

ISSN (Print)2616-6887
ISSN (Online) 2617-605X

ВЕСТНИК
ЕВРАЗИЙСКОГО
НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО
УНИВЕРСИТЕТА
ИМ. Л.Н. ГУМИЛЕВА

BULLETIN
of L.N. GUMILYOV
EURASIAN NATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

Л.Н. ГУМИЛЕВ АТЫНДАҒЫ
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TURKOLOGY Series

Серия **ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ. РЕГИОНОВЕДЕНИЕ. ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЕ.**
ТЮРКОЛОГИЯ

№ 1 (130)/2020

1995 жылдан бастап шығады
Founded in 1995
Издается с 1995 года

Жылына 4 рет шығады
Published 4 times a year
Выходит 4 раза в год

Нұр-Сұлтан, 2020
Nur-Sultan, 2020
Нур-Султан, 2020

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Қазақстан Республикасының Ақпарат және коммуникациялар министрлігінде тіркелген. 25.05.18 ж. № 17125-Ж -тіркеу куәлігі

Басуға 30.03.2020 ж. қол қойылды

Ашық қолданудағы электрондық нұсқа: <http://bulphysast.enu.kz>

Мерзімділігі: жылына 4 рет. Тиражы: 25 дана

Типографияның мекенжайы: 010008, Қазақстан, Нұр-Сұлтан қ., Қажымұқан к-сі, 13/1, тел.: +7(7172)709-500 (ішкі 31-432)

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Bulletin of the L.N.Gumilyov Eurasian National University POLITICAL SCIENCE. REGIONAL STUDIES. ORIENTAL STUDIES. TURKOLOGY Series

Owner: Republican State Enterprise in the capacity of economic conduct «L.N.Gumilyov Eurasian National University» Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Registered by Ministry of information and communication of Republic of Kazakhstan. Registration certificate No. 17125-Ж from 25.05.2018

Signed in print 30.03.2020. Available at: <http://bulphysast.enu.kz>

Periodicity: 4 times a year. Circulation: 25 copies

Address of printing house: 13/1 Kazhimukan str., Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan 010008; tel.: +7(7172) 709-500 (ext.31-432)

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Вестник Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н.Гумилева.

Серия:ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ. РЕГИОНОВЕДЕНИЕ. ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЕ. ТЮРКОЛОГИЯ

Собственник: РГП на ПХВ «Евразийский национальный университет имени Л.Н. Гумилева» МОН РК

Зарегистрирован Министерством информации и коммуникаций Республики Казахстан

Регистрационное свидетельство № 17125-Ж от 25.05.18 г.

Подписано в печать: 30.03.2020 г.

Электронная версия в открытом доступе: <http://bulphysast.enu.kz>

Периодичность: 4 раза в год. Тираж: 25 экземпляров

Адрес типографии: 010008, Казахстан, г. Нур-Султан, ул. Кажымукана, 13/1, тел.: +7(7172)709-500 (вн.31-432)

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КОЛОНКА РЕДАКТОРА

Политическое воззрение АБАЯ: критический синтез современности

В Казахстане 2020 год ознаменован 175-летним юбилем Абая Кунанбаева – выдающегося мыслителя и поэта, философия которого стала неотъемлемой частью культурной и национальной идентичности гражданского общества в мировом масштабе.

Президент Республики Казахстан Касым-Жомарт Токаев в статье «Абай и Казахстан в XXI веке» призвал осмыслить творческое наследие великого Абая и рационально использовать его в деле модернизации общественного сознания и духовного развития нации. Концепция статьи стала важным компонентом государственной политики Казахстана, направленной на сохранение исторического наследия во имя будущего поколения.

Что может быть общего между жизненными установками, философией, знаниями Абая Кунанбаева XIX века и инновационной современностью XXI века?

Прежде всего отметим концепцию Абая о всесторонне развитом человеке, «Толық адам», в которой заложена идея о человеческом капитале: о трудолюбивых, открытых миру, стремящихся к постоянному развитию и добру граждан общества. Эта концепция в современных условиях становится главным ориентиром в воспитании студенческой молодежи в университетах Казахстана. Что мы должны извлекать из творчества Абая для политической науки? В чем актуальность и особенность политических воззрений Абая?

Обратимся к двум тенденциям политического воззрения Абая.

