

Nuclear Weapons in 360 Minutes (or Less!)

William Spaniel

<https://williamspaniel.com/classes/nuclearpolitics2020/>

Outline

- The Nuclear Club (and Friends)
- Why Proliferate?
- Effects of Proliferation
- Managing the Atom

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United States (1945)

- Manhattan Project
- Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings
- Would have been a lot worse if the Nazi scientists had won the race
 - ...but fortunately the Nazis were Naziing



Soviet Union (1949)

- Manhattan Project spies
- US knew the Soviets were developing a bomb but chose not to launch preventive war
 - Immediately after WWII
 - No intelligence
- Cold War starts in earnest

United Kingdom (1952)

- Tube Alloys
- Agreement with the United States

France (1960)

- France and the United States do not have as intimate a relationship as the U.S. and the U.K.
- France sought strategic independence

China (1964)

- Sino-Soviet split

India (1974)

- India does not like Pakistan very much
- Tested the “Smiling Buddha,” a “peaceful nuclear explosion,” in 1974
- Remained mostly dormant until 1998. (Hold that thought...)

Israel (1979)

- Israel does not have nuclear weapons

South Africa (1979)

- The Vela Incident
 - A US satellite (Vela Hotel) detected a flash in the Atlantic Ocean between South Africa and Antarctica
- Built due to concerns of civil war spillover from Angola
- Dismantled at the end of Apartheid

Soviet Successor States

- Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus had nuclear weapons on their soil during the Soviet Union's breakup
- Moscow still had command control
- Countries accepted cash to dismantle the weapons and forgo native nuclear development

Pakistan (1998)

- Five weeks after India's nuclear tests in 1998, Pakistan tested six bombs
- Pakistan is now “too nuclear to fail”
- A.Q. Khan network

The 1998 Ig Nobel Prize Winners

The 1998 Ig Nobel Prizes were awarded at the 8th First Annual Ig Nobel Prize Ceremony, at Harvard's Sanders Theatre. The ceremony was webcast live.

SAFETY ENGINEERING: Troy Hurtubise, of North Bay, Ontario, for developing, and personally testing a suit of armor that is impervious to grizzly bears. [REFERENCE: "Project Grizzly", produced by the "National Film Board of Canada. ALSO: *Bear Man: The Troy Hurtubise Saga*, by Troy Hurtubise, Raven House Publishing, Westbrook, ME, USA, 2011.]

BIOLOGY: Peter Fong of Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, for contributing to the happiness of clams by giving them Prozac.

[REFERENCE: "Induction and Potentiation of Parturition in Fingernail Clams (*Sphaerium striatinum*) by Selective Serotonin Re- Uptake Inhibitors (SSRIs)," Peter F. Fong, Peter T. Huminski, and Lynette M. D'urso, "Journal of Experimental Zoology, vol. 280, 1998, pp. 260-64.]

PEACE: Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee of India and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan, for their aggressively peaceful explosions of atomic bombs.

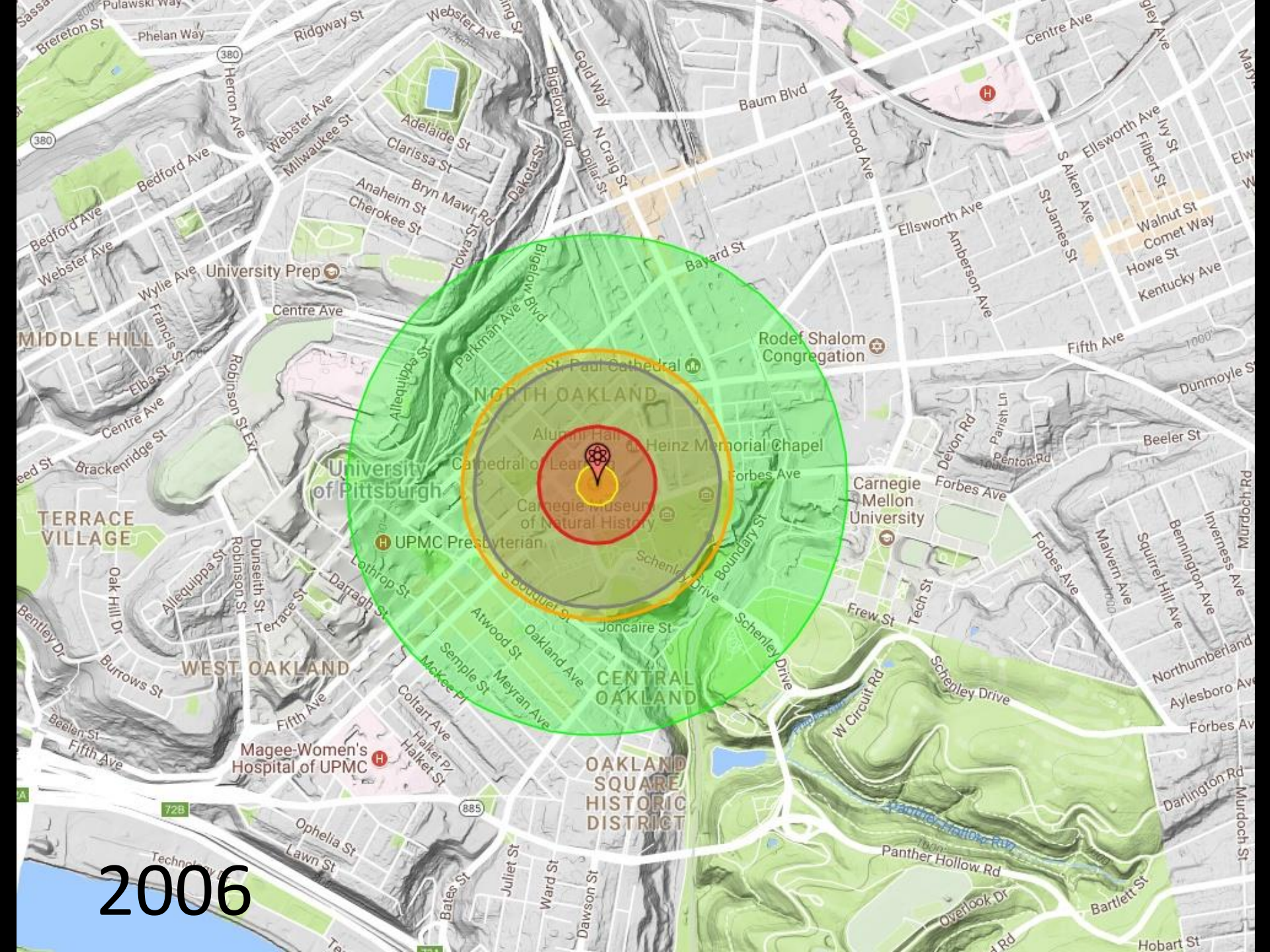
CHEMISTRY: Jacques Benveniste of France, for his homeopathic discovery that not only does water have memory, but that the information can be transmitted over telephone lines and the Internet. [NOTE: Benveniste also won the 1991 Ig Nobel Chemistry Prize.]

