

Power Dynamics in Russian-Tatarstani Relations:
A Case Study

by

Jennifer-Anne Davison
B.A., University of Victoria, 2001
M.A., University of Victoria, 2003

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ABSTRACT

In the context of nationalism and sovereignty studies emerging since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, this thesis provides an economic, rather than political, perspective of Tatarstan's success in negotiating sovereignty claims with Russia, arguing that what lay behind Tatarstan's demands for extensive political and economic rights was not mass nationalist mobilization, but the desire for control over natural resources by the Tatarstani elite dominated by former Soviet functionaries of indigenous nationality. In addition, this paper examines the importance of continuity among the local political elites, contrasting Tatarstan's approach with that of Chechnya's uncompromising separatist drive and the resulting years of civil conflict. Finally, the most recent page in the history of Russian-Tatarstani relations, the gradual reduction of the republic's autonomy in connection with President Putin's centralizing reforms, confirms my principal argument that control over resources is more important to the Tatarstani elites than political power as such.

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Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the relations between the Russian Federation and one of its autonomous republics, Tatarstan, from the last years of the Soviet Union to the present. I examine the often-tense, but ultimately successful, negotiations between the federal center and the oil-rich autonomy in order to understand the mechanisms of preserving ethnic peace in Russia - the power-sharing devices that the Russian government has developed during its complex negotiation with Muslim Tatarstan that prevented this region from becoming a second Chechnya.

Tatarstan derives its name from its titular minority, the ethnic Tatars, who are descendants of the Volga Bulgars, a people conquered by the Mongols and included in the Golden Horde in 1236.¹ Rus principalities were the next victim of this invasion, which later came to be known in Russian history as the Tatar Conquest because Bulgars conquered by the Mongols were drafted into the Mongol army as Tatars, the “conquered people.” With the disintegration of the Golden Horde, the region came to be known as the Kazan Khanate, a medieval state which occupied the territory of Volga Bulgaria between 1438 and 1552. The Khanate, with its capital in the city of Kazan, covered the contemporary Russian autonomous regions of Tatarstan, Mari El, Chuvashia, Mordovia, and parts of Udmurtia and Bashkortostan. Today, the Republic of Tatarstan is located at the confluence of the Volga and the Kama rivers, 800 kilometres east of Moscow, extending east to the Ural Mountains. With a population of over four million inhabitants, its territory covers an area the size of Ireland or Portugal.

Figure 1: Location of the Republic of Tatarstan



Source: Wikipedia

In 1552, Tsar Ivan IV conquered the Kazan Khanate and annexed it to the Russian State absorbing the Tatar people and linking their destiny to that of the “Great Russian People.” Purges of the Tatar political, cultural, and literary elite and the systematic destruction of Tatar educational and religious institutions continued under the Russian and Soviet regimes, undermining the prestige, influence, and stability of the Tatar nation. Tatar history was re-interpreted to convey the idea that assimilation by Russia had been a beneficial experience.

Under Gorbachev, the Republic of Tatarstan spearheaded the “parade of sovereignties” among Russia’s autonomous republics, declaring its sovereignty on August 30, 1990, omitting any reference to Tatarstan’s existence within the Russian Republic. However, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Soviet-educated Tatar elites reached a deal with the Russian authorities, gaining impressive economic and political concessions.

Numerous protocols, agreements and treaties reflect the process of bilateral negotiations and consultations between the delegations of the Russian Federation and the

Republic of Tatarstan over the period 1991-1995. The bargaining began officially on August 12, 1991, less than a year after declaring sovereignty. The two most important documents of relevance to this thesis are the 1992 Agreement on Economic Cooperation between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tatarstan and the 1994 Treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan “On Delimitation of Jurisdictional Subjects and Mutual Delegation of Authority between the State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan” (the “Power Sharing Treaty”). It is these two documents that formed the basis for Tatarstan’s model of sovereignty and the framework for future negotiations.

In the context of nationalism and sovereignty studies emerging since the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Lapidus, 1992; Suny, 1993; Tishkov, 1997; Martin, 2001; Kempton and Clark, 2002 and Walker, 2003 to name a few), the novel contribution of this thesis will be three-fold. Firstly, by providing an economic, rather than political, perspective of Tatarstan’s success in negotiating sovereignty claims with Russia, this work will argue that what lay behind Tatarstan’s demands for extensive political and economic rights was not mass nationalist mobilization, but the desire for control over natural resources by the Tatarstani elite dominated by former Soviet functionaries of indigenous nationality. Thus, the rhetoric about Tatarstan’s historical grievances should be seen in the context of the Soviet planned economy and the local elite’s desire for more control over the republic’s oil and gas industry. In making this point, I am relying on the new Russian scholarship on “economic nationalism” and the relations between the federal center and the regions (Koroteeva, 2000).

This paper's second novel contribution will be to examine the importance of continuity among the local political elites, contrasting Tatarstan's approach, which has resulted in successful settlement with the federal authorities, with that of Chechnya's uncompromising separatist drive, led by "young nationalists", and the resulting years of civil conflict. Using primary sources in Russian, I trace the political evolution of Mintimer Shaimiev from a Soviet functionary of Tatar nationality to the president of Tatarstan, who protects the interests of his republic, yet is always ready to negotiate with the center and join the political party, which happens to be in power at a federal level.

The third novel contribution of this thesis will be to analyze the most recent page in the history of Russian-Tatarstani relations, the gradual reduction of the republic's autonomy in connection with President Putin's centralizing reforms. Based on recent news reports in English and Russian, this part of my work will analyze the developments, which have not yet been discussed by scholars. The logic of these events confirms my principal argument about control over resources being more important to the Tatarstani elites than political power as such. Recent developments, which see Shaimiev emerge as one of the leaders in Putin's new party of power, "United Russia," also fit nicely with my argument about the continuity of political elites in the non-Russian periphery as the Russian center's preferred recipe for stability and ethnic peace.

In this thesis, I will also attempt to reconstruct the historical factors underlying Tatarstan's desire for sovereignty, in particular the historical relationship with Russia and Russia's control over the political, economic and cultural development of the Tatarstani people. Although my main focus is on the control of natural resources and elite continuity, only in a historical perspective can we begin to understand the way in which

Tatarstan's grievances are expressed. Looking beyond this rhetoric, however, I will argue that the Tatarstan elite made the logical decision to fight for control over its economic development by playing the separatist card against the central government.

The first chapter will outline the history of the region we now know as Tatarstan under the Tsarist, Soviet and Russian regimes and explain why Tatarstan's historical experience is so crucial to understanding its modern discourse on sovereignty. In examining Tatarstan's drive for sovereignty, the second and third chapters will argue that outcomes of the federal bargaining game depended on the resources the players possess. The second chapter will examine how the Republic of Tatarstan, a region with significant natural resources, defied the centre to gain political and economic autonomy. The focus will be on the republic's oil and natural gas wealth in the context of sharp economic declines following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Chapter three will demonstrate the importance of the Power Sharing Treaty, which gave Tatarstan almost complete sovereignty over its cultural, economic, and political affairs and full ownership of all its natural and other resources, including oil. Finally, the fourth chapter will tie all of these threads together to highlight the importance of continuity among the local political elites by comparing the stability of Tatarstan to the highly unstable republic of Chechnya. Tatarstan has positioned itself as a model for the other regions and, by its actions, is defining what it means to be a successful region within a federal state.

The source base of this thesis comprises new Western and Russian studies of Tatarstan and economic relations between the center and the regions in the Russian Federation. It also includes both apologetic and critical books in Russian about President Shaimiev and numerous news reports in English and Russian about more recent political

and economic developments in Tatarstan. Russian and Tatarstani websites and newspapers were reviewed including *Kommersant*, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and the TASS news agency. As far as the western perspective on developments in Tatarstan and Russian regions is concerned, research into sovereignty projects since the dissolution of the Soviet Union has taken on a new dimension. A number of sources were reviewed including academic research and political journals and books and international news agencies.

The republic is often mentioned in reference to nationalism and sovereignty projects by a number of authors, journalists and Russian analysts. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty provides journalistic coverage of all regions throughout Russia, a feat not often accomplished by other western news sources which focus mainly on political activity in Moscow and the conflict in Chechnya. In addition, Western research institutes such as the EastWest Institute, Brookings Institution, the Jamestown Foundation and the Caspian Studies Program all provide a wealth of analysis and review of events in Russia and Tatarstan by both Western and Russian analysts.

The academic literature specifically focusing on Tatarstan is rather significant thanks to the works of such Western academics as Katherine Graney (Skidmore College), Gail Lapidus (UC Berkeley) and Edward Walker (UC Berkeley). These scholars concentrate on events occurring within Tatarstan itself, while Ronald Suny (Michigan) and Terry Martin (Harvard) contribute extensively to the growing body of work on nationalism and nation-building in Russia and the Soviet Union in general. In addition, the book by the Russian ethnographer and former minister for the nationalities, Valery Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict In and After the Soviet Union*, which is now available in the English translation, adds significantly to the growing body of knowledge

of ethnic nationalism and conflict in the post-Soviet arena. Tatarstan's President Mintimer Shaimiev himself has stated that "were it not for Tishkov and Mikhailov, (Vyacheslav Mikhailov, Russian Minister for Education and Ethnic Affairs under Boris Yeltsin) there would be no concept at all of a nationalities policy, or it would not be accepted by anybody."²

In recent years, Russian and Tatarstani scholars have produced some innovative work in Russian on the role of "economic nationalism" within the Russian Federation (V.V. Koroteeva, 2000) and on the "national ideology" in the Republic of Tatarstan (I.I. Mirsiianov, 2004). With some assistance from my supervisor, I was able to incorporate in my thesis the main points of their research. Most helpful for my research on President Shaimiev was the extensive collection of his published interviews covering the period from the 1960s until 1994 (R.A. Mustafin and A. Kh. Khasanov, 1995) and a book of critical essays about his policies penned by an oppositional journalist in Kazan, (L. Ovrutsky 2000). These sources helped greatly in developing my arguments about elite continuity and economic interests.

Chapter 1

History and Identity

By the time Mikhail Gorbachev came on the scene in 1985, it was generally assumed that the nationality problem had been solved in the Soviet Union. The state was structured as a federation of fifteen republics, with the largest of them, Russia, also host to dozens of autonomous republics, regions, and provinces. Soviet authorities funded the study of national languages and supported national cultures, even if they encouraged assimilation to Russian culture in the long run. The Soviet leadership was then taken by surprise by the extent of nationalist mobilization and ethnic strife in the late 1980s. Sovereignty became an umbrella concept for a broad coalition of political groups, all with very different agendas: For some, the term meant greater autonomy in the fields of culture and language; for others, sovereignty meant full independence. In other words, sovereignty did not necessarily mean secession; often it encompassed the desire for control over local affairs while still receiving benefits from Union membership.

The Soviet political system sought to create a homogeneous supra-ethnic community in which ethnicity will be secondary to a shared Soviet identity. The Soviet propaganda apparatus used Josef Stalin's definition of a nation to demonstrate that a new Soviet community had arisen on the basis of a common territory, language, economic life, culture and national psychology.³ It insisted that the many peoples of the Soviet Union together represent one supra-national community, identified as the Soviet people.

Although restrictions were placed on the use of the Tatar language, press and education, nationality and ethnicity survived the Soviet period as the foundation of Tatarstan's political identity. Hence, a natural starting point of my analysis would be the

historical roots and ethnic identity of the Tatar people. Establishing that Tatars are the rightful owners of their territory has been one aspect of Tatarstan's quest for sovereignty in addition to the argument that Tatars are the true "indigenous" population.⁴

The ethnogenesis of the modern Tatars is complicated by the fact that they have the two ancestral peoples, the Volga Bulgars and the Mongol Turks, who conquered and assimilated them in the thirteenth century.⁵ The Mongol option is more attractive for modern-day state-builders because it offers the connection to such famous and powerful states as the Golden Horde and the Kazan Khanate. In the early part of the Soviet period, Tatar historians argued that linguistically and historically, modern-day Volga Tatars were descendants of the Mongol invaders of the Golden Horde. Later, Soviet Tatar historians, interested in creating some parallels with Russian history, claimed descent from the Bulgars who, like the Russians, were victims of the Mongol conquest. The Tatarstani leadership of today legitimizes its claims to statehood as a modern-day restoration of both of the ancient Volga Tatar states - the Bulgar State and the Kazan Khanate.⁶ As President Shaimiev announced at the First World Congress of Tatars in 1992,

The history of the Tatar nation is very difficult and tragic. The Tatars lost their Bulgar State, but found a respectable place for themselves within the Golden Horde. After its collapse they created the khanates of Kazan, Siberia, Astrakhan, and Crimea. The restoration of statehood was an idea constantly present in Tatar history.⁷

However, the Bulgar tradition, of which little remains in any case, is being increasingly relegated to the background in current political discourse. Official Tatarstani historians devote increasingly less space to the defeated and forgotten Bulgars and more to the glorious Mongol empire-builders, who had been for two centuries the overlords of

the Rus principalities. Writing in 1997 in the Russian magazine *Rodina* (Motherland), President Shaimiev stressed that the so-called Tatar Yoke in fact also had positive consequences for Russia's historical development—religious toleration, the creation of a functioning administrative apparatus, and even the emergence of Moscow as the political centre of the Russian lands.⁸

In the eighth and ninth centuries, tribes of the ancient Bulgars, ancestors of the modern Tatars, began to populate the Volga region. With the death of Attila the Hun⁹ in the fifth century, the Great Hun Empire disintegrated into Turkic tribal groups, one of which by the ninth century developed into a Bulgar state. Islam was brought to the region at about the same time from Baghdad and the congress of Bulgarian tribes adopted it as the state religion.¹⁰ The ancient Turkic written language was substituted by Arabic. In 1236, the Volga Bulgars were conquered by the Golden Horde which ruled over the area for 250 years. Bulgars conquered by the Mongols were drafted into the Mongol army as “Tatars”, or the conquered people, and this invasion later came to be known in Russian history as the “Tatar Conquest.” By the sixteenth century, Muscovy had freed itself from the Mongols and was expanding eastward, subjugating in the process the Muslim kingdoms that had once been part of the Golden Horde. In 1552, Tsar Ivan IV conquered the Kazan Khanate and annexed it to the Russian State. Soviet historical accounts deemed the destruction of the Khanate of Kazan in 1552 as the most important event in Tatar history prior to the October Revolution. From that moment on, the Tatar people were absorbed by the Russian state and their destiny tied to that of the “Great Russian People.” Over time, Soviet historical accounts evolved from presenting the conquest as the “lesser evil” to interpreting it as the Tatar people having chosen “the only correct path.”¹¹

In reality, however, the Volga Tatars were victims of a classic imperial conquest. Motivated largely by militant Orthodoxy, Ivan IV put much of Kazan's male population to death, destroyed all the mosques and devastated the traditional Tatar social system. It took him five attempts to conquer the city before he finally celebrated his victory by laying the cornerstone of the Orthodox Cathedral of the Visitation in Kazan. The Russian government ordered that those Tatars who refused to acknowledge the religious authority of the Russian Orthodox Church be imprisoned and a person convicted of converting a Christian to Islam sentenced to 8-10 years of hard labour.

Over the next two hundred years, Russian authorities attempted several times to make Christianity a dominant religious force in the region. In 1740, the Russian Senate legislated forced baptism of Muslims in the Volga region and to this, the Muslims responded with decisive resistance: an uprising in 1755 and the support of a Russian peasant war in 1773-75. For the Volga Tatars, Islam became the ideology for an anti-colonial national liberation struggle. Their increasing resistance forced the government of Catherine II to introduce reforms and concede the failure of a state enforced conversion policy.

