Science for Nuclear Arms Control

Lecture II: Nuclear Diplomacy

Prof. Dr. Malte Göttsche Nuclear Verification and Disarmament Group

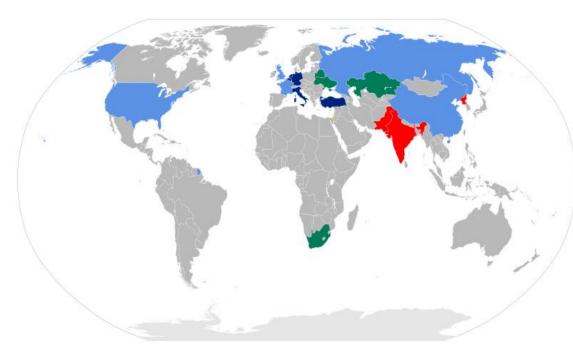
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CERN Academic Training, 7 February 2024

Nonproliferation

The arms race

- 1945 United States
- 1949 Soviet Union
- 1952 United Kingdom
- 1960 France
- 1964 China
- 1974 India
- 1979 (?) Israel South Africa
- 1998 Pakistan
- 2006 Nordkorea



The Non-Proliferation Treaty 1968

Separation of members into non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS) and nuclear weapon states (NWS), based on whether they had tested weapons before 1967

Articles I/II

- NNWS: not manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons, not to seek assistance
- NWS/NNWS: Not transfer nuclear weapons to NNWS

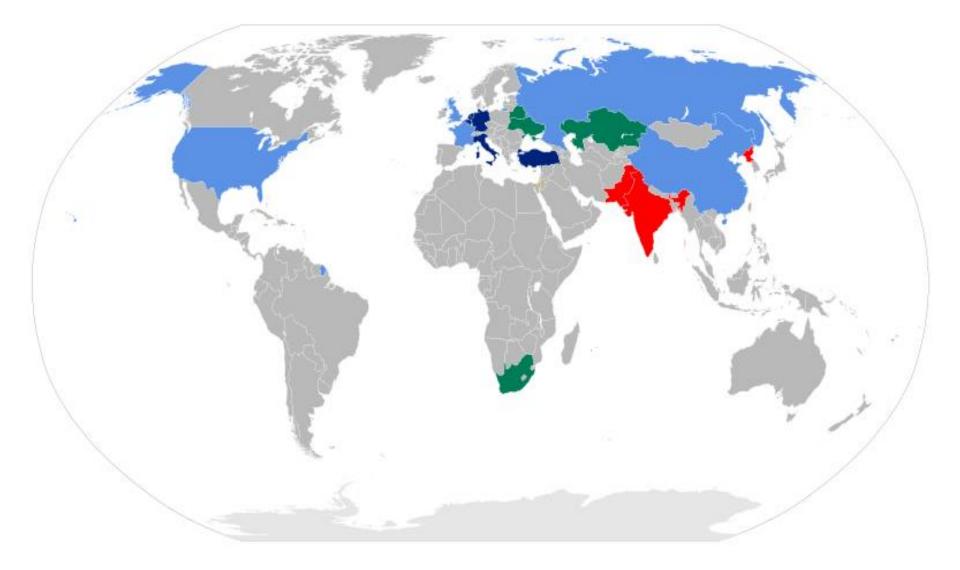
Article IV

- NWS/NNWS: inalienable right to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes
- NNWS should be supported in building nuclear energy programs

Article VI

 "Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to [...] nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control."

The Non-Proliferation Treaty



Article III

 "Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes to accept safeguards, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency [...], for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfilment of its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. [...] The safeguards required by this Article shall be applied on all source

or special fissionable material in all peaceful nuclear activities [...]."





Verifying declared nuclear materials

Nuclear material accountancy

- On-site inspections in nuclear facilities
- Remote monitoring



Iraq:

- Undeclared research into uranium enrichment technology
- Undeclared import of uranium stocks
- Significant research in nuclear weapons design before 1991
- → UNSCOM (UN Special Commission) 1991-1997

→ Later: UNMOVIC (until war)