[REFERENCE: "Transatlantic Transfer of Digitized Antigen Signal by Telephone Link," J. Benveniste, P. Jurgens, W. Hsueh and J. Aissa, "Journal of Allergy and Clinical Immunology - Program and abstracts of papers to be presented during scientific sessions AAAAI/AAI.CIS Joint Meeting February 21-26, 1997"]

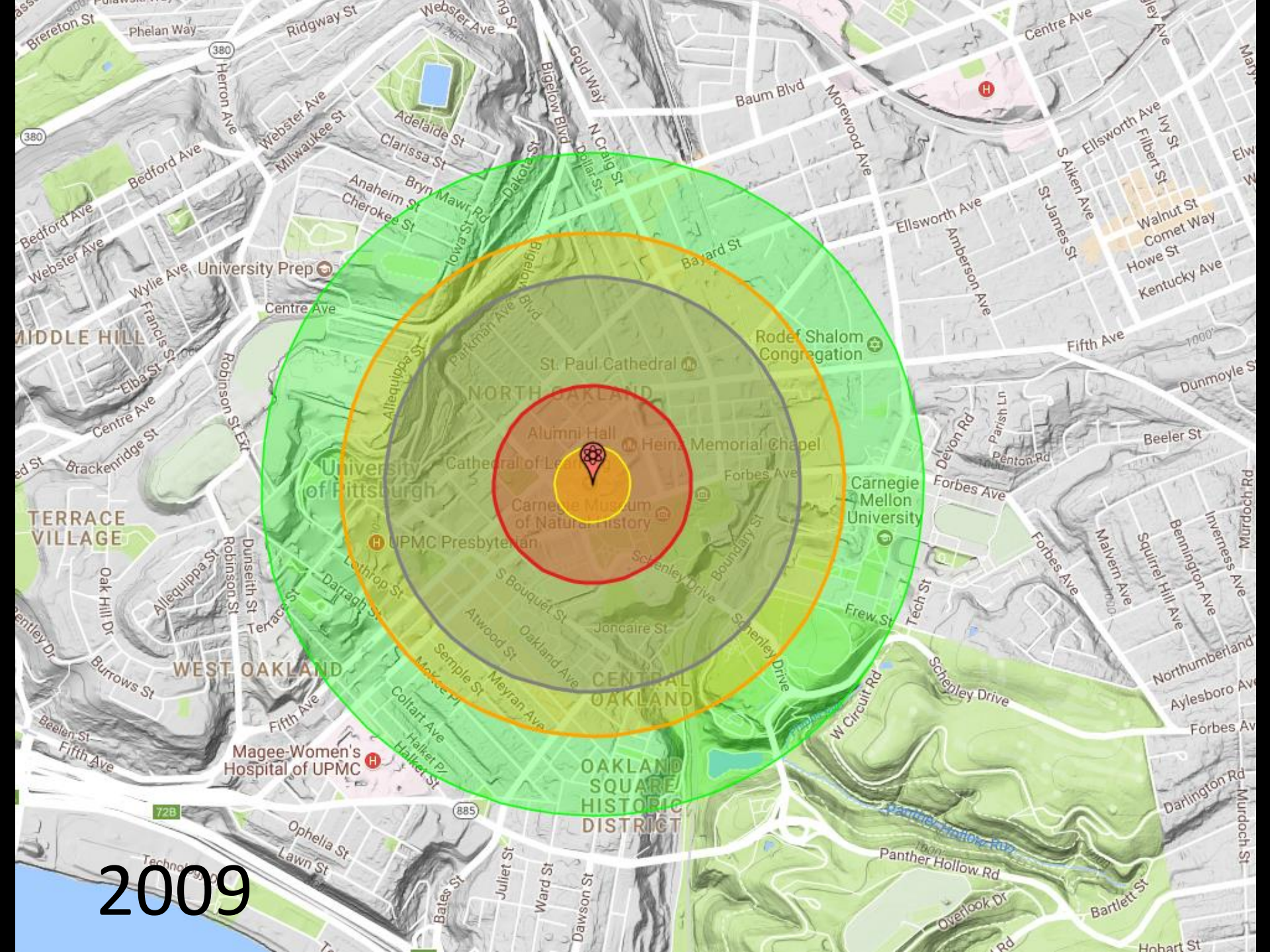
SCIENCE EDUCATION: Dolores Krieger, Professor Emerita, New York University, for demonstrating the merits of therapeutic touch, a method by which nurses manipulate the energy fields of ailing patients by carefully avoiding physical contact with those patients.

North Korea (2006)

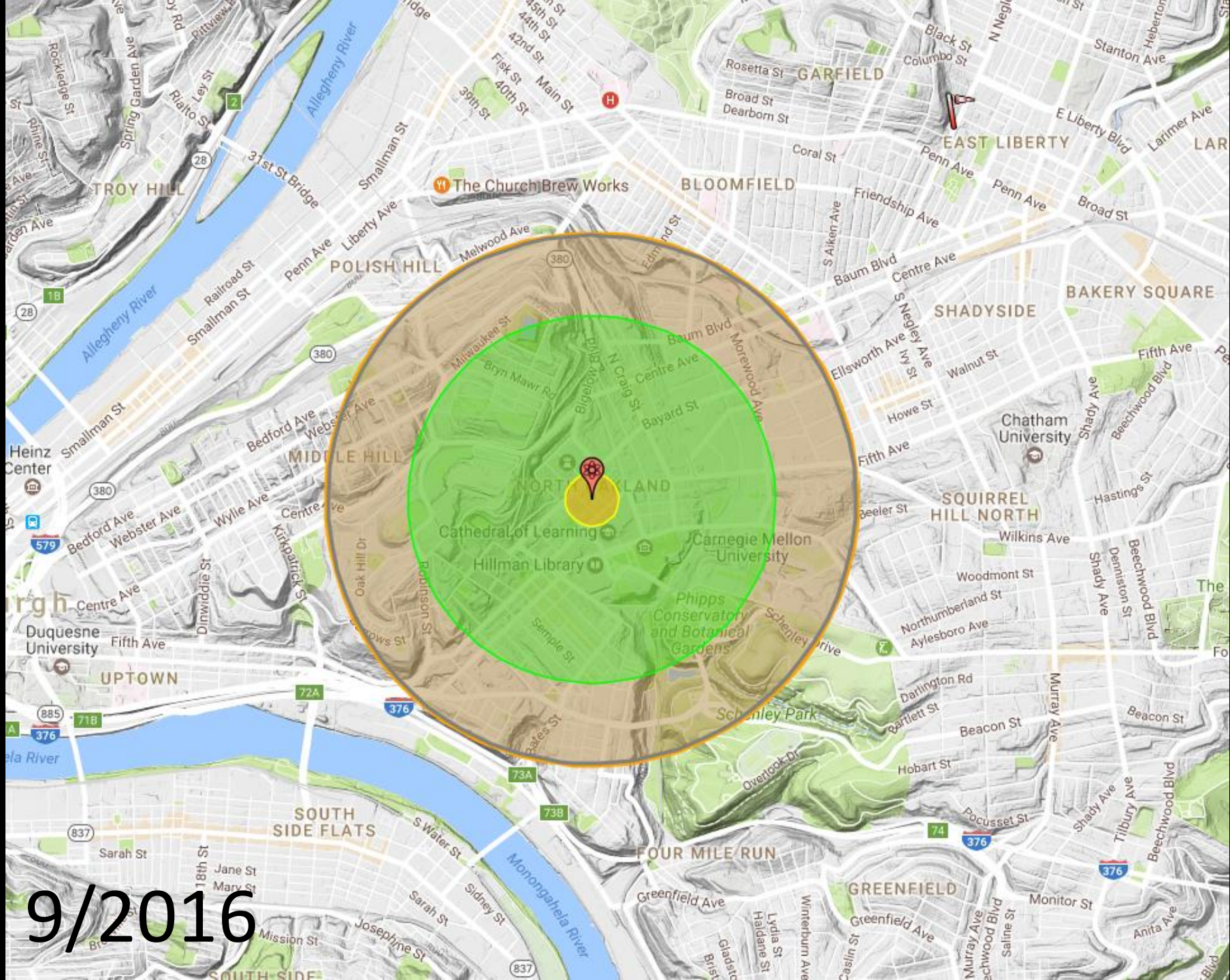
- Conducted crummy tests in 2006 (possibly a fizzle), 2009, and 2013
- Scarier tests twice in 2016 and once in 2017



