

Sudetenland.<sup>39</sup> This is connected to a third factor. The election campaign in Russia in November and December was replete with rhetoric concerning the illegitimacy of the Russian-Kazakh border, and indeed of Kazakhstan's independence, and the necessity of restoring Russian control in Central Asia. Kazakh leaders expressed deep concern and annoyance with the tenor of the campaign debate.

Fourth, the issue of the treatment of minorities is also a two-way street. In October 1993, the Russian authorities adopted new and more stringent regulations governing the status of citizens of non-Russian CIS republics. They claimed that new restrictions on residency and also the right to detain non-Russians without hearing were part of an effort to control the rise of crime in Russian cities. In fact, it was probably as much an effort to curry favour with Russian nationalists by being seen to be harsh on non-Russians. Although aimed primarily at Caucasian nationalities, it also covered Kazakhs.

Fifth, there have been serious disagreements between Kazakhstan and Russia over the issue of nuclear disarmament. In particular, the Russian military has complained that Kazakhstan is reneging on a prior agreement that Russian forces in Kazakhstan had complete jurisdiction over the weapons.<sup>40</sup>

Although the chill in the relationship reflected all of these factors, it may also have suited Nazarbaev's electoral purposes to be seen as a defender of Kazakhstan's national interests against an intrusive and unfriendly Russia. This suggests an important point about Kazakhstan's policy towards Russia. For the Kazakh leadership, relations with Russia are a two-level bargaining game. At one level, the game is played with Russia, the principal issues being economic and ethnic. At the other level, the game is played with Kazakh nationalists. The tendency in the first game is towards greater integration and co-operation based on Kazakhstan's dependence. The tendency in the latter is towards distancing Kazakhstan from Russia.

That said, the realities of dependence are such that it seems improbable that Kazakhstan could sustain a long-term effort to get out from under the Russian mantle,

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<sup>39</sup> By January, 1994, however, his position had become less inflammatory, and he was proposing that Kazakhstan and Russia deal with the issue of the rights of their citizens in each other's country by bilateral agreement. See "Suverennyi Kazakhstan," op.cit. (note 20).

<sup>40</sup> Symptomatic of the decline was Kazakh co-operation in the preparation of an American television documentary in which Kazakh officials claimed that the Soviet Union had deliberately exposed the Kazakh population in proximity to Semipalatinsk as guinea pigs to observe the short-, medium-, and long-term effects of massive exposure to radiation. *Sixty Minutes* (March 28, 1994).