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Eberhard Schneider

The New Regional Elites in Russia under Putin

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Abstract

In the Council of the Federation – the only representative body of the 89 regions of the Russian Federation on the central level – it is of little meaning for the members' career profile whether they have been in the Upper House of the Russian parliament as representatives of the President of the republic/governor or the speaker of the regional parliament (each of the regions sends one representative of the executive and one of the legislative as a Senator to Moscow).

An analysis of factors shows that there are three factors which are crucial for membership in the Council of the Federation in this order:

- area and level of the career before recruitment,
- area and level of recruitment,
- university degree and subject of studies.

The frequency tables show that in the pre-recruitment phase it proves to be helpful for membership in the Council of the Federation to have a position in local business, and in the recruitment phase a central position in the executive.

During the pre-recruitment and recruitment phases about half of the members did not change the area of their career. This refers not only to positions in the state executive or legislative, but even more to the business sphere where this share is two thirds. Likewise it has to be stated with regard to the levels of career that one third of the members of the Council of the Federation who have come from positions in the central administration had reached that level before, which is also true for those who have come from the regional or local administrations. These are indications that under Putin careers are stable.

Almost half of the acting presidents and governors had come into office still under Yeltsin. Only slightly more than one sixth of them have taken office after 2005 on Putin's recommendation on the basis of the new legislation.

With the new legislation on the Council of the Federation in power, much less members have their roots in the regions which they represent in the Council. This raises the question whether they give their immunity as representatives – which in Russian understanding covers all their activities – a higher priority than the interests of the subject of the Federation which they are representing in the Upper House.

INTRODUCTORY DEFINITIONS

The subject of this study on the Russian regional elite is the political elite and not the economic, academic or cultural elite. The underlying concept is the functional elite and not the elite based on values or power. Those who hold special functions may not in every case meet the demands which are made on a value based elite, or may not have the power which a power based elite is expected to have, but they can be indentified easier and more comprehensive. In the case of Russia, the subject of my analysis is not the biographies of the central elite, but of the regional power based elite.

Formally, Russia is a federation consisting of 89 subjects – in this study also called regions. While on one hand the subjects of the federation are granted equal rights by the constitution (art. 5 and 66), there is, on the other hand a grading in their status of independence. This contradiction could not be resolved by the first Russian president Boris Yeltsin who after the coup of October 1993 had to concentrate on the solution of the crucial problems of transforming the political system and to enact the constitution against considerable resistance. Subjects of the federation are 21 republics, 6 regions (krays), 49 districts (oblasts), Moscow and St. Petersburg as cities with a federal status, the Jewish Autonomous District, and 10 autonomous areas. The main difference between the republics and the rest of the subjects of the federation

is that the republics are named by great ethnic minorities, that they have a constitution and are headed by a president, while the rest of the subjects of the federation have been established under administrative criteria. They have only a statute and are headed by a governor. The main difference between the republics and the autonomous districts and areas is that the ethnic minorities living on the territories of the latter are less numerous and significant than the minorities naming a republic.

According to the constitution there are competences which belong exclusively to the centre, common competences of the centre and the regions, and competences which belong exclusively to the regions. The latter are mentioned in article 73 of the constitution only by a general statement that outside of the jurisdiction of the centre and the joint jurisdiction of the centre and the subjects of the federation, the subjects of the Russian Federation shall exercise the entire spectrum of state power.

On the central level the Council of the Federation is the only representative body of the Russian regions which are represented there by two persons for each region – one for the executive and one for the legislative – who after the American model are called senators. All bills passed by the State Duma, the lower house of the parliament, are forwarded to the Council of the Federation as the upper house. The Council of the Federation has to decide on treatment or non-treatment within two weeks after receiving the bill from the State Duma, whereby non-treatment means approval. However, important financial and economic bills as well as bills concerning international questions must be treated by the Council of the Federation in any case. If a bill is rejected, an arbitration committee is formed by deputies of both chambers of the parliament. If this committee does not reach an agreement, the State Duma can outvote the negative vote of the Council of the Federation.

Important competences of the Council of the Federation include the confirmation of the imposition of the state of war or emergency by the president, the decision on possible operations of

Russian troops abroad, the impeachment of the president and the appointment of the judges of the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court of Arbitration and the Attorney General.

REGIONAL ELITES UNDER YELTSIN

As early as in the 60's and 70's the ruling class of the Soviet era, the nomenclatura, had a separate regional branch which increasingly gained influence in the post-Soviet society. During the perestroika years under Gorbachev with the decline of the Soviet party state and beginning decentralization, the regional nomenclatura gained a considerable degree of independence. In the first phase of post-Soviet development the regional nomenclatura transformed itself into an independent elite, in the republics faster than in the districts. From 1994 till 2000 the regional elite took an independent development (Lapina/Chirikova 2005: 33f.).

An analysis of the members of the Council of the Federation of 1997 who were identical with the governors and speakers of the regional parliaments of that time shows on the basis of table 1 that the average age of the members of the Council of the Federation in 1997 was 51, thus being slightly higher than that of the deputies of the State Duma and about the same as the age of the members of the government of that time. The average difference of age between the presidents and governors and the speakers of the regional parliaments was only one year. Having only one woman among its members, the Council of the Federation has an extremely low proportional representation of women, even if compared with the low female representation in the State Duma (9.9% or 44 members) and in the government (4.8% or 3). Almost all members of the Council of the Federation have a college degree (92.7% or 165). The most frequent professional qualifications are the technical sciences with 45.5% or 81 members. Also during the Soviet era, in the late phase of Secretary General Leonid Brezhnev, 53.8% of the central Soviet functional elite had graduated in technical sciences (Schneider 1982: 38). The second place among the members of the Council of the Federation of 1997 was held by

economists/agriculturalists (23.0% or 41) who were united in one group, and the third place by the humanities (19,7% or 35) which include social sciences, law and medicine. As regards the ranking of these variables, there is a difference between the presidents and governors and the chairmen of the regional parliaments, because among the latter the humanities are in the second place, while the economists/agriculturalists outnumbered them among the chiefs of the executive.