At the 1766 Legislative Commission, delegates from the Volga and Ural regions presented the main grievances of the Tatar people to Catherine II. These complaints concerned the difficult religious and economic situation of the Tatars who had been subject to persecution since the time of Ivan IV. The Tatar delegates presented their petitions directly to the Empress, asking for recognition of their faith and removal of limitations on their trade activity. In the spirit of the Enlightenment, Catherine consented and legislative measures soon followed that changed the legal status of Tatar economic

and religious life. In the age of nationalism, from the end of the eighteenth century until the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, Islam emerged as a banner of Tatar national revival and progress.¹²

These historical and social points of development make up the context for our discussion of class and nationality identification in the former Soviet Union. During the Russian Revolution period of 1917, Tatar nationalism was one of the most significant nationalist movements to emerge among Muslims of the Tsarist Empire and later, the early Soviet government pursued a particularly anti-Tatar policy as a result of the threat on Soviet control over the middle Volga.

Mirsaid Sultan Galiev, a Tatar teacher who became involved in the anti-tsarist socialist opposition after 1905, argued that as classless peoples, Muslims should forgo the class struggle. He called for the establishment of an independent state uniting all the Muslim peoples of the tsarist empire that would be called “the Republic of Turan.” Stalin refused to accept this proposal and Sultan Galiev was arrested twice in the 1920s before finally being executed in 1939. Following Sultan Galiev 's first arrest in 1923, Stalin launched a crackdown on “Sultan Galievism” that led eventually to the annihilation of the bulk of the traditional Tatar political and cultural elite.¹³

Tatarstan’s Muslim Council was overthrown by the Bolsheviks¹⁴ and those who did not flee were either deported or killed. A group of Bashkir leaders who had disagreed with a decision taken by the Muslim Council to form a Muslim republic in Russia proclaimed that the Bashkirs were entitled to an autonomous region of their own separate from their Turkic cousins, the Tatars. Powerful Tatar politicians who did not consider Bashkirs as a separate group proposed a wider form of territorial autonomy for the

indigenous peoples of the Volga-Ural region. On November 19, 1917 Tatarstan, together with Bashkortostan and part of the Orenburg oblast, formed the Idil-Ural State encompassing what is now Tatarstan and Bashkortostan. In response, Lenin and Stalin nullified the new state and formed the Bashkir Autonomous Republic on March 23, 1919, and subsequently on May 27, 1920 the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), redrawing the regional borders.

Behind the Bolshevik decision was a nationality philosophy that categorized all ethnic groups within a complex hierarchy of ethnonational unit-making. This Bolshevik solution was “characteristically radical”, creating a “grandiose pyramid” of national units—from republics down to village soviets—consisting of thousands of national territories of varying size¹⁵. Groups that were larger than 100,000 members and more modernized were labelled *natsionalnost*, while smaller ones were designated *narodnost*. The former had the right to statehood in the form of a union or an autonomous republic and was entitled to a state constitution and symbols, while the latter was entitled only to national-administrative status such as oblast (province) or krai (territory).¹⁶

Autonomous republics were not considered sovereign states under Soviet law and were not granted the theoretical right to secession as was granted to Union republics. Furthermore, when Tatarstan became an autonomous republic in 1920, its boundaries were drawn so that they did not encompass a large number of Tatars. Representatives of Tatarstan had requested that, in view of the size of its population¹⁷ and distinctiveness of Tatar culture, its status be raised to that of a full union republic. The petition was denied with the official explanation being that the republic lacked an external border.

In 1927, the government re-calculated census totals to include only major nationalities and initiated the consolidation of smaller peoples into larger units. By 1939, hundreds of ethnic groups were consolidated into 57 major nationalities. On the basis of language, groups such as the Mishars, Kriashens, Teptiars, Nagaibaks and Crimean Tatars were all considered members of a single Tatar *natsionalnost*. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union never united all these Tatar-speaking groups into a single administrative unit. The two (geographically distant) centers of Tatar cultural life were the Crimean Tatar ASSR (until its dissolution by Stalin in 1944), and Tatarstan - both separate autonomous republics within Russia.¹⁹

The ethnic composition of Tatarstan did not change much during the late Soviet period or after the Soviet collapse but a larger percentage of the population claiming to be Tatar may be attributed to in-migration of Tatars to the republic after the Soviet Union's dissolution. The following table demonstrates this movement as more ethnic Tatars return to Tatarstan. During the dissolution period, the percentage of people claiming to be Tatars rose while, at the same time, the percentage of Tatars living outside of the republic dropped. A conclusion can then be made that those living outside the republic have moved back, while other groups, including Russians, have begun to leave:

Table 1: Ethnic composition of the Republic of Tatarstan

	1989 (a)	2002 (b)
Tatar	48.5%	52.9%
Russian	43.3%	39.5%
Chuvash	3.7%	3.3%
Other	3.4%	4.2%
% of Tatars living outside of Tatarstan	68%	64%

(a) source: Graney, "Projecting Sovereignty," 53

(b) 2002 Russian Nationality Census, www.perepis2002.ru

With this in mind, it is of interest to note that the republic's declaration of sovereignty in 1990 is based on its multi-ethnic nature, not on the ethnic Tatar nation. Article 1 of the Tatar Constitution asserts that sovereignty and authority come from all the people of Tatarstan: "The Republic of Tatarstan shall be a sovereign democratic state, expressing the will and interests of the whole multinational people of the republic." President Shaimiev has stated that the "Tatar declaration of sovereignty was written in the name of the people (*narod*) of Tatarstan, and we do not divide this people into ethnic groups. That is why there is such a thing as the rights of peoples."²⁰

Further, Article 9 states that all the resources of the republic belong to the people of Tatarstan rather than the Tatar people:

The earth, mineral wealth, water, forest and other natural resources, the animal and vegetable kingdom, means of state budget, assets of national banks, cultural and historical values of the peoples of Tatarstan and other estate ensuring the economic independence of the republic, the preservation of material and spiritual culture, shall be the property of the whole people.²¹

In the same vein, the Tatar ethnographer I. I. Mirsiianov goes so far as to argue that the "national ideology" of Tatarstan is based on Ernest Gellner's writings about civic nationalism and nation-building as interpreted by R. S. Khakimov, the main ideologue of the Tatarstani party of power during the 1990s. He sees as Gellnerian the following 1996 statement by President Shaimiev: "According to the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan, we are building multiethnic and multicultural society, which prioritizes citizenship over ethnicity."²²

Contrary to this statement, both Russian activists and Western scholars assert that government resources are in fact used to promote Tatars over other ethnic groups in the republic, that “Tatar” is all too often equated with “Tatarstani”, and that the government is engaged in the process of “Tatarization” of Tatarstan while ignoring the cultural needs of the republic’s non-Tatar population. Tatarstan government officials have argued that pro-Tatar affirmative action policies are necessary to undo the damage done to Tatar culture by the Russification policies of the Soviet era.²³ In 1998, Tatarstan’s President Mintimer Shaimiev warned Russia that the Tatar people had never reconciled themselves with the loss of their ancient statehood to Russia in 1552. He argued that only since Tatarstan declared itself a sovereign state in 1990 has “history been righted.”²⁴ Rather than necessarily taking this rhetoric at its face value, a scholar can look at it as the discursive strategy easily available to Tatarstani leadership in its power struggle against the Russian center.

The historical encounter between Russia and Tatarstan provides the context for understanding the development of Tatarstan’s negotiating position. Not only was the Tatar ethnic identity challenged by late Soviet policies of supra-nationalism, but so too was its religious identity. In a Soviet socialist society, Islam and other national religions were gradually relegated to a past that was being consciously discarded in the process of socialist construction. However, post-Soviet Tatarstani elites did not embrace Islam as an ideological foundation of their power struggle with the federal center. This is in part because they do not want to provide an opening for radical Islamists, who are seeking to make inroads in Tatarstan. In 2001 and 2002, working together with Russian security forces, the Tatarstani authorities deported from the country some Arab instructors in the

Madrasahs (Islamic religious schools) of Almetievsk and Naberezhnye Chelny suspected of spreading Vahabbism.²⁵ But even from a purely pragmatic point of view, any serious attempt to incorporate Islam into the republic's political identity would antagonize both the significant Russian minority and Putin's administration. Thus, the Islamic component of Tatarstan's political identity remains limited to occasional positive references to "Euroislam" during the world congresses of ethnic Tatars and the visits that all foreign dignitaries pay to a large new mosque built in the early 2000s within the walls of the Kazan Kremlin.²⁶

Historical memories of former statehood did inform the sovereignty debate in the former Soviet Union but this does not fully explain why, during Glasnost, sovereignty was viewed as an ultimate goal. The pro-Western tilt of the initial years of Boris Yeltsin's administration and Moscow's initial indifference to the needs and interests of Muslim areas in the Russian Federation partly explain the negative reaction of Muslim areas such as Tatarstan to Moscow's post-Soviet national policy. In the case of Tatarstan, however, economic considerations were paramount. After 1994, the republic changed its focus from increasing its political autonomy to increasing its economic autonomy.

Chapter 2

The Economic Underpinnings of Sovereignty

Contrary to the accepted Western wisdom of the Soviet collapse being caused by the long-suppressed forces of nationalism, scholars argue that Gorbachev's reforms prompted nationalist mobilization rather than being forced by it.²⁷ Some go even further by suggesting that the so-called "parade of sovereignties" during the late Soviet period was about economic independence, not ethno-cultural revival. They view ethnic self-determination almost as a front for "what is really going on," as rhetoric designed to increase the wealth of local elites at the expense of the central government.²⁸

In examining the various republics' drive for sovereignty, this chapter will argue that the outcome to the federal bargaining game depended on what kind of resources the regional actors possessed. Regions equipped with significant natural resources were more likely to strike better deals with the federal centre and, in the case of Tatarstan and the Russian federal centre, both sides have benefited from these deals and agreements. The centre has been able to consolidate the federation by improving its relations with troublesome regions as well as by generating high tax revenue from wealthier republics. Regional governments, and their leaders, have obtained greater formal political and economic privileges. It is within this economic context that we can begin to understand the nature of Tatarstan's grievances over the reform period.

Oil production and the petrochemical sector form the basis of the republic's economy, yet it felt that it was not being adequately compensated for its contribution to the Soviet economy. Under the Soviet Union, oil prices for domestic consumers and satellite countries were administratively set at less than 5% of world levels. The

artificially low price coupled with virtually unlimited supplies subsidized the Soviet and Eastern European economies. The Soviet Union was practically giving away its oil to Eastern Europe, Cuba and North Korea in order to hold up their economies and maintain Soviet influence.²⁹

In addition, republics had inherited from the Soviet period highly energy intensive agriculture and heavy industries, very few of which were subject to local decision-making. During the Soviet period, 85% of Tatarstan's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was produced by enterprises subordinate to all-union ministries, 13% by enterprises managed by Russian ministries and only 2% was subject to local decision-making.³⁰ The Soviet economy was a single social economic complex with the highest priority given to the national interests of the Union over local ambitions and aspirations of the republican elites.

The major components of Soviet economic planning were the annual plans, five-year plans and longer-term perspective plans. The national economic planning agency, Gosplan, would list the indicators that, in the official Soviet view, were the most important for evaluating a republic's level of development such as industrial employment and per capita income. Of particular interest to our discussion, the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-75) stated that evening out regional economic differences among the Soviet republics and the economic regions was a major goal of territorially-oriented planning. This was emphasized in Soviet location theory: industrial enterprises had to be built close to raw materials and to consumers to minimize transportation costs and to stimulate the growth of underdeveloped regions. After the completion of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, then Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev proclaimed that this goal had in principle been

achieved and, by the Tenth and Eleventh Five-Year Plans (1976-85), regional equalization was de-emphasized in favour of all-Union development.³¹

As the command economy disintegrated through the late 1980s and early 1990s, economic behaviour changed. Russia's regions realized that, not only were there significant differences in the levels of development achieved during the Soviet period, but there were also significant differences in the ways in which each of their economies reacted to the opportunities and difficulties associated with the transition to a market economy.

In the atmosphere of increased economic autonomy, the government of Tatarstan pioneered the concept of soft economic transition, "the soft landing",³² which involved a slower pace of privatization with continued state intervention over prices, a broader social safety net and substantial subsidies for agriculture. The republic was one of a number of wealthy, resource-rich and economically developed Russian regions that had separatist-minded political leaders. This was not based on purely nationalistic reasons - the republic continued to be run by Soviet-era bureaucrats - but often on more selfish ones: local elites did not always enjoy the same degree of prosperity as did their counterparts in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Local elite networks, largely based on the former Nomenklatura³³ links under the old command economy, still played a central role in Tatarstan's economic life and it appears that much of this Soviet-style system of networks still survives today.³⁴ Regional elites in possession of such trump cards as valuable oil and gas resources were most likely to go down the path of separatism.

For the administration of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, bilateral negotiating was one way to maintain federal relations with regional elites inclined to separatism. A

bilateral treaty is a general framework for special arrangements agreed to between the federal centre and a region. Treaties were generally negotiated at the top political level with the President of the Russian Federation as one of the signatories. Agreements were signed within the framework of the bilateral treaty and defined the powers of the regions in more detail. Regional leaders obtained greater formal political and economic privileges having proven that they were competent to run their regions by managing to bargain successfully with the federal authorities.

Besides formal agreements, practical attempts at cooperation between the centre and regions also started in the mid-1990s. Regions established interregional alliances for promoting mutual interests in their dealings with Moscow. These alliances acted as lobby groups with their membership consisting primarily of leaders of the local executives and legislatures. Regional alliances would also handle regional implementation of federal development programs, thereby ensuring more weight in the decision-making process. However, the push by individual regions for autonomy and the furthering of their own interests often took precedence over the interests of the regional alliances as whole.³⁵

By the mid-1990s, the trend was for regions to enter into formal bilateral agreements with the Russian Federation, often motivated by the possibility of influencing dispersals from the Fund for Regional Support. The origin of this Fund can be traced back to Yeltsin's need for regional support in the 1996 election and his willingness to grant subsidies and federal transfers to those regions that had previously voted for his opponents. In order to provide for these subsidies and federal transfers, the Fund for Regional Support was introduced. Transfers were determined based on a series of formulas, depending on what level of need a region had. If regional per capita revenue

fell below the Russian average, a region was considered in need of support. Those regions that could not support their own current level of expenditure, even with a transfer payment, were considered to be a high level of need and required additional transfers. This Fund was to serve as the only source of federal transfers to local governments. In the case of shortfalls in revenue collection by the centre, funding continued via other types of discretionary transfers, such as regions withholding portions of their payments to the centre.³⁶

Ten years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, most Russian regions remained economically dependent on these federal subsidies although the subsidies have not always resulted in improvements in the regions receiving them. Each year, there were more regions in need of federal subsidies, while the number of richer regions was declining.

President Shaimiev of Tatarstan argued that the policy to make regions equal over the transition period was no longer valid and that attempts by the federal centre to control regional budgets would result in stagnation in poorer regions. He argued that the basic parameters for regional budgeting should be determined on a long-term basis, thus stimulating regional interest in increasing its own tax base. Regions would become more financially dependent on subsidies or grants allocated by the centre and even wealthy regions would lose even the desire to increase their own tax base.³⁷

Significantly, one of the few winners in this exercise has been the federal centre, which has been able to gain political influence in those regions that required heavy subsidization. Actually, until the end of the Yeltsin presidency, the centre collected political capital even if it failed repeatedly to meet its budget obligations to the needy

regions. In any case, the Kremlin continued to demand timely payment of taxes from the wealthier regions.³⁸

In 1989, Tatarstan had been one of five autonomous republics - Yakutia, Bashkiria, Tataria (this Russian version was used as the republic's shortened official name), Karelia, and the Komi ASSR - that accounted for over 90% of hard currency exports by the Russian ASSRs (of the twenty ASSRs in the former Soviet Union, sixteen were in the Russian Federation). By 1991, Tatarstan was an important pillar of both the Soviet and Russian economies, as well as a major net donor to the Russian treasury.³⁹

Tatarstan was, and still is, heavily taxed on its oil wealth through a combination of taxes, royalties and export fees. Under this system, certain of these taxes are assigned to the centre while the region receives its share based on either negotiated or fixed revenue sharing arrangements. The authority to raise and disburse tax revenue is an ongoing, yet hotly contested issue between Tatarstan and Russia and Kazan argues that more control of resources and taxation should be in its hands. At the heart of this is Kazan's mistrust of Moscow with respect to Tatarstan's oil and the Kremlin's fiscal redistribution policies.