Во-первых. Эпоха Абая. Из политической истории мы знаем, что на рубеже XIX-XX веков в Казахстане происходили перемены в социально-экономической, политической и культурной сферах жизнедеятельности общества. Влияние капиталистических отношений, развитие демократической мысли, увеличение роли и значимости науки, образования способствовали началу прогресса и пересмотру устоявшихся ценностей, поиску новых ориентиров развития казахстанского общества.

Эпоха Абая - это время патриархально-феодалных устоев в казахской степи, которые стали трансформироваться с появлением товарно-денежных отношений, усилением феодального и колониального гнета, упразднением ханства, установлением волостного правления и вследствие борьбы за власть. В этих условиях политические воззрения и демократические стремления в борьбе за интересы трудового народа у Абая проявляются в его произведениях, отражающих проблемы социально-политической, экономической и культурной жизни общества.

К примеру, мыслитель поднимал вопросы демократизации судопроизводства, классовой сущности системы «выборов», политического союза царских властей и казахской феодальной верхушки в управлении регионами. На должности биев, по мнению Абая, «избираются невежественные люди», не знающие казахского обычного права, сводов законов, созданных Касымханом, Есимханом и Таукеханом.

По своим политическим взглядам Абай был далек от революционного демократизма и понимания необходимости модернизации экономической основы господствовавших общественно-политических порядков. Полагаем, что мыслитель с позиций идеализма считает политическую власть всеильной, так как все происходящее в общественной жизни зависит от воли людей, занимающих высокие государственные посты.

Другим аспектом в произведениях Абая стали идеи о роли общественных условий в формировании характера личности. Он писал: «Человек — дитя своего времени. Если плох тот или иной человек, то в этом виноваты все его современники». В одном из стихотворений 1902 года Абай отмечал: «Эпоха тянет за собой всех. Эпоха формирует людей», однако

рамки патриархально-феодалного общества не изменили его идеалистических взглядов на общественную жизнь.

Во-вторых. Эпоха XXI века. В наше время глобальные вызовы и риски требуют переосмысления Абая в современной политической науке. В условиях XXI века мировая цивилизация достигла суперскоростных инновационных технологий, люди стали образованными, креативными, активными участниками всех политических процессов гражданского общества. Однако сохранилась одна тенденция - социальные отношения природы человека, коммуникация между властью и обществом.

В этом аспекте книга наставлений «Гаклия» (Слова-назидания) Абая обретает особую актуальность в осмыслении богатства духовной культуры наших предков, в сохранении идентичности социума в потоке глобализации и социальной ответственности каждого гражданина.

В книге наставлений Абай излагает свое видение истории казахов, человеческого капитала, основанных на вопросах государственного управления, образования, нравственности, языка общения, права и морали. От культурного развития человека, считал мыслитель, напрямую зависит развитие мира. Чем больше узнает человек о мире, тем светлее становятся его душа и мысли. Высоконравственные люди — основа счастливого общества.

Проведем параллель между идеями Абая и актуализацией его концепций в государственной политике Казахстана.

Идеи Абая в XIX веке	Актуальность идеи в XXI веке
Концепция «полный человек»	Духовная основа человеческого капитала и социальная ответственность
Обучение и развитие народа	Непрерывное образование личности
Изучение иностранных языков	Концепция трехязычия в Казахстане
Уважительное отношение к родному языку	Развитие государственного языка
Изучение искусства	Формирование интеллектуальной нации
Единство народа и миролюбие	Конструктивный диалог между властью и обществом, Национальный совет общественного доверия
Проблема меритократии	Президентский молодежный кадровый резерв – социальный лифт для талантливой молодежи
Создание справедливого общества	Общество Всеобщего Труда Первого Президента Казахстана - Елбасы Н.А. Назарбаева и Концепция «народного государства» Президента РК К.-Ж.Токаева
Понятие «Камиль-мусульманин»	Съезды лидеров мировых и традиционных религий в Казахстане

В 32-ом слове «Слов-назиданий» Абай говорит о важности образования в жизни. К примеру, *«Когда вы изучаете науку, вы должны научиться знать правду, а не использовать свои знания, чтобы вступить в конфликт с кем-либо. Надеюсь помнить хорошо то, что ты знаешь, и надеюсь, что узнаешь то, что не знал... У человека есть два оружия для развития науки и образования, первое – мышление, обмен мнениями, второе – сохранить и защитить полученные знания».*

Эти мудрые слова должны стать эталоном для нашей студенческой молодежи: быть гражданами с высокими морально-этическими, культурными и общечеловеческими

ценностями. Вот почему идеи мудрого Абая по-прежнему актуальны.