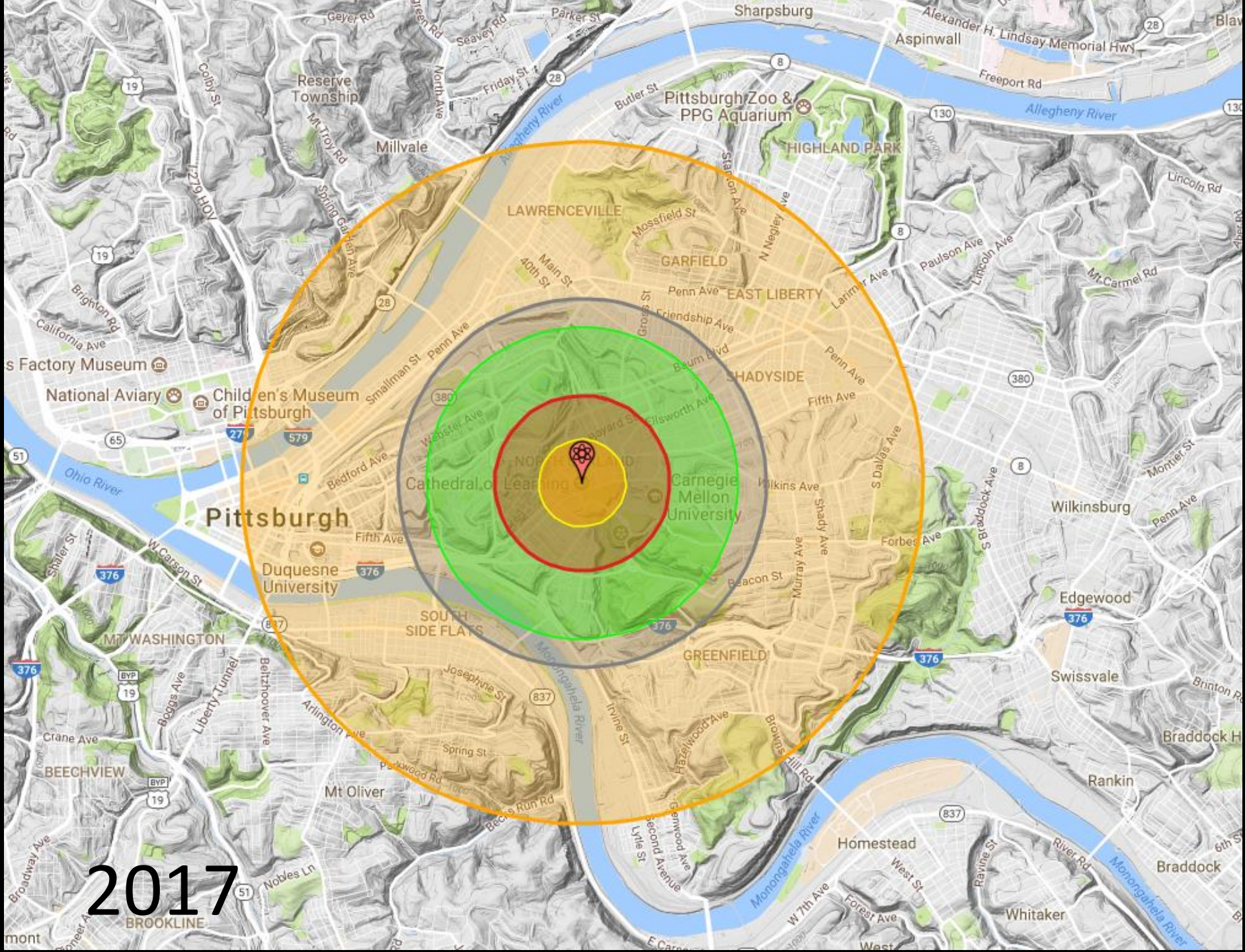
2006



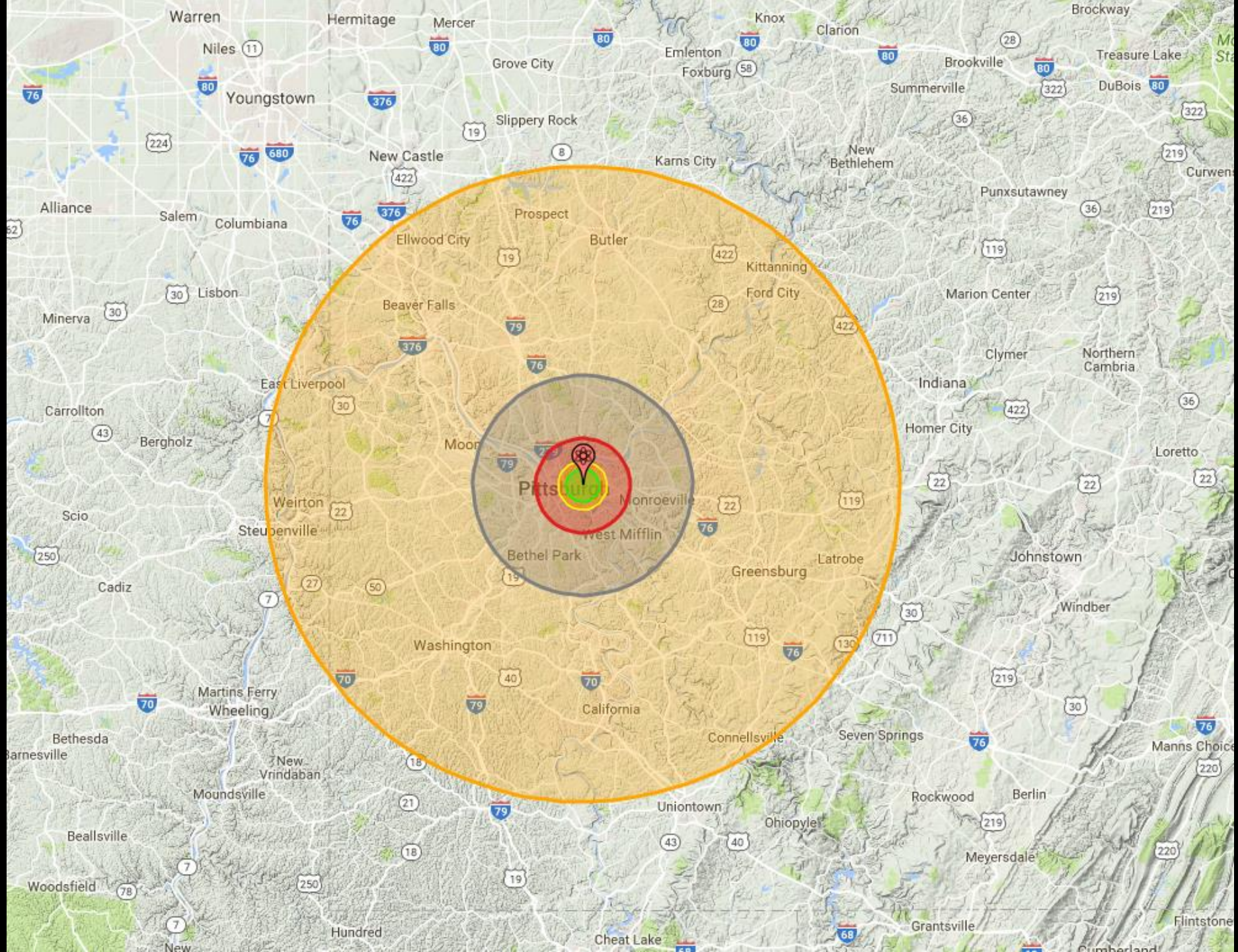
2009



9/2016



2017



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- The Nuclear Club (and Friends)
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- Effects of Proliferation
- Managing the Atom