The main document governing budget and tax relations between Russia and Tatarstan is Article IV (7) of the Power Sharing Treaty signed in February 1994. This Article provided for a "single track" system whereby Tatarstan collected all taxes in its territory and then transferred a portion of them to the Russian federal budget in the form of a 50:50 division.⁴⁰ In 2000, the federal government unilaterally changed the distribution of revenue between federal and regional budgets to an 85:15 split.⁴¹ By 2002, the republican economy registered zero growth over the previous year and Tatarstan's

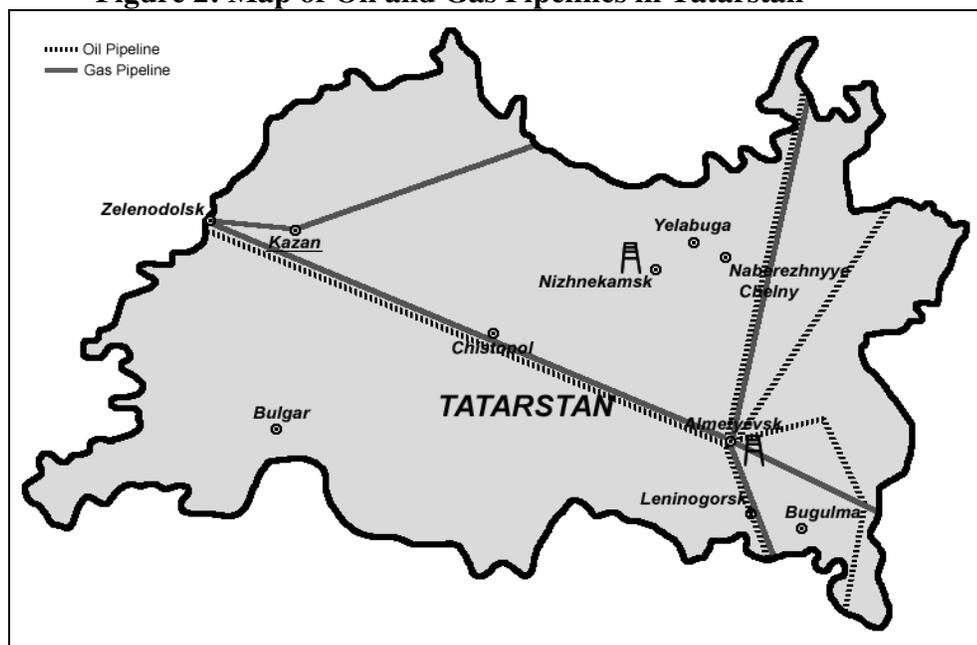
leaders blamed this on the low oil prices on the world market and on the increased share of taxes going into the federal budget.⁴² An over-reliance on taxes on production, rather than taxes on profits, contributed to a lack of new investment in the petroleum sector.

At this point, it is worth going into a brief historical excursion into the petroleum industry in Tatarstan, which has given the autonomy a significant advantage in its dealings with Moscow. The oil fields in Tatarstan are located at the confluence of the two largest rivers of the area, the Volga and the Kama, the Volga region being one of the Soviet Union's principal oil-producing provinces following World War II. The oil fields of Baku, Azerbaijan, provided the bulk of production up to and following the war, however, as the Baku fields became more strategically vulnerable, the search for oil moved eastward with the discovery of the Urals-Volga oil fields.

The Tatarneft Trust, a state organization coordinating oil exploration and production, was established in 1949 for the development of the Bavlinskoye field. In the following year the Soviet administration merged it into the Tatneft Production Association to develop the republic's second largest field, Novo-Yelkhovskoye. Together, the two fields would be the source of most of the crude oil produced by Tatneft and the company gradually became one of the country's leaders in oil production. The Tatar ASSR yielded its first commercial oil in significant amounts in the late 1940s but boomed in 1956 and later. One of the most rapid periods of growth occurred between 1955 and 1959, when Tatneft production accounted for half of the oil production growth called for in the Soviet Sixth 5 Year Plan. The mid-1970s, with average annual production of over 100 million barrels, marked the peak of Tatneft's production.⁴³

The republic's largest oil deposits are the Romashkinskoe, Novo-Elkhovskoe, Pervomaiskoe and Bondyuzhskoe oil fields located in southeastern and northeastern Tatarstan; they account for 75% of the republic's crude oil production. The largest oil field, Romashkinskoe, is located near the industrial city of Almet'yevsk. In addition, crude oil and gas is transported to European hubs by pipelines that run throughout the republic. One of Russia's largest oil refineries is located in Nizhnekamsk, north of Almet'yevsk.

Figure 2: Map of Oil and Gas Pipelines in Tatarstan



Source: http://www.kcn.ru/tat_en/economics/eco_map/eco-map.html (Kazan State University)

By the late 1990s, the region's wealth in oil made it one of Russia's richest republics and lured more foreign investors than any other region except St. Petersburg and Moscow. Tatarstan was the closest thing to a success story in Russia's transition to a market economy. However, although Tatarstan's oil gave it leverage with Moscow, without Russia's refineries and pipelines, its oil would be worthless. Oil exports from Russia to other states declined 43% between 1990-92 reflecting falling oil production, increasing shares sold in foreign markets at world prices and decline in demand due to contraction

of national output.⁴⁴ The internal oil price shock bankrupted industry.⁴⁵ Capacity limits in the country's pipeline system kept lucrative oil exports down while international investors exploring the Russian oil industry were scared away by the uncertain business climate.⁴⁶

Tatarstan's dependence on refined oil products produced in other parts of the Russian Federation was used by the Russian government as a major bargaining chip in the difficult negotiations that ultimately brought about the 1994 Power Sharing Treaty between Tatarstan and the Russian Federation: Tatarstan's oil and gas would be worthless without the refineries elsewhere in Russia. Although Russia exercises national ownership over its oil and mineral resources, it has made special arrangements with Tatarstan under Article 72 of the 1993 Russian Constitution. Article 72 allows for the execution of bilateral treaties between the central government and subnational entities on revenue-sharing. The Power Sharing Treaty provided that Tatarstan relinquish claims to sovereignty and accept Russia's taxing authority in exchange for Russia accepting Tatarstan's ownership and control over oil and other natural resources. The Treaty gave Tatarstan some freedom to export more oil at world prices and, in return, Tatarstan agreed to set aside 10% of production to give it to Moscow as its part in servicing Russia's debts. In addition, oil and gas exports also provided Tatarstan with much needed funds to pursue economic development objectives. This agreement was the first revenue-sharing agreement between a region and the federal centre negotiated by President Yeltsin's government.

Moscow's reluctance to give up its economic dominance of the republic was one of the chief obstacles to any agreement between Kazan and Moscow in the early 1990s, with no consensus as to whether it is Kazan or Moscow who was really in control of the

republic. Kazan believed it had unlimited authority within the autonomy yet the Russian government has tried to maintain fiscal control. The republic is situated in the heart of the country and, had negotiations not been successful, Russian sanctions against Tatarstan could have included a withdrawal of export quotas on oil and isolation from the transport, pipeline, engineering, and financial systems of Russia. For its part, Tatarstan wanted to control and maintain the processing of its resources within its territory, by means of building a significant petrochemical industry, to promote local development and raise living standards.

Through its participation in Tatneft, the Tatarstan government is able to exercise considerable influence over the republic's economy.⁴⁷ By 2003, the Tatarstan government held over 30% share in the company, including the Golden Share, which gives it the power to appoint a representative to the Board of Directors. The Prime Minister, Rustam Nurgaliyevich Minnikhanov, was Chairman of the Board of Directors from 2005-06. The family of President Shaimiev also benefits from close ties to Tatneft through a firm linked to Tatneft called Tatar-American Investments and Finances (TAIF), whose board of directors has included the President's youngest son, Radik Shaimiev, a close friend of the Prime Minister. This, in itself, is not so unusual in a state that relies on informal networks:

It is a fact of life here that if you have family relations in the government your business is more likely to be successful. It is obviously not impossible to be successful without them, but it is very important to have such connections. Some politicians bring their families here and look after them by helping their business grow in Tatarstan.⁴⁸

With this level of involvement, the Tatarstan government has used its influence to mandate oil sales and revenue disbursements⁴⁹ thus maintaining firm control over the regional economy. Major economic units in Tatarstan remain in the hands of the regional government and the process of grouping resources into one company serves political as well as economic purposes. Major companies have to pay high value-added taxes that go into the federal budget. Integrated under Tatneft, smaller oil and gas companies operate as a single unit which pays less tax than would be paid by multiple units. This, in turn, allows the republican government to legally avoid paying more taxes to the federal government.⁵⁰

The cozy symbiosis between Tatneft, now one of Russia's ten largest companies, and the Tatarstani administration came to light in the West in the most spectacular fashion in 1997, when Tatneft sold 11.5% of its shares on the global market and then transferred half of the money to the republic's government. In the same year, Tatneft raised from international creditors, on very favourable conditions, a loan of \$US 230 million, which also ended up in the government account. This affair became a subject of a critical article in the *Financial Times* and caused President Shaimiev to respond angrily that such deals were an "internal matter" of Tatarstan.⁵¹

Bargaining over economic issues has been a core feature of center-periphery conflicts in the former Soviet Union since the beginning of the reform period. Regional demand for greater fiscal autonomy was often driven by the perception of, and resulting resentment, over Moscow's absorbing the bulk of the profits from the sale of natural resources while local populations in resource-producing areas languished in poverty. Russian regions are not equal with respect to economic and demographic resources and

regions with greater natural resources, such as Tatarstan, have had greater success in the federal bargaining game.

Behind the demands for political autonomy that characterized the earlier phases of center-periphery relations lay entrenched local economic interests and actors for whom the symbolism of sovereignty was less important than the bottom line: greater local control over natural resources.⁵² By 1995, the focus of disputes over center-periphery relations within the Russian Federation moved from the political arena to the economic arena where economic strength increased a region's ability to challenge the central authorities.⁵³

Chapter 3

The Drive for Sovereignty and the Compromise with Russia

Both politically and economically then, Kazan's strategy meant greater autonomy from Moscow. In January 1995, President Shaimiev addressed a group of leaders from breakaway regions of the former Soviet Union stating that he personally never used the word "independence" because he knew that "nobody would recognize us."⁵⁴ At the same time he consistently pushed for an ever greater autonomy for his republic.

This chapter will discuss the origins and the rise of nationalism in Tatarstan during the Gorbachev period and use the republic as a case study of nationalism within the Russian Federation to explain how and why successful resolution of a conflict between the centre and the autonomous region occurred. It explores the nature of Tatarstan's grievances and examines how Tatarstan's approach to Moscow resulted in successful and peaceful negotiations.

Theoretically, the right of secession for Union republics was assured under the Soviet Constitutions of 1924, 1936 and 1977. The Bolsheviks originally adopted the slogan of national self-determination hoping to recruit support for the revolution among the Russian Empire's minorities, but the strength of nationalism as a mobilizing force came to them as an unexpected surprise.

The period 1919 to 1923 was devoted to working out exactly what was meant by non-Russian national self-determination in the context of a Soviet state. Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin perceived nationalism as a bourgeois trick to deceive the proletariat, a powerful mobilizing force that had the potential for forging an above-class alliance in pursuit of national goals, a "masking ideology."⁵⁵ Therefore nationalism needed to be

“disarmed.” Although the two leaders argued that the formation of nations was not an inherent attribute of mankind, they presented it as an essential stage in the modernization of the Soviet Union. Bolshevik ideologues believed that ethnic distinctions would persist under socialism, but gradually disappear in the distant communist future.

Lenin remained convinced that the end of colonialism would diminish nationalist sentiment, but in the short run, he recognized that non-Russian nationalism was a legitimate response to tsarist oppression. Lenin claimed that the nationalism of the oppressed had a democratic content that must be supported. He also believed that the Communist Party bureaucracy had inherited chauvinist attitudes from the tsarist regime.

A special Central Committee Conference on Nationalities Policy at the Twelfth Party Congress in April 1923 passed a resolution affirming that the Soviet state would support nationhood for ethnic minorities as long as it did not conflict with the purposes of the Bolshevik state. An impressive effort at supporting non-Russian cultures and promoting employees of indigenous nationality followed.⁵⁶ By the 1930s, however, Stalin began smuggling back Russian nationalism as part of the official ideology and ethnic sentiments were considered suspicious. During World War II, Stalin turned Soviet communism into Soviet patriotism and only with his death did Soviet nationality politics begin a period of stabilization. It was not until Krushchev’s “Thaw” that the non-Russian intelligentsia was provided an opportunity to raise the issues of national language and culture, demanding more rights and complaining about the abuse of minority cultural rights.

The Soviet Union held itself as an example of peaceful coexistence amongst nationalities for other multicultural countries to imitate. The regime argued that, by 1961,

the Soviet Union had become an all-people's state where differences between nationalities were slowly disappearing. Yet Khrushchev's successors did not encourage forcible assimilation, which could disturb ethnic peace. By the time Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, it was generally assumed that the nationality problem had been solved. The Soviet leadership was then taken by surprise by the extent of violence and nationalist mobilization in the late 1980s, particularly in the Baltic States in 1987-88. There, sovereignty became an umbrella concept for a broad coalition of political groups all with very different agendas. Regional party officials were reassured by declarations that sovereignty was compatible with preservation of the Union and status of the Communist Party. For others, the term meant greater cultural and language rights. For the more radical nationalists, sovereignty meant full independence.⁵⁷

After Gorbachev realized the gravity of the problem, he issued a public warning that sovereignty campaigns were making the country ungovernable and could result in a conservative backlash against reforms.⁵⁸ However, he misjudged the power of nationalist mobilization. Gorbachev still believed that the majority of the population wanted to preserve the Soviet "friendship of peoples" and he argued that only extremists would fail to appreciate the enormous cost of secession. Gorbachev thought (correctly) that the anti-Union sentiments were products of elite manipulation, but he also believed (incorrectly) that the nationalist elites had no serious mass support. He saw nationalist discourse as empty or "false," whereas the widespread protest sentiments were increasingly moulded precisely into nationalist slogans. This contributed to Gorbachev's notoriously awkward handling of the nationality question during his years in power.⁵⁹

Gorbachev's opponent and emerging leader of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, was slow to

embrace sovereignty in his political campaign and, other than his desire to restore the Russian Federation's economic and political supremacy, his platform did not even mention sovereignty with respect to the union republics. While the geographic location of the centre remained within the city limits of Moscow, the Russian republic under Yeltsin replaced Gorbachev's Soviet government as a new political centre with Yeltsin's election to presidency on June 12, 1991 and the failed coup in August of the same year. Thus, the course of center-periphery relations in 1990-91 was intimately bound up with the power struggle between Gorbachev and Yeltsin.⁶⁰

The Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet approved a law in 1990 that provided the autonomous regions with some degree of economic independence as well as the right to remain within the Union should their host union republic secede. The autonomies were fighting for recognition not only from the federal centre but from their host union republics as well. The issues most often raised in the autonomous republics included the elevation of their status to that of union republics, making budgetary and tax policy subject to local decision makers and transferring industrial ownership from Russian control to the republics.

