

# **Nuclear Security: Science and Policy**

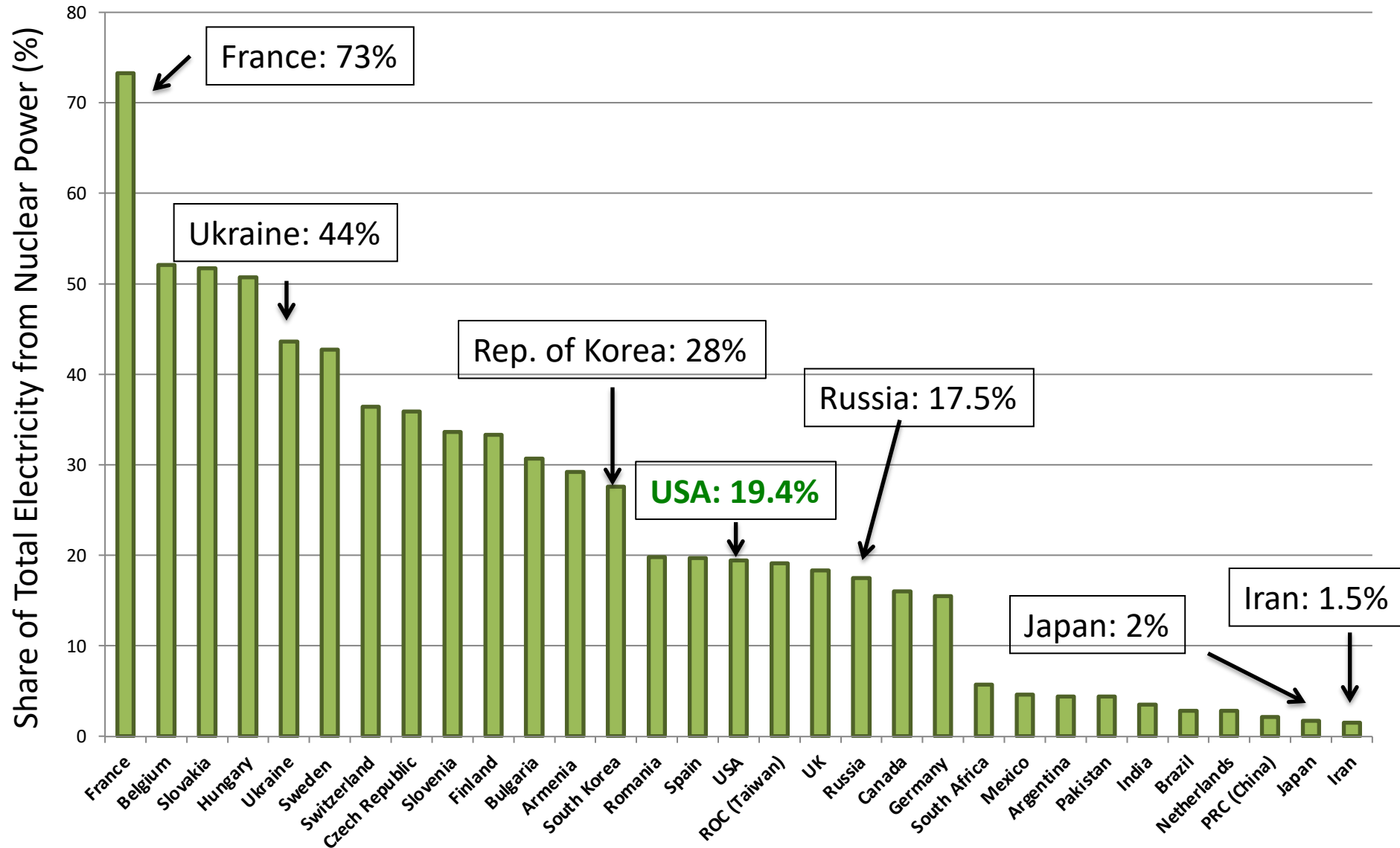
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**Center for International Security and Cooperation  
Stanford University**

**Science Policy, National Security, and Cybersecurity  
Public Policy 151/251  
June 1, 2016**

# Nuclear energy can electrify the world

*Nuclear Share Figures, 2003-2013 - IAEA*





Or, it can destroy the world



# Hiroshima – one bomb, not a campaign

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**A factor of millions**



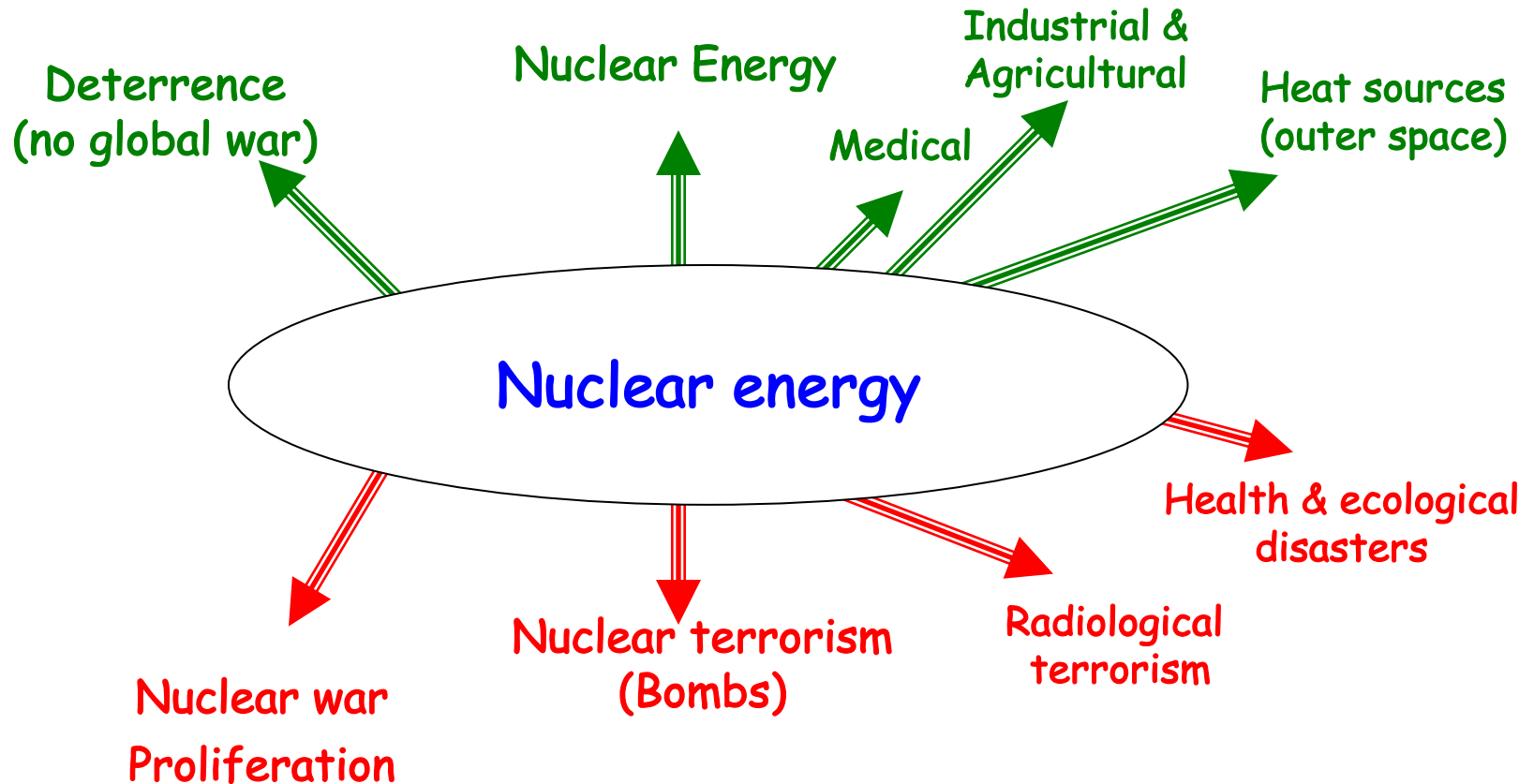
**Hiroshima, August 6, 1945**

**1 B-29**

**4.7 sq. miles destroyed**

**140,000 – 150,000 dead**

**Nuclear promise**



# Why we have to get nuclear right

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- **Nuclear weapons**

- Potential end of life as we know it



- **Nuclear proliferation and terrorism**

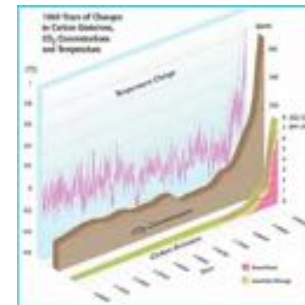
- Threat to democracies and way of life



Cover Credit: MATT MAHURIN

- **Nuclear energy**

- To help avoid catastrophic consequences of global climate change and potential disruptions

