp. 231–68. But note that TEMPUS TACIS is vulnerable to many of her other criticisms of implementation methods.
26. The full text, set out in Commission of the European Communities (1992): SEC (92) 226, para. five, gives six objectives, of which four explicitly entail mobility:

5.1 to facilitate the coordination of the provision of assistance to the eligible countries in the field of exchange and mobility, particularly for university students and teachers …
5.2 to contribute to the improvement of training in the eligible countries, particularly in subject areas to which they give priority, and to encourage their cooperation … with partners in the Community …
5.3 to increase opportunities for the teaching and learning in the eligible countries of those languages used in the Community and … vice-versa;
5.4 to enable students from the eligible countries to spend a specific period of study at university or to undertake industry placements within the Member States …
5.5 to enable students from the Community to spend a similar type of period of study or placement in an eligible country;
5.6 to promote increase exchanges and mobility of teaching staff and trainers as part of the cooperation process.

33. A. Jongsma, p. 10.
38. In 2004, the CARDS (Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilisation) countries were Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of

39. In 2004, the MEDA countries were Algeria, Egypt, Israel (on a self-funding basis only), Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria and Tunisia (Commission of the European Communities (1994a): COM (2004) 157, p. 4).


42. A Vice-Rector in Poland joked, as late as 1998, that when his university needed advice from the authorities it would ask the ministry a question, wait for the answer and then do precisely the opposite. A. Jongsma, p. 7.


50. Interview with Olga Oleynikova, 14 May 2006.


52. The evaluation studies, up to the end of 2005, were

| TEMPUS I – interim      | 1992 COM (93) 29            |
| TEMPUS I – final        | 1996 COM (96) 428           |
| TEMPUS in the NIS       | FTP International           |
| TEMPUS @ 10             | A. Jongsma                  |
| TEMPUS II – final       | M. van der Sleen (2003a) for Ecorys – NEI |
| TEMPUS II – final       | COM (2004b) 209 final       |
| TEMPUS III – interim    | M. van der Sleen (2003b) for Ecorys – NEI |
| TEMPUS III – interim    | COM (2004a) 157 final       |


55. The Omsk projects described in Chapter 9 are not relevant here; they were UK funded, as was the project in Chapter 7.

56. See Chapter 2 p. [28], referring to N. V. Petrov.


58. Interview with Felix Rohn, Desk officer for Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, 16 May 2006.

59. I used to estimate the time needed as one complete working month, plus all the negotiations with partners and their institutions to clarify details, obtain offers of supplementary funding and obtain letters of support.
Notes

61. Commission of the European Communities COM (93) 29, paras 210 and 226.
62. The Logical Framework Matrix, often abbreviated to ‘logframe’, originated in USAID around 1970. It was adopted by the EC around 1990. It starts from a top-down definition of what a project is supposed to achieve and assumes linear progress within the project, demonstrable by quantitative methods. It is allegedly ‘objective’. The version used in the TEMPUS TACIS programme in 1998 had four vertical categories: the overall objective, the specific objectives, the intended outcomes and the activities intended to produce these outcomes. It had four horizontal categories showing respectively: some indicators of achievement; how these indicators could be assessed; and the assumptions and risks associated with each objective, outcome, or activity. It thus provided a powerful discipline which forced project applicants to think clearly about their project, even before it is approved. It provided an easy way for the funding agency to appraise the coherence of the bids which it receives. But if the funding agency applies it rigorously throughout the project’s life, it is undoubtedly top-down, linear and inflexible. (See B. E. Cracknell, passim but especially pp. 101–21).
63. See Chapter 5 for a case where the Commission’s tardiness caused difficulties.
64. The procedures were not user-friendly. For example:

– There was a choice of methods for dealing with exchange rates. The simple method was to use the average between the beginning and end of the reporting period – but this gave no way of managing expenditure flows during the year itself. Alternatively, the exchange rate appropriate for each individual transaction could be used. This was more complicated, but at least a reliable running tally of expenditure could be kept.
– Visits which lasted a certain number of days had to be expressed in weeks.
– Forms for reporting were based on Word, not Excel, so that rows could not easily be made to read across and sums and ratios had to be laboriously copied.