Argentina/Brazil

- Had simmering tensions in the 1980s
- Both proficient in nuclear technology but opted against proliferating
- Now have a joint nuclear commission and share technology

Australia

- Site of UK's initial nuclear tests
- Largest uranium reserves in the world
- Had a brief exploration

Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine

- Soviet nuclear weapons
- Ukraine had 3rd largest stockpile
- No command and control
- Allowed Moscow to recover them in exchange for economic concessions

Egypt

- Slow exploration and pursuit in the 1970s
- Effort went away after the Camp David Accords

Iran

- Long running interest in nuclear weapons
- 2015: Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
- 2019: No more plan of action

Iraq

- Also had long running interest in nuclear weapons
- Never made real progress
- Operation Scorch Sword
- Operation Opera
- Potential motivation for Iraq War

Japan

- Most nuclear proficient country of the non-nuclear weapons states
- US reaffirmed alliance support when Japan moved toward proliferating
- Now is a staunch supporter of non-nuclear norms

Libya

- One of the longest-running programs
- Ultimately went nowhere
- U.S. traded what little progress they made for some minor economic concessions

Saudi Arabia

- Has started showing greater interest in nuclear technology since Iran's push

South Korea

- Another very nuclear proficient non-nuclear weapons state
- US reaffirmed alliance support when South Korea moved toward proliferating

Sweden

- Neutrality preference
- Limited military budget and chose to build conventional weapons instead

Syria

- Very small progress in nuclear science
- Operation Orchard

Taiwan

- US reaffirmed its alliance benefits when Taiwan moved toward proliferating

(West) Germany

- Another highly proficient non-nuclear weapons states
- Has a nuclear weapons “sharing” agreement with the United States

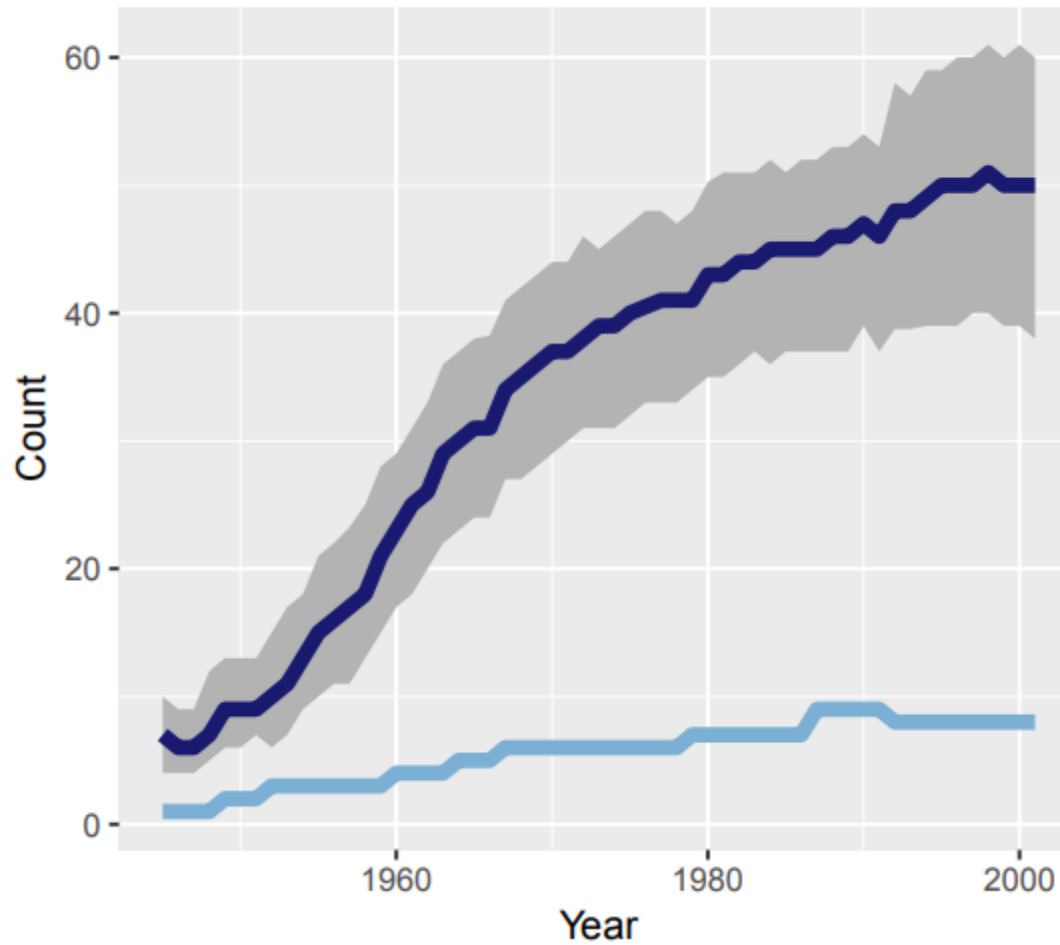
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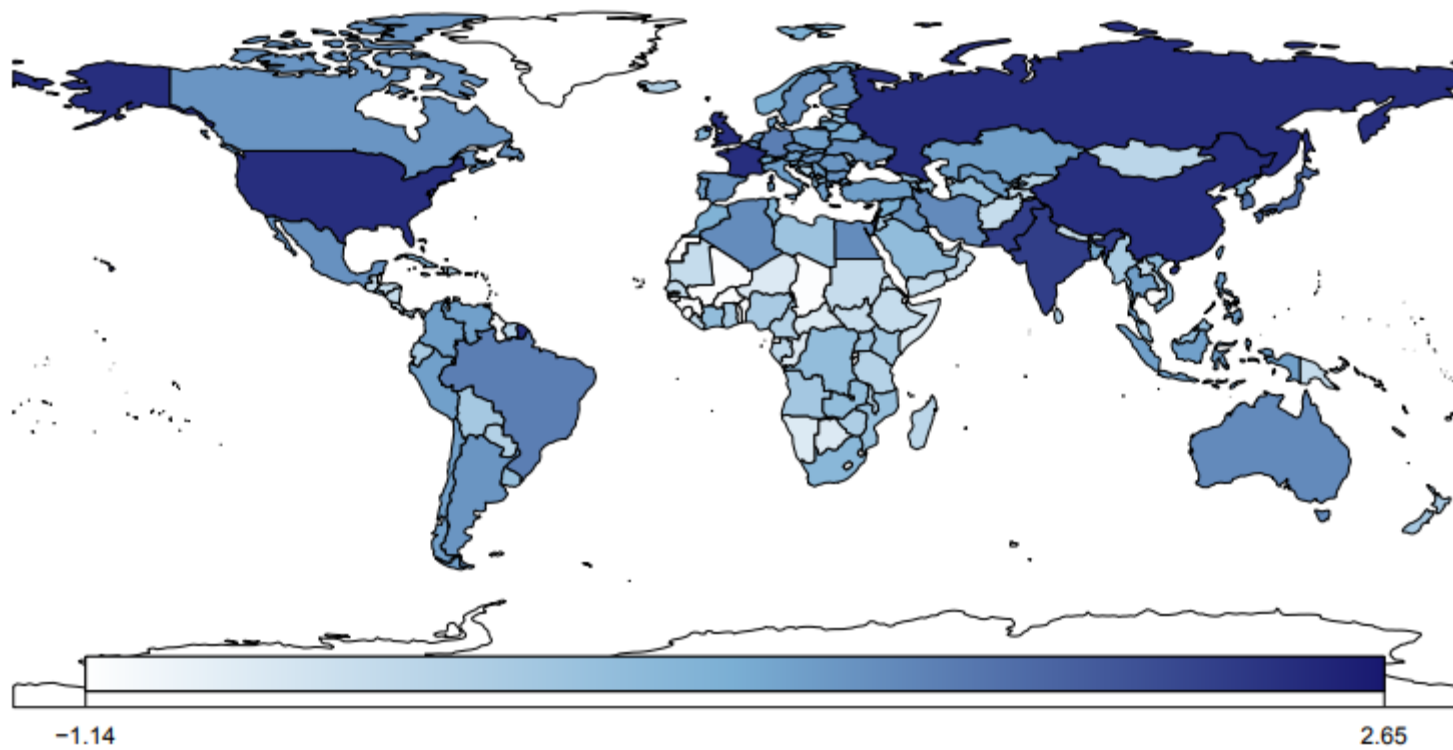
Capacity (Supply Side)