It goes without saying that most of the members of the Council of the Federation are recruited on the regional level (43.3% or 86) and in the second place on the local level (21.9% or 39). The republican level is only in the third place – 13.5% or 24. As regards the areas of recruitment, among the presidents and governors the executive is prevailing with 40.4% or 36, while among the chairmen of the regional parliaments the executive and legislative are equal – 33.7 or 30 each. Among the presidents and governors the legislative ranked second: 25.8 or 23. In both groups the third place was held by the state economy: 7.9% or 7 among the presidents and governors and 5.7% or 5 among the chairmen of the parliaments.

"Partisanship" did not only mean membership in the respective party, but also an alignment with this party which became evident, for instance, if a party supported a governor who was not a party member, as its own candidate. An analysis of these variables showed that among the presidents and governors the party "Our House Russia" which was then the then "party of power" had a dominant position (34.8% or 31). This is quite understandable, because they knew that if they want to succeed in politics, they depend on the money of the central government and the party leader of "Our House Russia" was prime minister Victor Chernomyrdin. There was a quite different situation with the chairmen of the regional parliaments, where the "Communist Party of the Russian Federation" prevailed on a low level of 9.0% or 8.

There were also some differences between the two large groups of members of the Council of the Federation as far as membership in committees is concerned. The presidents and governors had gone in the first place (19.1% or 17) into the Committee on Budget, Financial Markets and Currency Circulation which are the most important ones for them, while the chairmen of the regional parliaments preferred the Committee on Federal Affairs and Regional Policies which is more significant for them (12.3% or 11). In the second place in the group of presidents and governors is the Foreign Affairs Committee (11.2 or 10) which among the chairmen of the regional parliaments is ranking only third (10.1 or 9). The third place among the presidents and governors is held by the Committee on Defence and Security (9.0% or 8), while the chairmen of the regional parliaments were interested in the second place in the Social Policy Committee (11.2% or 10). As far as their status in the committees, there was only one difference between the two groups: twice as many chairmen of the regional parliaments (23.6 or 21) were deputy chairmen of the respective committees compared with the presidents and governors (11.2% or 10).

Finally the different fluctuation rate in the Council of the Federation has to be pointed out: While almost all of the chairmen of the regional parliaments (89.9% or 80) in 1997 became members of the Council of the Federation for the first time, this was true only for 40.4% or 36 of the presidents or governors, which means that the representatives of the executive have been confirmed more frequently in their office than the chairmen of the regional parliaments. Only little difference between the two groups is to be seen in their social background and career profile. The chairmen of the regional parliaments had slightly more frequently graduated in the humanities than the presidents and governors. A few more of them had been elected into their parliamentary top position from a position in the legislative; party membership played a minor role compared with the chiefs of administrations, and in their parliamentary

activity they preferred the Committee on Federal Affairs to the Budgetary Committee, which is all understandable.

According to a study by Rigby (Rigby 2001: 5) 51.8% or 44 of the presidents and governors were born in the region in which they later became chief of the administration, 29.4 % or 25 were born in another Russian region, and 18.8% or 16 in a non-Russian republic (for four governors there was no evidence as to their birthplace).

STRENGTHENING THE CENTRAL VERTICAL OF POWER

When Vladimir Putin was elected president of the Russian Federation, he immediately took various measures to restrict the political and administrative leeway of the regions and to subordinate them more to the central vertical of power.

Establishment of Federal Districts

By his decree of 13 May 2000 "On the Powers of the President of the Russian Federation"¹ Putin established seven federal districts and appointed seven authorized representatives of the president, who – following an old tsarist tradition – are called general governors. By this measure Putin tried to stop the trend of some of the regions which under his predecessor had started to strive for greater political autonomy when they thought to comply with the necessary economic conditions.

The seven federal districts include the following republics and districts:

- **Central District:** City of Moscow, districts of Belgorod, Bryansk, Ivanovo, Yaroslavl, Kaluga, Kostroma, Kursk, Lipetsk, Moscow, Oryol, Ryazan, Smolensk, Tambov, Tula, Tver, Vladimir and Voronezh;

¹ Ukaz Prezidenta Rossiyskoy Federatsii »O polnomochnom predstavitele Prezidenta Rossiyskoy Federatsii v Federal'nom okruge«, in: Sobranie zakonodatel'stva Rossiyskoy Federatsii, 20, 2000, Pos. 2112. In this decree there is a list of the seven Federal Districts showing which subjects of the federation each of the districts includes.

- ***North-West District:*** St. Petersburg, republics of Karelia and Komi, districts of Arkhangelsk, Kaliningrad, Leningrad, Murmansk, Novgorod, Pskov, Vologda, and the Nenets autonomous area;
- ***North Caucasus District:*** Republics of Adygeya, Dagestan, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmykia, Karachayevo-Cherkessia, North Ossetia-Alania, Chechnya, regions Krasnodar and Stavropol, districts Astrakhan, Rostov and Volgograd;
- ***Volga District:*** Republics of Bashkortostan, Mari El, Mordovia, Tatarstan, Chuvashia and Udmurtia, districts of Kirov, Nizhniy Novgorod, Orenburg, Penza, Perm, Samara, Saratov, Ulyanovsk, and the Komi-Permyak autonomous area;
- ***Ural District:*** Districts of Kurgan, Sverdlovsk, Tyumen, Chelyabinsk, and the Khanty and Mansy autonomous area and Yamal-Nenets autonomous area;
- ***Siberian District:*** Republics of Altai, Buryatia, Khakassia and Tuva, regions Altai and Krasnoyarsk, districts of Irkutsk, Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Tomsk, Chita, and the Agin-Buryat, Ust-Ordynsk Buryat, Evenk and Taymyr autonomous areas;
- ***Far East District:*** Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), regions Khabarovsk and Primorye, districts of Amur, Kamchatka, Magadan, Sakhalin, the Jewish autonomous district and the Koryak and Chukchi autonomous areas.

By establishing the seven federal districts a "mezzanine" was created below the central level and above the level of subjects of the federation.

Appointment of general governors

As mentioned before, the seven federal districts are headed by authorized representatives of the president who – following an old tsarist tradition – are called general governors. They are

responsible only to the president. In order to raise their status, they were appointed members of the Security Council.² Moreover, a deputy public prosecutor was attached to each of them.

The job of the general governors in the federal districts is to coordinate the activities of the federal executive organs, to participate in the work of the regional and local executive organs, to analysis the efficiency of the legal organs, and to propose the president to suspend those legal acts of the regional executive which are incompatible with the federal legislation.