There was a portion of the Annual Report which asked for suggestions for improving the management of the programme, but nothing had been done to improve the financial forms by the time I made my last report, in 2002.
65. In 1999, it was revealed that Commissioner Edith Cresson had failed to report large sums missing from the Leonardo Programme for which she was responsible, and that she had appointed her dentist to a senior post in her Directorate-General. The subsequent investigation of this scandal led ultimately to the resignation of the whole Commission led by President Santer (there is no other way that any one Commissioner can be made to resign) and to a great tightening of financial reporting and auditing procedures.
66. They were tightened to the point where my then contracting institution received a letter which stated that ‘your expenditure totals are incorrect to the extent of 0.16 euros’. The expenditure total in question was about 100,000 euros, in five different currencies!
67. M. van der Sleen (2003b) Annex B p. 117 (Note that the annexes are not included in the Internet version).
68. Unless the work of a project happened to dovetail nicely with a staff member’s planned research or teaching, it was almost impossible to persuade UK university staff to take part except for people employed by cost-recovery institutions within universities – and they, or their institutions, required full-cost payment. The same applied to our Netherlands partner, the University of Utrecht.

69. The visit usually took place well into the course of the project – after 18 months at least of its three-year life. The monitors were part of the monitoring staff for the whole TACIS programme. Two monitors, one from the FSU country concerned and one from an EU country, spent one day at the project. Their report was only a few pages long. It started with some basic data, not always accurate, given by the TACIS office. It then summarised the monitors’ conclusions in tabular form, using a five-point scale to rank the implementation of activities, the achievement of outcomes, the appropriateness of the workplan for the next six months, the estimated ability of the project to achieve its objectives and its potential sustainability. The midpoint represented achievement according to plan. Anything lower indicated that the project needed remedial action. There followed a section giving recommendations in general, for the ‘EC co-ordinator’, for the partner institution and for ‘the task manager’ in the partner country. The bulk of the report comprised a big section with comments for each summary heading in the table, giving a fuller indication of the monitors’ concerns. Finally, there was a list of those interviewed.

70. The monitors were the only direct contact for most participants with the central management of the programme. They gave the impression that they were aware of this and that they were on our side, people who could intercede for us if necessary. But their intercession was ineffective in the example in Chapter 5, where a bureaucratic Catch-22 was in operation. Even for them, the bureaucracy could not bend.


73. Deloitte and Touche, point 1.6 (p. 7) and point 1.8.2 (p. 9).

74. Chapters 6 and 7 concern a case where this led to complications.

75. Chapter 8 and part of Chapter 10 concern projects of this kind.

76. See the third project in Chapter 10.

4 The UK Know How Fund and SEPS Programmes

1. Ministry of Overseas Development (1965), Cmd 2736, paras 1, 2, 8.
9. L. Richardson, p. 156.
12. Interview with a former KHF official, 21 March 2007.
22. DFID (1997), para 1.5.
23. DFID (1997), panel 15.
33. DFID (2001).
37. The project described in Chapter 7 was slightly too early to be within SEPS-1, but DFID treated it for the most part as though it had been.
38. SEPS-2 funded the first project described in Chapter 9.
39. SEPS-3 funded the second project described in Chapter 9.
40. DFID (2003), p. 3.
42. A. Farmer, H. Bennett, M. Fergusson, p. 42.
43. Explained in Chapter 7.
44. DFID (1998a), p. 3.
46. DFID (1998b), pp. 6 and 11. The comment on p. 6 about the Small Grants Scheme is that ‘it is well used’.
47. Interview with former KHF official on 21 March 2007.
48. DFID (1998b), pp. 6 and 11. The comment made on p. 6 about the Small Grants Scheme is that ‘it is well used’.
49. DOE/FCO May 1995.
51. Although there was no application form, guidance was given. Proposals were to demonstrate: ‘clear aims and realistic objectives; the commitment of and
input from the Russian partner, which will normally include meeting all the local costs; a clear timescale or timetable; a realistic and justified budget; mechanisms for measuring the success of the project; any financial input from the UK partner and any other sources of project finance’. DOE/FCO May 1995 p. 2.

52. At that stage, I believe that the project officer had never visited Russia, although he did so later.

53. I had great difficulty in justifying a proposed study visit by the Russian project team to the UK. In complete contrast to the policy of TEMPUS, the DFID policy was not to encourage study visits at all.

54. The headings were specified. There was a brief narrative about highlights of achievements and progress towards outputs, and a one-page progress report covering activities, including dissemination activities, in the most recent quarter and the activities, including dissemination, planned for the next quarter. Any planned modifications to the project and its implementation were noted.