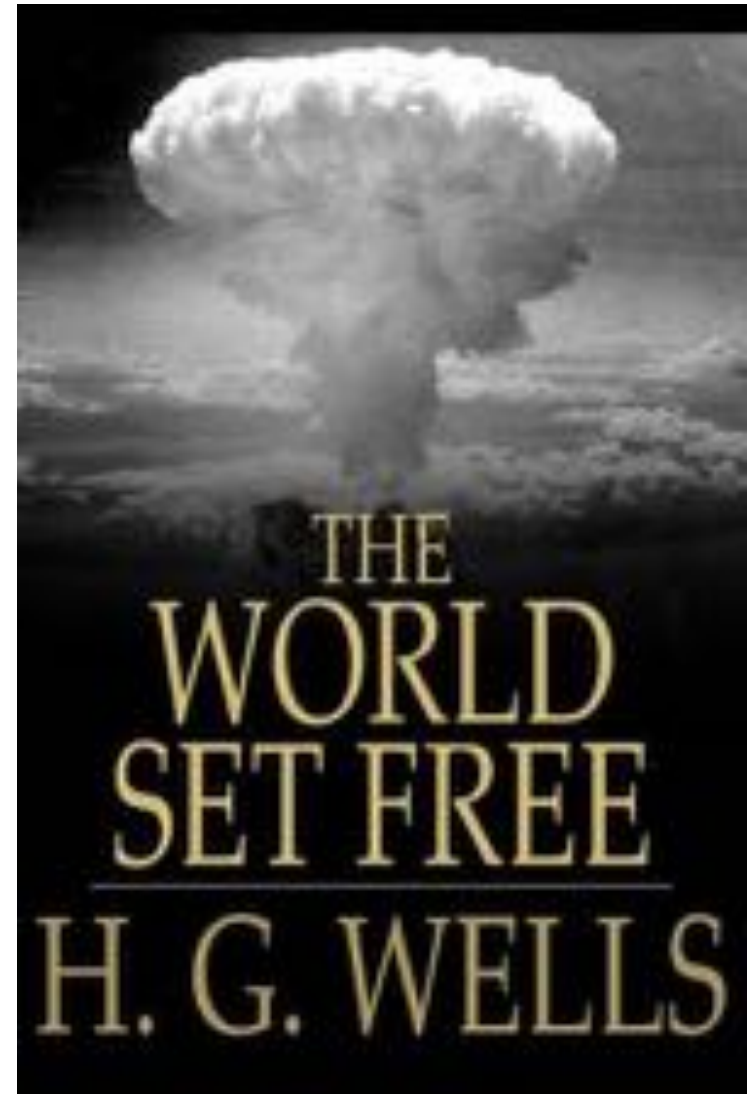


- Never before in the history of warfare had there been a continuing explosive...these atomic bombs which science burst upon the world that night were strange even to the men who used them.
- The moral shock of the atomic bombs had been a profound one, and for a while the cunning side of the human animal was overpowered by its sincere realisation of the vital necessity for reconstruction.
- In the map of nearly every country of the world three or four or more red circles, a score of miles in diameter, mark the position of the dying atomic bombs and the death areas that men have been forced to abandon around them. Within these areas perished museums, cathedrals, palaces, libraries, galleries of masterpieces, and a vast accumulation of human achievement, whose charred remains lie buried, a legacy of curious material that only future generations may hope to examine....



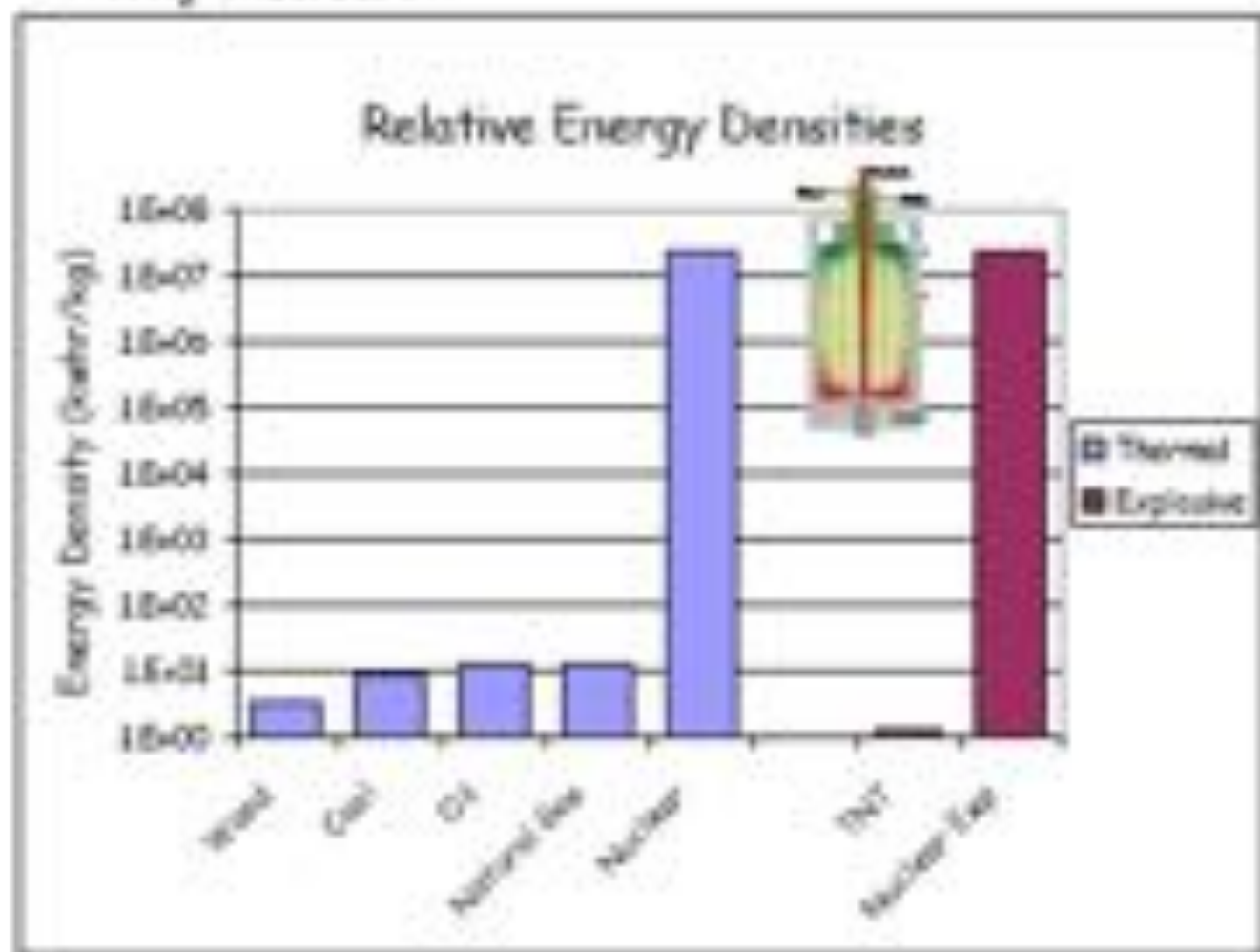
# H.G. Wells – 1914

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## Why Nuclear?