- Can't build what you don't understand
- Also need good industrial base (or lots of manpower) to construct weapons
- Explains initial nonproliferation, but does not have much explanatory power anymore

Capability and Proliferation Over Time

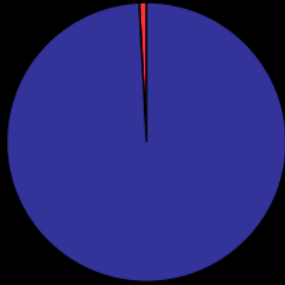


Estimated Nuclear Proficiency, 2001

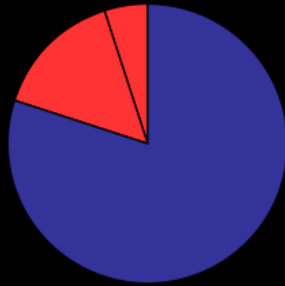


Aside: How to Build a Nuclear Bomb

- Step 1: Acquire fissile material
 - This process always starts with uranium
 - Naturally occurring uranium is not fissile, though
 - Almost all of it is uranium-238
 - Only uranium-235 is fissile, but its concentration is only 0.72%



Natural



Low Enriched (Power)



High Enriched (Bombs)

Aside: How to Build a Nuclear Bomb

- Step 1: Acquire fissile material
 - This process always starts with uranium
 - Step 1a: Enrich the uranium, separating U235 from U238