Unlike the fifteen Union republics, the legal basis for independence declarations by autonomous republics was weak - neither the Soviet constitution nor republican constitutions allowed them the right to secession. They were not sovereign states as defined by Soviet law and their population, economy and territory were much smaller than that of host republics. However, nationalists in the union republics were convinced that the law allowing the autonomies to stay within the union if their host republics left was designed to intimidate the union republics by promoting a rift between them and the

autonomies. They argued that conservative forces were thus provoking local conflicts in the hopes of undermining Gorbachev and his reform programs. On the other hand, some would argue that Moscow used the threat of interethnic conflict as a clear warning about what could come from the weakening of central power.⁶¹

The meaning of sovereignty depended on who was doing the asking. Sovereignty did not necessarily mean secession; often it encompassed a desire for control over local affairs while still receiving benefits from union membership. It has been argued that “sovereignty killed the Soviet Union”,⁶² and it was indeed the concept of sovereignty that was used to such effect by the union republics to challenge the central authority of Moscow.

Beginning in 1990, many of the autonomous republics and regions within the Russian Federation used the chaos created by the weakening of the central power and the subsequent breakup of the Soviet Union to move toward local sovereignty. The question of who had the legal right to separate was largely a result of historical quirks and whims⁶³: There was the Russian Federation, which itself sought and achieved independence from its host, the Soviet Union. Within the Russian Federation, however, there were a number of regions such as Tatarstan seeking a greater degree of political and economic autonomy, as well as a higher status for the language and culture of the titular nationality. Tatarstan’s position was based on the realistic assessment of the republic’s geopolitical location: the republic was seeking self-determination inside rather than outside Russia.

Both sides had much to gain from peaceful resolution of their differences. Regions such as Tatarstan that were equipped with extensive resources were more likely

to strike better deals with Moscow and obtain greater formal political and economic privileges for their leaders. Moscow, in turn, was able to consolidate the federation by improving the relations with the most troublesome regions and to get the wealthier ones to pay more in taxes.

The essence of Tatarstan's declaration of sovereignty lay not in the claim to complete independence but in the affirmation of the republic's autonomy and establishment of new relations with Russia. Historically, there was a good reason for Tatarstani elites to distrust the Soviet central government. As a result of the perceived threat of Tatar nationalism to Soviet control over the middle Volga, early on the Soviet government had pursued a particularly anti-Tatar policy. Mass purges in the 1920s all but eliminating the Tatar political class, Muslim clergy, and the greater part of the intelligentsia.

Dissatisfaction with their republic's second-rate status was widespread amongst ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan.⁶⁴ The roots of political activism were visible even during the 1960s and 1970s when Tatar historians appealed to the Soviet government for permission to write an ethnic history of the Tatar people and to upgrade the ASSR to a full-fledged Union republic.⁶⁵ Tatar nationalist activity until 1991 focused almost exclusively on raising the status of the autonomous republic to that of union republic, which the Soviet authorities refused to do because Tatarstan lacked external borders and because doing so would create a precedent for similar claims from other autonomies. The status of an ASSR meant that Tatarstan had fewer opportunities for cultural development than if it were a union republic.

In June 1988, a group of Tatarstanis appealed to the 19th Party Conference to raise

the status of the Tatar ASSR to full union republic status. This group, the All-Tatar Public Centre, an independent Tatar national organization, declared its main goals to be the raising of the ethnofederal status and the assertion of Tatarstan's sovereignty. Modelled after the popular front organizations in the Baltics, this group insisted that Tatarstan be made a union republic and organized frequent demonstrations in support of greater autonomy, greater protection of Tatar culture and increasing demands for full independence. The Public Centre's aims included making Tatar the official language of the republic, securing economic sovereignty for Tatarstan and promoting cultural and spiritual consolidation of Tatars throughout the former Soviet Union. In later years, this group would become more radical, accusing President Shaimiev of "enriching the nomenklatura fraternity by impoverishing the people" and of turning the people into "cheap manpower and cannon fodder for Russia."⁶⁶

In March 1990, the radical Ittifak (Alliance) nationalist group was formed and insisted on immediate independence, openly calling for a Tatarstan for Tatars. By the end of 1990, Ittifak was bolstered by the Azatlyk (Freedom) Tatar youth organization, which called for the formation of a Tatarstani army. Tatar nationalist activists began incorporating into their program pan-Turkic, pan-Tatar and pan-Muslim agendas, going so far as to demand an end to mixed marriages, deny Russians citizenship and assert territorial claims on the neighbouring Bashkir autonomy and (predominantly Russian) Ulianovsk province.

Later that year, on August 30, 1990, Tatarstan declared sovereignty. This occurred less than three months after the Russian Federation itself had declared sovereignty from the Soviet Union. Like Russia's own decree, Tatarstan's declaration

was issued not with the goal of seceding from the Russian Federation but with that of asserting Tatarstan's sovereignty over its territory. As the Russian scholar VV Koroteeva stresses, Shaimiev, who was then the chairman of the republic's parliament, at first argued for sovereignty "as part of the Russian federation," but dropped the mention of Russia by August 1990, even though he did not embrace the concept of separation either.⁶⁷ In his concluding remarks at the parliamentary session, which passed the declaration, Shaimiev stressed the old Soviet notion of the "friendship of peoples" thus indicating that this was not a nationalist victory and ethnic Russians in the republic had nothing to fear: "The most important thing is to preserve and build up the friendship of peoples, which for centuries was developing in our land. This, comrades, is the condition of sovereignty."⁶⁸

By February 1991, however, with the Soviet economic crisis spinning out of control and social order disintegrating, polls indicated that 86% of Tatarstanis favoured complete independence of their oil-rich republic. On October 15, 1991, with the Soviet Union de facto dead, if legally still in existence until the year's end, thousands of Tatarstanis gathered outside Tatarstan's Parliament to protest the refusal of the republican government to declare independence from the Russian Federation. For its part, the government played the dangerous game of using nationalism as a weapon against the Kremlin, while trying to contain it internally. Kazan argued that it only wanted the confirmation of its sovereignty, not outright secession from Russia. According to President Shaimiev,

Unquestionably, the confrontation with Russian state authorities after the collapse of the USSR was based on a total misunderstanding. We never asserted in any official decision that Tatarstan wanted full independence. I always emphasized

that Tatarstan demanded more rights and independent development, but without compromising the integrity of the Russian Federation. But at the time, it came off like a bomb.⁶⁹

Internal tensions were only diffused when the parliament agreed to hold a referendum on the republic's independence, perhaps concluding that it would provide the local elites with an even stronger bargaining chip. The referendum, held on March 21, 1992, featured the following question:

Do you agree that the Republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state and a subject of international law which develops its relations with the Russian Federation and other republics on the basis of bilateral treaties?

Before the referendum, leaflets calling for the Tatarstani people to say no flowed into Tatarstan from Russia. Russian army exercises were held around the borders of the republic. Officials from the Russian *prokuratura*, a legal office similar to that of an attorney-general, were dispatched to every district in the republic to stop preparations for the referendum and to keep the polls from opening. Moscow's concern was that defiance of the centre might cause a ripple effect in other republics and regions. Russia's main objective has always been to maintain the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and it wanted to discourage a domino effect of secession of other autonomies. Despite Moscow's attempt to interfere, 82% of eligible voters took part in the referendum. Of these, 61% voted in favour of recognizing Tatarstan as a sovereign state.⁷⁰

Indeed, former Soviet functionaries in Tatarstan managed in the space of several years to outmanoeuvre their nationalist opponents. Shaimiev and his colleagues stole the nationalists' thunder by presenting themselves as better negotiators with the center and

guarantors of the region's prosperity. Also, very much in Soviet fashion, they manipulated elections and deprived their opponents of access to the republic's media. In 1990, Tatarstani voters elected to the republic's legislature 70 Tatar nationalists of the total of 250 deputies. In the 1995 elections, only one nationalist deputy was elected and in 1999, none.⁷¹ When re-elected as president in 1997, Shaimiev received the improbable (but very familiar to the students of Soviet electoral practices) 97% of the vote.⁷²

Interestingly, the Tatarstani elite used the same methods in their tug of war with the Kremlin. Boris Yeltsin and Mintimer Shaimiev were elected presidents of Russia and Tatarstan respectively on June 12, 1991. When the elections to the State Duma were scheduled in 1993, turnout in Tatarstan was only 13 percent, while the minimum turnout required for the election to be valid in a region was 25 percent. President Shaimiev argues that the reason for this was the center's failure to resolve the problem of national groups in Russia,⁷³ but in all probability, Tatarstani officials were sabotaging Russian elections in order to accumulate more power in their ongoing negotiations with Moscow.

Following the referendum, Tatarstan opened negotiations with Moscow on August 12, 1991. The Tatarstani delegation invoked the resolutions of the third Russian Congress of the Soviets, held in January 1918, arguing that: the Russian Federation was based upon the principle of freedom and the equality of its constituent autonomous Soviet republics; the republics were to join the Federation voluntarily and; it was up to the republics to decide for themselves whether to join or leave the Federation. Russia agreed with this historical invocation, but treated it merely as ideological rhetoric.⁷⁵

An agreement was reached by both sides to sign a bilateral treaty, the "Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic

of Tatarstan on Economic Cooperation”, on January 22, 1992. Russia conceded Tatarstan’s rights to its resources, but the centre was to receive its share of Tatarstan’s significant oil and gas revenues. Tatarstan's draft provoked substantial disagreement by the Russian negotiators because Tatarstan reserved for itself the right to conduct an independent foreign policy and foreign economic relations. These issues were later resolved to Tatarstan’s advantage by way of formal Agreements between the two parties in 1994,⁷⁶ but between 1992 and 1994 they remained a source of considerable tension. With the 1992 bilateral treaty in hand, the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet approved a new constitution in November 1992.

By 1993, relations between Moscow and Tatarstan began to break down. Tatarstan was still pushing for more control and creating a precedent that concerned Moscow. If this sentiment spread to other regions and republics, Yeltsin and his advisors feared that the Russian Federation would fall apart. In order to forestall this eventuality, Russia persuaded President Shaimiev to participate in the proceedings of the July 1993 Constitutional Conference of the Russian autonomies by declaring that “if you refuse to participate, [we] will refuse to continue negotiations on the status of Tatarstan.”⁷⁷

As to the discussions of Tatarstan’s status within Russia, bargaining over the details continued. Russia wanted control over matters relating to defense and military production which Tatarstan refused to accept. Russia reacted to the Tatarstan position by halting federal financing of the military industrial complex in Tatarstan, forcing the Tatarstani side to make concessions. Kazan’s new position clearly accepted the joint control over the military with the following reservations: where Russia finances the weapons it would have exclusive control; and in the civilian aspect of production,

Tatarstan would retain full control.⁷⁸

Tatarstan worked on a strategy with other autonomous republics to build a common approach to the constitutional issues of autonomy and sovereignty, thus presenting a united front against the Yeltsin team of negotiators. Tatarstan, however, added two demands on top of the clauses agreed upon with other republics: that Tatarstan be excluded from the Russian draft Constitution's Article VI, which enumerated the autonomous states; and that it is to have special relations with Russia in accordance with the Tatarstan Constitution.

Moscow's negotiators refused to discuss these conditions and deferred the issue to the Presidential Group of Negotiators, who subsequently dismissed them. Tatarstan wanted the clause on its special relations with Russia inserted in the Constitution first, and then negotiate the scope of relations. Yeltsin's team wanted to reverse the process - Tatarstan should join the Federation first, and then negotiate a treaty defining the relations. Consequently, the Tatarstan delegation walked out of the Constitutional Conference, but the delegates of the other nine republics stayed on. As a result, Yeltsin succeeded in isolating Tatarstan from its potential supporters. It has been suggested that conveniently created political parties and their leaders were present at the Constitutional Conference to support the Russian authorities and "checkmate" the leaders of the autonomous republics.⁷⁹

By the end of 1993, the only remaining obstacle was Russia's insistence that Tatarstan sign the Russian Federation Treaty. This Tatarstan still refused to do, making Moscow nervous due to its ongoing (though not yet bloody) conflict with Chechnya. The Chechen leadership had proclaimed that Chechnya was neither part of the Soviet Union

nor the Russian Federation.

In exchange for Russia agreeing to abandon its demand for Tatarstan's signature under the Federation Treaty, Tatarstan abandoned its demands for more republican powers. Some analysts believe that Russia ceded very little of substance because the federal Treaty makes no mention of Tatarstan as a sovereign state. Many observers fear that this may encourage future conflict since the Treaty cites as its authority two inconsistent documents, the constitutions of Tatarstan and of Russia, of which the former describes Tatarstan as a sovereign state and the latter does not.⁸⁰ The Russian Constitutional Court repeatedly issued injunctions nullifying the clauses on sovereignty in the Tatarstan Constitution. Although Tatarstan introduced amendments to harmonize its Constitution with Moscow's wishes, the government refused to modify its clauses on sovereignty, on Tatarstani citizenship and rejected the motion of Tatarstan being a subject of the Russian Federation.

These remaining issues notwithstanding, on February 15, 1994, Russia and Tatarstan signed the Power Sharing Treaty. As well, the two governments adopted a package of agreements regulating relations between them in such spheres as trade, banking and defense. This treaty was not submitted to a procedure of approval in either the Russian or Tatarstani parliaments. Russian law does not allow for direct state-to-state treaties between Russia and its regions, but only for treaties to delimit jurisdictional authority between the centre and regions.⁸¹ In addition, the word pair Russia-Tatarstan in the treaty's name was politically incorrect because Tatarstan remained part of Russia.⁸²

With the signing of the Power Sharing Treaty, Tatarstan was to be governed by three legal documents: the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Constitution of the

Republic of Tatarstan, and the Power Sharing Treaty. Under this Treaty, the sovereign status of Tatarstan was not acknowledged and, instead of being “associated”, as Tatarstan had wanted, it was now “united” with the Russian Federation.⁸³ In addition, some of Tatarstan’s areas of authority were also listed as joint authorities and it has been argued that this duplication could enable Russia to take action in Tatarstan without the prior agreement of the Republic.⁸⁴

The Treaty gave Tatarstan almost complete sovereignty over its cultural, economic, and political affairs and full ownership of all its natural and other resources, including oil. Article II recognizes Tatarstan's constitution, and then enumerates fifteen areas of exclusive authority for Tatarstan, including the republican budget, taxation, land use, citizenship and international relations. Article III established twenty two areas of joint authority including economic and monetary policy, infrastructure development, transportation and legal areas, including policing.

In general, the Treaty was seen by the Russian politicians as success. The Russian Federation maintained authority over such items such as federal policy and programs for economic, social and national development of the Russian Federation, finance, currency and money supply, and national defense. In adopting the federal budget, however, the Russian State Duma, the lower house of the Russian Parliament, argued that it was not bound by either the Power Sharing Treaty, nor by any other specific treaties, because they were treaties signed by the executive branch without any participation by the parliament.⁸⁵ Of course, the Duma, dominated at the time by Yeltsin’s opponents, simply used the occasion to criticise his policies.