Weakening of the Council of the Federation

By signing the act "On the procedure of forming the Council of the Federation of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" of 5 Aug. 2000,³ which after some initial resistance was approved by the Council of the Federation, Putin made sure that not the presidents and governors can be full-time members of the Council of the Federation, but only their representatives. As an explanation Putin said that he wished that the governors concentrated all their efforts on "the current problems of their territories. This is what they have been elected for by the people."⁴

According to the new law the representative of the executive of a subject of the federation in the Council of the Federation is appointed by decree of the president of the republic or the governor who has to inform the regional parliament about the appointment within three days. The representative of the executive in the Council of the Federation is regarded to be approved by the regional parliament, unless the parliament votes within three weeks against his appointment with a two thirds majority. An explicit approvement by the parliament is not required.

² Ukaz Prezidenta Rossiyskoy Federatsii »Ob utverzhdenii sostava Soveta Bezopasnosti Rossiyskoy Federatsii« [Decree of the President of the Russian Federation »On the Confirmation of the composition of the Security Council of the Russian Federation «], in: Rossiyskaya gazeta, 30.5.2000.

³ Federal'nyi zakon »O poryadke formirovaniya Soveta Federatsii Federal'nogo Sobraniya Rossiyskoy Federatsii« [Federal law »On the procedure of forming the Council of the Federation of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation«], in: Rossiyskaya gazeta, 8.8.2000.

⁴ Rossiyskaya gazeta, 19.5.2000.

The representative of the regional legislative in the Council of the Federation is proposed by the speaker of the regional parliament. However, a group of at least one third of the deputies of the regional parliament can propose an alternative candidate. The term of office of the representative of the regional legislative who is elected by the regional parliament, corresponds to the term of the regional parliament. Under certain circumstances the law provides for a premature dismissal of the two representatives of the executive and the legislative, which follows the same procedure as described above for their appointment.

No amendment of the constitution was necessary to send a representative of the president of a republic or governor and of the speaker of the regional parliament to the Council of the Federation, because article 95 of the constitution only prescribes in its second paragraph that each subject of the federation sends one representative of the executive and one of the legislative organ into the Council of the Federation, which must not necessarily be the governor or speaker of the parliament himself.

On the other hand, this new order deprives the Council of the Federation of political significance as a constitutional organ with democratic legitimation. If it had been the wish to copy the the American system which does not send the governors to the Senate either, one should have decided to have the representatives of the regions elected in the same way as the senators in the USA.

Dismissal of elected governors

The federal law "On the introduction of amendments and additions in the federal law 'On the general principles of organization of the legislative and executive organs of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation'" of 29 July 2000⁵ gives the president the right to dismiss a president of a republic or governor in a multistage procedure and involving the courts, if the

latter approves normative legal acts which are in contradiction to the constitution or federal laws. A similar regulation is in power for the dissolution of regional parliaments. Moreover, the law concedes the president the right to temporarily revoke the authority of a president of a republic or governor or dismiss him, if the public prosecutor charges him with a grave or particularly grave offence.

Cancelling of agreements on differentiation of powers

Between 1994 and 1998, during the Yeltsin era, Moscow had concluded agreements with 46 subjects of the federation, including ten republics, which differentiated the common powers. The legal basis of these agreements were the articles 11 and 76 of the constitution. These agreements were designed to stop or prevent tendencies of republics to strive for sovereignty – e.g. Tatarstan – or efforts of districts to obtain greater administrative leeway – e.g. Sverdlovsk. For this purpose the central government made concessions which sometimes exceeded the framework of the constitution. The demand for concessions was successful in those subjects of the federation which could rely on an own basis of mineral resources and a relatively strong economy. Putin cancelled the agreements on differentiation of powers in 2002 in the context of his efforts to tighten the verticale of power and to standardize the relations between the centre and the regions (for more details concerning the agreements on differentiation of powers see: Schneider 2004).

Abolishment of election of governors

The abolishment of the election of the presidents and governors by popular vote which had been introduced by president Yeltsin in 1996 is in line with Putin's policy of strengthening the

⁵ Federal'nyi zakon »O vnesenii izmeneniy i dopolneniy v federal'nyi zakon »Ob obshchich printsipakh organizatsii zakonodatel'nykh (predstavitel'nykh) i ispolnitel'nykh organov gosudarstvennoy vlasti subyektov Rossiyskoy Federatsii««, in: Rossiyskaya gazeta, 1.8.2000.

centre at the expense of the regions. According to the new law⁶ which came into force on 1 January 2005, the president presents to the regional parliament a candidate as head of the regional executive. In an additional decree of 27 December 2004 Putin appointed his representatives in the Federal District to which the respective subject of the federation belongs to recommend him two candidates for selection.

The candidate proposed by the president has to be confirmed by vote of the regional parliament within two weeks. If the parliament votes against the candidate several times, it is dissolved by the president and new elections are called.

So far Putin has confirmed 30 out of 38 governors in their office. Eight were not confirmed for various reasons. Some of them were accused to have used public money for private purposes. Others were blamed of not being rooted deep enough in the regional elite. In some cases they were blamed for political failure such as a poor vote for Putin in the presidential elections 2004 or resistance against the incorporation of an autonomous area into a district. Also economic failure such as a decrease of the growth rate or a deficit of heating energy in the winter season had a negative effect.

In the last instance, the abolishment of their election by popular vote pleases most of the governors, because now they can stay in office longer than the regional constitution allowed so far. Moreover, 20 governors used their new right to request a vote of confidence by the president before their regional term ends – which in one case is even as late as 2009. If the president wants to keep him in office, he will present him to the regional parliament as his candidate, which Putin did in all 20 cases.