# **Nuclear power has supplied 15% of the world's electricity...**

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**... but it is concentrated heavily in the developed world.**

**Major expansion will come in the developing world – China & India**

# Fuel consumption and waste generation from various electricity generation sources for 1GWe.year

	Fuel consumption [ton]	Waste generation [ton]	
Crude oil	1,400,000	CO2	5,000,000
		SO2	40,000
		NOx	25,000
		dust, particles, ashes	25,000
Coal	2,200,000	CO2	6,000,000
		SO2	120,000
		NOx	25,000
		dust, particles, ashes	300,000
LNG	1,000,000	CO2	3,000,000
		SO2	20
		NOx	13,000
Nuclear	30	(Uranium)	(28.8)
		(Plutonium)	(0.3)
		Fission products	0.9

# Nuclear peril – Fukushima Daiichi



© Koji Sasahara / Pool / Reuters





## World War II & Cold War

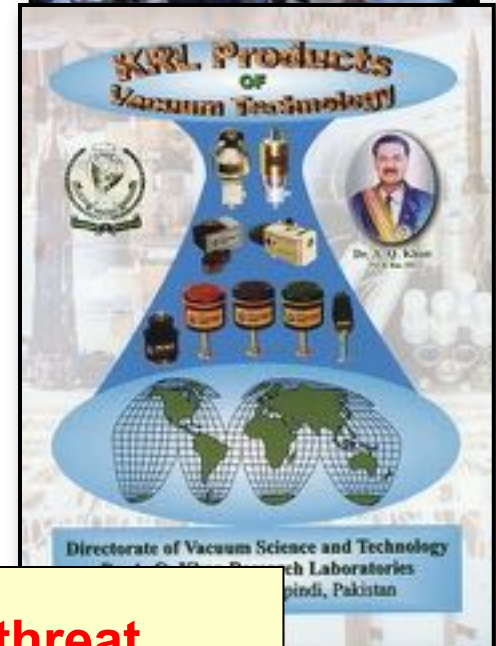


## Breakup of the Soviet Union Russia in transition



Photo by Dmitry Donskoi / AP

## Catastrophic terrorism, Nuclear proliferation



**Evolution of the nuclear threat**

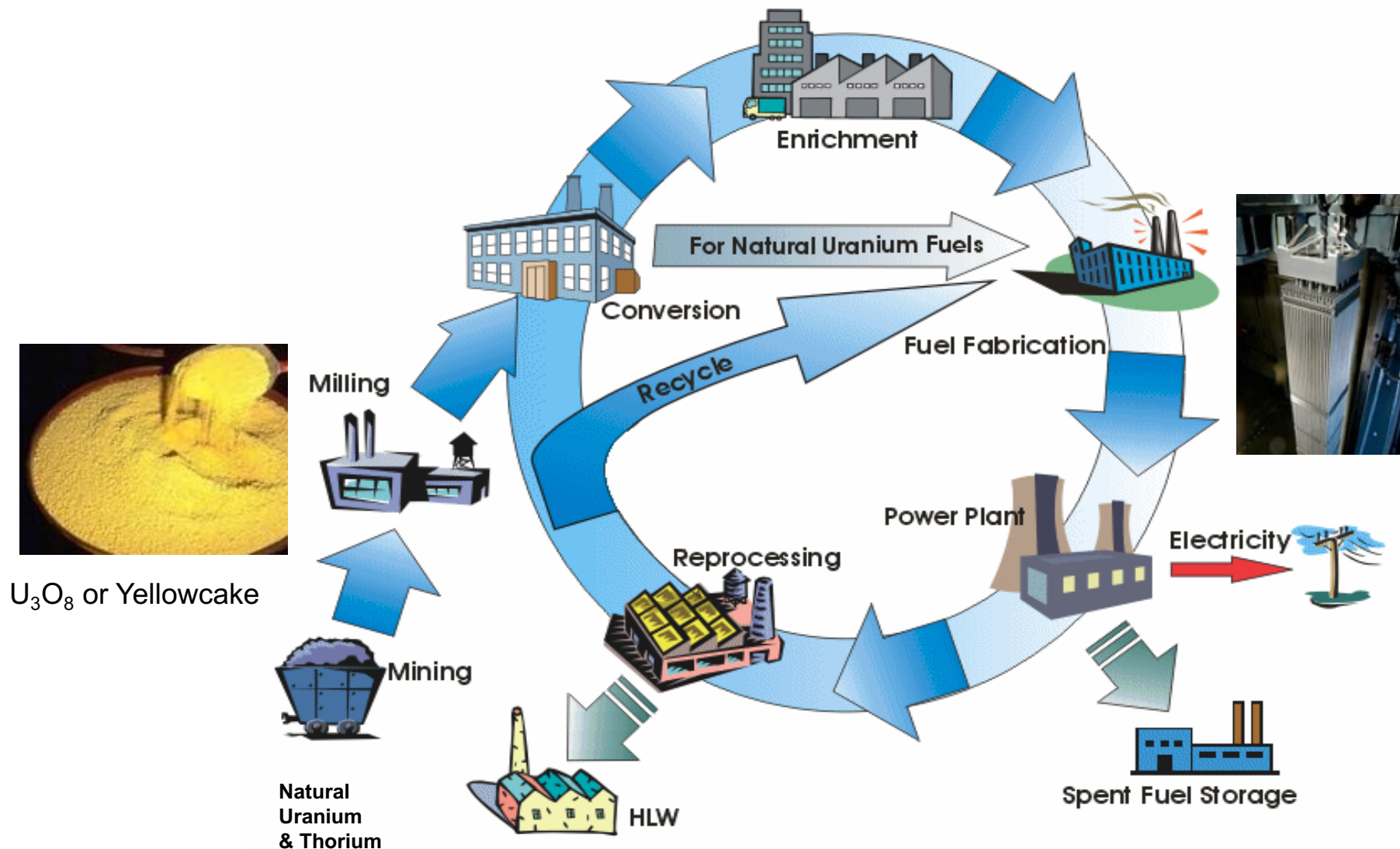
# Early warnings about the inevitability of proliferation

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## "A Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy". Acheson-Lilienthal Report, March 28, 1946

- It is further recognized that atomic energy plays so vital a part in contributing to the military power, to the possible economic welfare, and no doubt to the security of a nation, that the **incentive** to other nations to press their own developments is **overwhelming**.
- The development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and the development of atomic energy for bombs are in much of their course **interchangeable and interdependent**.

# Dual-use dilemma of the nuclear fuel cycle





# Two paths to the bomb

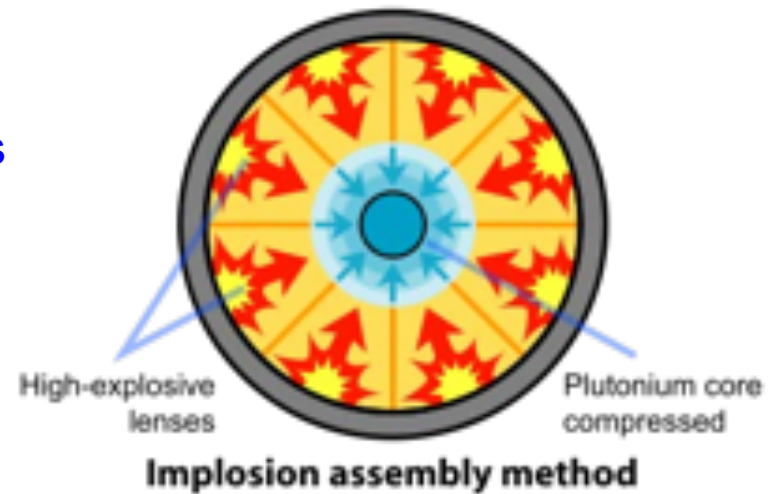
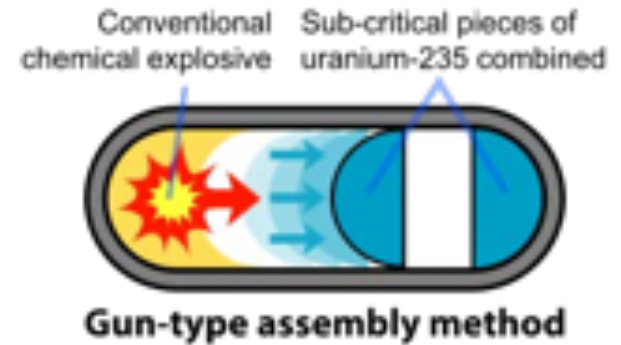
- **Uranium-235 (Produced by enrichment)**
- Natural uranium is 99.3% U-238 and 0.7% U-235
- >20% HEU is weapons usable
- A few tens of kg of 90% U-235 required for a bomb