Полагаем, что Абай, будучи первым евразийцем, призывал не замыкаться лишь в своей культуре, активно учить языки, познавать мировую культуру, обогащать тем самым свои познания об окружающем мире.

Для наших авторов, политологов, международников, тюркологов и регионоведов, есть большой диапазон исследования наследия Абая Кунанбаева в широком поле политической науки.

*С уважением, главный редактор,
доктор политических наук,
профессор ЕНУ им. Л.Н. Гумилева
Нуртазина Р.А.*

IRSTI 44.01.11

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The United States of America nuclear energy leadership challenge

Abstract. The article examines the nuclear energy sphere in the contemporary world. The authors pay attention to the United States of America because this country is the leader in the nuclear market. Using the methods of comparative analysis, they investigated the main causes that affected the transformation of this type of energy in the world. The key result of the study is the fact of the slow declining of nuclear sphere in the United States of America. Some factors impact to this trend. They are an ecological and technological disasters, and cruel competition among leading countries as France, Russia and China. In addition, the article noticed the nuclear policy of Kazakhstan. Its aim is to construct the first atomic station in cooperation with France.

Keywords: nuclear energy, policy, the U.S.A., China, France, transformation.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32523/26-16-6887/2020-130-1-117-123>

Introduction. The future of nuclear power remains unclear and hazy. Many experts believe that nuclear energy will flourish, while other experts are quite pessimistic about the prospects for this type of energy. “In 1970, nuclear power accounted for only four tenths of one percent of global consumption. Ten years later, in 1980, nuclear’s share was up to 2/4 percent, and in another ten years it had more than doubled to 5.6 percent. By 2000, nuclear energy accounted for 6/4 percent of global energy consumption. Its market share peaked at 6.6 percent in 2001, and in 2030 will be down to about 4 percent of the world’s total energy use” [1].

With current technology, the economics of nuclear power compare poorly with other methods of electricity generation. It is possible that new developments such as pebble – bed nuclear generation will improve this situation. However, as the Energy International Agency suggests, “public concerns about plant safety, radioactive waste disposal, and weapons proliferation” make a near – term revival unlikely. Although nuclear power’s market share is likely to decline, the absolute level of production could still climb at a likely annual rate of about 0.5 percent from 2000 to 2030. A combination of new construction and improved utilization of existing facilities is forecast to offset losses resulting from retirements.

The opinions related to the significance of nuclear energy are divided into two camps. “It was widely recognized that: — Nuclear power contributes to global energy security while addressing climate change and avoiding air pollution. — Nuclear power is a baseload source of electricity that can make a major contribution to meeting energy needs in a sustainable manner in the 21st century. — Nuclear energy can make a valuable contribution to worldwide socioeconomic development” [2].

“When arguing against nuclear power, opponents point to the problems of long-lived nuclear waste and the specter of rare but devastating nuclear accidents such as those at Chernobyl in 1986 and Fukushima Daiichi in April 2011”[3].

In addition, expert determine full range of risks connected to the production of such energy. The limited prospects for nuclear power today are attributable, ultimately, to four unresolved problems:

1. Costs: nuclear power has higher overall lifetime costs compared to natural gas with combined cycle turbine technology (CCGT) and coal, at least in the absence of a carbon tax or an equivalent “cap and trade” mechanism for reducing carbon emissions;

2. Safety: nuclear power has perceived adverse safety, environmental, and health effects, heightened by the 1979 Three Mile Island and 1986 Chernobyl reactor accidents, but also by accidents at fuel cycle facilities in the United States, Russia, and Japan. There is also growing concern about the safe and secure transportation of nuclear materials and the security of nuclear facilities from terrorist attack;

3. Proliferation: nuclear power entails potential security risks, notably the possible misuse of commercial or associated nuclear facilities and operations to acquire technology or materials as a precursor to the acquisition of a nuclear weapons capability. Fuel cycles that involve the chemical reprocessing of spent fuel to separate weapons-usable plutonium and uranium enrichment technologies are of special concern, especially as nuclear power spreads around the world;

4. Waste: nuclear power has unresolved challenges in long-term management of radioactive wastes. The United States and other countries have yet to implement final disposition of spent fuel or high-level radioactive waste streams created at various stages of the nuclear fuel cycle. Since these radioactive wastes present some danger to present and future generations, the public and its elected representatives, as well as prospective investors in nuclear power plants, properly expect continuing and substantial progress towards solution to the waste disposal problem [4].