⁶ The federal law has the following official title: »Federal'nyi zakon O vnesenii izmeneniy v Federal'nyi zakon »Ob obshchikh printsipakh organizatsii zakonodatel'nykh (predstavitel'nykh) i ispolnitel'nykh organov gosudarstvennoy vlasti subyektov Rossiyskoy Federatsii« i v Federal'nyi zakon »Ob osnovnykh garantiyakh izbiratel'nykh prav i prava na uchastie v referendumе grazhdan Rossiyskoy Federatsii« Prinyat Gosudarstvennoy Dumoy 3 dekabrya 2004 goda.« [Federal law »On the introduction of amendments and additions in the federal law »On the general principles of organization of the legislative and executive organs of state power of the subjects

The amendment of the laws on the regional legislative and executive and the law on parties of 31. December 2005 serves the strengthening of the "party of power" named "United Russia". According to the new text of the law the president proposes a representative of the party which has won the regional elections for the office of the president of the republic or governor. All eight regional elections which were held on 12. March 2006 were won by "United Russia" with 27.2% in the Altai Republic and 54.6% in the Khanty and Mansy Autonomous area.

As the governors are now appointed by the president, they become in fact federal officials, and as such they have been given new powers by Putin. On 2 July 2005 he signed a decree which returns to the governors the competence for the management of the territorial organs of the federal ministries (as a rule 20), including the armed structures (except the Ministry of Defence and the domestic secret service FSB). This development shows that centralization comes to its limits if the centre claims too many competences which it is not able to manage.

Reduction of the number of subjects of the federation

Already under the former president Boris Yeltsin the Kremlin considered to reduce the great number of subjects of the federation, given their substantial differences regarding territory, population and economic power. The work on this question was started under Putin in 2001. The first regions to deal with were those with a "complicated composition", which means those districts with the above mentioned autonomous areas on their territory (Kusznir 2006a).

For the merger of two subjects of the federation it is necessary that the regions involved agree on a common administrative structure and regional policy. The agreement is then forwarded to the president who informs the parliament and the government about the issue. If the president approves the agreement, the proposal of merger is presented to the population of the re-

of the Russian Federation» and in the federal law »On principal guarantees of electoral rights and the right of participation in a referendum of citizens of the Russian Federation«, passed by the State Duma on 3.12.2004.«].

spective regions in a referendum. If the vote is in favour of the merger, the proposal is forwarded by the president to the parliament in the form of a constitutional act.

So far the following results have been reached: On 1. December 2005 the Komi-Permyak Autonomous Area in Western Siberia was incorporated into the district of Perm which was thereafter given the status of a *kray*. On the basis of a popular vote which brought a majority in favour of merger, the Dolgan and Nenets Autonomous area of Taimyr and the Evenk Autonomous area – the leading producers of non-ferrous and precious metal in Russia – will be incorporated into the Krasnoyarsk kray in Central Siberia on 1 January 2007. Provided a positive referendum, the Koryak Autonomous area – the second largest producer of platinum in Russia – is to be incorporated by 1 July 2007 into the district of Kamchatka on the Pacific coast and the Ust-Ordynsk Buryat Autonomous area by 1 January 2008 into the district of Irkutsk in Eastern Siberia.

The example of the district of Tyumen illustrates the limited influence of Moscow, if it is about the merger of subjects of the federation, in this case the merger of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous area – the largest Russian producer of natural gas – and the Khanty and Mansy Autonomous area which has half of the Russian oil reserves, with the economically weak district of Tyumen. The Kremlin has no choice but to leave the solution of all the problems and arguments in the context of the merger to the regional elites. All the Kremlin can do is to grant financial incentives by promising increased payments. So far, only a compromise solution could be found which guarantees the autonomous areas their autonomy until 2009 (Kusznir 2006b).

THE REGIONAL ELITE UNDER PUTIN

Given the changes in the relationship between the centre and the regions as described above, the regional elite under Putin includes 178 members of the Council of the Federation, 89

heads of the regional executives (presidents of the republics and governors), 89 speakers of the parliaments and seven representatives of the president.

The new Council of the Federation

In the first new Council of the Federation of 2002 under Putin, which is only partially identical with the Council of 2006 analyzed in this study, Suren Awakjan marks out three greater groups: the regional bureaucracy including 65 members of the local bureaucracy, 45 members of the federal bureaucracy and 50 representatives of the economy (Awakjan 2004: 141).

The sociological profile of the new Council of the Federation of 2006 under Putin (Table 2) differs from the last one of 2002 under Yeltsin only in a few variables (Table 1). The average age is 53, thus having risen only by one year. A new variable was the nationality which showed that only 64.4% or 113 members are ethnic Russians. Even if the 35 members of the Council of the Federation whose nationality is unknown remain unconsidered, the percentage of ethnic Russians is 80.7%, which corresponds to the percentage of ethnic Russians in the population. In the new Council of the Federation there are nine more women compared with the old one (5.7% or 10), which surely is a progress, although a little one.

The variables on education do not show significant differences. The high number of college graduates (98.3% or 172) exceeds the rate of 1997 by 5.6 percentage points. The subjects of the studies are still the technical sciences (36.0% or 63), although this rate has decreased by 10 percentage points in nine years. The second place – 33.7% or 59 – is now held by the humanities (social sciences, law, medicine), followed by agriculture and economy – 14.9% or 26, whereby only the first study is taken into account. Here we can see already a result of the transformation which produced a higher demand of legal qualification. About one fifth of the new members of the Council of the Federation have a doctor's degree (22.3% or 39), and one tenth is qualified as a university lecturer with second doctor's degree (11.4% or 20).

Putin's new regulation notwithstanding, the replacement rate in the Council of the Federation has decreased by 17.2 percentage points to 48.0% (84). Obviously, some of the elected governors whose term had ended and who had found a new position in Moscow, have been delegated to the Council of the Federation as representatives of their subject of the federation. As parliamentarians the new members are not allowed to have a position in the executive, but they can be active in other fields. Businessmen in particular like to have a mandate in a legislative body, because it grants them immunity. In Russian understanding immunity refers not only to actions in the context of their activities as parliamentarians, but to all other activities. 13 members of the Council of the Federation are known to have such "side jobs" in business, however, for 155 of them there is no evidence at all. Almost all of the "side jobs" are done in Moscow. In this context it is no surprise that investigations by the public prosecution and legal proceedings have been instituted against 19 members of the Council of the Federation.

Almost two thirds (62.3% or 109) of the members of the Council of the Federation have been recruited from positions on the central level, quite unlike the Council of the Federation of 1997 – only 13.5% or 24 on the central level of the respective republic, while the regional level prevailed with 48.3% or 86 members. As the new members, according to Putin's ideas, should be full-time parliamentarians and not – as in the old Council of the Federation – convene in Moscow for one week every month, it makes sense to make the recruitment on the central level. Only 13.7% or 24 members are coming from the regions, while in 1997 it was 48.3% or 86. The percentage of members recruited on the local level remained more or less the same.

