

CONTENTS

Foreword	<i>v</i>
1. Introduction	1
2. Federalism Defined	7
3. The View from Below	11
Tour d'Horizon	11
Russia Redux	17
Stages of National Awakening	20
4. Gorbachev's Agenda	25
The Four Pillars of Federalization	25
Sovereignty, Self-Determination, Independence	27
Republican Sovereignty	32
Federal Contract and Secession	32
The Renewal of the Treaty of Union	36
Federation or Confederation	38
The Redistribution of Powers	40
Constitutional Stability	45
Constitutional Compliance and Conflict	
Resolution	46
The Emerging Constitutional Crisis	49
5. The Economic Dimensions of Federalism	51
The Collapse of the "National Economic Complex"	51
Economic Sovereignty	54
Direct Ties and Horizontal Integration	58
The Shatalin Plan	61
Ownership	62
Budget and Taxes	64
The Equalization of Financial Burdens and Benefits	66
6. Foreign and Military Affairs	69
The Growing Role of the Republics in Foreign Affairs	69
National or Territorial Armies	73

7. Participation, Representation, Bargaining	77
Democratization and Institution Building	77
Federalism vs. Parliamentarism	78
The Bicameral System: The Soviet of Nationalities	79
Representation in the Executive and Judicial Organs	83
The Presidency	84
Formal and Informal Bargaining	91
8. Federalization and the Communist Party	93
The One-Party State and Federalism	93
The Reform of the Party "From Below"	94
The Reform of the Party "From Above"	96
The Emerging Multiparty System	99
9. Federalism and Heterogeneity	101
A Multilayered Federation	101
The Role of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic	103
Subfederation	104
10. Conclusion	109
About the Author	117