The main purpose of this article is to highlight the energy policy of the United States of America and the main factors affected to the transformation of its scale in recent decades. For reaching this purpose, the following scientific methods were implemented: system analysis, analysis of logical connection between causes and consequences, and using of statistical review.

The United States of America was the first country to manufacture nuclear weapons and the only one country to have used them in purpose. It were two separate bomb attacks to Hiroshima and Nagasaki under the United States Army established a nuclear program which known as the Manhattan project during the World War II. Large amount of stockpiles of nuclear weapons built by the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War. Other countries also collecting and testing nuclear reactors concerning about the national and global security. Everything was leading to catastrophe and disaster if international actors ignores it. All countries had learned lessons from this armament competition. It was a deeply way to lose-lose strategy. Therefore, there was only one right decision to take. Thus, after the years, the United States of America were one of the five member states joining to Non-proliferation Treaty of Nuclear Weapons, also known as Non-Proliferation treaty, or NPT. The International treaty was aiming to stop spread of nuclear weapons around the world, to maintain a global cooperation in peaceful uses between the member states. The Treaty came into force in 1970. It was a crucial step to avoid wars and disasters in future. Many countries supported the idea of collaboration, disarmament and peacekeeping mission. It was a time to use radioactive elements such as plutonium and uranium for civilian goals.

The Role of the United State of America. Nowadays, The United States of America is the largest producer of nuclear power and provided by 99 (ninety-nine) commercial reactors [5]. It net capacities equal to above one hundred thousand megawatts, it's about 20% of nation's total electric energy generation and more than 30% of worldwide nuclear generation of electricity. Thirty-one countries operates the nuclear power plants and according to the World Nuclear Association, the number of it will be increasing in near future. Let us look a little bit in statistics of nuclear power by countries: the second place is France with 58 (fifty-eight) reactors, the third place is People's Republic of China with 46 (forty-six) reactors, Japan with 42 (forty-two) and Russian Federation with 37 (thirty-seven).

Despite this fact, that the United States has predominant nuclear power plants in the world, here is a tough competition for leadership in nuclear sphere. Not only because of concerning national security, but also because of diversification of economy by nuclear power. It is time to increase and commercialize nuclear power plants, which are the strategic assets to every country. For many years, the United States has been a global leader in a civilian nuclear energy area in terms of non-proliferation system, providing international safety and investments in equipment,

technology and research and development programs. Last time we are watching declining trend of US in nuclear energy leadership. There are several reasons for that. It were discussed by senators of the Congress, expert circles and policymakers of US after releasing the report of the Atlantic Council Global Energy Center about domestic and international challenges in military and civilian nuclear power industry. Nuclear energy Leadership does not mean only a huge amount of power capacity, but also the innovations in breakthrough technology and equipment, investments in research and development, and power of country to influence for nuclear market and competitors.

Causes of declining interest towards nuclear energy. The first crucial reason is a stagnation in uranium market after world crisis in 2007-2008 and Fukushima disaster in March 2011. Throughout the world, especially in European countries, launched the shutdown programs of their own nuclear power plants, which also called the nuclear power phase-out. People started to re-think about nuclear energy at all. Such countries as Germany, Spain, Belgium and Switzerland stopped nuclear plants for energy production. Other states, Georgia, Ghana, Ireland, Kuwait, Oman, Peru, Singapore, Venezuela, had plans to construct nuclear plants, but after the catastrophe refused to build it. From history, three nuclear accidents have influenced to the nuclear sphere. There are the Three Mile Island nuclear meltdown in 1979, the Chernobyl event in 1986 in the Soviet Union, and nuclear disaster in the Northern Japan in 2011. All this catastrophes leading to concern and strengthen security policies towards civilian nuclear power plants. Eventually, these accidents have changed the public opinion about using nuclear energy. The last accident was a kind of a turning point and wake-up call to the whole world. States must take risks and responsibilities for national security. The environment issue was on the table. The world had divided for two parties. One of nation states were completely decided to shut down nuclear power plants, maintain a national programs and moving towards greater electrification such as natural gas and renewable resources, while others do not. Controversially, others confident in future of nuclear energy and now this energy has not substitutes yet. Some scientists and energy experts trying to say that renewable energy is not stable, if one day the sun won't be shining and wind won't blowing. It is true to underline the power of uranium products. Uranium is main chemical radioactive element in civilian sector and used as a fuel in nuclear power plants. There are two types of uranium in nature – uranium-238 (about 99%) and uranium-235 (less than 1%). For comparison, one kilogram of uranium-235 theoretically can produce as much energy as 1.5 million kilograms of coal. In addition, nuclear reactors, which generates more fissile material than it does consumes; it is possible to get a plutonium through the reactions of neutron activation of uranium-238. As a leader, US should start to change minds of closest allies and spread the effectiveness of nuclear power plants generating big numbers of electricity.

