

## 論文内容の要旨

専攻名 (課程名)	多文化社会学専攻 (博士前期課程)	氏名	Alina Smyslova
題名	Ukraine' s Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation		
<p>This thesis examines Ukraine's nuclear disarmament following the breakup of the Soviet Union. It evaluates its long-term consequences and implications for both Ukraine's national security and foreign policy orientation, as well as for the global nuclear non-proliferation regime. It presents Ukraine's decision to disarm as a rational choice driven by political, economic, security, and normative considerations. More specifically, Ukraine lacked operational control over its inherited nuclear arsenal, faced severe economic limitations, sought international recognition of its independence, and internalized post-Cold War normative pressure associated with upholding the accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Nuclear disarmament, therefore, was framed as both a prerequisite for international recognition and a contribution to strengthening the global non-proliferation regime. The thesis analyzes how Ukraine's policy decisions were made, what criteria were guiding them, and explores the importance of nuclear non-proliferation norms for Ukraine.</p> <p>The thesis further analyzes the Budapest Memorandum of 1994 as political compromise made to ensure Ukraine's disarmament and accession to the NPT as a non-nuclear weapon state (NNWS), and not as a source of legally binding security guarantees. It argues that the core weakness of the Memorandum is the absence of enforcement mechanisms in the event of a violation of its provisions and relies on the good faith of the nuclear weapon states (NWS) parties to it. These limitations became evident as early as 2003 during the Tuzla crisis and culminated in 2022 with Russia's full-scale invasion of</p>			

Ukraine. The thesis also shows that, despite ongoing security challenges, nuclear rearmament did not become a mainstream position in Ukraine, while respect for nuclear non-proliferation as an international norm has been maintained as a key part of the country's identity.

By tracing the post-nuclear disarmament evolution of Ukraine's national security and foreign policy orientation, this thesis concludes that it lacked a consistent long-term strategic approach. It also concludes that Russia's systematic economic pressure and aggression reshaped domestic debates on nuclear disarmament and eroded confidence in security assurances in Ukraine, contributing to the re-emergence of nuclear deterrence narratives among political elites and within public discourse.

Finally, the thesis assesses the broader implications of Russia's war against Ukraine for the global non-proliferation regime. It finds that while Ukraine's nuclear disarmament initially strengthened the NPT regime, but Russian failure to uphold its commitments under the Budapest Memorandum, abuse of its position as a permanent member of UN Security Council, and systematic use of nuclear threats, coercive signaling, nuclear blackmail, nuclear sharing, endangerment of civilian nuclear infrastructure in Ukraine, and deliberate deconstruction of arms control agreements during this war has contributed to the degradation of key norms embedded within the NPT regime which ultimately undermines the perspective of global nuclear disarmament. Thus, Russia's invasion of Ukraine serves as a "stress test" for the global nuclear non-proliferation regime, exposing vulnerabilities whose implications reach beyond Ukraine itself.

**Key words:** nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, Budapest Memorandum, security assurances, nuclear norms.

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