

# Kazakhstan-Japan Nuclear Nexus: *Ideas, Interests and Identities*

カザフスタンと日本の核のつながり：  
着想，利益，アイデンティティ

Almas Dissyukov, PhD Student  
University of Tsukuba  
[s1836002@u.tsukuba.ac.jp](mailto:s1836002@u.tsukuba.ac.jp)

18 April 2020

# Table of Contents

- Map of Kazakhstan
- Theories
- Methodology
- Inspiration
- Background
- Unique Cases
- Bibliography
- Conclusion



# Map of Kazakhstan



# Semipalatinsk (Semey) Test Site, 1949-89

**No. of Tests:** 456

**No. of Victims:** approx. 1 500 000 people

**Area:** 18 500 km<sup>2</sup> (by 8 times larger than Tokyo)



**Ground Zero (Semey)**



**Scheme of Nuclear Tests**

# Theoretical Framework

- Focus on **Social Studies** (Area Studies) rather on Security Studies
- Balance between Constructivism or Post-structuralism
- **Constructivism** with *Wendt's Ideas, Interests, Identities*, and *Self-Others approach*
- **Post-structuralism** with *Derida's Deconstruction and Double Reading*

# Theoretical Framework (cont'd)

- **Anarchy** Is What States Make of It (Wendt)
- 500 British **nuclear weapons** are less threatening to the United States than 5 North Korean nuclear weapons (Wendt)
- Let's imagine the **sci-fi scenario**, where Kazakhstan is `North Korea` and Japan is `U.S.` in early 90s (similar approach could be applied to Belarus and the Ukraine)

# Methodology

- **Desk Research**
- **Discourse Analysis**
- **Visual Data Review** (videos and photos)
- **Field Trips** to Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Semey
- **Interviews** in Tokyo, Nagasaki, Hiroshima and Semey, e.g. with Hibakusha and NGO/NPOs
- **Observation** of multilateral and bilateral events in Kazakhstan and Japan

# Inspiration

- **28<sup>th</sup> years** of Kazakhstan-Japan Cooperation
- High Profile of Bilateral **Political Discourse**
- Japan's **Financial Aid** to Kazakhstan
- Effective Interaction among **Medical Centres**
- Intensive Cooperation among **NGO/NPOs**
- Wide Network of **International Contacts** (e.g., IAEA, CTBTO, PNND, FNCA, NSS, NSG)
- **Lack of Academic Publications** in Social Sciences



# Background: Kazakhstan

- 1990, **Shutdown** of the Semey Test Site
- 1991, Kazakh **Independence** from the USSR
- 1991-95, *de-facto* a **Nuclear State**
- **4<sup>th</sup> Largest Nuclear Arsenal** (1,216 warheads)
- **Security Guarantees** as Main Precondition for Disarmament and Non-Proleferation
- **Failed Project ‘First Muslim Nuclear Bomb’** (Gaddafi)
- **Domestic Debate on WMD, Not a Split**
- **Financial Hardships**

# Background: Kazakhstan-Japan

- 1992, FM **Michio Watanabe's visit** to Kazakhstan
- Introduction of Japan's **Three Non-Nuclear Principles**
- 1992, **Tokyo Donor Conference** on NIS, Help for Self-help approach
- 1992, **G7 Munich Summit**, Focus on Non-Proliferation Issues in CIS
- 1993, **G7 Tokyo Summit**, Financial Assistance to CIS (USD 100 mln.)
- 1997, PM Hashimoto's Launch of the **Eurasian Diplomacy**
- 1998, **G8 Cologne Summit**, New Aid to CIS (USD 200 mln.)
- 1999, **Tokyo Donor Conference on Semey**
- **Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Semey as Messengers of Peace**

# Joint Anti-Nuclear Event in Tokyo through Art Collaboration, 2013



# Case No. 1. Disarmament

- **International Support** at G7/8 and NSS Summits
- Establishment of **Technical Secretariat** in 1994
- **Financial Assistance** to the Security and Medicine
- **Technical Cooperation Agreement** in 2004
- **Small Social Grants** (ODA)
- NGO/NPOs (NASHIM, CANVaS)

# Case No. 2. Non-Proliferation

- UNRCPD Role in **CANFFZ Facilitation**, Hokkaido Meetings in 1998 and 2000
- **New Ideas for Central Asian approach**, i.e. Bridge-Builder or Catalyst under the 'CA plus Japan' Dialogue (FM Kawaguchi, 2004)
- Improvement of **Physical Protection** in Kazakhstan
- Japan's Assistance to the **ISCT Activities** in Kazakhstan (employment of former nuclear specialists)
- Kazakhstan's Accession to the **FNCA** in 2010

# CANWFZ Conference in Kyoto, hosted by KUFS and Prof. Tsutomu Ishiguri



# Case No. 3. Atomic Energy

- PM Koizumi's **Silk Road Energy Mission** in 2002
- Japan's **PM First Visit to Central Asia** in 2006
- METI Head Amari's **Business Mission** to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in 2007, 40 MoUs
- Supply of **Uranium Fuel** to Japan
- Kazakhstan-Japan **Nuclear Pact** in 2010
- Japan's Assistance to **Physical Protection of Nuclear Facilities**, USD 16 mln. (7 per cent)
- Negotiations on **Nuclear Power Plant** issue (DPJ/LDP administrations)