**Hiroshima – Aug. 6, 1945**

- **Plutonium-239 (Produced in reactors)**
- Pu-239 metal, typically >93% Pu-239 for bombs
- < 10 kg required for a bomb

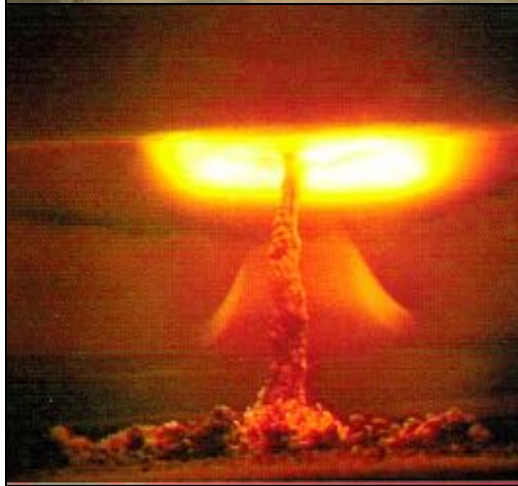
**Trinity – July 16, 1945**

**Nagasaki – Aug. 9, 1945**



Little Boy and Fat Man

# Cold War – Mutually Assured Destruction



**“Tsar Bomba” tested at  
half yield (~ 50 Megatons)  
Oct. 30, 1961**



**Cuban Missile Crisis – Oct. 1962**



# The goal of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) is to limit the spread of nuclear weapons.

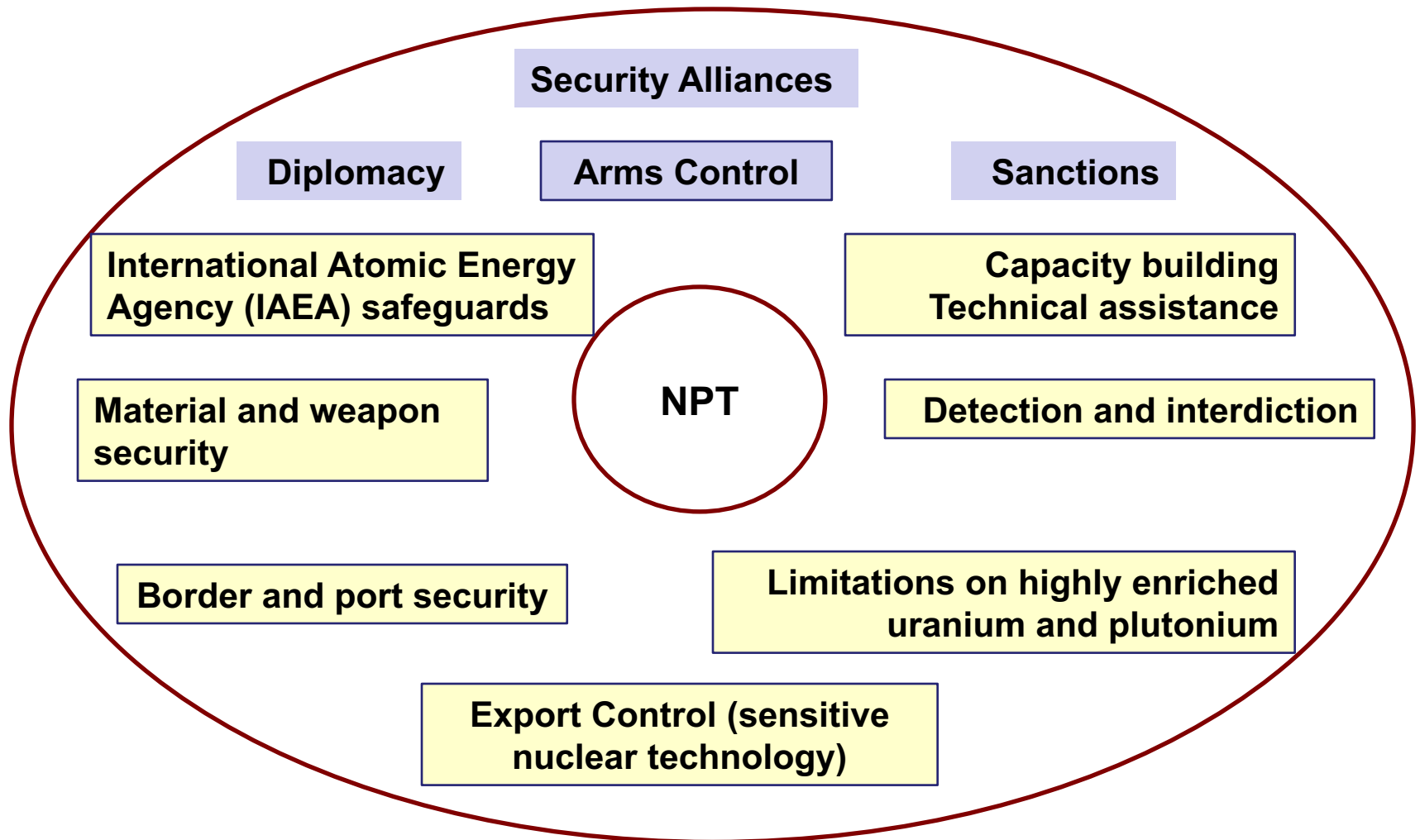
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Nuclear Weapon States (NWS)	Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS)
<b>Commit not to assist other states to acquire or develop nuclear weapons</b>	<b>Commit not to develop or acquire nuclear weapons and to implement IAEA safeguards</b>
<b>All agree not to export nuclear equipment or material to NNWS except under safeguards</b>	
<b>All agree to facilitate exchange of peaceful nuclear technology</b>	
<b>All agree to work towards future nuclear (and total) disarmament</b>	

Three pillars – **nonproliferation**, **right to energy**, disarmament

# The nuclear nonproliferation system includes a range of multilateral and bilateral measures

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# Countries that have considered the bomb

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- Sweden
- Switzerland
- **Israel**
- Yugoslavia
- **India**
- **Pakistan**
- South Korea
- **North Korea**
- Japan
- Taiwan
- Argentina
- Brazil
- **South Africa**
- **Iraq**
- **Libya**
- **Iran**

## Besides the P-5

- **U.S. - 1945**
- **USSR - 1949**
- **UK - 1952**
- **France 1960**
- **China 1964**

# **Iran and North Korea**

# North Korea threatened nuke strikes on US, South Korea

By FOSTER KLUG

Mar. 7, 2016 5:24 AM EST

SEOUL, South Korea (AP) — North Korea on Monday issued its latest belligerent threat, warning of an indiscriminate "pre-emptive nuclear strike of justice" on Washington and Seoul, this time in reaction to the start of huge U.S.-South Korean military drills.





# Can Kim Jong-un nuke the U.S.?



# Will the Iran deal hold?

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# What does history tell us?