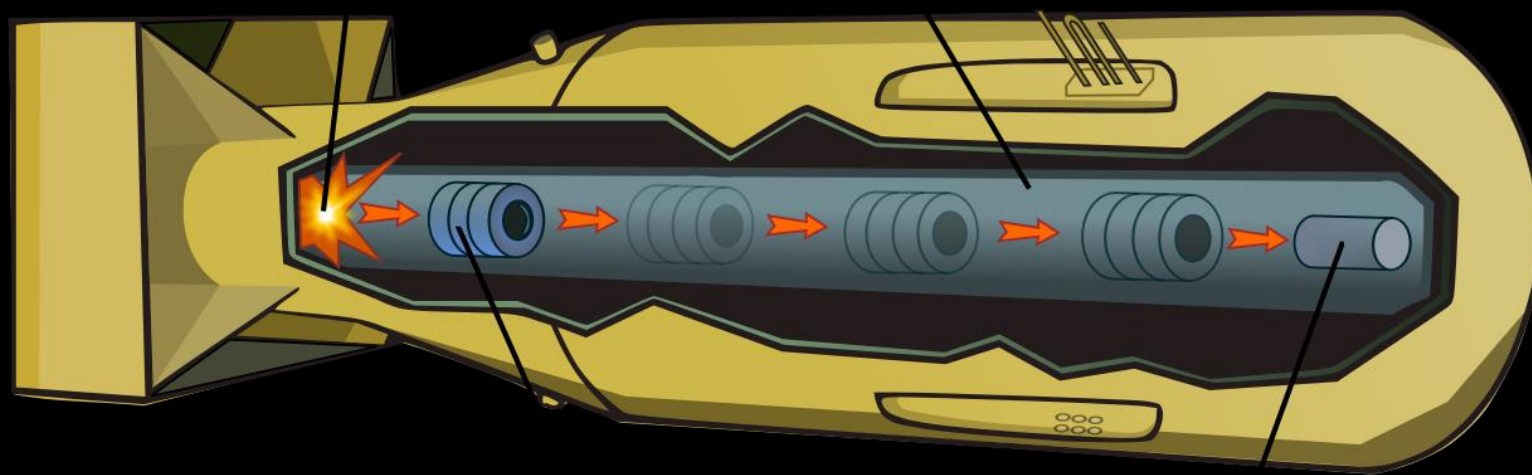


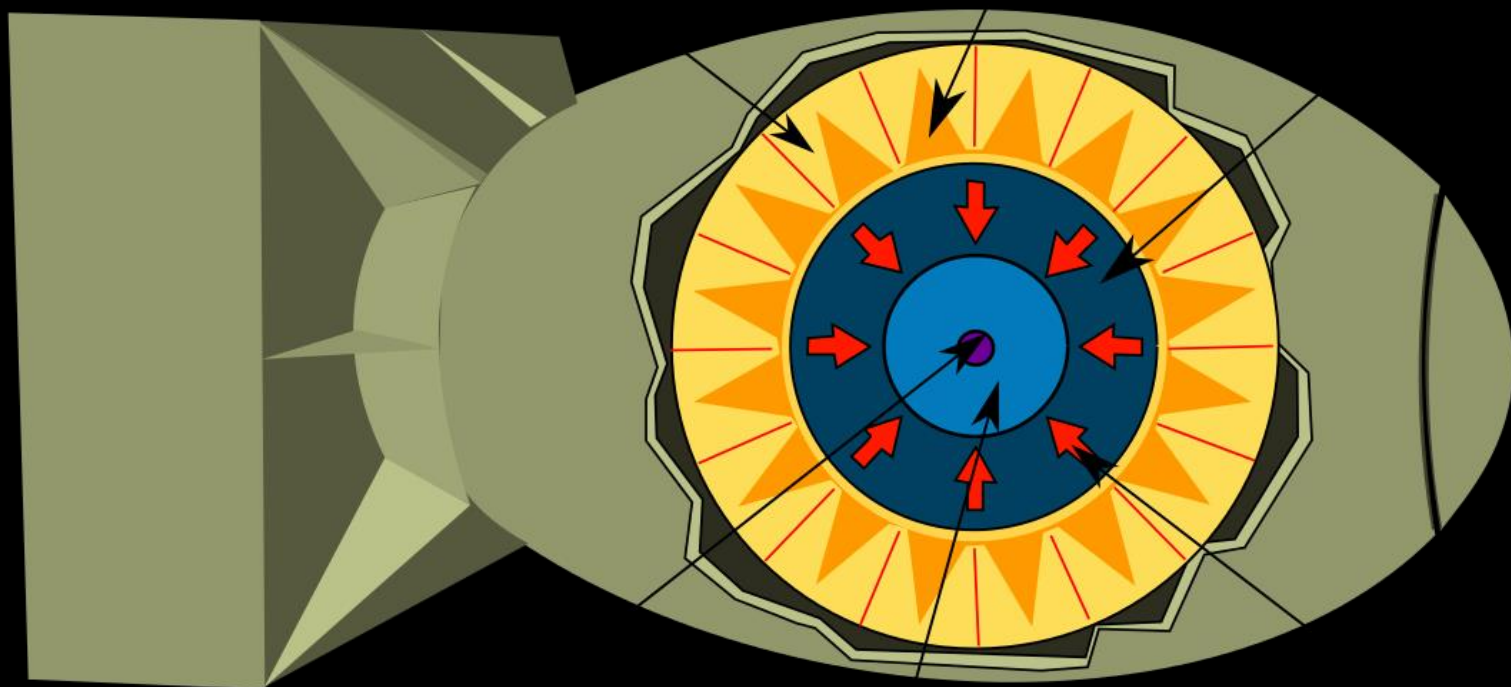
Aside: How to Build a Nuclear Bomb

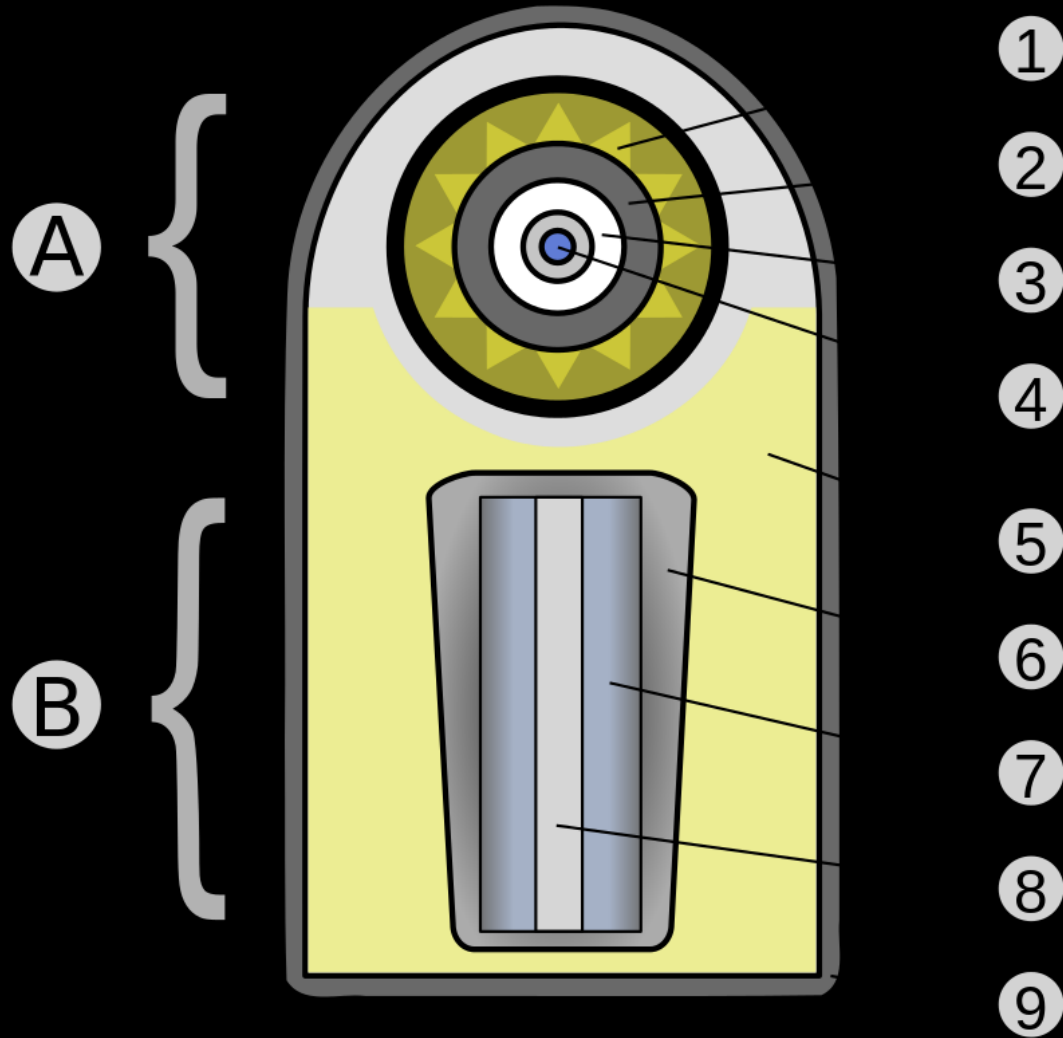
- Step 1: Acquire fissile material
 - This process always starts with uranium
 - Step 1a: Enrich the uranium, separating U235 from U238
 - Step 1b: Use unenriched uranium to run a research or power reactor. Create a reprocessing plant to extract plutonium, a byproduct of the reaction. It is fissile.

Aside: How to Build a Nuclear Bomb

- Step 1: Acquire fissile material
- Step 2: Assemble device
 - U235 spits off neutrons
 - If those neutrons hit other U235, then more neutrons get spit off
 - Chain reaction goes boom







Aside: How to Build a Nuclear Bomb

- Step 1: Acquire fissile material
- Step 2: Assemble device
- Step 3: Create delivery system



ENOLA
GAY

82









Terminator 3: Rise of the Machines





Security (Demand Side)

- Main purpose of nuclear weapons is coercive
- Don't need to build nuclear weapons if you don't have any disputes

Prestige

- Nuclear weapons possession is an exclusive club
- Makes other countries recognize your importance, allegedly
- Also makes everyone hate you, and there are other things that a state could do with the money

Domestic Politics

- Centralized decision structure makes them useful for insecure autocrats
- But autocrats also take a long time to build weapons

Costs

- Development is expensive, but it's only one piece
 - Maintenance
 - Delivery
 - Disposal
- There are more costly than actually building a bomb!