The prices of uranium oxide concentrates (U₃O₈) was falling down from 140\$ per pound in 2007 to 24\$ per pound in 2019 [6]. The uranium-mining sector in a crisis. On the one hand, it has advantages to the prices of nuclear fuel. Obviously, it is getting cheaper. However, on the other hand, for mining companies it is not a great deal. Moreover, recently, the main players in uranium mining industry start to cutting production. The first signal was when the Canadian company Cameco announced the closure of one of the biggest mines McArthur Lake in the North Saskatchewan in July 2018. CEO of Cameco Corporation Tim Gitzel said that it was a difficult decision because they had to to reduce the workforce in front office and back office. However, he strongly believe that uranium is a best asset and they will do anything to be in leadership position in long term. After that, the national atomic company of Kazakhstan – Kazatomprom, also was announced the production decrease for 20%. It was nuclear development program for 2018-2020 years. Furthermore, this trend will be lasting for one year more than expected in the beginning. The prices have been remain unchanged. Both companies are trying to generate more cash flows and focus on reducing cost production and operating efficiency.

Another competition refers to the growing markets of China, France and Russia who are the main world exporters of nuclear energy. As representatives of Eurasian region, these coun-

tries controls the uranium mining market and nuclear power plant construction industry. Russia Federation has a different number of countries to export uranium products. The important point is here that Russia has a full-package of nuclear fuels to export. The export of nuclear goods and services are priority for Government development to increase economy of country. Russia has a plan to develop safety faster new nuclear technologies by 2050. This plan described in “Break-through project”. CEO of Rosatom national company said that it is necessary to make their leadership absolute in technological race. Now, Russian Federation is the world leader in a fast neutron technology and continue to grow in this direction [7].

China has about 46 (forty-six) nuclear reactors and 15 (fifteen) under construction and more reactors to start [8]. Huge investments in nuclear sector had been decided by Chinese National program. While the United States have only two nuclear powers under construction and have difficult regulations in construction nuclear power plants. Ambitious goals of People’s Republic of China cannot be ignored by United States. Republic of China concentrated in decreasing cost of nuclear products and technology. To design the model of technology and getting cheaper are in DNA of China. That is why China using western technology but adopt and improve it. China has a strong interest not even in medium, but in small modular reactors (SMR). It cost cheaper, less time to build and need less labor force. In addition, Canada and the United Kingdom support the SMR’s technology. China wants to be a global leader, and Trade war with United States can be long lasting for many years. Nobody has not been surprised if one day these two countries will dispute in nuclear deals and tensions will rise.

Another one big influencer in nuclear world is France. France has about 58 nuclear reactors and almost the lowest production cost in European Union. France always has been an active participant in its developing nuclear technology. For instance, France generates about 75% of electricity from nuclear power plants. Nevertheless, policymakers has taken new decision to reduce it to 50% by 2050 because of increasing concerns of closest neighbors in nuclear sector [9]. The hugest market of reactors, fuel products and services exporting by Orano (previously AREVA holding) French company. Orano not only provider of nuclear goods and services, but also producing electricity by renewable resources such as wind, solar, hydro. Usually all companies in nuclear sphere works only with nuclear energy. It is absolutely the cultural impact of French nation. France is an example of global vision of development. Safety first is motto for French companies. The environmental problems and climate changes are important factors in security policy. Less-risky deals have more value for national security. Orano has great strategic goals. For example, to achieve 30% of its revenue from Asia, to make a positive cash flow and predominantly provide services than goods.