Some Russian analysts suggest that by signing the Treaty, President Shaimiev

found the best possible solution. Kazan received low-interest loans to restore its industrial giant, KAMAZ, an automobile plant specializing in heavy trucks, and the republic received stable financing for its military-industrial complex. In addition, Tatarstan was forgiven its debt to the federal treasury. In return, Tatarstan declared itself a member of the Russian Federation and began paying its taxes to the federal budget. President Shaimiev, writing on the first anniversary of the treaty, noted that “sovereignty for us means the possibility of defining for ourselves which authority we leave for ourselves, and which we delegate to the Russian Federation.”⁸⁶

Tatarstan had successfully forced the federal authorities into negotiations regarding the design of the republican constitution. The Power Sharing Treaty has historical significance, as it recognizes the precedence of Tatarstan laws over the laws of the Russian Federation. It also recognizes Tatarstan's right to participate in international and foreign economic relations. By concluding the Treaty with Moscow, the government of Tatarstan achieved at least three goals: strengthening the republic's position and legitimacy, easing potentially dangerous tensions between the two major ethnic groups, and minimizing the political role of Tatar extremists.⁸⁷ Kazan pursued a path of voluntary negotiations with Moscow with an emphasis on sovereignty and the “mutual delimitation of powers” between Moscow and Kazan. Tatarstan's negotiators, in discussions with Moscow, focused on issues where agreement could be reached, preferring to negotiate with executive structures rather than have the bilateral treaties subject to parliamentary debate.⁸⁸

The routed Tatar nationalist opposition complained bitterly about their agenda having been stolen by the self-serving former Soviet Tatar bureaucracy. The leader of

Ittifak, Fauzia Bairamova, has commented on the 1994 agreement: “It turns out that we have fought for ‘sovereignty’ for the bosses. All resources are in their hands.” On a similar note, another Tatar nationalist leader, Fandas Safiullin, argued: “The *Nomenklatura* needed sovereignty only for the period of property division, the period of privatization.”⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Russian and Tatar scholars agree that popular support for nationalists in Tatarstan collapsed as soon as the economic situation stabilized and the standard of life began improving after 1992.⁹⁰

By the late 1990s, Kazan’s choice to seek its self-determination within the Russian Federation appeared to have paid off handsomely. Tatarstan became one of Russia’s most prosperous regions. By the turn of the century, Tatarstan’s wealth in oil made it one of Russia’s richest republics and lured more foreign investors than any other region, except St. Petersburg and Moscow. The republic’s government has been trying to project the sovereign status of Tatarstan despite its geographic location deep in the middle of the Russian Federation.⁹¹

This strategy of seeking the maximum possible level of sovereignty without provoking the Russian Federation by making overt claims to secession or independence has become the hallmark of Tatarstan’s sovereignty project, the so-called Tatarstan Model.⁹² The international press spoke about a Tatarstan Model as a strategy of political and social compromise used by the republican ruling elite in its dealings with Moscow. The key to this strategy was to use Tatarstan’s strong economy as a bargaining chip while at the same time protecting the population from shocks related to the transition to a market economy. At the heart of this was Kazan’s mistrust of Moscow with respect to Tatarstan’s oil. All three political forces in Tatarstan, the nationalists, the democrats and

the ruling elite, shared an intense dislike for Moscow's redistribution policies at the expense of Tatarstan.

The Power Sharing Treaty with Russia was the first treaty to be signed between the centre and a local government in Russian history, laying the foundations for new relations between Moscow and the regions. The significance of this treaty lay in the fact that Tatarstan had never signed the Federation Treaty, and in March 1993 it had not allowed the referendum on the new Russian Constitution to be held on its territory. Tatarstan's resistance created the impression that federal authorities had little choice but to enter into agreements with the republic.⁹³ Over sixty regions have signed similar treaties with the centre, securing their own rights and improving local conditions. In 1998, President Shaimiev argued that these treaties and other relevant agreements have helped stabilize the political situation in Russia. However, some also see them as a first step toward the true federalization of Russia. At the same time, Tatarstani nationalists claim that the Treaty violates Tatarstan's Constitution because it does not mention Tatarstan as a sovereign state. Argument aside, the Moscow-Kazan treaty has historical significance.

The Treaty had an initial timeline of five years providing Tatarstan with generous benefits not available to other Russian regions. The intergovernmental agreements between Moscow and Kazan were extended in 1999 for another period of five years. In March 1999, Moscow and Kazan signed a framework protocol on extending all intergovernmental agreements which had earlier been adopted between Moscow and Kazan. In addition, a new Article was introduced allowing both sides to make changes to these agreements or sign interim documents.

Since his election to presidency in 2000, Vladimir Putin has initiated a centralisation process reinforcing federal authority over the regions. As a result, the center gradually limited the political power of regional leaders. Bilateral treaties, such as the Power Sharing Treaty, were among the first casualties of President Putin's push to harmonize Russian laws at all levels as he sought to rescind these arrangements. Under Yeltsin, a kind of asymmetrical federalism had flourished, where one region could do what another could not. It was this that President Putin decided to eliminate.⁹⁴ The tenor of political pronouncements from the center also changed. As Shaimiev rightly complained at the Third World Congress of Tatars in Kazan in August 2002, "Today, such words as 'sovereignty of republics' and even 'federalism' gradually disappear from the political lexicon."⁹⁵

Moscow demanded that regional laws should comply with federal laws and the Russian Constitution. For Kazan, this meant re-centralized tax revenues, a forced re-negotiation of the Power Sharing Treaty and the need to bring its legislation and Constitution into compliance with federal Constitution and law which would include dilution of the Tatarstan Constitution's sovereignty clause. Tatarstan ignored a September 2001 deadline to bring Tatarstan's Constitution and laws into conformity with the Russian Constitution and federal legislation. Later it also ignored the June 2002 deadline to annul treaties that violated federal legislation. A decade after dissolution and the declaration of sovereignty, there was a distinct cooling in Russian-Tatarstani relations. This was symbolized by a gift from the then Russian Deputy Prime Minister Valentina Matvienko, who gave Shaimiev a watch and recommended that he "set it to Moscow time."⁹⁶

In February 2003, an Assembly of the All-Tatar Public Centre convened to

discuss the federal actions. The congress participants criticized Tatarstan's leadership for its failure to defend the supremacy of the republic's rights and constitution. Delegates even talked of the possibility of turning Tatarstan into a second Chechnya, warning that if Moscow's pressure continued, it could lead to an extreme response.⁹⁷ This statement sounded radical even for the All-Tatar Public Centre which, while formerly advocating independence, later softened its stance by demanding increased autonomy for Tatarstan, especially in the area of economic resources.

On March 31, 2004 the Tatarstan Supreme Court ruled as unconstitutional the republican Constitution's provisions establishing Tatarstan's sovereignty, clearing the way for the Tatarstan legislative assembly to approve a new draft Power Sharing Treaty between the republic and the Russian Federation on October 29, 2005. When negotiating the text of this new agreement, Tatarstan officials wanted recognition that the republic was a sovereign state, proposing that the republic have limited sovereignty within the Russian Federation. The Russian administration opposed this language and, as a result, the word "sovereignty" does not appear in the new agreement. Still, Sergei Mironov, Speaker of Russia's Federation Council, the upper house of Parliament, has criticised the agreement arguing that it would give broad powers to Tatarstan and encourage separatist sentiments in other regions.⁹⁸ Others argue that Tatarstan's agreement to a compromise version of the treaty was a condition for Putin's nomination of Shaimiev for election to yet another term in office in March 2005.⁹⁹

The new agreement acknowledges only that Tatarstan has full state power in areas outside the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. However, the republic has kept the right to have a power sharing treaty govern its relationship with Moscow. While the

centre can muster significant legal, political and economic leverage against the region, it has been argued that Tatarstan's quest for sovereignty is too institutionalized in too many policy areas to be dismantled completely.¹⁰⁰

What many in Moscow viewed as an aggressive and separatist strategy was perceived in Kazan as defensive and protective: an effort to preserve a degree of local control in the context of a Russian-dominated state and culture. Ultimately concessions were made on both sides: Tatarstan's State Council worked on revising the republican laws and constitution. In return for these concessions, the republican government was able to negotiate a federal program of socioeconomic development for 2001-06 that provided for a large financial inflow into Tatarstan's economy from the centre.¹⁰¹

A new 10-year power sharing agreement between Tatarstan and Russia was approved by the Russian State Duma (Russia's lower house of Parliament) on July 4 and the Federation Council (Russia's upper house) on July 11, 2007. Work on the treaty began in 2001 and, on October 28, 2005, the Parliament of Tatarstan approved the document. It was then submitted to the Russian State Duma which approved the treaty on February 9, 2007. The Federation Council rejected the bill, by a vote of 93 to 13, arguing that adopting the agreement would create "a dangerous political precedent"¹⁰² for other regions and that federal legislation "hypothetically ceases to be effective in one region."¹⁰³ Tatarstan's representatives in the Federation Council counter-argued that the treaty served to reflect the distinctive economic features of Tatarstan.

The Federation Council argued that there were points in the agreement that contradict Russia's Constitution, for example for Tatarstan residents' ID cards to include an insert in Tatar incorporating the republic's emblem, or for presidential candidates to

have to speak both Russian and Tatar, that suggested that Tatarstan was supporting separatism.¹⁰⁴ However, the State Duma has the power to overrule the Federation Council's rejection if a bill garners two-thirds of the votes. Federation Council Speaker Sergei Mironov suggested that there was a desire to overturn the veto, not so much to assist Tatarstan, but to spite the Federation Council. He stated that Duma members were upset by the fact that the Federation Council voted unanimously against it but argued that what is important is a civic stance on preserving the country's territorial integrity.¹⁰⁵

For Putin, the support of ethnic regions like Tatarstan guarantees millions of votes during federal elections and stability in the region. Perhaps as an indication of Putin's desire to placate the politically tamed regions, this new agreement will give Tatarstani authorities a greater say in decisions on economic and cultural issues and establishes joint management of the republic's oil fields by both federal and local authorities. It has been argued in Moscow that the agreement with Tatarstan was a political move to guarantee Shaimiev's support of President Putin and that the precedent is a dangerous one. It is argued that other republics will start demanding the same kind of treatment that Tatarstan has been receiving, saying "goodbye to equal rights and top-down government!"¹⁰⁶ In contrast, others argue that both in the Russian empire and in the Soviet Union, different regions were granted different rights, and that did not disturb the country's integrity. Behind the Tatarstani nationalist rhetoric there has been legitimate desire to devolve power and the right to control resources and taxation to the republic, but the real beneficiaries were to be the local elites, who wanted more personal benefits and upward social mobility. The uncertainties of the transition period allowed Shaimiev and his government to seize control of the republics' resources and fight with Moscow for even

greater political, economic, and cultural rights.

Chapter 4

Elite Continuity and the Assertion of Power

As we saw in Chapter 2, Tatarstan's conflict with the federal authorities was as much about economic autonomy as it was about political sovereignty and that the non-hostile and consistently moderate approach adopted by Tatarstan offered the best possibility of compromise with Russia.¹⁰⁷ I have also argued that one of the main reasons for such an approach was the economic relationship that existed between the two.

In this chapter we compare Tatarstan's case with that of another Russian autonomous republic, which has been devastated by civil conflict, in contrast to peace and relative stability on the middle Volga. While the Russian Federation was negotiating a peaceful settlement of Tatarstan's demands for sovereignty, Chechnya experienced punitive military expeditions. Moscow has been quick to blame unrest and confrontations during the 1990s on Chechen separatists, who came to power in the breakaway republic. Indeed, Tatarstan's Shaimiev was a long-time Soviet bureaucrat who preserved his control over the republic during the turbulent transitional period in 1990-91 and for nearly two decades beyond it, whereas the Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev was an outsider who destroyed the Chechen political networks.

Both cases are related, to a degree, to the issue of control over oil. Dudayev's trump card with Moscow was Chechnya's strategic location along possible oil transit routes from the Caspian Sea and he used this to assert the republic's bargaining power.

Control over natural resources has been shown to be an effective bargaining tool, but in itself, it did not guarantee a peaceful resolution. Of further relevance to our discussion will be the question of whether elite continuity between the Soviet and post-Soviet periods played a role in Russian regions' negotiations with Moscow. Although Moscow has, in many cases, used a heavy handed approach in dealing with the republics and autonomies, the real power lies with the local elite. As Kendall notes,

A paradox in Russia is that, although everything ultimately depends on the federal authorities in Moscow, on the ground, it is the feudal overlord, holding court and dispensing favours, too far away ever to be really under Moscow's thumb, however tightly the Kremlin tries to keep a grip on what is happening.¹⁰⁸

These ruling elites, often direct successors of Soviet bureaucracy in the republics, have been able to express their interests and will by means of ideologically charged language and the exercise of power.¹⁰⁹

As was the case with the Soviet economic system, the Soviet political system was an extremely centralized, uniform system that left little scope for local initiative or autonomy. The Communist Party's Central Committee supervised the "election" of party leaders in all of the Soviet republics and autonomies through a system of cadre exchanges where titular non-Russian elites rotated to Moscow and representatives from Moscow, in turn, served in the republics. The Soviet leadership always took the composition of the Party seriously and the image of a party "of the whole people" meant recruitment from all national groups and a healthy share of functionaries of the working-class background.¹¹⁰

The Nomenklatura system of appointments was a hierarchical network of important posts dotted across the Soviet Union where party committees held the

exclusive right to appoint and dismiss individuals to the most important positions in various sectors of the economy and society, including republican ministers and regional party committees.¹¹¹ Many Western and Russian scholars contend that the Soviet political elite has largely reproduced itself in the new Russian state¹¹² and many in the leadership of the new states of the former Soviet Union held high positions in the party until August 1991. Party membership was exclusive (only about 10% of the adult population) and required social activism and formal espousal of a prescribed set of views.

Weakness of the post-communist state in Russia during the Yeltsin years, combined with the frail development of political representation, meant that local elites became more autonomous during the 1990s, with the primary objective being the legalization of their status.¹¹³ It has been argued that the commitment of these new leaders to democracy and the market is tenuous,¹¹⁴ yet exclusion of former authoritarians is not always to society's benefit. Where an organized, competent opposition has not yet emerged, leaders of the old guard possess needed expertise and institutional memory. In addition, the cooperation of authoritarian elites at subsequent stages is likewise needed or they may refuse to let democratization proceed.¹¹⁵

Continuity of elites is especially visible in Tatarstan where, at some point in their lives, 50% of the current elite had worked full time for the Communist Party.¹¹⁶ The 1994 survey of 96 top officials in Tatarstan demonstrated both the lack of personnel change during postcommunist transition and the continued domination of "native" Soviet Tatar bureaucracy. The data shows that 92% of them previously belonged to the Soviet Nomenklatura and 78.1% were ethnic Tatars.¹¹⁷

Matsuzato examines Tatarstan's regime within the broader context of comparative politics by proposing a concept of centralized "caciquismo." He defines "caciquismo" as a political regime in which "caciques", local bosses, play the role of intermediary brokers between the central authorities and local communities. These bosses incorporate themselves into a hierarchy comprising a centre, regions and localities, by way of political exchanges of patronage from above and mobilization of votes during elections.¹¹⁸

The first and only president of Tatarstan, Mintimer Shaimiev, is a typical example of elite continuity in the republic. Born in 1937 in the family of a collective farm chairman in rural Tatarstan, in 1959 he received an engineering degree with a specialization in agricultural machinery. Shaimiev needed to overcome a significant language disadvantage in order to enrol at a college – he spoke Tatar at home and went to a Tatar school, but higher education was available only in Russian. After eight years as engineer and district manager of repair facilities, Shaimiev received the Order of Lenin and was recruited into party apparatus working for two years in the Agricultural Department of the provincial party committee. From there, an energetic "native" functionary moved in 1969 to the position of the Tatar Republic's minister of water management.