As far as the fields of recruitment are concerned, there are no significant shifts in the first two fields, the executive (38.9% or 68 versus 37.1% or 66) and the legislative (34.9% or 61 versus 29.8% or 53). But in the third field a considerable change has occurred: the state economy

(6.7% or 12) has been replaced in 2006 by the business which outnumbers it by almost three times (18.3% or 32).

If the analysis takes into account the position which preceded the recruitment position, it becomes evident that a majority of the new members of the Council of the Federation, before being elected into the Upper House from a position in the executive, had been active in business (34,3% or 60), but this must not necessarily refer to the same person in each case. As regards the pre-recruitment level, there was a leap from a local pre-recruitment level (38.9% or 68) into a central recruitment level (62.3% or 109). In both cases the prevailing place is Moscow, although less for the pre-recruitment position (51.4% or 90) than for the recruitment level (76.0% or 133) With regard of these figures one might well ask to which extent the members of the Council of the Federation are familiar with the interests of the region which they are supposed to represent in Moscow and willing to engage for them.

Out of the 68 members who came into the Council of the Federation from positions in the executive (see Table 3), 51.1% or 35 had also come in 2006 from an executive position, 23.5% (16) from business and 13.2% (9) from the legislative. Those 61 members who came from legislative positions had come there also from a position in the legislative – 49.2% (30), from business – 31.1% (19) and from the executive – 13.1% (8). 68.8% or 22 out of the 32 members who had come from business had been active in this field before. This means that about 50% of the members of the Council of the Federation had not changed the field of their career. This is not only true for the official positions in the executive and legislative, but even more for business positions with two thirds. There is an astonishing stability of the careers. As far as the level of careers is concerned, (see Table 4), it has to be stated that 39.4% or 43 of those 109 members who came into the Council of the Federation from central positions, had made their career on the same level before, and a similar percentage – 31.2% or 34 on the regional level and 28.4% or 31 on the local level.

A factor analysis (see Table 5) shows that according to the Screeplot and to orthogonal rotation there are three relevant factors which in the sum provide a basis for 56.4% of the variables of membership in the Council of the Federation: the first factor 27.8%, the second 17.0%, and the third 11.6%. The first factor is determined by the variables pre-recruitment area (.911) and pre-recruitment level (.912) as well as the somewhat lower values of the variables recruitment area (.720) and recruitment level (.624). Relevant for the second factor are the variables of education (college degree with .809 and subject of studies with .819), for the third factor the year of birth (.708) and previous membership in the Council of the Federation. This means that the most important positions for membership in the new Council of the Federation under Putin are the pre-recruitment career position, followed by the recruitment position, and in the third place the variables of education.

As far as the committees of the Council of the Federation are concerned, there are no major differences between the last Council under Yeltsin and the new one under Putin, particularly since only one membership in a committee was taken into account for each member of the Council of the Federation who rather often are members in several committees. In both Councils the predominant committee was the Budgetary Committee. The second place was held under Yeltsin by the Foreign Affairs Committee, while under Putin the committees dealing with economic and security issues are relevant. Under Putin more than twice as many members of the Council of the Federation were deputy chairmen of a committee.

In the Council of the Federation under Putin of 2006 it did not matter whether the members represented a president of a republic or governor or the speakers of the regional parliaments. Only among the representatives of the speakers of the regional parliaments a recruitment and pre-recruitment position in the legislative ranked prior to the field of the executive.

Presidents/governors and speakers of parliaments

According to the analysis of Kryshantovskaya (Kryshantovskaya 2003: 4f), in 2001, Putin's first full year in office, a majority of the heads of the executive (presidents of the republics and governors) of 88 subjects of the federation – except the Chechen Republic, where a war is going on – had entered the nomenklatura, i.e. the leading cadres of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), as early as in 1980, which means that these leaders have been formed during the Soviet era. Although the USSR and the CPSU have ceased to exist and the leaders now have to adapt to different political guidelines, their way of thinking and leading is not likely to have changed very much. They have come to a leading position in their region in 1995, which means that it took them 15 years to get to the top of the regional elite, whereby two thirds of their career was made during the Soviet era. In 2001, the qualifying year of this analysis, they had been president or governor for six years. Prior to their appointment as heads of the regional executive 47 of them or 53.4% had been active on the regional level and 21 or 23.9% on the level of Soviet republics which after 1991 declared their independence from the USSR. Thus, a majority of them had experience on the regional level.

An analysis of the present 89 presidents and governors and the speakers of the 89 regional parliaments (see Table 6) shows little differences compared with their colleagues in the late Yeltsin years of 1997 (see Table 1) who were at the same time members of the Council of the Federation. There were only slightly more recruitments from central career positions than nine years before. The state economy has been replaced by business with a double frequency. Half as many more of the speakers of the parliaments came into their regional top position in 2006, compared with 1997.

Almost half of the present presidents and governors (44.9% or 40) had come into office still under Yeltsin. Only slightly more than one third (34.8% or 31) of all heads of regional executives are newcomers. On the basis of the new legislation only 14 or 15.7% came into their

office on Putin's recommendation. A somewhat greater personal renewal has occurred under Putin among the speakers of the regional parliaments. Only less than a third (30.3% or 27) is left from the Yeltsin era. More than two thirds (69.7 or 62) have been elected speaker under Putin. More than half of them (57.3 or 51) are in their first term in office.

If we look at the recorded variables and the statistical data, we see that it does not make sense to make a factor analysis.

Representatives of the president

The president of Russia is represented in the Central District by Georgi Poltavchenko who resides in Moscow, in the North-West District (residence: St. Petersburg) by Ilya Klebanov, in the North Caucasus District (residence: Rostov on Don) by Dmitri Kozak, in the Volga District (residence: Nizhny Novgorod) by Aleksandr Konovalov, in the Ural District (residence: Yekaterinburg) by Anatoli Kvashin, in the Siberian District (residence: Novosibirsk) by Pyotr Latyshev, and in the Far Eastern District (residence: Khabarovsk) by Kamil Iskhakov. The average age of the representatives of the president is 53 – just like among the governors. They all are male, and all have graduated from a college. Three of them have graduated in technical studies, two in law, one has a degree from a military academy and one a degree from an academy of the Ministry of the Interior. The average stay in office of a plenipotentiary is three years.