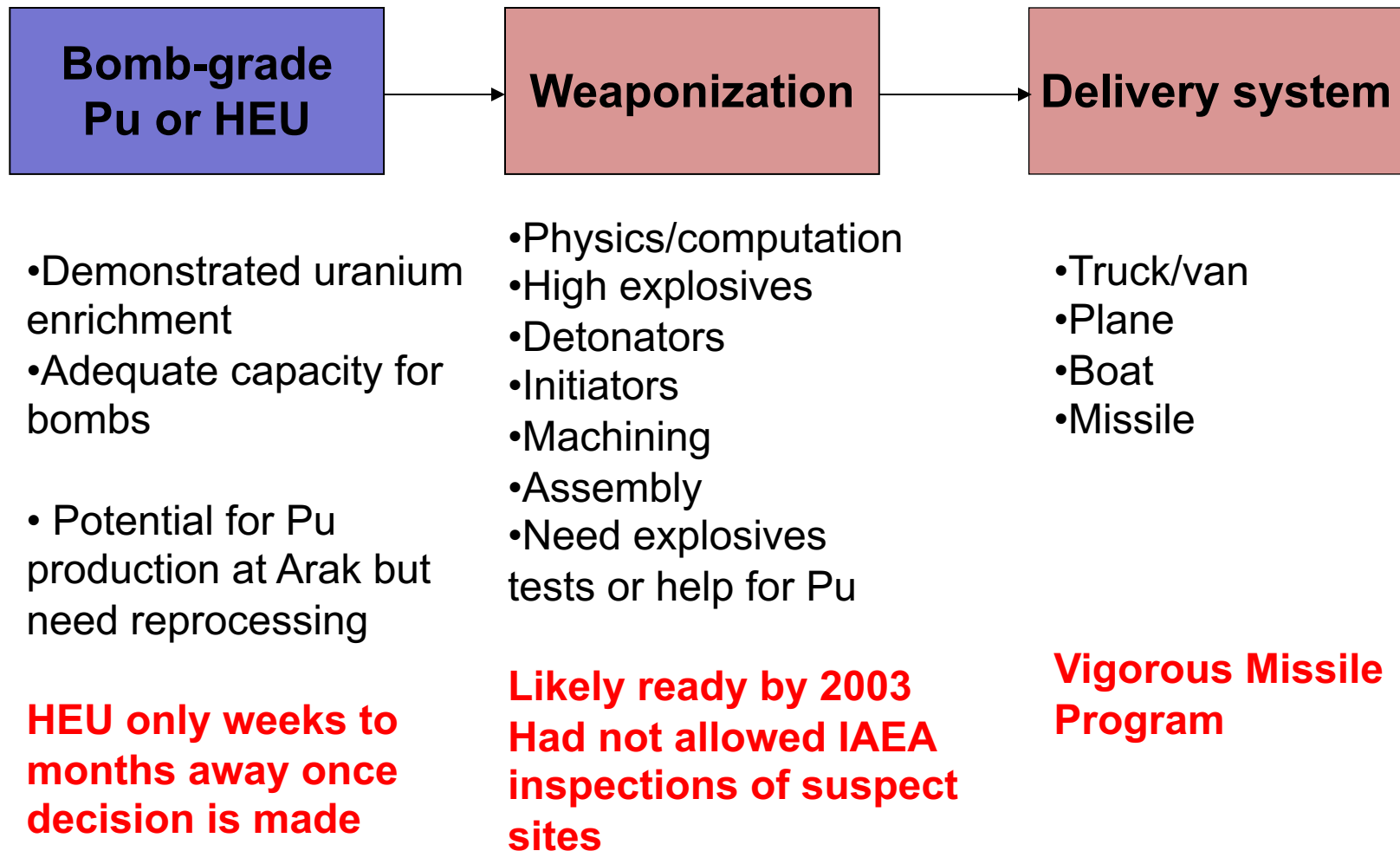
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- 1950s - 60s: U.S. “Atoms for Peace”
- 1970s to 1979: Grand nuclear power plans and covert bomb ambitions (with Israel, South Africa)
- Ayatollahs abandon, then go covert in mid-1980s
- 1990s: Iran goes shopping, steps up covert program
- 2002 – 12: Program discovered and admitted. Lack of transparency and inadequate cooperation with IAEA leads to suspicion of military program
- 2013 – H. Rouhani elected. Shows new flexibility.
- 2014 & 2015 Framework Agreement – and deal



# How close was Iran to the bomb before the JCPOA?

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**Before the JCPOA Iran likely had all pieces in place for the nuclear weapon option.**



## Iran's Key Nuclear Facilities

Arms Control Association

FACILITY NAME	STATUS	FUNCTION
Fuel Enrichment Plant, Natanz	OPERATING, INCOMPLETE	Produces 3.5 percent-enriched uranium
Pilot Fuel Enrichment Plant, Natanz	OPERATING	Research, development, test, and evaluation on advanced centrifuges; produces 20 percent-enriched uranium
Fordow Fuel Enrichment Plant	OPERATING, INCOMPLETE	Produces 20 percent-enriched and 3.5 percent-enriched uranium
Tehran Research Reactor	OPERATING	Produces medical isotopes
Heavy-Water Reactor (IR-40), Arak	UNDER CONSTRUCTION	Produces medical isotopes; better suited to producing plutonium
Uranium Conversion Facility, Esfahan	SUSPENDED	Produces uranium hexafluoride, the feedstock for uranium enrichment
Fuel Manufacturing Plant, Esfahan	PARTIAL OPERATION	Produces fuel assemblies for reactors; can possibly fashion uranium metal cores for nuclear weapons
Bushehr Nuclear Power Plant, Bushehr	OPERATING	Produces electricity; has limited proliferation risk
Ardakan Yellowcake Production Plant, Ardakan	OPERATING	Processes mined uranium

# NATANZ FUEL ENRICHMENT PLANT

CEIP



# NATANZ FUEL ENRICHMENT PLANT

CEIP



Reduce by ~2/3 installed centrifuges

19,000 today to 6,104 installed, IR-1s only

No enrichment over 3.67%

Reduce current stockpile LEU from 10,000kg to 300 kg

Only enrichment of uranium to occur at Natanz facility for 10 years

Removal of advanced centrifuges

Only 5,060 IR-1 centrifuges

Only limited R&D with advanced centrifuges



CEIP

**15 YEARS**



uranium enrichment

centrifuge R&D

nuclear material

15 YEARS



uranium enrichment

centrifuge R&D

nuclear material

- No enrichment of uranium at Fordow
- Conversion of facility to a nuclear, physics, technology research center
- No uranium enrichment R&D
- No fissile material
- 2/3 of centrifuges and infrastructure to be removed
- All centrifuges and infrastructure under IAEA monitoring