In 1983 Shaimiev was made deputy premier of Tatarstan, but the same year he moved back into party apparatus as the secretary for agriculture of the provincial party committee. During Gorbachev's reforms he served as the premier of Tatarstan (1985-89), first secretary of the party committee in the republic (1989-90), and chairman of Tatarstan's parliament (1990-91).¹¹⁹

Ideologically, Shaimiev did not abandon his sympathy for the Soviet system even after the collapse of communism. During the early 1990s, when popular nostalgia for socialism ran high in the wake of economic collapse, he praised Stalin for thriftiness and refusal to rely on foreign aid.¹²⁰ In another interview, Shaimiev referred to his early years as an engineer and Soviet bureaucrat as “the best time of his life”:

Some say that it was a terrible time. In reality, there were good things as well as bad. There were gigantic construction sites, amazing technical achievements, the transition to comprehensive secondary education, and advances in residential construction. People lived longer and better, the general atmosphere was friendly. Blackening all this is crime. It is immoral because it deprives the elders’ lives of meaning, but it also leaves the youth without historical and moral roots, without a sense of respect towards their Fatherland and the people.¹²¹

On another occasion in 1993, when asked about his view of the seventy-year Soviet rule, Shaimiev answered that the Soviet legacy included the Tatar republic itself and its oil industry. He also evaluated positively his own past as a party functionary: “Party work gave me an experience of communication, the knowledge of people, the skill of understanding the situation, the ability to take decisions and calculate their consequences.”¹²²

After ascending in 1990 to the chairmanship of Tatarstan’s highest legislative body, the Supreme Soviet, Shaimiev quickly consolidated his power, running unopposed for president in 1991. He was elected Chairman of the State Council of the Tatar ASSR, the same year that the State Council adopted the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan. It is his leadership over the course of the sovereignty period that is often cited as a reason for the successful negotiations with Russia. When the tensions

between Moscow and Kazan ran high during 1992-1993, Shaimiev borrowed freely from the nationalist lexicon such notions as “colonial dependence,” “national pride,” and “the dream of an independent state that is written in the genes of generations of Tatars.”¹²³ Yet he used the nationalist rhetoric strategically, as the means of reaching certain very pragmatic political and economic aims. He always stressed that “Tatarstan’s sovereignty implies mutually beneficial division of rights and prerogatives with Russia and does not relate to the issue of separating or not separating from Russia.”¹²⁴

In contrast, in Chechnya the Soviet-era elites were violently removed in 1991 and an outsider, General Dzhokhar Dudayev, came to power. Dudayev had spent his childhood in Kazakhstan and his military career in the Soviet air force, serving outside Chechnya. Chechen nationalists welcomed him as a leader with strong military credentials and the emergence of Dudayev marked a milestone in the history of the Chechen conflict.¹²⁵ At the second meeting of the Congress of the Chechen People held in July 1991, Dudayev was already acting as leader of the nationalist movement and this Congress proclaimed as its aim a struggle for democratic transformation in the republic, guaranteeing national rights for the Chechen people and control over their natural resources. The resolution adopted by the Congress reflected a radical program for Chechen nationalism which had not yet assumed a clearly separatist character.

After Dudayev came to power and much like in the case of Tatarstan, a substantial amount of propaganda was generated in Chechnya about how the immensely rich resources of the republic had been stolen by the imperial regime of Russia. As in Tatarstan, it was the elimination of Russia’s “colonial” domination of Chechnya that emerged as a central political issue. After winning the presidential elections in October

1991, Dudayev promulgated the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Chechen Republic and asserted the republic's control over its resources. The Declaration was passed on November 27, 1990 and based on the principle that the republic is a "sovereign state constituted as a result of the self-determination of the Chechen and Ingush peoples."¹²⁶ The language of the document was extremist, based on the "radical nationalist mood [that] prevailed in the newly elected Supreme Soviet and it was hard to resist."¹²⁷ In contrast, the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan recognizes its "multinational peoples" by guaranteeing that

Irrespective of nationality, social origin, belief, political convictions and other differences, Tatar SSR shall guarantee all citizens of the Republic equal rights and freedoms. Russian and Tatar shall be state languages and shall be equal in Tatar SSR, the maintenance and development of languages of other nationalities shall be ensured.¹²⁸

The executive committee of the Congress headed by Dudayev was declared the only legal organ of power of the new republic and the relations with the federal centre quickly deteriorated.¹²⁹ The catalyst was actually the signing of the bilateral treaty between Russia and Tatarstan.¹³⁰ The signing of the treaty with Tatarstan prompted the Russian government to send Dudayev an ultimatum. In an address to the Chechen people on December 15, 1994, President Yeltsin advised that

"the best way out of this situation [hostilities between Russian and Chechen forces] is to cease fire and sit at the negotiating table without preconditions", and that if Chechen President Dudaev personally consents to lead the Chechen delegation to such talks he [Yeltsin] would send "a high-level delegation from Russia."¹³¹

This only served to heighten tensions between the Chechen capital of Grozny and Moscow and the drive for separatism only increased. Federal troops entered Chechnya that same year and, in early 1995, Russian prosecutors issued an arrest warrant for Dudayev. In a show of its opposition to the Chechen administration, the Russian Duma passed a bill calling for direct negotiations without condition with the Chechens.¹³²

In contrast to Tatarstan's relatively peaceful pursuit of sovereignty, Chechnya implemented a radical scenario for sovereignty. Maintaining the freedom to export petroleum products throughout Russia would bring solid personal rewards to the Chechen elite. Control over oil resources and the pipeline was one factor in Chechnya's sovereignty debate but it was historical grievance and manipulation by the new elite that came into play. The Chechens had experienced events in recent history generating feelings of injured collective identity and aggravating social and economic problems. There is little doubt that control over oil resources, and particularly oil revenues, was of immediate interest to both the Chechen and Russian leadership, but the willingness to compromise was not apparent.

Independence was presented as a way to put local resources under the control of the Chechen national government and to bring prosperity to the Chechens, but the North Caucasus region was in fact heavily subsidized by the federal budget. Chechnya's petroleum industry was crippled by the expulsion of the Chechens and Ingush during World War II and by the exodus of Russian engineers and technicians in 1990-91. By the war's beginning in 1994, oil production in Chechnya represented less than 1% of the total output of Russia.¹³³ The issue at stake was not so much the oil itself but rather the oil and natural gas passing through the republic. Chechnya's strategic location along possible oil

transit routes from the Caspian Sea is significant. The only existing pipeline in the area runs directly through Grozny to the Black Sea and, by 1994, Moscow was negotiating two extremely lucrative pipeline deals, both of which entailed shipping oil and gas through Grozny to the major Black Sea ports of Novorossiisk and Tuapse, Georgia.¹³⁴

As was the case in Tatarstan, Chechnya had been exploited for its oil wealth and the republic was not compensated accordingly under the Soviet system of economic accounting. In the early 1990s, both republics used their connection to oil as a bargaining chip with Moscow, one successfully and the other not so successfully. While the Tatarstan leadership, which shared Soviet lineage with Yeltsin's government, became a controlling partner in the development of its oil industry, Chechnya's radical leadership, which replaced the region's old elites, had no direct access to oil riches and has resorted to violence and sabotage in order to make its point with Moscow. I have found a striking confirmation of my line of analysis in one of Shaimiev's interviews from 1994. He argues that Dudaev came to power in Chechnya in a large part because the Russian authorities "wanted to get rid as soon as possible of the party nomenklatura in the regions." At the same time, Tatarstan, which remained under the hand of old Soviet party types "from the very beginning took the path of political negotiations, compromise, and agreements."¹³⁵

In contrast to Chechen leaders, Shaimiev always positioned himself as both the strong leader of his republic and an influential - but invariably loyal - player in federal politics. In 1998, he was considered a serious candidate for the position of the Russian prime minister. In 1999, he emerged as one of the leaders of the pro-Kremlin party "Our Fatherland – All Russia." In 2000, he joined the national steering committee of Putin's

nomination campaign for presidency, even though at this very time the center was attempting to curtail Tatarstan's autonomy.¹³⁶

If Tatarstan and Chechnya in the 1990s is a study of contrasts, interesting parallels between the two republics emerge in the 2000s. After a decade of conflict, in late 2002 the Russian administration prepared drafts of the Chechen Constitution and the laws on the election of the president and parliament of the Chechen Republic. The draft Constitution promised Grozny a degree of autonomy reminiscent of that once enjoyed by Kazan, and that Constitution was duly adopted by referendum in March 2003. The 2003 Constitution granted the Chechen Republic a significant degree of autonomy but still tied it firmly to Moscow's rule.

As details of the draft Chechen Constitution emerged in early 2003, members of the Tatarstani intelligentsia and the nationalist opposition began to wonder whether compromise was the right choice. Of course, had the nationalist opposition come to power during the period of economic and inter-ethnic stability in the early 1990s, the republic may have suffered the same fate as Chechnya. However, in the spring of 2003, Russian media reported that Moscow was about to grant Chechnya the kind of sovereignty and self-governance that Tatarstan had just lost, adding insult to injury in Kazan. Later, in 2004, the newspaper *Verchernyaya Kazan* doubted that Kazan's lost sovereignty could be regained through compromise and negotiation:

It is impossible to buy sovereignty...it can only be taken by force of opinion, as it was in Tatarstan in the early 1990s, or by force of weapons...as is occurring now in Chechnya. Sovereignty exists only as armed sovereignty.¹³⁷

The election of Chechnya's president was scheduled for October 5, 2003 and Moscow gave its support to Akhmat Kadyrov who, at that time, was the head of the administration of the Chechen Republic. Kadyrov had a long history as a rebel leader in Chechnya but, during the second Chechen war in 2002, he switched sides leading a pro-Moscow government. Importantly for Moscow, Kadyrov had a significant tribal support base. After his death in 2004, his son Ramzan Kadyrov became the most powerful man in the republic.

At the time of his father's death, Ramzan was only 27 years old, but he was duly elected president as soon as he reached the constitutional age of 30 in 2007. He now leads his father's army of former rebels and it is this army that Moscow is counting on to establish peace and stability in the troubled republic, a living example of Moscow's "Chechenisation" policy - Ramzan and his army, not the Russian federal forces, run today's Chechnya.¹³⁸ Thus, because the continuity with former Soviet elites has been lost in Chechnya, the federal authorities were forced to reach a compromise with hereditary tribal leaders commanding their private armies.

Kadyrov's appointment was met in Moscow with both approval and resentment. Some claimed that this is essentially the installation of a nationalist Chechen regime, composed mostly of people who fought Russia during the two wars. Giving an authoritarian figure like Ramzan Kadyrov free reign, without any checks from competing Chechen clans, seemed questionable. Others claimed that it was better to consolidate Chechnya under Kadyrov who had proven himself by convincing separatists to join him and reconciling warring clans.

By comparison, the Kremlin has been much more comfortable dealing with the former Soviet functionary Shaimiev, although he was a strong defender of the interests of his republic. Under the provisions of President Putin's centralising reforms, President Shaimiev must now be appointed by the Kremlin. Putin abolished regional elections for leaders of the regions in 2004 and instituted a system where the Russian President appointed his own governors and presidents of autonomous republics, who were subject to approval by local legislatures. Shaimiev has insisted for the sake of appearances that Tatarstan's right to elect its leader has been only suspended.¹³⁹ In reality, he had long ago reached a cozy private deal with the Kremlin. Putin conferred authority of the presidency on Shaimiev on March 25, 2005 knowing that, at election time, he could count on Shaimiev's support, the Tatarstani president by now being also a senior official in Putin's United Russia Party. In turn, Shaimiev knows that Tatarstan's continued but limited self-determination depends on Putin's support of the treaty agreement.¹⁴⁰

The Tatars and Chechens have very similar historical, religious, cultural and economic backgrounds, sharing a common legacy of Russian and Soviet oppression, yet the two groups face very different political realities. These relationships have influenced the course of action by the separatist agitators and groups within both republics but the final outcomes were determined by other factors. In the case of Tatarstan, local Soviet-educated elites pursued a peaceful and moderate approach leading to successful negotiations with Moscow and it has been argued that the leadership of President Shaimiev was instrumental in the success of these negotiations. By pushing for ill-defined "sovereignty," the republic has won impressive political, economic, and cultural autonomy.

In contrast, Chechnya ended up as an arena of a brutal civil war. Russian authorities lost control of Dudayev and of Chechnya shortly after the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. As time progressed, Chechnya became more radical, resulting in civil unrest and instability. Under Kadyrov, the decision was finally made to abandon demands for a special treaty on delimiting authority between Russia and Chechnya, keeping the republic fully within the legal, political and economic space of Russia. The absence of a special treaty between Grozny and Moscow means that the republic will be treated like any other subject of the Russian Federation.

Conclusion

Our analysis of the relations between post-Communist Russia and its regions suggests that outcomes of the federal bargaining game depend on the resources the players possess and the position the local elites take vis-à-vis the Kremlin. This was especially true for the fate of the sovereignty project in Tatarstan, a Muslim autonomous republic on the Volga.

In chapter 1, we have concluded that the Volga Tatars were victims of a classic imperial conquest, both under the Russian and Soviet regimes, and that historical memory played a large part in building popular support for the drive for sovereignty. Over a period of 70 years, the nationalities in the Soviet Union were shaped and molded by state-initiated transformations, their histories and traditions reconstructed in accordance with the Soviet ideology.¹⁴¹ The discourse of the Tatars' long history as a conquered people under the Mongols and Russians and their unequal position under the Soviet regime came to the fore in the sovereignty debate.

Not only are these historical and social points of development key to our understanding of non-Russian nationalism in the former Soviet Union but so too is Tatarstan's loss of control over its valuable oil and gas resources. As we saw in chapter 2, the emphasis on cultural and political rights which originally informed the debate quickly changed to a focus more on economic autonomy within Russia. Tatarstan wanted more of its significant petrochemical resource revenues to remain within its territory to promote local development and to raise living standards. Tatarstan used its strong economy as a bargaining chip while at the same time introducing market reforms which provided new incentives for development.

In a situation of radical societal transformation such as experienced by the post-Soviet states, the use of nationalist rhetoric was key to the mobilization of the population. In Chapter 3, we analyzed Tatarstan as a case study of nationalism within the Russian Federation to explain how and why successful resolution of a conflict between the federal centre and the autonomous region occurred. The essence of Tatarstan's declaration of sovereignty lay not in the claim to complete independence but in guaranteeing the republic's autonomy and establishing new relations with Russia by way of mutual cooperation agreements.

In chapter 4 we suggest that behind the Tatar nationalist rhetoric there was a legitimate desire to devolve power and exercise the right to control resources and taxation. Of all the social groups, the local elite stood to gain most from this and it was most outspoken.

Looking back over the last two decades, the Tatarstani solution was clearly a good deal for the republic's citizens, its elite and the Kremlin in Moscow. Russia's Power Sharing Treaty with Tatarstan has been both praised and scorned, however the Moscow-Kazan treaty was the first treaty between central and local governments in Russian history, laying the foundations of new relations between Moscow and the regions.

Indeed, the republic has played a significant role in the evolution of the Russian Federation: In the summer of 1990, Boris Yeltsin told Tatarstan directly that if it wanted to govern itself, it should; Tatarstan became the first region in the Russian Federation to sign a power-sharing treaty with Moscow in 1994; and the republic's oil wealth has contributed to the federal revenue accounts.

Although the republic is a fiscal dream for the Russian federal centre, Tatarstan's position, in light of rising global oil prices, is often described as neocolonialism.¹⁴² Only two years ago did some predict that Moscow would seek to take over Tatneft to deprive the republic of an economic basis for its sovereignty. As Russian oil and gas companies are burdened by increased taxation of the sector in 2007 with the imposition of the new mineral extraction tax, only Tatneft stock appears to be increasing in value. This may partly be due to a new joint venture with Royal Dutch Shell to develop heavy bitumen deposits in the republic.

It remains to be seen what the next decade will bring especially now that Putin has retained significant power in the last federal election in December 2007, even if he cannot run again for president. However, he has stated that he will take on the role of prime minister if the man he is backing to be president, Dmitry Medvedev, wins elections scheduled for 2008. Tatarstan has always been a decisive region at election time. In past presidential elections, Shaimiev has always managed to produce an impressive percentage of voters in support of President Putin. In Tatarstan, results of the December 2007 elections indicate that there was an 85% voter turnout with 81% voting for Shaimiev and Putin's United Russia party.¹⁴³

Under Putin's predecessor, Boris Yeltsin, the regional governors were selected by regional legislatures. Putin has gradually done away with that system, demonstrated most recently by further dismissals of regional governors. It is becoming more evident that the Kremlin has less need than ever for regional governors. It could be argued that Putin is using the election as an opportunity to clean house. Shaimiev has repeatedly argued that

Russia's regions should be given more authority in the interest of all Russia. He might still have too much of a stronghold on Tatarstan for Putin to grab hold of at the moment.