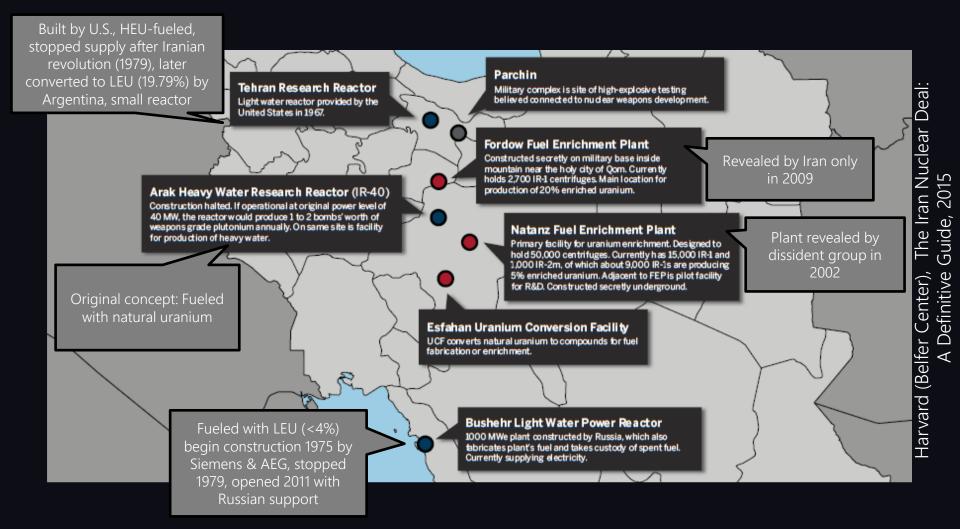
Verifying undeclared nuclear materials and activities: The Additional Protocol

- Challenge inspections
- Open Source Analysis (e.g. satellite imagery, trade data)





Current nonproliferation matters

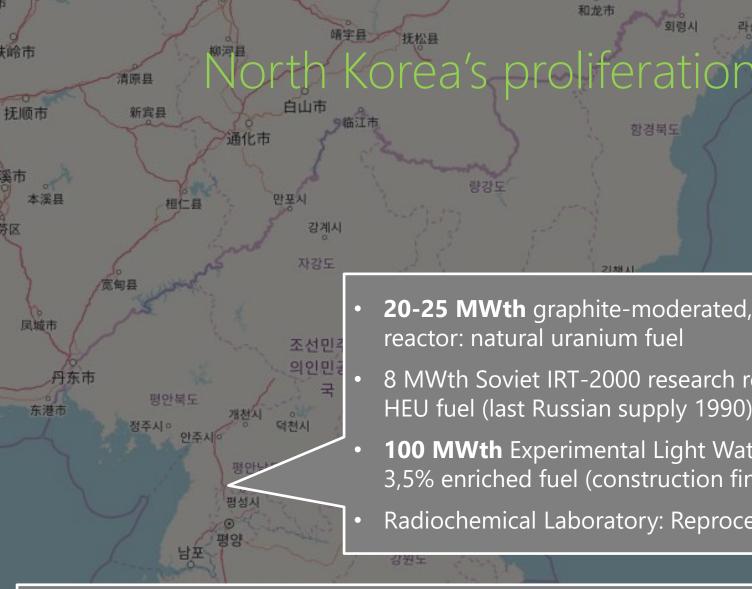


Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPoA)

Figure 6: Uranium Pathway Restrictions

	Before interim agreement reached (Nov. 2013) ¹	JCPOA physical limits (10–15 years)	
First-gen (IR-1) centrifuges	18.472	Capped at 6,104	Operation of dvanced centrifuges at Natanz and Fordow
Second-gen (IR-2) centrifuges	1.008	None ²	
Breakout time ³	1-2 months	Approximately 12 months	< 1 month
R&D of new centrifuge technology	Unconstrained	Constrained	3.500 kg < 5%
Stockpile of low-enriched UF ₆ ⁴	7,154 kg⁵	Capped at 300 kg ⁶	
Stockpile of 20%-enriched UF ₆	196 kg ⁷	None	570 kg < 20% 130 kg < 60%
Maximum enrich- ment level	No restrictions	3.67%	
Centrifuge production	Unconstrained	Constrained to producing only replacement IR-1 for 10 years; no produc- tion of IR-6 or IR-8 for 8 years	IAEA monitoring continues with limitations

Current state: IAEA Director General, Report to the Board of Governors "Verification and monitoring in the Islamic Republic of Iran in light of United Nations Security Council resolution 2231 (2015)," GOV/2023/57, 15/11/2023



• **20-25 MWth** graphite-moderated, gas-cooled reactor: natural uranium fuel

함경북도

8 MWth Soviet IRT-2000 research reactor: HEU fuel (last Russian supply 1990)

和龙市

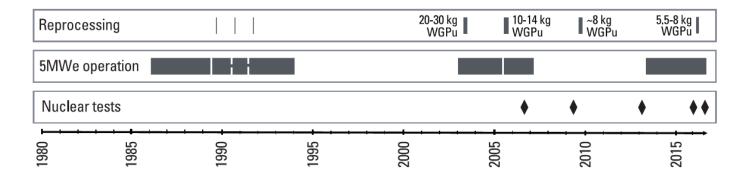
라선

- **100 MWth** Experimental Light Water Reactor: 3,5% enriched fuel (construction finished?)
- Radiochemical Laboratory: Reprocessing

In addition: Uranium path.