CEIP

## ARAK REACTOR AND REPROCESSING

**10 kg**

POTENTIAL ANNUAL  
PRODUCTION PRE-DEAL

<sup>94</sup>

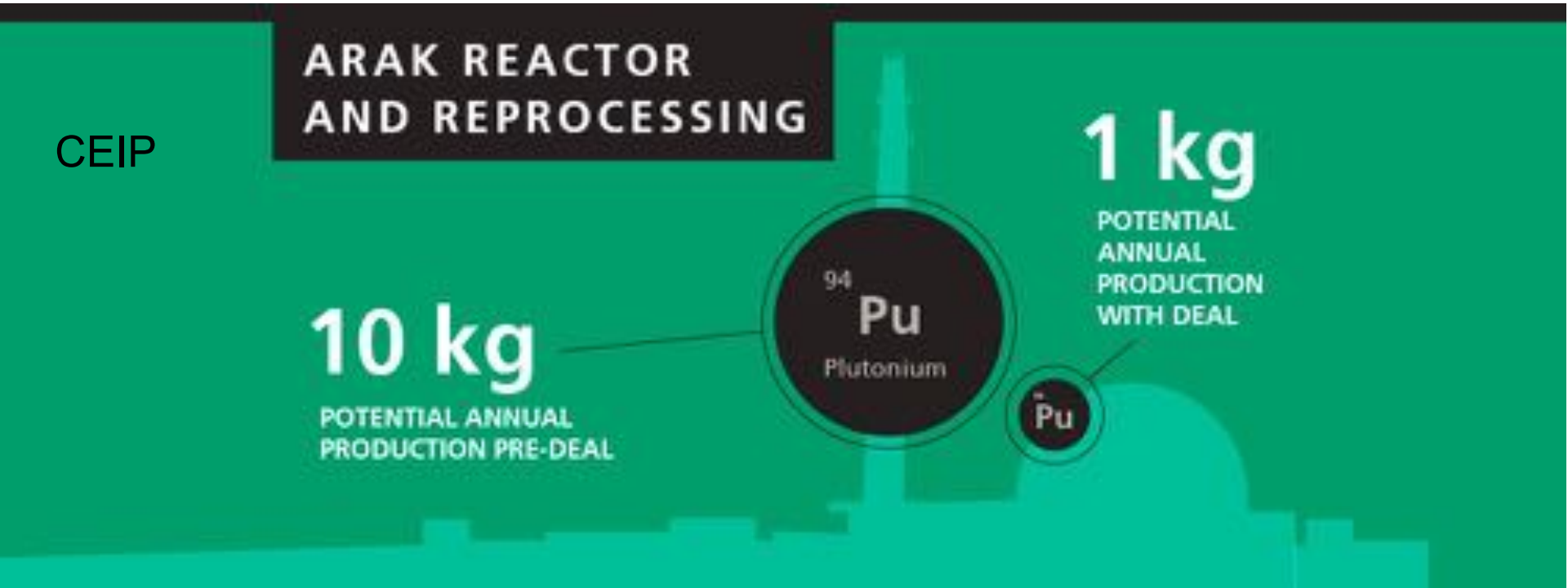
**Pu**

Plutonium

**1 kg**

POTENTIAL  
ANNUAL  
PRODUCTION  
WITH DEAL

<sup>241</sup>  
**Pu**



CEIP

## ARAK REACTOR AND REPROCESSING

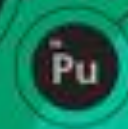
**10 kg**

POTENTIAL ANNUAL  
PRODUCTION PRE-DEAL



**1 kg**

POTENTIAL  
ANNUAL  
PRODUCTION  
WITH DEAL



- New design and construction of heavy water research reactor
- Removal or destruction of original core
- Removal of all spent fuel for reactor's lifetime
- No further reprocessing/ R&D on spent fuel
- No accumulation of heavy water beyond needs of new Arak reactor
- No additional HWRs for 15 years

# IAEA VERIFICATION

## CEIP

- ☒ uranium enrichment
- ☒ centrifuge production and storage
- ☒ uranium mines and mills
- ☒ managed access at suspected secret facilities (including military sites)



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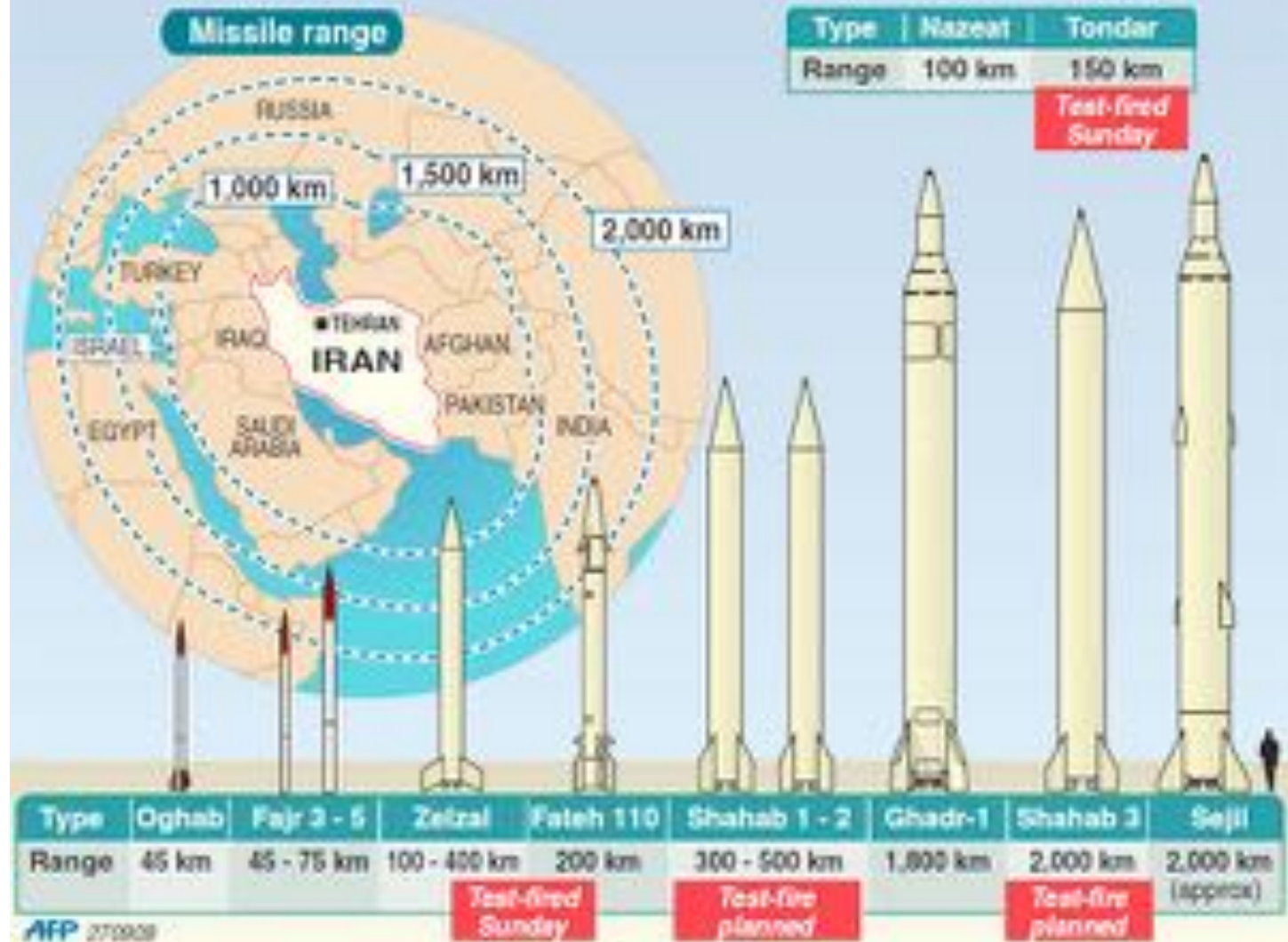


- IAEA regular access to all nuclear facilities with use of advanced monitoring technologies
- Full access to supply chain
- Access to uranium mines and surveillance of uranium mills for 25 years
- Continuous surveillance of centrifuge rotors and bellows production and storage facilities for 20 years
- Freeze of centrifuge manufacturing base
- UN procurement channel for nuclear-related and dual use materials and technology
- Implementation of Additional Protocol
- Early notification of construction of new facilities
- Agreed set of measures regarding Possible Military Dimensions (PMD) of Iran program



# Iran's missile arsenal

*Iran test-fired short-range missiles during military exercises*



Iran missile development is great concern, but not part of deal



# Does Iran want nuclear weapons at this time?

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# North Korea's nuclear history

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## Kim Il-sung

- Soviet Atoms for Peace
- Indigenous reactor program
- Built the option for the bomb
- Agreed to freeze program in 1994

## Kim Jong-il

- Built the bomb in 2003,
- Signed denuclearization deal 2005
- Continued with bomb, tested 2006, 2009

## Kim Jong-un

- First successful space launch in 2012
- Third and fourth nuclear tests, 2013 and Jan. 2016
- Nukes in constitution, threatened to nuke US and the South