Appendices¹⁴⁴

Select Chronology of Key Events 1990 - 2007

August 1990

Tatarstan declares sovereignty

June 1991

Mintimer Shaimiev elected first President of the Republic of Tatarstan

August 1991

Negotiations between the official delegations of the Republic of the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation begin

December 1991

Gorbachev resigns as president of the Soviet Union ceding all the powers still vested in it to the president of Russia, Boris Yeltsin. The Supreme Soviet recognizes the extinction of the Union and dissolves itself

January 1992

Agreement on Economic Cooperation between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tatarstan is adopted

March 1992

Referendum held in the Republic of Tatarstan

November 1992

Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan is adopted

February 1994

Treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan On Delimitation of Jurisdictional Subjects and Mutual Delegation of Authority between the State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan is adopted

March 1999

All agreements between Tatarstan and Russia extended for a period of five years

March 2000

Vladimir Putin elected President of the Russian Federation

October 2005

Discussions begin between Russia and Tatarstan on a new Power Sharing Treaty

July 2007

New Treaty approved

Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan

The Supreme Soviet of Tatar Autonomous Soviet Social Republic,

- realizing the historical responsibility for the fortunes of multinational peoples;
- expressing respect to sovereign rights of all peoples, inhabiting the Russian Federation and the USSR;
- realizing the incapability of the status of Autonomous Republic, and the interests of future political, economic, social and spiritual development of the multinational peoples;
- ensuring the inherent rights of Tatars, of the whole population of the Republic to self-determination;
- aiming at the creation of legal democratic state,

1. PROCLAIMS Tatar state sovereignty and reforms the Autonomous Republic into the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic (Tatar SSR) - The Republic of Tatarstan.
2. The land, its natural resources and other resources on the territory of the Tatar SSR shall be the exclusive property of Tatar people.
3. Irrespective of nationality, social origin, belief, political convictions and other differences, Tatar SSR shall guarantee all citizens of the Republic equal rights and freedoms. Russian and Tatar shall be state languages and shall be equal in Tatar SSR, the maintenance and development of languages of other nationalities shall be ensured.
4. The official state name in the Constitution, in other legal acts and in state activity shall be "Tatar Soviet Social Republic" ("Tatar SSR" or "The Republic of Tatarstan"). Republic's Supreme body of power shall be named "The Supreme Soviet of the Tatar SSR" and its enacting acts shall be named: acts of the Supreme Soviet of the Tatar SSR.
5. The present declaration shall be the basis for Tatar Constitution, for Tatar legislation, for participation of Tatar SSR in drafting and signing the Union Treaty, for agreements with the Russian Federation and other republics. It also shall be the basis for the presentation of the most important questions of state formation of Tatar SSR, its relations with the USSR, with the Russian Federation and other republics for the consideration of its people. The Constitution and the acts of Tatar SSR shall be supreme on the territory of Tatar SSR.
6. Before the adoption of new Constitution of Tatar SSR, other laws and regulations of Tatar SSR, acting laws of Tatar SSR, of the Russian Federation and the USSR remain valid on the territory of Tatar SSR, unless they contradict the Declaration on the state sovereignty of the Tatar SSR.

The present Declaration shall come into force from the date of its adoption.

M. Shaimiev,
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tatar Soviet Social Republic
Kazan, August 30, 1990

Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan (extract)

Article 1

The Republic of Tatarstan shall be a sovereign democratic state, expressing the will and interests of the whole multinational people of the republic.
The sovereignty and powers of the state shall come out from the people.
The state sovereignty shall be an inalienable qualitative status of the Republic of Tatarstan.

Article 4

Tatar and Russian shall be equally official languages in the Republic of Tatarstan.

Article 5

The state bodies in the Republic of Tatarstan shall take guidance from the principles of legal state, i.e. from the supremacy and strict observation of laws, division of legislative, executive and judicial powers.

Article 8

The Republic of Tatarstan shall reject violence and war as the means of setting disputes among the states and nations. The territory of The Republic of Tatarstan shall be a zone, free of mass destination weapons.
The propaganda of war shall be prohibited in The Republic of Tatarstan.

Article 9

The earth, mineral wealth, water, forest and other natural resources, the animal and vegetable kingdom, means of state budget, assets of national banks, cultural and historical values of the peoples of Tatarstan and other estate ensuring the economic independence of the republic, the preservation of material and spiritual culture, shall be the property of the whole people.

Article 11

The economic activities in The Republic of Tatarstan shall be based on private, state-owned, municipal (communal) and public property.

Land plots and other subjects, objects and projects, used in any sphere of activities not prohibited by the law, may be the private property.

The property of other states, international organizations, foreign juridical persons and aliens, stateless persons as well as the joint property of private citizens, juridical persons and the state shall be allowed in The Republic of Tatarstan.

Article 19

The Republic of Tatarstan shall have its own citizenship. Reasons, procedures of acquiring and renouncing the citizenship of The Republic of Tatarstan shall be established by the Law on the Citizenship of The Republic of Tatarstan.

Citizens of The Republic of Tatarstan shall be admitted to the citizenship of the Russian Federation - Russia.

Citizens of The Republic of Tatarstan may acquire the citizenship of other states under conditions determined by treaties and agreements between The Republic of Tatarstan and other states. Citizens of The Republic of Tatarstan may keep dual citizenship or renounce it.

Each person shall have the right to choose the citizenship and the right to change it. Deprivation of citizenship or of the right to change the citizenship shall be prohibited.

Article 59

The Republic of Tatarstan shall independently determine its state and legal status, making decisions concerning political, economic, socio-cultural development. The laws of The Republic of Tatarstan shall enjoy supremacy all over its territory, unless they contradict international obligations of The Republic of Tatarstan.

Article 61

The Republic of Tatarstan shall be a sovereign state, a subject of international law, associated to the Russian Federation - Russia - on the base of the Treaty on Mutual Delegation of Powers and Subjects under Jurisdiction.

Article 62

The Republic of Tatarstan shall establish relations with other countries, adhere international treaties, exchange diplomatic, consular, commercial and other missions, participate in international organizations, taking guidance from the principles of international law.

Generally recognized principles and norms of the international law shall prior to the laws of The Republic of Tatarstan.

Adopted on November 6, 1992

Agreement on Economic Cooperation between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tatarstan

The Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tatarstan hereinafter referred to as the "Parties", proceeding from the established traditional ties, taking into account the interest of both Parties in the future development and expansion of mutually beneficial economic cooperation on the long-term and stable basis, have agreed to the following:

Article 1

The Parties shall confirm that the land, entrails of the earth, waters and natural resources on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan shall be the property of Tatar people. On their territories the Parties shall acknowledge the existence of federal, republican (of the Republic of Tatarstan) and common property, which is formed according to mutual interests and to voluntary consent.

Article 2

On the basis of mutual economic interest and responsibility the Parties shall support the preservation of common economic territory and develop economic ties between enterprises and organizations. The Parties shall help them to preserve the volume of product's deliveries in 1992 at a level not lower than in 1991. The nomenclature and the volume of mutual product's deliveries of important types of products for state needs shall be regulated by special agreement.

Article 3

Supporting the expansion of interregional relations, the Parties shall confirm the necessity of conducting common programs in the scientific and technical fields, in the field of conversion, ecology and other spheres of socio-economic development. Russia shall be responsible for conversion's financing those enterprises. The conversion expediency of such enterprises shall be confirmed by the Parties.

Article 4

The Parties shall proceed from the fact that military units, military educational institutions, based on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan, shall be provided with all types of material, food and power supplies from the stores of the Joint Military Forces. The Parties shall take part in formation of such stores. The lands on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan on which these stores are based shall be the exclusive property of the Republic of Tatarstan.

Article 5

Goods and services shall be free delivered on the territory of the republics and between the republics. On its own territory each Party shall ensure the free and duty-free regime of movement of vehicles, cargoes and production, delivered by other Party (or by economic organizations) or by the third Party (including export delivery) by air, sea, river, railway, motor road or tubing.

Article 6

The Parties shall confirm that on its own territory the Republic of Tatarstan controls the exploitation, output and sale of natural resources without outside interference; first of all, the sale of oil, oil and gas products. Russia shall be supplied by these products according to mutually beneficial annual agreements. The volume of oil delivery in 1992 is defined in accordance with the appendix of the present Treaty.

Article 7

The Parties shall carry out foreign economic relations without outside interference, excluding those types of products which require license and export quotas. Every year the Parties shall confirm the export quotas of goods, which are produced on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan. The representative of the Russian Committee for foreign economic relations on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan shall issue licenses within the framework of agreed quotas according to the resolutions of Tatarstan Government. Where quota's amount exceeds the defined limit, the RSFSR shall suspend the validity of issued licenses. The Parties shall have common customs system.

Article 8

The Parties shall carry out agreed policy, connected with social guarantees and employment: conclude special agreements on the regulation of the processes of migration, undertake commitments on social guarantees, social maintenance and social insurance.

Article 9

The Parties shall cooperate in the spheres of science, education and culture. The agreements between the Parties shall determine the subordination of organizations and institutions on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan and the Parties' participation in the providing of their activity.

Article 10

The Parties shall proceed from the integrity and indivisibility of environment and independently solve these problems; they shall coordinate the preventive measures against ecological disasters, shall have common approach to the estimation of environmental conditions and promote their protection.

Article 11

The Parties have agreed that special agreements, connected with the spheres of cooperation which are stipulated by the present Treaty, shall be signed according to agreed terms.

Article 12

Parties' standing representations which have equal authorities shall be created under the Governments. The Parties shall give premises and create necessary conditions for their work.

Article 13

The Parties shall jointly consider the problems, which shall arise during the implementation of the Treaty, and shall take measures for their solvability. For the purpose of control of the Treaty's execution the Parties shall form the intergovernmental commission, which will in turn take a conference in the cities of Moscow and Kazan.

Article 14

The Present Treaty is concluded for the period of 5 years and comes into force after its signing. In case of non-fulfillment of the accepted obligations, every Party has the right to cancel the treaty and have to notify the other Party at least 12 months before the cancellation.

The present Treaty is concluded on January 22, 1992 in the city of Moscow. The present Treaty is drawn up in two copies, each in Russian and Tatar, both texts have equal force.

Deputy Chairman of the Government of
the Russian Federation
Y.Gaidar

Prime Minister of the Republic of
Tatarstan
M.Sabirov

**Treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan
On Delimitation of Jurisdictional Subjects and Mutual Delegation of Authority
between the State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the
Republic of Tatarstan**

The plenipotentiaries of the State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan:

empowered by the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan;

based on the universally recognized right of all nationalities to self-determination and the principals of equality, voluntariness and free will;

having the aim to guarantee the preservation of territorial integrity and the common economic interest;

wishing to promote the preservation and development of historical and national customs, cultures, languages;

being concerned about ensuring civil peace, international accord and national security;

acknowledging the priority of basic human rights and freedoms regardless of nationality, religion, location of habitation and other differences;

taking into account that the Republic of Tatarstan, as a State, is united with the Russian Federation according to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan and the Treaty "On Delimitation of Jurisdictional Subjects and Mutual Delegation of Authority between the State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan", and participates in international and foreign economic relations, have agreed to the following:

Article I

Delimitation of Jurisdictional Subjects and Mutual Delegation of Authority between the State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan shall be governed by the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan and the present Treaty.

Article II

The Republic of Tatarstan has its own Constitution and Legislation.
The State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan shall execute the authority of state power and shall:

1) guarantee the protection of human and civil rights and freedoms;

- 2) form the republic budget, define and impose the republic taxes;
- 3) decide issues concerning jurisprudence and notary public;
- 4) implement the legal regulation of administrative, family and housing relationships, as well as relations in the area of environmental protection and use of nature;
- 5) grant amnesty to individuals, convicted by the courts of the Republic of Tatarstan;
- 6) decide issues of possession, use and disposal of land, mineral wealth, water, timber and other resources, as well as state enterprises, organizations, other movable and immovable state property, located on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan, which is the exclusive property of Tatarstan's people except for units of federal property. Delimitation of the state property shall be governed by a separate Agreement;
- 7) establish the system of state governmental bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan, their organizational structure and activity;
- 8) decide issues of the republic citizenship;
- 9) establish the order for alternative civil service on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan for citizens who have the right to substitute their service in the armed forces according to federal law;
- 10) establish and maintain relations, conclude treaties and agreements with the republics, territories, regions, autonomous districts and regions, with the cities of Moscow and St.Petersburg of the Russian Federation, which shall not contradict the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan, the present Treaty and other agreements between the State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan;
- 11) participate in international affairs, shall establish relations with foreign states and conclude treaties, which shall not contradict the Constitution and international obligations of the Russian Federation, the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan and the present Treaty, shall participate in the activity of corresponding international organizations;
- 12) create a National Bank pursuant to a separate Agreement;
- 13) independently conduct foreign economic activity. The delimitation of authorities in the field of foreign economic activity shall be settled by a special Agreement;
- 14) decide on the order established by a separate Agreement, questions of conversion for enterprises, which are in the possession of the Republic of Tatarstan;
- 15) establish state awards and honorary titles of the Republic of Tatarstan.

Article III

The State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan jointly are authorized to:

- 1) guarantee the civil rights and freedoms of persons and citizens, the rights of national minorities;
- 2) protect sovereignty and territorial integrity;

- 3) organize mobilization of the national economy, direction of the design and production of armament and military equipment on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan; questions concerning the sale of armament, ammunition, military equipment and other military property, as well as conversion of the defense industry. The form and share of the Parties' participation shall be governed by a separate Agreement;
- 4) settle the common and contradictory questions of citizenship;
- 5) coordinate the international and foreign economic relationship;
- 6) coordinate pricing policy;
- 7) create funds for regional development;
- 8) pursue monetary policy;
- 9) manage the items of property of the Russian Federation or the Republic of Tatarstan, which may be transferred to common management according to interest based on voluntary and mutual consent. The forms and the order for common management of specific items shall be governed by a separate Agreement;
- 10) coordinate activity on questions of geodesy, meteorology and calendar system;
- 11) create joint funds for the purpose of financing common programs, elimination of the consequences of disasters and catastrophes on the basis of mutual agreements;
- 12) coordinate the management of common power system as well as highway, railway, pipe, air and tubing, water transport, communications and information systems;
- 13) ensure an unobstructed and duty-free regime for movement of transportation of vehicles, cargoes and production by air, sea, river, railway, motor road and also through pipe transport;
- 14) estimate the quality of environment conditions according to international standards and promote the measures for its stabilization and restoration; secure the ecology, coordinate the action concerning use of land, water and other natural resources; prevent ecological disasters and settle questions on specially protected natural territories;
- 15) implement common policy in the social sphere: population employment patterns, migration processes, social protection, including social welfare;
- 16) coordinate activity on issues of health, family protection, maternity, paternity, childhood, education, science, culture, physical culture and sport; preparation of national specialists for schools, educational institutions, establishments of culture, mass media and other institutions and organizations; shall provide pre-school organizations and educational institutions with native language literature; shall co-ordinate scientific research in the field of history, national cultures and their languages;
- 17) deal with problems of personnel for justice and police enforcement;
- 18) settle litigation, arbitration and notary public question;
- 19) coordinate the activity of police enforcement agencies, the cooperation of security services, creation and use of programs to combat crime;
- 20) establish common principals for organization of state bodies and local self-government;

- 21) establish administrative, administrative-legal, labor, family, housing, land, water, timber legislation, legislation on mineral wealth, on protection of the surrounding environment;
- 22) address the questions of common use of land, mineral wealth, water and other natural resources;
- 23) execute other authority established by mutual agreement.

