St Antony’s Series
General Editor: Jan Zielonka (2004–), Fellow of St Antony’s College, Oxford; Coeditor: Othon Anastasakis (2008–)

Recent titles include:
Judith Marquand
DEVELOPMENT AID IN RUSSIA
Lessons from Siberia
Li-Chen Sim
THE RISE AND FALL OF PRIVATIZATION IN THE RUSSIAN OIL INDUSTRY
Stefania Bernini
FAMILY LIFE AND INDIVIDUAL WELFARE IN POSTWAR EUROPE
Britain and Italy Compared
Tomila V. Lankina, Anneke Hudalla and Helmut Wollman
LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
Comparing Performance in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Russia
Cathy Gormley-Heenan
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS
Role, Capacity and Effect
Lori Plotkin Boghardt
KUWAIT AMID WAR, PEACE AND REVOLUTION
Paul Chaisty
LEGISLATIVE POLITICS AND ECONOMIC POWER IN RUSSIA
Valpy FitzGerald, Frances Stewart and Rajesh Venugopal (editors)
GLOBALIZATION, VIOLENT CONFLICT AND SELF-DETERMINATION
Miwao Matsumoto
TECHNOLOGY GATEKEEPERS FOR WAR AND PEACE
The British Ship Revolution and Japanese Industrialization
Håkan Thörn
ANTI-APARTHEID AND THE EMERGENCE OF A GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY
Lotte Hughes
MOVING THE MAASAI
A Colonial Misadventure
Fiona Macaulay
GENDER POLITICS IN BRAZIL AND CHILE
The Role of Parties in National and Local Policymaking
Stephen Whitefield (editor)
POLITICAL CULTURE AND POST-COMMUNISM
José Esteban Castro
WATER, POWER AND CITIZENSHP
Social Struggle in the Basin of Mexico
Valpy FitzGerald and Rosemary Thorp (editors)
ECONOMIC DOCTRINES IN LATIN AMERICA
Origins, Embedding and Evolution
Victoria D. Alexander and Marilyn Rueschemeyer
ART AND THE STATE
The Visual Arts in Comparative Perspective
Ailish Johnson
EUROPEAN WELFARE STATES AND SUPRANATIONAL GOVERNANCE OF SOCIAL POLICY

Archie Brown (editor)
THE DEMISE OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN RUSSIA

Thomas Boghardt
SPIES OF THE KAISER
German Covert Operations in Great Britain during the First World War Era

Ulf Schmidt
JUSTICE AT NUREMBERG
Leo Alexander and the Nazi Doctors’ Trial

Steve Tsang (editor)
PEACE AND SECURITY ACROSS THE TAIWAN STRAIT

C. W. Braddick
JAPAN AND THE SINO-SOVIET ALLIANCE, 1950–1964
In the Shadow of the Monolith

Isao Miyaoka
LEGITIMACY IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY
Japan’s Reaction to Global Wildlife Preservation

Neil J. Melvin
SOVIET POWER AND THE COUNTRYSIDE
Policy Innovation and Institutional Decay

Julie M. Newton
RUSSIA, FRANCE AND THE IDEA OF EUROPE

Juhana Aunesluoma
BRITAIN, SWEDEN AND THE COLD WAR, 1945–54
Understanding Neutrality

Helen Belopolsky
RUSSIA AND THE CHALLENGERS
Russian Alignment with China, Iran and Iraq in the Unipolar Era

---

St Antony’s Series
(outside North America only)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBNs quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England
Development Aid in Russia
Lessons from Siberia

Judith Marquand

With a foreword by Lord Patten of Barnes CH, Chancellor of the University of Oxford and former European Commissioner

In association with Palgrave Macmillan
To my friends and colleagues in Tomsk and Omsk
This page intentionally left blank
# Contents

*List of Tables*  
viii  
*Foreword*  
ix  
*Acknowledgements*  
x  
*Map of Russia*  
xii  
Prologue  
1  
1 Introduction  
7  
**Part I  Background**  
2 The Russian Context  
25  
3 The EU TEMPUS TACIS Programme  
46  
4 The UK Know How Fund and SEPS Programmes  
69  
**Part II  The Projects**  
Introduction to Part II  
89  
5 Management Development for TSU Library, 1994–8  
95  
6 TSU Environmental Management Master’s Degree, 1995–9  
116  
7 Tomsk Oblast Ecological Committee, 1998–9  
137  
8 Developing Distance Learning in Siberia, 1999–2001  
160  
9 Sustainable Development in Omsk, 2002–3 and 2005  
179  
10 European Studies at TSU, 2000–2, 2003–6 and 2007–8  
191  
**Part III  Lessons**  
11 Lessons from the Projects  
211  
12 Lessons for Donors  
227  
Epilogue  
235  
*Notes*  
241  
*Bibliography*  
260  
*Index*  
271
Tables