56. T. Faint, p. 29.

57. M. Betley, M. Kidd, N. Pisareva.

58. Interview with a former KHF official, 21 March 2007.

59. K. King and S. McGrath, p. 103.

60. Interview with Iuliiana Best, DEFRA officer responsible for SEPS-3, 30 April 2007.

61. The themes were

– to address immediate problems of the state of the environment, regional planning and public health
– to facilitate public participation in environmental decision-making
– to establish mechanisms for information gathering, analysis, interpretation and dissemination
– to improve access to environmental information, disseminate information, strengthen public awareness and share experience

62. The headings are set out in DFID/DETR/The British Council.

63. See note 62 to Chapter 3.

64. Statistics from DEFRA, from material supplied by the British Council in Moscow.

65. The Russian desk officer from the British Council in Moscow visited only the second project in Chapter 10, coming to its final conference.

66. Interview in Moscow, 23 November 2005.


68. Interview with Iuliiana Best, DEFRA officer responsible for SEPS-3, 30 April 2007.


70. DEFRA and FCO (undated, but internal evidence indicates 2005).

71. Under such conditions, it is understandable that small projects are regarded as being more trouble than they are worth.

72. These findings accord with three tensions to which King and McGrath point on their pages 108–9: that between the language of knowledge and that of
information; the tendency to treat knowledge and research as inseparable; the tendency to treat them as interchangeable concepts; and two further confluences, of knowledge with research and development, and of knowledge with science and technology.

5 Management Development for TSU Library, 1994–8

3. Maps from Professor Andrei Babenko of TSU.
4. The Old Believers were seventeenth-century dissenters, who protested against church reforms introduced by Patriarch Nikon in 1666–7. Many were exiled to Siberia at the time of Peter the Great for denying the supremacy of the Tsar over the Church.
5. P. G. Hare and M. Lugachov describe some of the difficulties of funding experienced by TSU.
6. Application to TEMPUS TACIS, 1995, Section II.
7. Application to TEMPUS TACIS, 1995, Section III.
10. Later, we realised how lucky we had been. We began to source everything possible directly from shops within Tomsk itself. We brought out small items like portable overhead projectors direct from England ourselves.
13. Application to TEMPUS TACIS, 1995, Section III.
16. Indeed, the publicity brochure for TSU issued in 2006 still refers to the project (on its p. 14) as ‘Computerization of The Scientific Library of Tomsk State University’.

6 TSU Environmental Management Master’s Degree, 1995–9

1. V. Tomusk, p. 57.
4. S. T. Kerr, p. 156.
7. Application for TEMPUS TACIS project P-JEP 2001-95, Section III.2.
8. The Committee is described in greater detail in Chapter 7.
10. On the Monitoring Report, the subject area is given as Environmental Management, although this was not a permissible option at the time the bid was made.
12. See note 66 to Chapter 3.
15. The method was based, with only minor modifications, on that described in S. Rowland (1996) pp. 124–7.
16. See Chapter 7 for the chequered subsequent history of the Ecological Committee.
17. There were unexpected consequences for some of the Western members too. Rieke Leenders, the Dutch anthropologist who had worked on the Research Methods course, changed direction entirely, to become an anthropologist dealing with Russian topics.
18. M. S. Kaz.
20. See Chapter 8.
22. Interview with Tania Shashko, 18 November 2005.
27. Interview with Professor Georgy Maier, 21 November 2005.

7 Tomsk Oblast Ecological Committee, 1998–9

5. S. N. Kirpotin and 8 others, in R. Lal and others (eds).
6. It included Valerie Bayliss, formerly a top manager at the Department of Employment, Mary Dees from the University of Sheffield Environmental Consultancy, and Gillian Hogg from my Centre.
9. Toxic waste from oil wells.
10. Drawn from J. Marquand (1998), paras 5.7.3–5.7.7.
13. OECD: Centre for Co-operation with the Economies in Transition.
15. A. Averchenko, A. Golub, K. Gofman, V. Groshev, p. 65.
18. See, for example, M. Kozeltsev and A. Markandya, and R. Bluffstone and B. A. Larson.
20. At the end of the first Workshop, Valerie Bayliss and I presented a formidable list of opportunities for the project:
   