Article IV

Within the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and its State Bodies are found:

- 1) the adoption and alteration of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws, as well as control of their observance; the implementation of the federal system and the territory of the Russian Federation;
- 2) regulation and protection of human and civil rights and freedoms; questions of citizenship in the Russian Federation; regulation and protection of rights of national minorities;
- 3) establishment of a system of federal legislative, executive and judicial power and the order of their organization and activity; formation of federal bodies of state authority;
- 4) the federal state property and its management;
- 5) establishment of the basis of federal policy and federal programs in the fields of state, economic, ecological, social, cultural and national development of the Russian Federation;
- 6) establishment of the legal basis for a common market; finance, currency, credit, customs regulation, money supply, principals of general price policy; federal economic agencies, including federal banks;
- 7) the federal budget, federal taxes and duties, federal funds for regional development;
- 8) the federal power system, nuclear energy, fissionable materials; federal transport, communication pathways, information and communication systems, space activity;
- 9) foreign policy and international relations of the Russian Federation, international agreements of the Russian Federation; questions of war and peace;
- 10) foreign economic relations of the Russian Federation;
- 11) defense and security; the defense industry; the determination of the order of sale and purchase of armament, ammunition, military equipment and other military property; production of poisonous substance, drugs and the order of their use;
- 12) the determination of the status and defense of the state frontier, territorial waters, air space, the exclusive economic area and continental shelf of the Russian Federation;
- 13) the judicial system; the procurator's Office; penal legislation, criminal procedure and penal-executive legislation; amnesty and clemency; civil, civil procedure and arbitration-procedural legislation;
- 14) federal conflict law;

- 15) the meteorological service, standards, standard metres, metric system of measures, time calculation, geodesy, cartography, names of geographical places; formal statistics and book-keeping;
- 16) state awards and honorary titles of the Russian Federation;
- 17) federal state service.

Article V

Judicial documents, issued by state bodies, institutions and officials of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan within the limits of authority of these state bodies, institutions and officials, shall be valid.

Article VI

The State Bodies of the Russian Federation as well as the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan shall have no rights to issue any legal acts on issues, which do not relate to their area of responsibility.

The State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan as well as the Federal State Bodies shall have the right to protest against the acts of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan where they infringe upon the present Treaty.

Disputes on the execution of authority in the sphere of common competence of the State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan shall be settled in accordance with the procedure agreed to between the Parties.

Article VII

For the purpose of execution of the present Treaty the State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan shall have the right to conclude additional agreements, create joint structures and commissions on an equal footing.

Article VIII

The State Bodies of the Russian Federation and the State Bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan shall have plenipotentiary representatives in the cities of Moscow and Kazan.

Article IX

No unilateral cancellation, alteration or amendment of the present Treaty or its provisions shall become valid.

The Treaty shall become effective 7 days after its signing and shall be published for public dissemination.

The present Treaty is concluded on February 15, 1994 in the city of Moscow in two copies, each in Russian and Tatar, both texts having equal judicial force.

On behalf of the
Russian Federation:

President of the
Russian Federation
B. Yeltsin

Prime Minister of the
Russian Federation
V. Chernomyrdin

On behalf of the
Republic of Tatarstan:

President of the
Republic of Tatarstan
M. Shaimiev

Prime Minister of the
Republic of Tatarstan
M. Sabirov

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- ¹ A Mongol khanate established in present day Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and the Caucasus after the break-up of the Mongol Empire in the mid-1200s.
- ² Mintimer Shaimiev, “The Significance of Tatarstan’s Experience” Report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, Proceedings of Moscow Conference, August 14-16, 1996.
<http://wwics.si.edu/subsites/ccpdc/pubs/moscow/mos.htm>.
- ³ Galina Starovoitova, “Nationality Policies in the Period of Perestroika: Some Comments from a Political Actor” in *From Union to Commonwealth: Nationalism and Separatism in the Soviet Republics*, Gail Lapidus et al., eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 115.
- ⁴ Katherine E. Graney, “Projecting Sovereignty: Statehood and Nationness in Post-Soviet Russia” PhD diss., (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1999), 54.
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- ⁶ Graney, “Projecting Sovereignty,” 57.
- ⁷ R.A Mustafin and A. Kh. Khasanov, eds, *Pervyi president Tatarstana Mintimer Shaimiev*, (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 1995), 113.
- ⁸ I. I. Mirsiianov, *Natsionalnaia ideologiya i natsionalnye vzaimootnosheniia v Respublike Tatarstan* (Moscow: Ves mir, 2004), 102-103 (official historians); L. M. Ovrutskii, *Shaimiev—realnyi i virtualnyi* (Ioshkar-Ola: Maksim, 2000), 12-13 (Shaimiev on the Tatar Yoke).
- ⁹ Leader of the Great Hun Empire, which stretched from the present day Netherlands to the Ural River, and from the Danube River to the Baltic Sea.
- ¹⁰ Kazan State University, http://www.kcn.ru/tat_en/history/index.htm.
- ¹¹ The lesser evil theory, promoted by the Soviets since the mid-1930s, posits that this was a positive development and, had the Russian conquest not occurred, Tatars would have been forced into the Ottoman Turkish empire. Edward J. Lazzerini, “Tatarovedenie and the ‘New Historiography’ in the Soviet Union: Revising the Interpretation of the Tatar-Russian Relationship” *Slavic Review* 40, no. 4 (1981), 628.
- ¹² Serge A. Zenkovsky, “A Century of Tatar Revival,” *American Slavic and East European Review* 12, no. 3 (October 1953), 303-318.
- ¹³ Edward W. Walker, “The Dog That Didn’t Bark: Tatarstan and Asymmetrical Federalism in Russia” Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies at University of California, Berkeley, November 27, 1996, published on Kazan State University website: http://www.kcn.ru/tat_en/politics/dfa/f_media/tatar.htm.
- ¹⁴ The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, were a faction of the Marxist Russian Social Democrat Labour Party which ultimately became the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Bolsheviks seized power during the October Revolution, the second phase of the Russian Revolution of 1917.
- ¹⁵ Terry Martin, “An Affirmative Action Empire” in *A State of Nations* edited by Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 73.
- ¹⁶ Walker, “The Dog That Didn’t Bark.”
- ¹⁷ In 1989, Tatarstan had a population of 3.6 million. In contrast, the Baltic republics of Estonia and Latvia had populations of 1.17 and 1.5 million respectively, and Lithuania

had a population of 3.7 million. Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) Population and Housing Censuses <http://www.unece.org/>.

¹⁹ In 1954, the Crimea was transferred from the Russian Federation to Ukraine. Although some Crimean Tatars returned there, the Tatar autonomy was never restored.

²⁰ Mintimer Shaimiev, “The Significance of Tatarstan’s Experience.”

²¹ Kazan State University, http://www.kcn.ru/tat_en/politics/dfa/sover/sover.htm.

²² I.I. Mirsiianov, 130.

²³ Suzanne Wertheim, “Linguistic Purism, Language Shift, and Contact-Induced Change in Tatar” PhD. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2003, 18.

²⁴ Katherine E. Graney, “Ten Years of Sovereignty in Tatarstan: End of the Beginning or Beginning of the End?” *Problems of Post-Communism* 5 (Sept-Oct, 2001), 35.

²⁵ Mirsiianov, 101.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

²⁷ Among these, Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 258. He argues that to preserve the Soviet federation, Gorbachev should have followed a path of high level negotiation with local leaders and cajoling to prevent both the breakup and the coup of 1991, 253.

²⁸ Dmitry Gorenburg, “Regional Separatism in Russia: Ethnic Mobilisation or Power Grab?” *Europe-Asia Studies* 51, no. 2 (March 1999), 245.

²⁹ As noted by Douglas B. Reynolds in “Soviet Economic Decline: Did an Oil Crisis Cause the Transition in the Soviet Union?” *Journal of Energy and Development* 24, no. 1 (2000), 67.

³⁰ As noted by Ravil Bukharaev in *The Model of Tatarstan under President Mintimer Shaimiev*. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999); Alexei Zverev in “Special Status for Tatarstan: Validity of Claims and Limits on Sovereignty” in *Contextualizing Secession: Normative Studies in Comparative Perspective* edited by Bruno Coppieters and Richard Sakwa, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Roza N. Musina in “Contemporary Ethnosocial and Ethnopolitical Processes in Tatarstan” in *Ethnic Conflict in a Post-Soviet World* edited by Leokadia Drobizheva et al eds., (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe Inc. 1996).

³¹ V.N. Bandera and Z.L. Melnyk, *The Soviet Economy in Regional Perspective*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973).

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³³ The Nomenklatura were an élite subset of the general population, all members of the Communist Party, who held key administrative positions in all spheres of Soviet life including government, industry and education.

³⁴ McCann, *Economic Development in Tatarstan*.

³⁵ Laura Solanko and Merja Tekoniemi, “To Recentralise or Decentralize: Some Recent Trends in Russian Fiscal Federalism” (Helsinki: Bank of Finland Institute for Economies in Transition, 2005).

³⁶ Solanko and Tekoniemi.

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- ³⁸ BBC Monitoring, "Russian Regions said to be Increasingly Dependent on Federal Subsidies" *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (Moscow), 2002.
- ³⁹ As noted by John W. Slocum in "Disintegration and Consolidation: National Separatism and the Evolution of Center-Periphery Relations in the Russian Federation" Peace Studies Program Occasional Paper no 19 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); and Sergei Kondrashov in *Nationalism and the Drive for Sovereignty in Tatarstan: 1988-92: Origins and Development* (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 2000).
- ⁴⁰ Graney, "Ten Years of Sovereignty in Tatarstan", 34.
- ⁴¹ Midkhat Farukshine, "Civil Servants on Edge as Shaimiev Starts Third Term." *Russian Regional Report* (EastWest Institute) 6, no. 16 (May 2, 2001).
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- ⁴³ Tatneft <http://www.tatneft.ru/eng/history.htm>.
- ⁴⁴ Michel Camdessus, "Economic Transformation in the Fifteen Republics of the Former Soviet Union: A Challenge or an Opportunity for the World?" (Washington DC: International Monetary Fund, 1992).
- ⁴⁵ Kenneth Deffeyes references Kotin suggesting that the collapse of the Soviet Union occurred because, at that time, Soviet oil production was three times larger than Saudi production but Saudi Aramco, the national oil company of Saudi Arabia, had much lower production costs. Saudi Aramco started a price war by flooding the market with oil, driving down the price of crude oil below the Soviet cost of production. It has been argued that it was these six years without hard currency earnings that preceded the Soviet collapse. Kenneth S. Deffeyes, *Beyond Oil* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005), 11.
- ⁴⁶ Fiona Hill, "Russia: The 21st Century's Energy Superpower?" *The Brookings Review* 20, no. 2 (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, 2002). <http://www.brookings.org/press/REVIEW/spring2002/hill.htm>.
- ⁴⁷ United States Securities Exchange Commission filing on June 30, 2003.
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- ⁵⁰ Galina Sharafutdinova, "Concentrating Capital helps Tatarstani Leaders in Battle with Putin's Centralization" *Russian Regional Report* (EastWest Institute) 6, no. 36 (October 17, 2001).
- ⁵¹ V. V. Koroteeva, *Ekonomicheskie interesy i natsionalizm* (Moscow: Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi gumanitarnyi universitet, 2000), 121.
- ⁵² Slocum.
- ⁵³ Peter Söderlund, *Determinants of Centre-Region Relations in the Russian Federation* (Vasa: Åbo Akademi University, 2003).
- ⁵⁴ Valery Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict In and After the Soviet Union* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 58.
- ⁵⁵ Martin, 72.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Edward W. Walker, *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2003).

⁵⁸ Glasnost meaning transparency and openness as well as referring to the period 1990-2000 where there was more freedom of information and reduced censorship; Perestroika referring to the series of economic reforms and restructuring initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev.

⁵⁹ Walker, in *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union*, Chapter 3 “Perestroika and the Parade of Sovereignties” provides a thorough discussion of Gorbachev’s reactions to the nationality question. Gorbachev still believed that the majority of the population wanted to remain part of the “friendship of peoples.” Only extremists would fail to appreciate the enormous cost of secession, he argued. Gorbachev believed that the anti-union sentiments were products of elite manipulation rather than popular grievance.

⁶⁰ Slocum, 11.

⁶¹ Walker, *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union*, 92.

⁶² Walker, *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union*, 1.

⁶³ Daniel R. Kempton and Terry D. Clark, *Unity of Separation: Centre-Periphery Relations in the Former Soviet Union* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2002).

⁶⁴ Mark R Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁶⁵ Graney, “Projecting Sovereignty”, 87.

⁶⁶ BBC Monitoring, “Tatar Nationalists Issue Statement Attacking President Shaimiev.” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (Moscow), May 20, 1999.

⁶⁷ Koroteeva, 71.

⁶⁸ Mustafin and Khasanov, 52.

⁶⁹ Mintimer Shaimiev, “The Significance of Tatarstan’s Experience.”

⁷⁰ Results of the referendum, Kazan State University.

http://www.kcn.ru/tat_en/politics/dfa/sover/res7_7.htm.

⁷¹ Mirsiianov, 132.

⁷² L.M. Ovrutskii, *Shaimiev—realnyi i virtualnyi* (Ioshkar-Ola: Maksim, 2000), 11.

⁷³ Mintimer Shaimiev, “The Significance of Tatarstan’s Experience.”

⁷⁵ Hafeez Malik, “Tatarstan’s Treaty with Russia: Autonomy or Independence,” *Journal of South Asian and Eastern Studies*, (Winter, 1994).

⁷⁶ Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tatarstan on Military Issues and the Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tatarstan on Delimitation of Authorities in the Sphere of Foreign Economic Relations.

⁷⁷ Malik, “Tatarstan’s Treaty with Russia.”

⁷⁸ Malik, “Tatarstan’s Treaty with Russia.”

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⁸⁰ Ann Sheehy, “Tatarstan Asserts It’s Sovereignty.” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, April 13, 1992.

⁸¹ See appendices for a full description of the Power Sharing Treaty.

⁸² Tishkov.

⁸³ Malik, “Tatarstan’s Treaty with Russia.”

⁸⁴ Malik, “Tatarstan’s Treaty with Russia.”

⁸⁵ Farukshina, “Shaimiev Family Benefits from Tatneft Ties.”

⁸⁶ Leokadia Drobizheva, "Power Sharing in the Russian Federation: The View from the Center and from the Republic" Report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, Proceedings of Moscow Conference, August 14-16, 1996.

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⁸⁷ As noted by Rafael Khakimov in "Prospects of Federalism in Russia: A View from Tatarstan," *Security Dialogue* 27, no. 1 (1996), 67-80; and Tishkov.

⁸⁸ Peter Rutland, "Tatarstan: A Sovereign Republic within the Russian Federation," *Russian Regional Report* (EastWest Institute), September 25, 1996.

⁸⁹ Koroteeva, 107.

⁹⁰ Mirsiianov, 53.

⁹¹ Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, "Paradiplomacy in the Russian Regions: Tatarstan's Search for Statehood," *Europe-Asia Studies* 55, no. 4 (June 2003), 622.

⁹² Graney, "Projecting Sovereignty", 113.

⁹³ Vladimir N. Lysenko, "Distribution of Power: The Experience of the Russian Federation." Report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, Proceedings of Moscow Conference, August 14-16, 1996.

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⁹⁴ Julie A Corwin, "Tatarstan: Moscow, Kazan Agree To Share Power – Again." *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, November 3, 2005.

⁹⁵ Mirsiianov, 147.

⁹⁶ Farukshina, "Civil Servants on Edge as Shaimiev Starts Third Term."

⁹⁷ Gordon M. Hahn, "The Chechnya-Tatarstan Connection" Carnegie Moscow Center, 2004, <http://www.carnegie.ru/en/print/70664-print.htm>.

⁹⁸ "Federation Council Speaker Apprehensive of New Sovereignty Parade" *Kommersant* (Moscow), December 18, 2006,

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¹⁰⁰ Graney, "Ten Years of Sovereignty in Tatarstan."

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¹⁰² "Russia: Senators Block Moscow-Kazan Power-Sharing Treaty" *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, February 22, 2007.

¹⁰³ BBC Monitoring, "Russian Upper House Rejects Treaty Defining Powers of Republic of Tatarstan." ITAR-TASS (Moscow), February 21, 2007.

¹⁰⁴ BBC Monitoring, "Paper Sees Implications for Chechnya in Russian Upper House Ruling." *Kommersant* (Moscow), February 22, 2007.

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¹⁰⁹ Arbakhan K. Magomedov, "Regional Ideologies in the Context of International

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