1. Left. **President of Kazakhstan Tokayev** (then-DG of the UN office in Geneva) at the IAEA Fukushima Conference in Japan
2. Right. **IAEA DG Yukiya Amano** at the Ground Zero in Semey



# Case No. 4. Global Agenda

- **IAEA:** Low Enrichment Uranium Bank, NPP issue
- **Nuclear Security Summit:** Transport Gift Basket
- Chairs of the **CTBTO** Article XIV Conference: two **Abe-Nazarbayev Statements** (focus on DPRK)
- **UN Security Council's** Membership
- **UN Conferences on Disarmament** in Japan (Niigata, Kyoto, Shizuoka, Hiroshima)
- **PNND**, Pugwash Movement, IPPNW
- **FNCA, NSG**
- **Mayors for Peace**, ATOM Project, **World Congress against A & H Bombs**

# CTBTO GEM Meeting in Hiroshima



# Missed Opportunities

- Lack of Joint International Initiatives
- Kazakh/Japan Priority Focus on Own Initiatives (ATOM, ASTOP, NPDI)
- Irregular Nature of Bilateral Exchanges
- Kazakh Strong Focus on Hiroshima, less on Nagasaki
- Mayors for Peace: Stalemate in Kazakhstan and Central Asia
- Forum on Nuclear Cooperation in Asia: Narrow Scientific Approach

# Japan-Kazakhstan Exhibition at the UN Conference on Disarmament



# Conclusion

- High Level of Scientific and Technical Cooperation: Semey and Fukushima
- High Potential in Disarmament Education (Art)
- Communication Channels with U.S., China, Russia, and DPRK, including SCO and CSTO
- Possibilities for Joint Actions in CTBTO Annex II
- Japan contribution to CANFWZ: Model for MENWFZ

# Bibliography

- Auezov, M. (2017, 27 October). "Vremen svyazuyushchaya nit". "Mysl" Republican Social and Political Journal. <http://mysl.kazgazeta.kz/?p=10397> (accessed 19 June 2019).
- Baizakova, Z., and McDermott, R. (2015, September). "Threat Perception in Central Asia in Response to Russia-Ukraine: Kazakhstan Will Not Be Next". NATO Defense College, Research Paper no. 119, 1-16.
- Baylis, J., Smith, S., & Owens, P. (2017). *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cabinet Office. (2013, 17 December). National Security Strategy. <https://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryuu/131217anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf> (accessed 4 January 2020).
- Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation. (2014, March) Hiroshima Report: Evaluation of Achievement in Nuclear Disarmament, Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Security: 2014. Tokyo: Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation.
- Collins, A. (ed.). (2016). *Contemporary Security Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dissyukov, A. (2020, March). "Kazakhstan-Japan Cooperation: The Role of Kazakh Diplomatic Institutions in the Formation of Bilateral Political Discourse". *Tsukuba Area Studies*, 41, 91-113.
- DiFilippo, Anthony. (2006). *Japan's Nuclear Disarmament Policy and the U.S. Security Umbrella*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hiroshima Prefecture, Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation. (2019, March). Hiroshima Report 2019: Evaluation of Achievement in Nuclear Disarmament, Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Security in 2018. Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefecture.
- Hiroshima Prefecture, Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation. (2018, March) Hiroshima Report 2018: Evaluation of Achievement in Nuclear Disarmament, Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Security in 2017. Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefecture.
- Hiroshima Prefecture, Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation. (2017, March). Hiroshima Report 2017: Evaluation of Achievement in Nuclear Disarmament, Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Security in 2016. Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefecture.
- Hiroshima Prefecture, Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation. (2016, March). Hiroshima Report 2016: Evaluation of Achievement in Nuclear Disarmament, Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Security in 2015. Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefecture.
- Hiroshima Prefecture, Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation. (2015, March). Hiroshima Report 2015: Evaluation of Achievement in Nuclear Disarmament, Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Security in 2014. Hiroshima: Hiroshima Prefecture.
- Hotta, T. (2017, 4 October). "Toshiba to buy back Westinghouse stake from Kazakh company". *Nikkei Asian Review*. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Toshiba-to-buy-back-Westinghouse-stake-from-Kazakh-company> (accessed 12 June 2019).
- International Court of Justice. (1996). *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J Reports*, 226-267.
- Isayev, A. (2019, 31 May). "What do the Kazakhstani liquidators say about the "Chernobyl" miniseries". *Express K*. [https://express-k.kz/news/kino/chto\\_govoryat\\_kazakhstanskije\\_likvidatory\\_o\\_seriale\\_chernobyl-141920](https://express-k.kz/news/kino/chto_govoryat_kazakhstanskije_likvidatory_o_seriale_chernobyl-141920) (accessed 12 June 2019).
- Ishiguri, T. (1999, July). "Toward a Central Asian nuclear-weapon-free zone: Parties to iron out differences ahead of Sapporo meeting in October". *Hiroshima Research News*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 4-5./

**Thank you!**