   – to restructure the Committee to make it more effective in achieving its aims
   – to improve administrative techniques
   – to improve internal communications
   – to make better use of staff and develop their management capabilities
   – to improve financial planning
   – to develop strategic thinking
   – to develop the use of reflection and evaluation
   – to develop analytical capability (including social and economic dimensions)
   – to learn how to implement integrated pollution control
   – to develop the advisory role of Inspectorate and Expertise department
   – to learn how to integrate use of the Ecological Fund with technical appraisal of options and with advisory functions
   – to develop systems for Environmental Audit and Environmental Management Systems
   – to develop services for sale (e.g. training in auditing)

22. Interview with Dr Adam, 23 February 2000.
27. Interview with Valentina Galzova, 17 February 2000.
30. Interview with Dr Adam, 23 February 2000.
31. Interview with Professor Adam, 16 November 2005.
32. Interview with Oleg Nechoroshev, 16 November 2005.
33. Interview with Professor Adam, 16 November 2005.

8 Developing Distance Learning in Siberia, 1999–2001

2. The Law on Education defines two strands in Russian professional education: the ‘basic’ strand and the ‘continuing’ strand, itself divided into
advanced training leading to an increase in qualifications, and professional training.
5. Shaposhnik (ed.), p. 32.
12. Own file: [COMPACT PILOTACT].
17. P. Zakotnova.
19. Interview with Sergey Kirpotin, 4 September 2004.

9 Sustainable Development in Omsk, 2002–3 and 2005

Much of this chapter is based on a paper which Sergey Kostarev (Omsk Ecological Committee and Russian State University of Trade and Economics) and I gave at the Eighth Conference on Sustainable Development at the University of Opole, Poland, in April 2006. See J. Marquand and S. Kostarev.
1. Bid to DEFRA for what became SEPS-83.
4. In Novgorod there is a system of territorial housing fellowships (*tovarischestvo sobstvennikov zhilya* or TSZh) which link into neighbourhood associations (*territorialno obschestvennoe samoupravlenie* or TOS) which themselves are linked to public advisory councils set up by the Novgorod City Duma and the mayor. This looks very much like the system which was set up in Omsk by the end of the project. I do not know of any other examples of similar systems. See Petro, pp. 26–7.
5. SEPS-83 Project (2003a).
7. The 20 factors were geographical location, regional transport capacity, natural resources, scientific potential, ‘science-information environment’, budgetary balance, system of guarantees, market infrastructure, industrial infrastructure, human resource potential, condition of the environment, distance from world standards, potential for foreign links, size of the military-industrial complex, ethno-political stability, costs and tariffs,
productive potential, social infrastructure, availability of energy, industrial structure (SEPS-83 Project (2003a), Annex p. 2).
8. For example, for waste management see SEPS-83 Project (2003b), pp. 4–5.

10 European Studies at TSU, 2000–2, 2003–6 and 2007–8

1. TEMPUS TACIS Application for a JEP (in European Studies at TSU), March 1999, p. 9.
2. L. Deriglazova (ed.).
4. TEMPUS TACIS JEP 10810-99, Final Report p. 50. All the quotations from here to the end of the section are taken from TEMPUS TACIS JEP 10810-99, Final Report, pp. 44–8, passim.
7. L. Deriglazova, A. Skuhra, S. Fritsch (eds).
8. Interview with Larisa Deriglazova, 18 November 2005.

11 Lessons from the Projects

2. J. Dunn, p. 179.
3. TSU granted an honorary professorship (doctorate) to the regional governor, Victor Kress, on the same day in 1998 that they were supposed to grant one to me. At the last minute, they postponed mine for a few days, because they did not want to detract from Kress’s glory!
4. One outcome from the first project was that priority should be given to helping small and medium businesses to develop. The first need identified was to remove the burden of unnecessary regulations. The project team were confident that regulations which were municipal or regional could be examined dispassionately and removed where suitable. It had no such confidence about Federal regulations.
5. Gel’man (1997).
6. For studies of reforms in particular regions, and corruption, see Note 66 to Chapter 2. For the effects of federal reforms, see Reddaway and Orttung (both volumes) and Stoner-Weiss (2006).
7. J. C. Scott.
9. B. Hedberg.
12 Lessons for Donors