The president of Kazakhstan Qasym-Jomart Toqayev recently announced about possibility of constructing the first nuclear power plant in Kazakhstan by French technology. That means, France has more chances because of its professional competence and reputation in nuclear building services. Before that, China, Russia and Canada suggest to assist in construction too. Furthermore, the president of France, Emmanuel Macron is going to visit Kazakhstan in 2020. In that meeting, the heads of states will be discussing current bilateral relations in trading between Kazakhstan and France including the uranium mining contracts. By the way, France has a joint venture company Katko in Kazakhstan. Thus, my prediction is French politicians and nuclear energy experts will prepare the outstanding portfolio to make new deal in construction nuclear power plant in Kazakhstan. First leader of France will be trying to persuade Kazakh business partners to conclude a contract.

Conclusion. To summarize, United States of America has a strong leadership in nuclear energy sphere back in years, however, now the leadership is far from perfect. We all see how the world is changing and transforming. “The USA is the world’s largest producer of nuclear power, accounting for more than 30% of worldwide nuclear generation of electricity. The country’s nuclear reactors produced 807 billion kWh in 2018, about 20% of total electrical output. There are

two reactors under construction” [10]. However, the USA have faced many challenges in the nuclear sector from technological to positioning. Atlantic Council Global Energy Center did a great job on making recommendations. Mr. President Donald Trump and his administration should seriously look at a report and reshaping domestic and foreign affairs. “Firstly, US should reconsider the development program of contemporary civilian nuclear energy and simplify the regulation on construction nuclear reactors” [11]. Then take a challenge in developing new advanced small modular reactors, which also called fourth generation reactors. Secondly, the safety must be a priority in nuclear deals. Taking a risks and avoid environmental problems should be in high-level competence of energy experts. Moreover, one mistake can cost to inevitable negative public opinion about futures of nuclear energy in the earth. As a historical leader, US have to change perception of nations concerning about using nuclear power plants. It can be another big role of US. Eventually, the United States of America need to respond to the challenge of growing markets of China, Russia and France. To improve services and marketing of civilian nuclear plants will ensure markets beyond the North and South America. For instance, fast growing South Asia, Africa and Central Asia regions can be interesting and profitable projects. Not only leadership, economic of whole USA depends on it. It is extremely important to succeed all above-mentioned goals in order to demonstrate that nation can construct and provide high-quality goods and services in a safe and affordable way.

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Ядролық энергетикадағы Америка Құрама Штаттарының көшбасшылық мәселесі

Аннотация. Мақалада қазіргі әлемдегі атом энергетикасы саласы қарастырылады. Зерттеуде Америка Құрама Штаттарына назар аударылған, өйткені бұл ел ядролық нарықтағы көшбасшы болып табылады. Салыстырмалы талдау әдістерін пайдалана отырып, әлемдегі энергияның осы түрінің өзгеруіне әсер ететін негізгі себептер зерттеледі. Бұл зерттеудің басты нәтижесі Америка Құрама Штаттарындағы ядролық сектордың баяу қысқаруы болып табылады. Бұл үрдіске кейбір факторлар әсер етеді. Бұл экологиялық және техногендік апаттар, Франция, Ресей және Қытай сияқты жетекші елдер арасындағы қатал бәсекелестік. Сонымен қатар, мақалада Қазақстанның ядролық саясаты атап өтілді. Оның мақсаты – Франциямен ынтымақтастықта бірінші атом станциясын құру.

Түйін сөздер: ядролық энергетика, саясат, АҚШ, Қытай, Франция, трансформация.

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Проблема лидерства Соединенных Штатов Америки в ядерной энергетике

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается сфера атомной энергетики в современном мире. Авторы обращают внимание на Соединенные Штаты Америки, поскольку эта страна является лидером на ядерном рынке. Посредством методов сравнительного анализа изучены основные причины, влияющие на трансформацию этого вида энергии в мире. Главным результатом этого исследования является вывод о медленном сокращении ядерного сектора в Соединенных Штатах Америки. На эту тенденцию влияют экологические и техногенные катастрофы, а также жесткая конкуренция между такими ведущими странами, как Франция, Россия и Китай. Кроме того, в статье уделяется внимание ядерной политике Казахстана. Его цель - построить первую атомную станцию в сотрудничестве с Францией.

Ключевые слова: ядерная энергетика, политика, США, Китай, Франция, трансформация.

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