

and psychologically) with Moscow and a reorientation towards the turkic community and Turkey in particular.

3. Proceeding down the track of Kazakh nationalism, the next variant on Kazakh nationalism is Zheltoqsan [December]. The movement was formed in 1989 to commemorate the December 1986 riots in Almaty and the victims thereof.³⁰ The movement views the current regime to be illegitimate as a result of its connection to the repression of the riots and seeks the total independence of Kazakhstan. In this it resembles the Republican Party and Azat, but it differs from them on tactics, many of its members believing that the only way to achieve the ultimate objectives of the movement is through an unconstitutional seizure of power.
4. At the extreme end of the Kazakh nationalist spectrum is Alash, a movement comprised predominantly of rural Kazakh youth and recent migrants to urban areas formed in April 1992. Although official statements remain ambiguous, the movement stands at the very least for a radical redressing of what it perceives to be inequities in incomes and privileges between Russians and Kazakhs. Many have gone further to argue for the expulsion of ethnic Russians and other non-Kazakh groups from the republic.

On the Russian side of the fence, the first major movement for the defence of the rights of the Russian-speaking population was Unity, founded in mid-1990. Not surprisingly the movement's agenda focussed on human and minority rights, and in particular the defence of Russian cultural, economic, and political rights against what they perceived to be a groundswell of anti-Russian nationalism. After substantial pressure from the government, the movement ultimately waned,³¹ to be replaced by Lad, a group with an ostensibly similar ethnically based agenda.

There are thus two levels in the party competition. There are those groups whose programs and personnel are not perceived as threatening to the president.

³⁰ In December 1986, students and other youth in Almaty rioted to protest the appointment of an ethnic Russian as First Secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party. The authorities responded forcefully, killing many and imprisoning others. The event is seen as the moment at which modern Kazakh nationalism was reborn.

³¹ Its prospects were not improved by its leaders' support of the August 1991 coup in Moscow, which was a criminal act, providing a pretext for dissolution.