# **Brief history of DPRK nuclear development**

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- **1950s and 60s – Atoms for peace – building foundation**
- **1970s and 80s – Going solo. Dual track**
  - **Electricity and bombs**
  - **Plutonium (reactors) and HEU (centrifuges)**
- **1990s. Bomb option by 1992. Adding to Pu capacity**
  - **1994 Agreed Framework**

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- 1990s. Bomb option by 1992
  - 1994 Agreed Framework
  - **Late 1990s – hedge with U enrichment (AQ Khan)**
  - **1998 Taepodong long-range rocket test**
- **2003**
  - **U.S. effectively ends AF. DPRK withdraws from NPT**
  - **DPRK builds Pu bomb**

# **History of DPRK nuclear development (cont.)**

---

- **2006 Nuclear Test # 1 (initial demonstration)**
  - **Covert development of centrifuge capacity**
- **2009 Nuclear Test # 2 (successful demonstration)**
- **2010 Revelation of 2000 centrifuge enrichment capacity**



26 SEP 2010

# Overhead imagery

Source: DigitalGlobe

4 NOV 2010

Source: DigitalGlobe

28 MAY 2011

Source: GeoEye

4 NOV 2011

Source: DigitalGlobe, 38 North

26 JAN 2012

Source: DigitalGlobe

20 MAR 2012

Source: DigitalGlobe

24 JUN 2012

Source: GeoEye

6 AUG 2012

Source: GeoEye

12 DEC 2013

Source: DigitalGlobe/ Google Earth

# History of DPRK nuclear development (cont.)

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- 2006 Nuclear Test # 1 (initial demonstration)
  - Covert development of centrifuge capacity
- 2009 Nuclear Test # 2 (successful demonstration)
- 2010 Revelation of 2000 centrifuge enrichment capacity
- **Dec. 2012 Successful Unha 2 Satellite launch**
- **2013 Nuclear Test # 3 (second successful demo)**
  - **Open expansion of centrifuge capacity**
  - **Building a nuclear arsenal**
- **2015 Apparent rapid expansion of HEU capacity**



26 SEP 2010

# Overhead imagery

Source: DigitalGlobe

4 NOV 2010

Source: DigitalGlobe

28 MAY 2011

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Source: DigitalGlobe/ Google Earth

Old-fashioned looking from the inside



Hecker



# Site visits and technical discussions provide invaluable information

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Jan. 2004 Yongbyon



Aug. 2005 Pyongyang



Nov. 2006 Pyongyang



August 9, 2007, Yongbyon



Feb. 14, 2008, Yongbyon



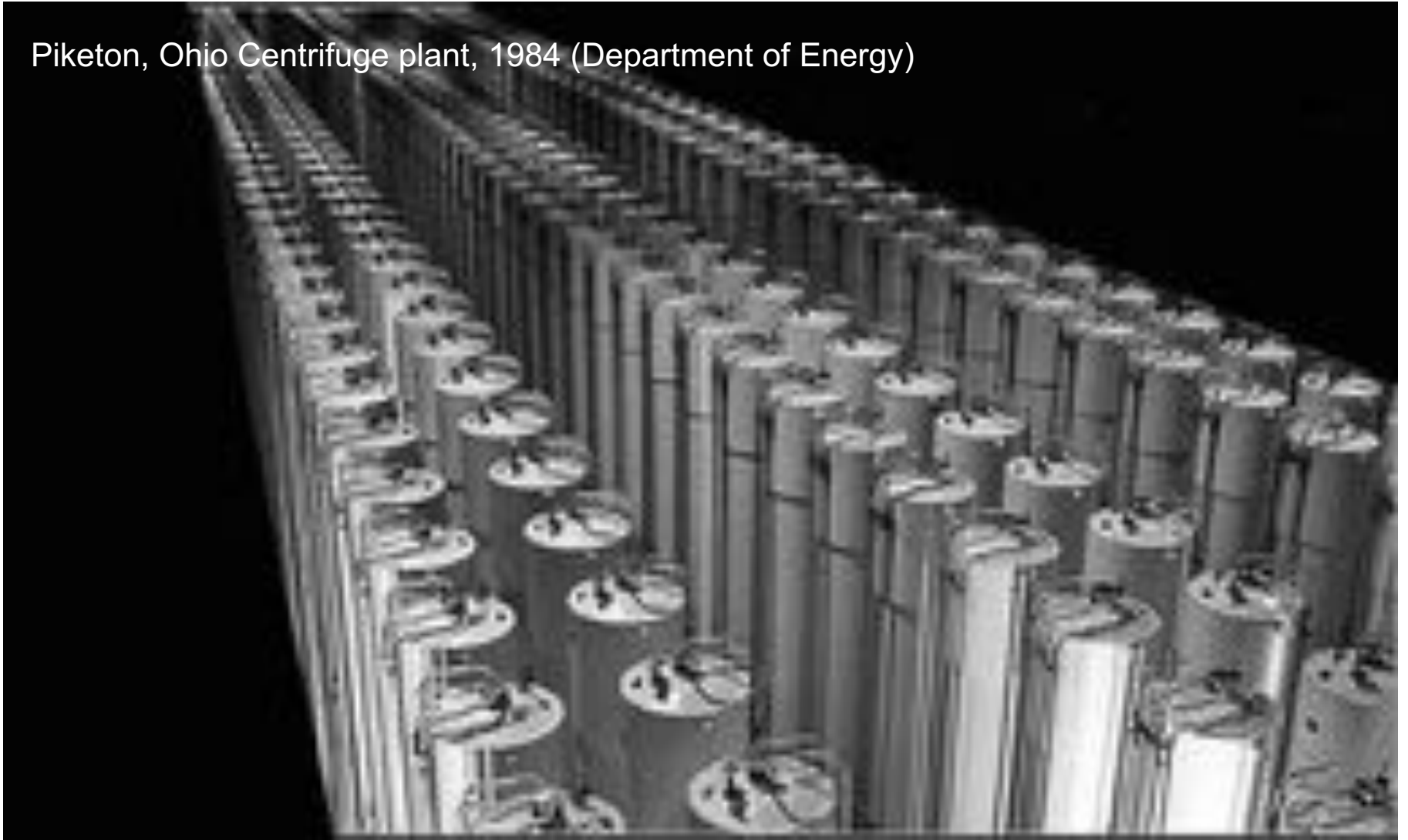
Feb. 27, 2009, Pyongyang

**The seventh visit brought a big surprise**



**Purely illustrative - this is not Yongbyon, but close to what we saw (Nov. 12, 2010).**

Piketon, Ohio Centrifuge plant, 1984 (Department of Energy)



**A few thousand are sufficient for bomb fuel. Tens of thousands are required to fuel a commercial power reactor.**

A photograph showing a group of men in dark suits standing in a line, inspecting a large, light-colored industrial machine. The machine has a large, dark, rectangular opening on its side. The setting appears to be a factory or industrial facility with a high ceiling and some yellow structural elements visible in the background. The men are looking at the machine with interest, and one man in the foreground is holding a small object, possibly a phone or a small device. The overall atmosphere is one of a formal inspection or demonstration.