Presumably plenty of enriched uranium to produce plutonium with 100 MWth reactor

Estimating North Korean fissile material production



S. Hecker, C. Braun and C. Lawrence, North Korea's Stockpiles of Fissile Material, Korea Observer 47:4, 2016

25-48 kg plutonium 600-950 kg HEU → 20-60 nuclear weapons ^{38 NORTH, Estimating North Korea's Nuclear Stockpiles: An Interview With Siegfried Hecker, 30 April, 2021}

Banning nuclear weapon tests

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

- Prohibits <u>all</u> nuclear weapons explosions
- Signed in 1996, but not yet in force
- Required ratifications: China, Egypt, India, Iran, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan, Russia, United States



CTBTO

- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organisation in place
- includes the Provisional Technical Secretariat, tasked with the establishmnt of a comprehensive verification regime:
- International Monitoring System, International Data Center & On-Site Inspections





International Monitoring System

seismic, hydroacoustic, infrasound and radionuclide monitoring

INTERNATIONAL MONITORING SYSTEM



Radionuclide monitoring

The *smoking gun*: Was an explosion nuclear?

- 80 radionuclide stations
- Radioactive isotopes arrive through atmospheric transport
- Gamma measurements using air filters or air pumped through charcoal purification device



Radionuclide station RN73, Palmer Station, USA, CTBTO

North Korean nuclear tests



Gernot Hartmann¹, Karl Koch¹, Christoph Pilger¹, J. Ole Ross¹, and Torsten Dahm²

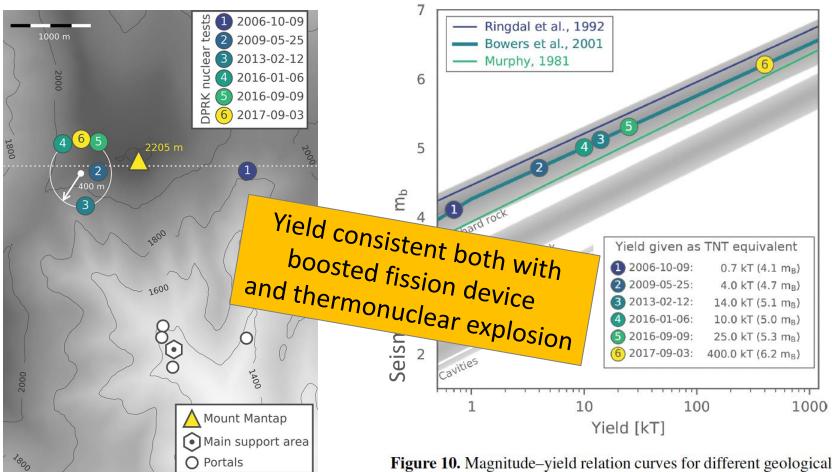
¹BGR, Federal Institute for Geosciences and Natural Resources, Hannover, Germany

²GFZ, German Research Centre for Geosciences, Potsdam, Germany

³KIT, Karlsruhe Institute of Technology, Karlsruhe, Germany

North Korean nuclear tests

Seismic monitoring



Location uncertainty < 100 m

Figure 10. Magnitude–yield relation curves for different geological settings. Numbered circles indicate the six North Korean nuclear tests. Gray background shading represents lower and upper boundary literature values for the different environments.

North Korean nuclear tests

Radionuclide monitoring

- RN58 operated in October, increased Xe-133 activity was measured
- This would be consistent with delayed releases from test cavity.
 - But no proof. Release start 04 October 2017 00:00:00 (UTC) -36 45° N **RN58** HYSPLIT simulation 40° N Test site **RN38** 35° N 130° E 140° E -17-16-15 -18

log₁₀(relative concentration) [Bq m⁻³]

Deterrence, arms control and disarmament

Deterrence

- Prevention of nuclear first strike by second strike capability
- "Strategic stability" / mutual vulnerability
- To prevent major conflict among nuclear-protected powers
- Arms control for mutual security