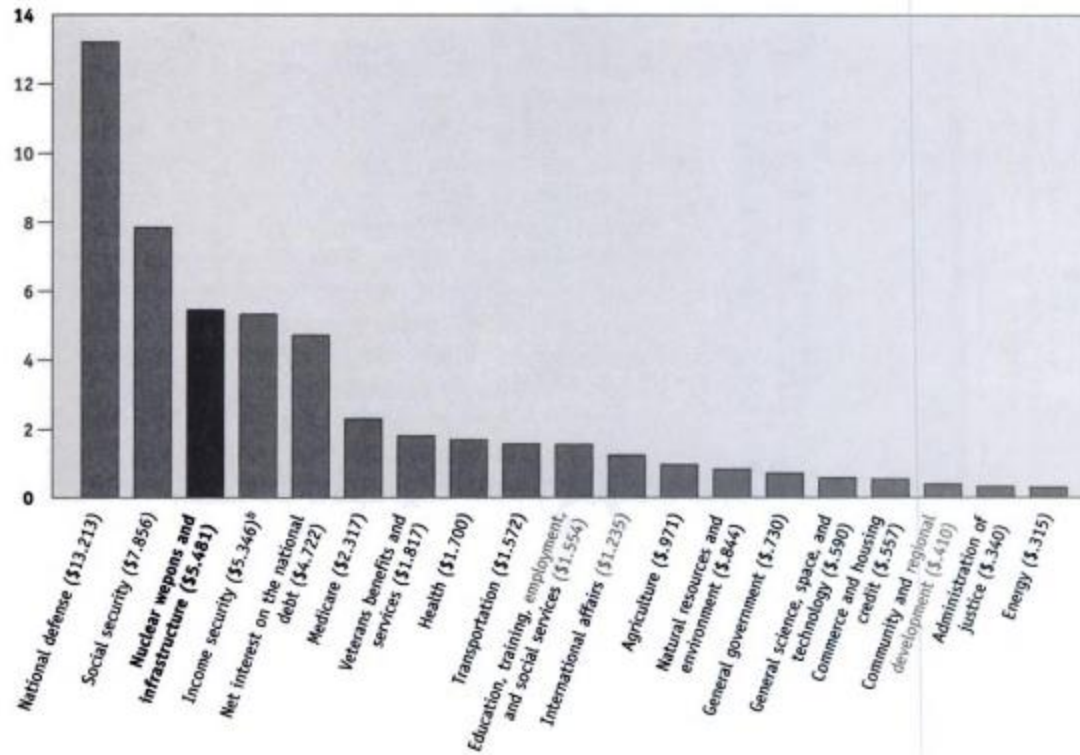
TABLE 1. Breakdown of Total Actual and Estimated U.S. Expenditures for Nuclear Weapons, 1940–96

Billions of 1996 dollars

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Cost</i>
Building the bomb (chapter 1)	409.4
Deploying the bomb (chapter 2)	3,241.0
Targeting and controlling the bomb (chapter 3)	831.1
Defending against the bomb (chapter 4)	937.2
Dismantling the bomb (chapter 5)	11.1
Nuclear waste management and environmental remediation (chapter 6)	45.2
Victims of the bomb (chapter 7)	2.1
Costs and consequences of nuclear secrecy (chapter 8)	3.1
Congressional oversight of the bomb (chapter 9)	0.9
Total	5,481.1

FIGURE 2. U.S. Government Historical Obligations by Function, 1940-96^a

Trillions of 1996 dollars



Opportunity Costs

- Best and brightest of a country's scientists spend their time on non-productive activities

Preventive Action

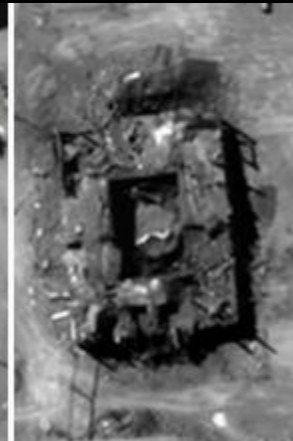
- Can't build nuclear weapons if you don't have the facilities to do it
- And if you can't protect your facilities, then you might as well not build them in the first place







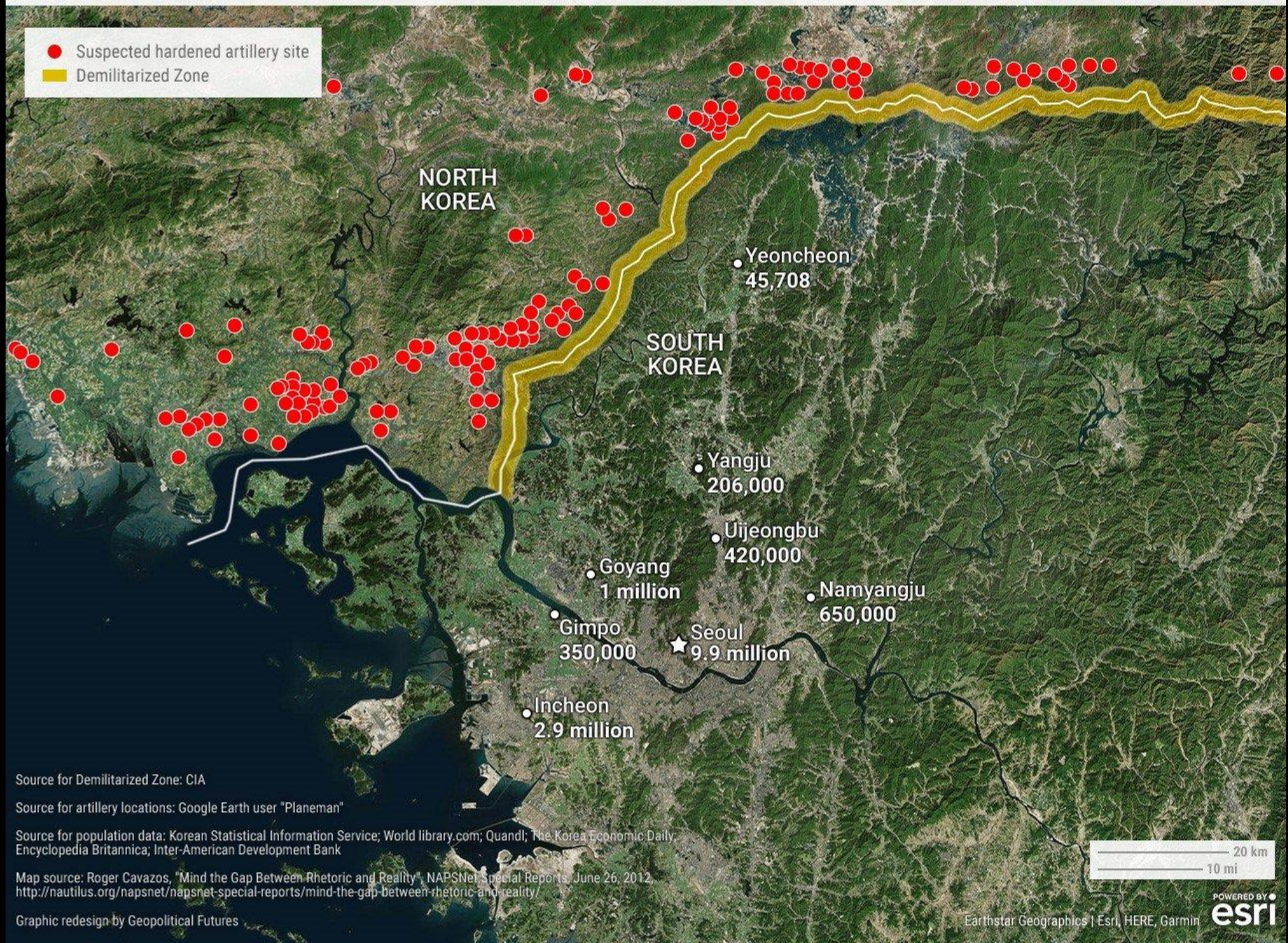
U.S. GOVERNMENT







LIKELY LOCATION OF HARDENED ARTILLERY SITES AND PROXIMITY TO SOUTH KOREAN POPULATION CENTERS



1990s War Planning

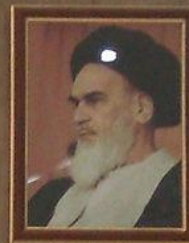
- Advisor to Clinton: We can do it. Six months. One trillion dollars. One million dead.
- Clinton: “No one told me that before.”



This was the most ridiculous image of Stuxnet I could find on Google.