11.1  Impact of the projects on the individuals directly involved 217
11.2  Impact of the projects on the institutions directly involved 218
11.3  State of the external environment and wider impact of the projects 220
Foreword

Managing development aid to Russia as part of my responsibilities for European aid for the whole world was one of the most difficult of my jobs when I was a European Commissioner. Very unfairly, the Commission combined a reputation for being slow and bureaucratic, on the one hand, and insufficiently rigorous about proper control over its aid, on the other. Naturally, the louder the criticism of the effectiveness of our prudential controls, the more people called for them to be tightened – and therefore slowed down. So speeding up delivery of quality aid became ever more challenging.

Over five years, I think that we managed to enhance significantly our performance in delivering aid. But the task was never easy. In some respects the most difficult programmes to run were those that were not customarily aid beneficiaries. The Russian Federation was high on the list. It is particularly valuable to have a serious and thoughtful study of how part of this programme was managed and how it was combined with the efforts of the Member States of the EU. While there will presumably never again be a partner for the EU quite like Russia, this interesting book provides many useful lessons for future managers of aid programmes.

I wish I had been able to read Judith Marquand’s book before taking on responsibility for the programme which she describes so well!

Lord Patten of Barnes CH
Oxford, May 2008
In one sense, the work for this book started in 1991, with my intriguing first visit to Siberia. The serious drafting started in late 2005, at the end of the projects for which I was directly responsible. For my learning during the long period in between, I am enormously indebted to all those with whom I worked – to colleagues in Tomsk, Omsk and other parts of Siberia, and to my Western partners, drawn mainly from the universities of Brussels (ULB), Oxford, Sheffield and Utrecht.

For the book rather than the projects, my thanks go to all who have read it in whole or in part – to an anonymous reader; to Louis Williams, who cut an unnecessary 10,000 words from a near-final draft; to Tomila Lankina, who commented helpfully on the major part of that draft – and to all who have provided comments on particular chapters or helped me with missing information: Alexander Adam, Iulianna Best, Jo Boyce, Ralph Cobham, Larisa Deriglazova, Galina Erokhina, Simon Francis, Barbara Harriss-White, Sergey Kostarev, Olga Oleinikova, Alexander Revushkin, Stephen Rowland, Martin Westlake, Polina Zakotnova and Vassilii Zinoviev. I also thank the many people in Tomsk, Omsk, Moscow, Brussels and London who generously gave me interviews.

I am grateful to many seminar organisers. In Oxford I presented no fewer than three different chapters at David Johnson’s Comparative Education seminars, and gave one paper at Elizabeth Fisher's seminar on Environmental Law, Cinnamon Carlane’s seminar at the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies and a research seminar arranged by Barbara Harriss-White in the Department of Development Studies. There were presentations at two successive conferences on sustainable development organised by Joost Platje at the University of Opole, one presentation arranged by Larisa Deriglazova and Anselm Skuhra at the University of Salzburg, one at Tomsk State University arranged by Sergey Yun and one at Southern Federal University at Rostov-on-Don arranged by Oksana Chigisheva. All of these helped me to put my ideas into presentable form.

Special thanks go to Lilia Ovchinnikova and German Zav’yalov for arranging for me to visit German’s studio in Tomsk to select the cover picture; to Dick and Irene Leonard for providing a home away from home in Brussels; to the librarians at the Social Science Library and the
Law Library at the University of Oxford, particularly Margaret Watson for her help in finding elusive European Commission documents; and to Olivia Middleton and Palgrave team at Macmillan for seeing the manuscript through to publication. My biggest thanks of all go to my husband, David, for his patient support in helping the whole book to take shape and for his unfailingly acute comments on endless drafts, chapter by chapter.

I am grateful to the following for permission to quote from copyright material: Atlantic Books Ltd for an extract from John Dunn, Setting the People Free: The Story of Democracy, p. 179; Yale University Press for extracts from Alexander Yakovlev, The Fate of Marxism in Russia, pp. 208, 218–19, 222–3 and New York Review of Books for an extract from Charles Taylor’s article, p. 8, issue of April 26, copyright 2007 NYREV, Inc.

The publishers wish to state that they have made every effort to contact the copyright holders, but if any have been overlooked, the publishers will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the first opportunity.
Map of Russia.
Source: University of Texas Libraries.