Mexican standoff in Quentin Tarantino's Reservoir Dogs

Arms control and its demise

- Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, cancelled, removed all remove all intermediate range forces (< 5500 km)
- Open Skies Treaty, allowed for oversight flights, cancelled by US and Russia

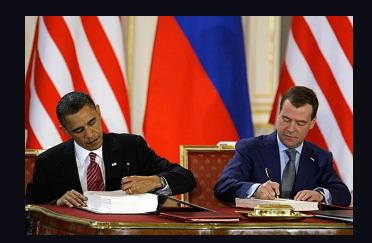


Pershing II (Mutlangen, Germany)

Strategic arms control

New START Treaty (2010)

- Bilateral US-Russian arms control
- Last agreement in a series initiated during the Cold War
- Limits deployed delivery systems to 700
- Limits deployed warheads to 1550, no limits on total warheads
- Verification regime
- Agreement on extension reached in last minute, 2021
- Treaty expires 2026, <u>currently suspended</u>. Limited prospects of negotiations for successor during war.



The Non-Proliferation Treaty 1968

Comparison

- Chemical weapons convention
- Biological weapons convention
- No nuclear weapons convention!

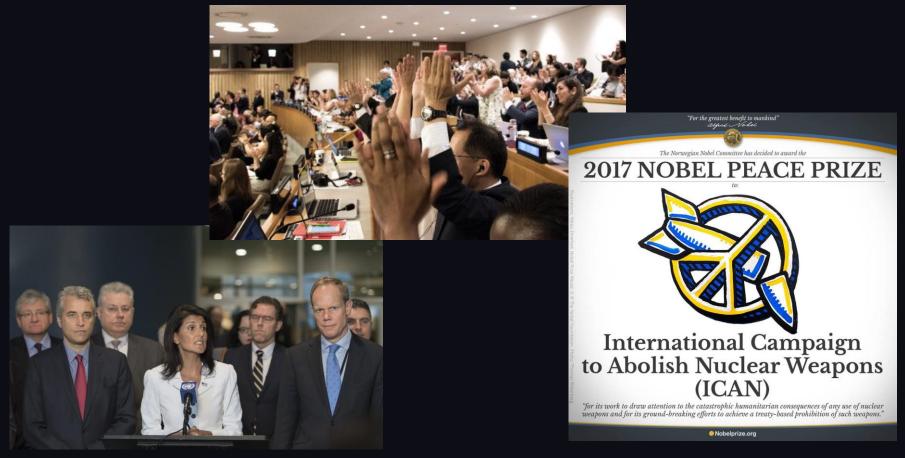


The Ban Treaty

Frustration of many non-weapon states on disarmament

 \rightarrow Negotiation of Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (2017)

→ Review Conferences 2021/2023: several NATO states as observers



Nuclear threats and risks

Nuclear threats and risks

"The United States would only consider the employment of nuclear weapons in extreme circumstances to defend the vital interests of the United States, its allies, and partners." (2018 U.S. Nuclear posture review)

"The Russian Federation shall reserve the right to use nuclear weapons in response to the use of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction against it and/or its allies, as well as in the event of aggression against the Russian Federation with the use of **conventional Weapons** when the very **existence of the state is in jeopardy**." (The military doctrine of the Russian Federation, 2015)

"China is firmly committed to a nuclear strategy based on self-defence and has upheld its commitment that it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and under any circumstances and that it would unconditionally refrain from using or threatening to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states or nuclear-weapon-free zones." (Position Paper of the People's Republic of China At the 66th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 2011)

Implication of the Ukraine war

- Nuclear escalation potential
 - Risk of nuclear weapon use in Ukraine
 - Risk of NATO-Russia nuclear escalation
- Russia's successful deterrence might make nuclear weapons attractive for other states
- Future of European and US-Russian arms control architecture ?

Command and control (U.S.)

- President has single control to launch nuclear warheads
- Pressured to make quick decisions (retaliatory response to arriving missile)
- Risk of Launch-on-warning

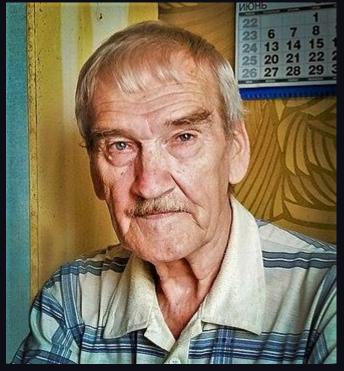


"Nuclear football"

Close calls

1983 Soviet nuclear false alarm incident

- Russian early warning system indicated US missile attack
- In last minute, officer dismissed the warning, preventing retaliatory launch, and accidental nuclear war
- Many other "close-calls"