Two of the representatives came into office from a position as a cabinet minister, one had been a deputy minister, one headed a regional administration, one was a public prosecutor in a republic, one was the representative of the president in a district – a position which has been abolished in favour of the representatives of the president in the federal districts – and one was chief of the general staff. Four of the representatives came into their regional top position

from a position on the central level, and three from regional positions. Three of them represent the *siloviki* – which means the structures of internal and external security.

CONCLUSION

In the Council of the Federation of 2006 under Putin it was of almost no significance for the career profile whether a member represented the presidents of the republics and governors or the speakers of the regional parliaments. Only among the representatives of the speakers a career in the legislative ranked higher in the recruitment and pre-recruitment phase than an executive career.

An analysis of the factors shows that three factors were essential for membership in the Council of the Federation: (a) the field and level of the career prior to recruitment, (b) the field and level of the career during the recruitment phase, and (c) college graduation and subject of studies. The frequency lists show that in the pre-recruitment phase a position in local business – predominantly in Moscow – was favourable for membership in the Council of the Federation, and in the recruitment phase a position in the central executive.

During the pre-recruitment phase and the recruitment phase there were no changes in the fields of career of about 50% of the members. This is not only true for positions in the state executive and legislative, but also in business, where it is even two thirds. Also for the levels of career it has to be stated that one third of the members of the Council of the Federation who came there from positions on the central level had made their career on that level before, and this is similarly true for the regional and the local level. These are indications of career stability under Putin.

Almost half of the acting presidents and governors had come into office still under Yeltsin. Only slightly more than one sixth of them have taken office after 2005 on the basis of the new legislation on Putin's recommendation.

A somewhat greater personal renewal has occurred under Putin among the speakers of the regional parliaments. Only less than a third is left from the Yeltsin era. More than two thirds have been elected speaker under Putin. More than half of them are in their first term in office.

With the new legislation on the Council of the Federation in power, much less members have their roots in the regions which they represent in the Council. This raises the question whether they give their immunity as representatives – which in Russian understanding covers all their activities – a higher priority than the interests of the subject of the Federation which they are representing in the Upper House.

Annex

Tables

TABLE 1: SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION 1997 (State of 1.4. 1997)

	All % (N)	President/Governor % (N)	Speaker of reg. par- liament % (N)
Total	178	89	89
Average age	51	52	51
Women	0,6 (1)	1,1 (1)	0,0 (0)
College degree	92,7 (165)	97,8 (87)	87,6 (78)
<i>Subject of studies:</i>			
1. frequency	Techn. sciences 45,5 (81)	Techn. sciences 46,1 (41)	Techn. sciences 44,9 (40)
2. frequency	Agricult./Economy 23,0 % (41)	Agricult./Economy 28,1 (25)	Humanities* 20,2 (18)
3. frequency	Humanities* 19,7 (35)	Humanities* 19,1 (17)	Agricult./Economy 18,0 (16)
New members	65,2 (116)	40,4 (36)	89,9 (80)
<i>Recruitment level:</i>			
1. frequency	regional 48,3 (86)	regional 44,9 (40)	regional 51,7 (46)
2. frequency	local 21,9 (39)	local 23,6 (21)	local 20,2 (18)
3. frequency	central 13,5 (24)	central 13,5 (12)	central 13,5 (12)
<i>Recruitment area:</i>			
1. frequency	Executive 37,1 (66)	Executive 40,4 (36)	Executive/ Legislative je 33,7 (30)
2. frequency	Legislative 29,8 (53)	Legislative 25,8 (23)	Partei 6,7 (6)
3. frequency	State economy 6,7 (12)	State economy 7,9 (7)	State economy 5,6 (5)
<i>Partisanship:</i>			
1. frequency	„Party of power“*** 19,1 (34)	„Party of power“*** 34,8 (31)	CPRF*** 9,0 (8)

2. frequency	CPRF*** 9,0 (16)	CPRF*** 9,0 (8)	„Party of power“*** 3,4 (3)
<i>Committee membership:</i>			
1. frequency	Budget 12,9 (23)	Budget 19,1 (17)	Federation 12,3 (11)
2. frequency	Internat. Affairs 10,7 (19)	Internat. Affairs 11,2 (10)	Sozialpolitik 11,2 (10)
3. frequency	Federation 8,4 (15)	Security 9,0 (8)	Internat. Affairs 10,1 (9)
<i>Committee status:</i>			
1. frequency	Member 60,7 (108)	Member 64,0 (57)	Member 57,3 (51)
2. frequency	Deputy chairman 17,4 (31)	Deputy chairman 11,2 (10)	Deputy chairman 23,6 (21)
3. frequency	Chairman 5,1 (9)	Chairman 6,7 (6)	Chairman 3,4 (3)

* Humanities = social sciences, law and medicine

** „Party of power“ at that time = „Our House Russia“

*** CPRF = Communist Party of the Russian Federation

Sources: Calculations by the author. The biographical data are compiled from: Data bank „Labirint“ of the Moscow expert group „Panorama“. News agency „Novosti“. Fond razvitiya parlamentarizma v Rossii (ed.), Federal'noe Sobranie. Moscow 1996. Institut sovremennoy politiki (ed.) Gubernatory Rossii. Moscow 1996. Barsenkov, A.S./Koretsky, V.A./Ostapenko, A.I., Federal'noe Sobranie Rossii. Moscow 1994.