**What is current centrifuge capacity?**

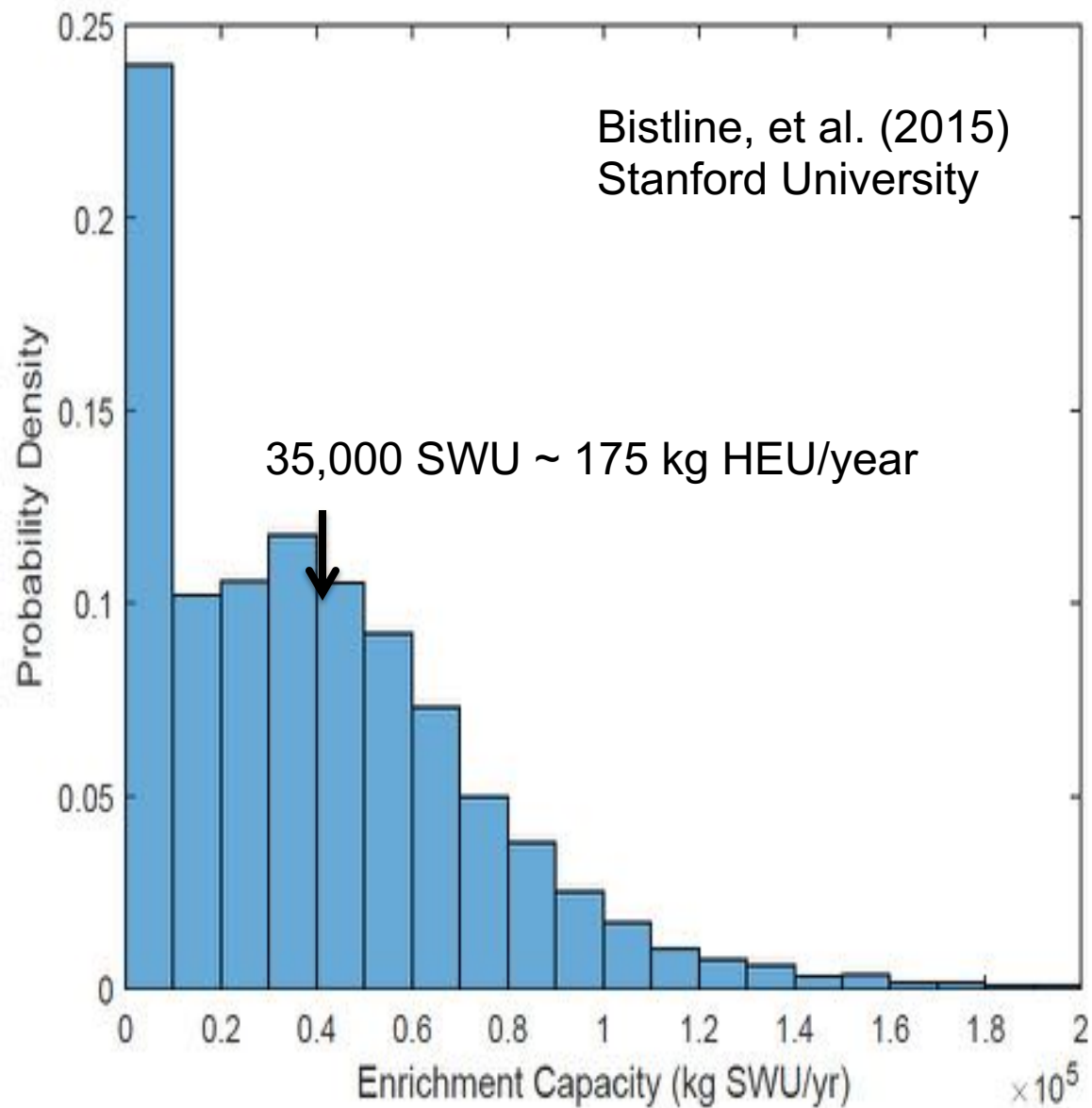
**How much imported and how much indigenous?**

# DPRK nuclear program

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Nuclear Capability	January 2003
Nuclear reactors	5 MWe – standby 50 MWe – standby 200 MWe - abandoned
Fuel fabrication	Standby – corroding U conversion - operating
Uranium enrichment	DPRK – denied US – Oct. 2002 accusation
Nuclear export	UF6 to Libya Reactor to Syria
Political	Kim Jong-il No mention of nukes

**Plutonium production halted. Uranium enrichment – building capacity.  
No nuclear weapons, no successful long-range rockets.**



A Bayesian Model to Assess the Size of North Korea's Uranium Enrichment Program  
John Bistline, David Blum, Chris Rinaldi, Gabriel Shields-Estrada, Siegfried Hecker,  
Elisabeth Paté-Cornell, *Journal of Science and Global Security* (2015)

# Potential DPRK nuclear program by 2020

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Nuclear Capability	December 2016 Estimates	2020
Plutonium	34 – 52 kg	Possibly 70 kg
HEU (Highly enriched U)	Possibly 450 kg	~150 kg/yr
Nuclear tests	4 or more	4 or more
Nuclear weapons	Possibly 8 Pu + 18 HEU ~ 25	~10 Pu + 42 HEU ~ 50
Long-range rockets	Unha-3 Possibly more tests	Musudan or KN-08 tests



# North Korean nukes



Was it a “hydrogen” bomb?

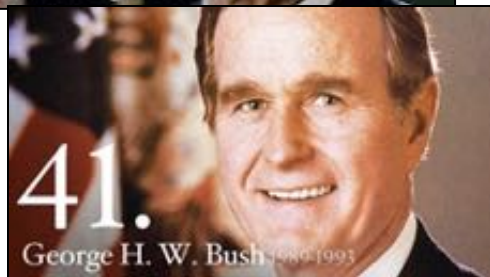
Warhead in RV?





Laying the  
foundation

**Rough estimates of  
nuclear program  
in North Korea**



Getting ready



Freeze plutonium program,  
but keep a hedge



Challenged and break-out  
Built the bomb



Full speed ahead  
Building an arsenal





None

**Rough estimates of  
number of bombs  
in North Korea**



None



Likely none



Likely none at start  
Possibly 6 at end



Likely 6 at start  
Possibly 15 now  
Possibly 20-25 by end

# Rough estimates of number of bombs in North Korea

Likely none



Likely none



Likely none at beginning  
Likely 8 at end



Likely 8 at beginning  
Possibly 50 at end





# What are the prospects for North Korea?

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- **Little hope of giving up nukes in the near term**
- **Must stop nuclear build up first**
- **Settle for 3 No's in return for 3 Yes's**
  - No more bombs
  - No better bombs (no nuclear or missile testing)
  - No export

In return

- Address the North's security concerns
- Provide energy assistance
- Provide economic assistance

**Denuclearization will take patience and commitment  
And, understanding the country.**

# North Korea: Repressive and reclusive

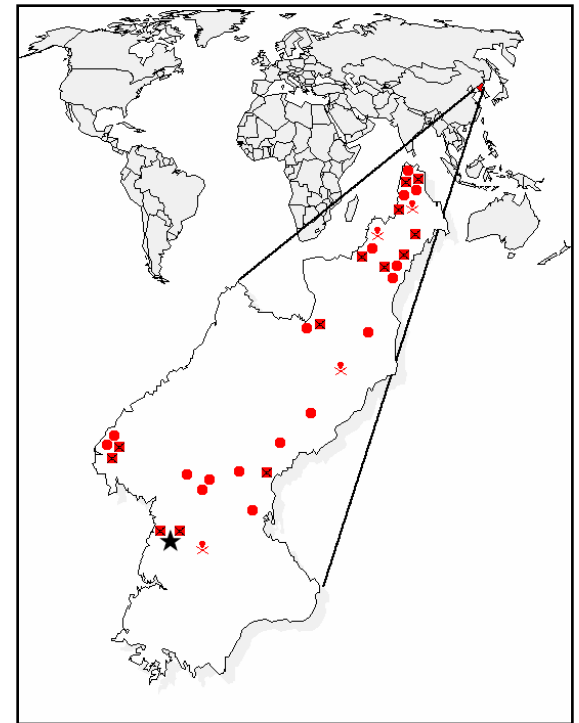


DMZ



- 4 death camps
- 17 forced labor concentration camps. 13 torture facility prisons

## Human rights concerns



They are real people



Don't demonize the  
people







# Instructions, discipline and friendship in Middle School #1

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University for Foreign Studies  
Pyongyang, Feb. 15, 2008



They are very talented people



92<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of Polish independence  
Pyongyang, Nov. 11, 2010



Don't wait for North Korea to collapse



New Pongyang Airport





**Ryugyong Hotel**





Pyongyang - 2016

# Sanctions – ineffective to date





# Winds of change are blowing in DPRK



Cell phones in Nov. 2010



# The winds of change are not on their side

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## Pyongyang subway



## Where there is swoosh, there is hope