Stanislav Petrov

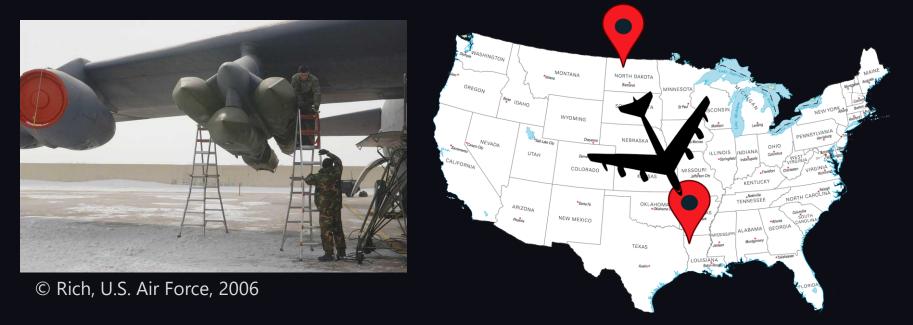
Close calls 1995



- Russian missile warning system identified a rocket as a nuclear ballistic missile, on a path from Norway to hit northern Russia.
- Yeltsin was presented the briefcase to authorize a nuclear attack
- Minutes later, it appeared rocket would land beyond Russian territory
- Research rocket to study polar lights

© Blix Dahle, NASA

Close calls 2007



Six nuclear-armed cruise missiles were mistakenly loaded onto a B-52 bomber at Minot Air Force Base in North Dakota



https://youtu.be/ZFBVI0s6MIg

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23

Why should nuclear weapons concern you? | Malte Goettsche | TEDxRWTHAachen

1,023 views • May 26, 2020

The roles of scientists

"We appeal as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest." *

* Russell-Einstein Manifesto, 1955

i.a. Max Born, Albert Einstein, Linus Pauling, Joseph Rotblat, Bertrand Russell, 1955

The Russell-Einstein Manifesto

issued in London, July 9th 1955

In the tragic situation which confronts humanity, we feel that scientists should assemble in conference to appraise the perils that have arisen as a result of the development of weapons of mass destruction, and to discuss a resolution in the spirit of the appended draft.

We are speaking on this occasion, not as members of this or that nation, continent, or creed, but as human beings, members of the species Man, whose continued existence is in doubt. The world is full of conflicts; and, overshadowing all minor conflicts, the titanic struggle between Communism and anti-Communism.

PHYSIKALISCHE BLÄTTER

13. JAHRGANG

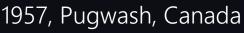
1957/HEFT 5

Die Göttinger Erklärung

u.a. O. Hahn, W. Heisenberg, M. von Laue, H. Maier-Leibnitz, C.-F. von Weizsäcker

Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs

- Joseph Rotblat: only Manhattan Project scientist to resign on moral grounds
- Pugwash aims to develop and support the use of scientific, evidence-based policymaking, focusing on areas where nuclear and WMD risks are present
- long-standing tradition of 'dialogue across divides' (Nobel Peace Prize 1995): pioneers of "track 2" dialogue





2015, Nagasaki, Japan

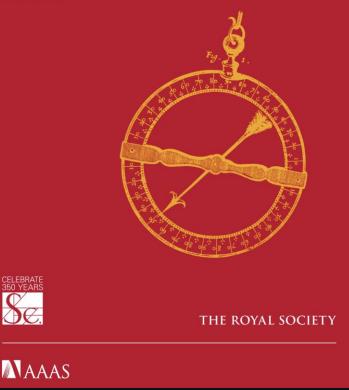


Science Diplomacy

- Diplomacy for Science
 - facilitate international scientific cooperation
- Science for Diplomacy / Science for Peace
 - scientific collaboration to improve international relations (e.g. SESAME synchrotron, Jordan)
- Science in Diplomacy:
 - provide advice to inform and support foreign policy objectives

New frontiers in science diplomacy

Navigating the changing balance of power January 2010



Science in (Nuclear) Diplomacy: Group of Scientific Experts

UNITED NATIONS (2) NATIONS UNIES

CTBTO Sepctrum 12, 2009

Geneva, 1978

Science in (Nuclear) Diplomacy

REPORT OF THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY GROUP

on the status and developments regarding nuclear weapons, nuclear weapon risks, the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament and related issues

TPNW/MSP/2023/8 27 October 2023



Phase II Summary Report: Moving from Paper to Practice in Nuclear Disarmament Verification

DECEMBER 2019