TABLE 2: SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION 2006 (State of 1.5. 2006)

	All % (N)	Representative of the President/ Governor % (N)	Representative of the chairman of the region. parliament % (N)
Total	175	87	88
Average age	53	53	53
Women	5,7 (10)	5,7 (5)	5,7 (5)
<i>Nationality:</i>			
1. frequency	Russian 64,6 (113)	Russian 62,1 (54)	Russian 67,0 (59)
2. frequency	Ukrainian 2,9 (5)	less than 5 cases	less than 5 cases

College degree	98,3 (172)	98,9 (86)	97,7 (86)
<i>Subject of studies:</i>			
1. frequency	Techn. sciences 36,0 (63)	Techn. sciences 33,3 (29)	Techn. sciences 38,6 (34)
2. frequency	Humanities* 33,7 (59)	Humanities* 32,2 (28)	Humanities* 35,2 (31)
3. frequency	Agricult./Economy 14,9 (26)	Agricult./Economy 17,2 (15)	Agricult./Economy 12,5 (11)
<i>Akademischer Grad:</i>			
1. frequency	Doctorate 22,3 (39)	Doctorate 25,3 (22)	Doctorate 19,3 (17)
2. frequency	Post-doctoral lecturing qualification 11,4 (20)	Post-doctoral lecturing qualification 13,8 (12)	Post-doctoral lecturing qualification 9,1 (8)
New members	48,0 (84)	46,0 (40)	50,0 (44)
Side jobs greatest frequency (155 unknown)	Business 7,4 (13)	Business 5,7 (5)	Business 9,1 (8)
Level of side job greatest frequency	central 4,0 (7)	less than 5 cases	central 5,7 (5)
Place of side job	Moscow 6,9 (12)	less than 5 cases	Moscow 9,1 (8)
<i>Recruitment level:</i>			
1. frequency	central 62,3 (109)	central 65,5 (57)	central 59,1 (52)
2. frequency	local 21,7 (38)	local 21,8 (19)	local 21,6 (19)
3. frequency	regional 13,7 (24)	regional 9,2 (8)	regional 18,2 (16)
<i>Recruitment area:</i>			
1. frequency	Executive 38,9 (68)	Executive 64,4 (56)	Legislative 60,2 (53)
2. frequency	Legislative 34,9 (61)	Business 18,4 (16)	Business 18,2 (16)
3. frequency	Business 18,3 (32)	Legislative 9,2 (8)	Executive 13,6 (12)
Rekrutierungsort	Moscow 76,0 (133)	Moscow 79,3 (69)	Moscow 72,7 (64)
<i>Pre-recruitment level:</i>			

1. frequency	local 38,9 (68)	local 42,5 (37)	regional 37,5 (33)
2. frequency	regional 29,1 (51)	central 33,3 (29)	local 35,2 (31)
3. frequency	central 28,6 (50)	regional 20,7 (18)	central 23,9 (21)
<i>Pre-recruitment area:</i>			
1. frequency	Business 34,3 (60)	Business/Executive je 36,8 (32)	Legislative 36,4 (32)
2. frequency	Executive 27,4 (48)	Legislative 10,3 (9)	Business 31,8 (28)
3. frequency	Legislative 23,4 (41)	Security 6,9 (6)	Executive 18,2 (16)
<i>Pre-recruitment place:</i>			
1. frequency	Moscow 51,4 (90)	Moscow 56,3 (49)	Moscow 46,6 (41)
2. frequency	St. Petersburg 4,0 (7)	St. Petersburg 5,7 (5)	less than 5 cases
<i>Committee membership:</i>			
1. frequency	Budget 10,3 (18)	Budget 10,3 (9)	Budget 10,2 (9)
2. frequency	Economy/ Security je 7,4 (13)	Security/Industry/ Economy je 6,9 (6)	Economy/Security je 8,0 (7)
3. frequency	Law 5,7 (10)	Law 5,7 (5)	Rechnungswesen 6,2 (6)
<i>Committee status:</i>			
1. frequency	Deputy chairman 44,0 (77)	Member 49,4 (43)	Deputy chairman 54,5 (48)
2. frequency	Member 41,1 (72)	Deputy chairman 33,3 (29)	Member 33,0 (29)
3. frequency	Chairman 13,1 (23)	Chairman 16,1 (14)	Chairman 10,2 (9)
Legal investigation	10,9 (19)	11,5 (10)	10,2 (9)

* Humanities = social sciences, law and medicine

Sources: Calculations by the author. The biographical data are compiled from: Data bank „Labirint“ of the Moscow expert group „Panorama“.

TABLE 3: RECRUITMENT AREAS ANALYSIS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION 2006
(State of 1.5. 2006)

			Recruit- ment area Executive	Recruit- ment area Legislative	Recruit- ment area Business
Pre-recruitment area	Executive	Number	35	8	4
		Lines%	72,9	16,7	8,3
		Columns %	51,5	13,1	12,5
	Legislative	Number	9	30	2
		Lines%	22,0	73,2	4,9
		Columns %	13,2	49,2	6,3
	Business	Number	16	19	22
		Lines%	26,7	31,7	36,7
		Columns %	23,5	31,1	68,8

TABLE 4: RECRUITMENT LEVEL ANALYSIS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION 2006
(State of 1.5. 2006)

			Recruitment level				
			central	regional	local	internat	unknown
Pre- recruitment level	central	Number	43	4	2		1
		Lines%	86,0	8,0	4,0		2,0
		Columns %	39,4	16,7	5,3		50,0
	regional	Number	34	13	4		
		Lines%	66,7	25,5	7,8		
		Columns %	31,2	54,2	10,5		
	local	Number	31	7	30		
		Lines%	45,6	10,3	44,1		
		Columns %	28,4	29,2	78,9		
	international	Number	1			2	
		Lines%	33,3			66,7	
		Columns %	,9			100,0	
unknown	Number			2		1	
	Lines%			66,7		33,3	
	Columns %			5,3		50,0	