1. T. Carothers, especially Chapter 5.
2. In S. E. Mendelson and J. K. Glenn (eds), the total of EU democracy aid to Russia from 1990–9 is given as $272 million, 19 per cent of total EU aid to Russia in this period and more than twice as much as total US democracy aid to Russia (‘Introduction’, Table 1.1, p. 5). (It is not clear whether these figures relate to aid allocations or actual expenditures. The former are more easily identified.) But the EU democracy aid for the PHARE programme explicitly includes ‘Education, Training and Research’ (footnote 2 to Table 1.1), which was about three-quarters of PHARE democracy assistance. This was in large part aid from the TEMPUS PHARE programme. Assuming that the TACIS expenditure has been treated similarly, note that TEMPUS aid allocated to Russia totalled 69 million euros in 1992–9 (Source: COM (2001) 365, Tempus Annual Report 1999, pp. 24, 25, 47) – about one-quarter of the expenditure which Mendelson and Glenn classify as EU ‘democracy assistance’ to Russia.

3. Whereas metis is local and contextualised, techne is universal. ‘It is organised analytically into small, explicit, logical steps and is both decomposable and verifiable … Techne is characterized by impersonal, often quantitative precision and a concern with explanation and verification, whereas metis is concerned with personal skill, or “touch”, and practical results.’ (Scott, p. 320) (My italics).
4. In the sense described by King and McGrath.
6. TEMPUS IV guidelines.
9. See footnote 65 to Chapter 3.
10. R. C. Riddell, pp. 202–11. Also Carothers p. 269, citing Albert R. Wight ‘Participation, Ownership and Sustainable Development’ in Grindle (ed.) pp. 369–412: ‘One needs only to visit programs in the field to see that staff and consultants are more likely to have been selected for their technical specialty … than for managerial, institutional development, or process and people skills.’
12. Vicente Yu (Program Coordinator of the Global Governance for Development Programme, South Centre) (www.southcentre.org). ‘Governance Adaptation in the WTO: Developing Countries and Their Coalitions’, talk given in
Oxford on 2 November 2007. Southern countries believe that aid has failed. In any case, there are new social and environmental challenges. The South is looking for more self-reliant ways of organising itself; a large number of arrangements uniting various selections of Southern countries have been put in place.

13. The official organisations present included the African Development Bank, the Commonwealth Secretariat, DFID, IMF, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, the Ministry of Commerce (China), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (France), the Ministry of Industry (Indonesia), the National Treasury (South Africa), NORAD, OECD, UNDP, UNICEF, UNRISD, the World Bank.


17. Hirschman (1967) writes of ‘the principle of the hiding hand’, the importance of ‘trait-taking’ as well as ‘trait-making’, and the importance of side effects.

18. L. Stenhouse.

19. R. Barnett.


22. See, for example, M. Leonard.

23. See, for example, P. Collier, Chapter 2. It is arguable that Russia in the 1990s was recovering from a 70-year conflict of Russians against Russians – as an acquaintance in Moscow put it to me in 1990.

Epilogue

1. V. V. Putin, pp. 214–5.


4. F. Fossato. Tomsk’s local television station stands out as the shining exception, the most independent station which remains.

5. A whole succession of potential presidential candidates – former premier Mikhail Kasyanov, Garry Kasparov, and, a little earlier, Vladimir Bukovsky and Arkhangel mayor Aleksandr Donskoi were all barred from holding the required meetings to be nominated. http://www.theotherrussia.org, various dates in 2007 and early 2008.

6. Protest meetings of any political kind are being broken up, from the peaceful demonstration led by Kasparov in spring 2007 to the Gay Rights march in May that year, to the Moscow and St Petersburg peaceful opposition demonstrations on 24 November 2007, when more than 300 demonstrators, including Boris Nemtsov, were detained in St Petersburg and Garry Kasparov was imprisoned for five days in Moscow for trying to deliver a letter to federal election officials contending that the parliamentary elections on 2 December were biased. http://www.theotherrussia.org, various dates.


12. International Herald Tribune, 27 November 2007, p. 13. Rostekhnologia is to be headed by Sergei Chemzov, a close ally of Putin and a member of his inner circle.
14. Note that from 2008, these are the only remaining programmes of EU aid to Russia.
17. The Public Opinion Foundation’s Internet survey found that there were 28.7 million users in Russia in spring 2007 – 25 per cent of the population aged 18 and over. http://bd.english.fom.ru, accessed 4 January 2008. Shevtsova (2007) points out that the rate at which young people take part in blog sites is growing exponentially: already in 2006 1.2 million Russians subscribed to Livejournal (originally a US site but sold to SUP in December 2007). SUP, a Russian company, expects 4.1 million subscribers in 2008 (p. 321).


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