TABLE 5: FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION 2006

KMO and Bartlett-Test

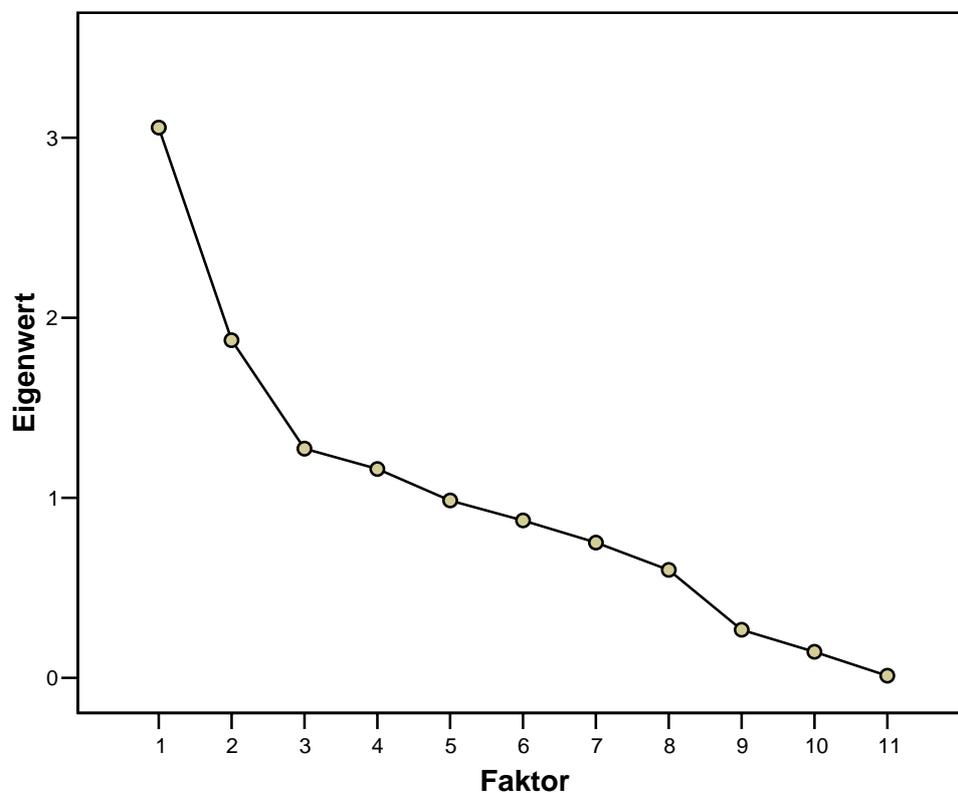
Inclination of sample surveys according to Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin.		,614
Bartlett-Test	Approximate Chi-square	1096,211
	df	55
	Significance according to Bartlett	,000

Overall Variability

	Initial intrinsic value		
	Total	% of Variability	Cumulated %
1	3,056	27,783	27,783
2	1,875	17,049	44,832
3	1,273	11,576	56,408
4	1,160	10,549	66,957
5	,985	8,956	75,913
6	,875	7,951	83,864
7	,751	6,831	90,695
8	,599	5,449	96,144
9	,267	2,430	98,574
10	,145	1,315	99,889
11	,012	,111	100,000

Method of extraction: analysis of main components.

Screepplot



Komponentenmatrix(a)

	Komponente			
	1	2	3	4
Sex	,083	-,064	-,070	-,837
Year of birth	,250	,109	-,708	,105
Nationality	,082	-,253	-,481	,413
College degree	,467	,809	,058	,113
Subject of studies	,424	,819	,087	,179
Recruitment area	,720	-,472	,053	,178
Recruitment level	,624	-,464	,101	,229
Pre-recruitment area	,911	-,059	,071	-,203
Pre-recruitment level	,912	-,047	,048	-,201
Representation	,063	-,133	,211	,051
New	-,095	-,089	,679	,255

Method of extraction: analysis of main components.

a. 4 components extracted

TABLE 6: SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE OF THE GOVERNORS AND SPEAKERS OF PARLIAMENTS 2006 (State of 1.5. 2006)

	All % (N)	President/ Governor % (N)	Speaker of reg. parliament % (N)
Total	178	89	89
Average age	54	54	55
Women	2,8 (5)	1,1 (1)	4,5 (4)
<i>Nationality:</i>			
1. frequency	Russian 57,3 (102)	Russian 56,2 (50)	Russian 58,4 (52)
2. frequency	Ukrainian 3,9 (7)	less than 5 cases	less than 5 cases
College degree	98,9 (176)	100,0 (89)	97,8 (87)
<i>Subject of studies:</i>			
1. frequency	Techn. sciences 48,3 (86)	Techn. sciences 51,7 (46)	Techn. sciences 44,9 (40)
2. frequency	Agricult./Economy 19,7 (35)	Humanities* 19,1 (17)	Agricult./Economy 22,5 (20)
3. frequency	Humanities* 12,9 (23)	Agricult./Economy 17,9 (15)	Humanities* 20,2 (18)
<i>Akademic degree:</i>			
1. frequency	Doctorate 14,6 (26)	Doctorate 19,1 (17)	Doctorate 10,1 (9)
2. frequency	Post-doctoral lecturing qualification 4,5 (8)	Post-doctoral lecturing qualification 5,6 (5)	under 5 casesn
<i>Beginning of regional top position:</i>			
under Yeltsin (until 1999)	37,6 (67)	44,9 (40)	30,3 (27)
under Putin (until 2004)	43,8 (78)	39,3 (35)	48,3 (43)
under Putin (ab 2005)	18,5 (33)	15, 7 (14)	21, 3 (19)
<i>Terms in office:</i>			
1. frequency	1. term in office 46,1 (82)	1. term in office 34,8 (31)	1. term in office 57,3 (51)
2. frequency	2. term in office	3. term in office	2. term in office

	22,5 (40)	28,1 (25)	22,5 (20)
3. frequency	3. term in office 21,9 (39)	2. term in office 22,5 (20)	3. term in office 15,7 (14)
<i>Recruitment level:</i>			
1. frequency	regional 58,4 (104)	regional 47,2 (42)	regional 69,7 (62)
2. frequency	central 21,3 (38)	central 26,3 (28)	local 14,6 (13)
3. frequency	local 18,0 (32)	local 21,3 (19)	central 11,2 (10)
<i>Recruitment area:</i>			
1. frequency	Legislative 48,3 (86)	Executive 41,6 (37)	Legislative 57,3 (51)
2. frequency	Executive 34,3 (61)	Legislative 39,3 (35)	Executive 27,0 (24)
3. frequency	Business 11,2 (20)	Business 14,6 (13)	Business 7,9 (7)
<i>Recruitment place</i>	Moscow 25,8 (46)	Moscow 39,3 (35)	Moscow 12,4 (11)
Partisanship	„Party of power“*** 44,9 (80)	„Party of power“*** 51,7 (46)	„Party of power“*** 38,2 (34)

* Humanities = social sciences, law and medicine

** „Party of power“ = under Putin „United Russia“

Sources: Calculations by the author. The biographical data are compiled from: Data bank „Labirint“ of the Moscow expert group „Panorama“.

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