یادشیرازت بایر میث در فضا جابجاء زنده باشد





Bargaining

- Proliferation causes externalities to others
 - One state's security gain is another's security loss
 - Additional risk of accidental nuclear war

KEVIN
COSTNER

SERGEY
SHNYRYOV

NATALIYA
VDOVINA

STANISLAV
PETROV

EVERY MOMENT COUNTS



A PETER ANTHONY AND STATEMENT FILM

THE MAN WHO SAVED THE WORLD

STATEMENT PRESENTS A FILM BY PETER ANTHONY, STANISLAV PETROV, "THE MAN WHO SAVED THE WORLD", KEVIN COSTNER, SERGEY SHNYRYOV, NATALIYA VDOVINA, GALINA MALININA, OLEG KASSIN, IGOR FILIPYEV, GILTS JAKOVLEV, MUSIC BY ROBERT DE NIRO, MATT DAVON, WALTER CRONKITE, AND ASHTON KUTCHER
EDITED BY KRISTIAN EDINIS, PRODUCED BY PETER SCHULTZ, DIRECTED BY MORTEN HEUGBERG AND MORTEN HESSE, A.C.E., PRODUCED BY ANDERS LØRSTEDT AND KIM HATTELSEN, A.C.E.
SCREENPLAY BY PETER ANTHONY, DIRECTED BY JACOB STAGER
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS: PETER ANTHONY



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Bargaining

- Proliferation causes externalities to others
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 - Additional risk of accidental nuclear war

Bargaining

- Proliferation causes externalities to others
 - One state's security gain is another's security loss
 - Additional risk of accidental nuclear war
 - Environmental damage from testing

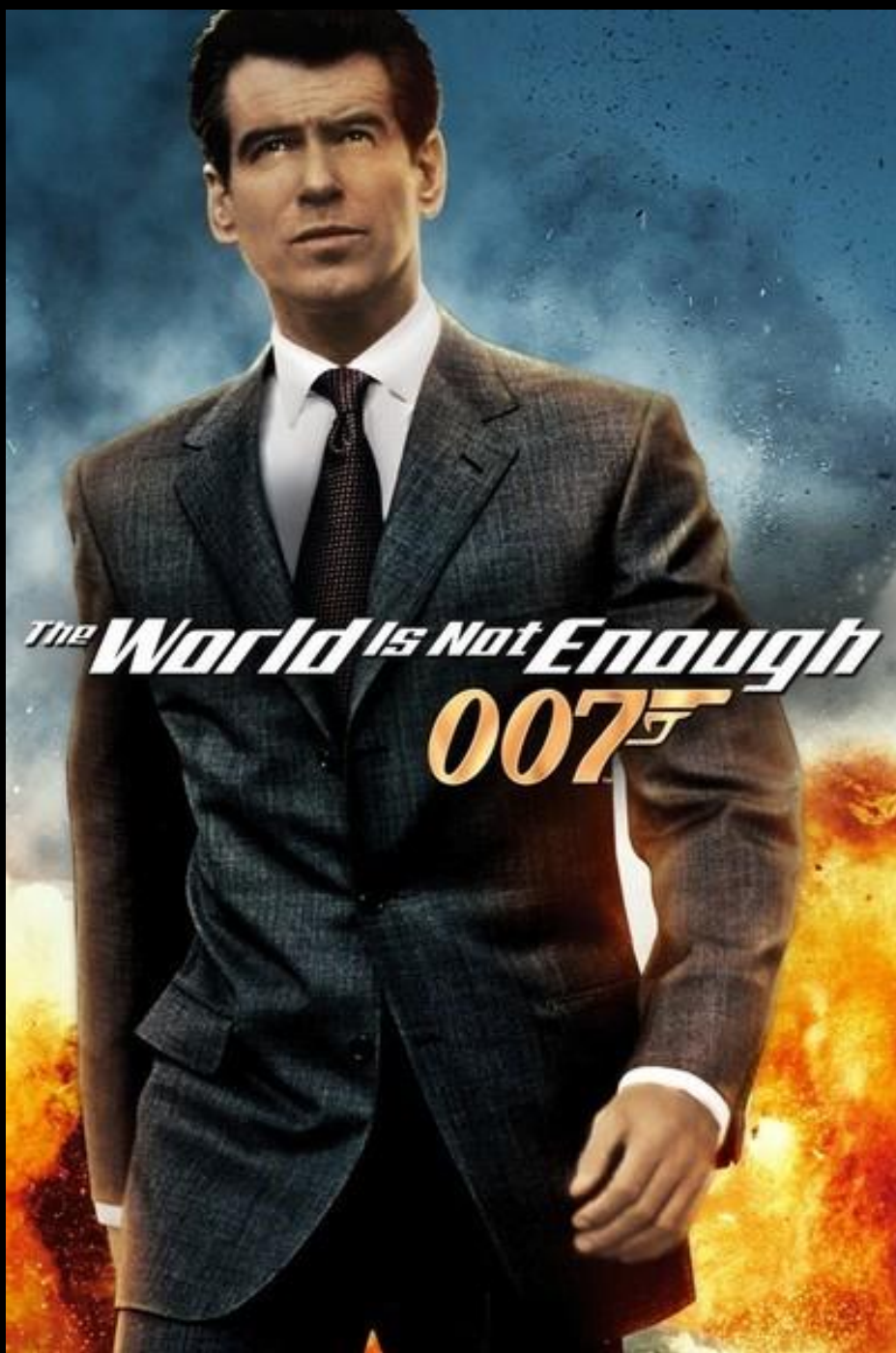






Bargaining

- Proliferation causes externalities to others
 - One state's security gain is another's security loss
 - Additional risk of accidental nuclear war
 - Environmental damage from testing
 - Additional risk of black market nuclear technology



The World Is Not Enough
007

Bargaining

- Why not offer concessions instead?
 - Both win: no costs and no externalities
- Fairly common historically
 - Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Soviet Successor States, Libya, Iran
- To explain proliferation, we need to first explain why parties couldn't reach a deal instead

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Optimists and Skeptics

- Lots of people think that nuclear weapons are very important
- Lots of other people think they aren't

Compellence vs. Deterrence

- To compel someone is to convince them to give up something
- To deter someone is to convince someone not to alter the status quo

Compellence vs. Deterrence

- Optimists think that nuclear weapons can compel states to give up concessions
 - Other weapons do that
 - Nuclear weapons are just bigger weapons

Compellence vs. Deterrence

- Pessimists think that nuclear weapons do not work for compellence
 - Is “give me your outlying region or I will nuke you” a credible threat?

Compellence vs. Deterrence

- More people think that nuclear weapons are useful for deterrence
 - Is “if you invade Washington DC, I will nuke you” a credible threat?

Compellence vs. Deterrence

- Some really skeptical people think that nuclear weapons deter only in extreme cases
 - Is “if you invade Hawaii, I will nuke you” a credible threat?
 - Is “if you invade Seoul, I will nuke you” a credible threat?

Compellence vs. Deterrence

- But perhaps this distinction is silly
- Imagine that nuclear weapons are good at deterrence
 - Then they act as an insurance policy in a war
 - That insurance policy raises a state's war payoff
 - If a state has a greater war payoff, then it must receive better negotiated settlements to not fight...
 - ...which means it can compel more out of others

Example

- War without nuclear weapons:
 - .1 chance A will win and will get value of 1
 - .3 chance of stalemate and A will get value of .5
 - .6 chance B will win and A will get 0
- A's expected gains are:
 - $(.1)(1) + (.3)(.5) + (.6)(0) = .25$

Example

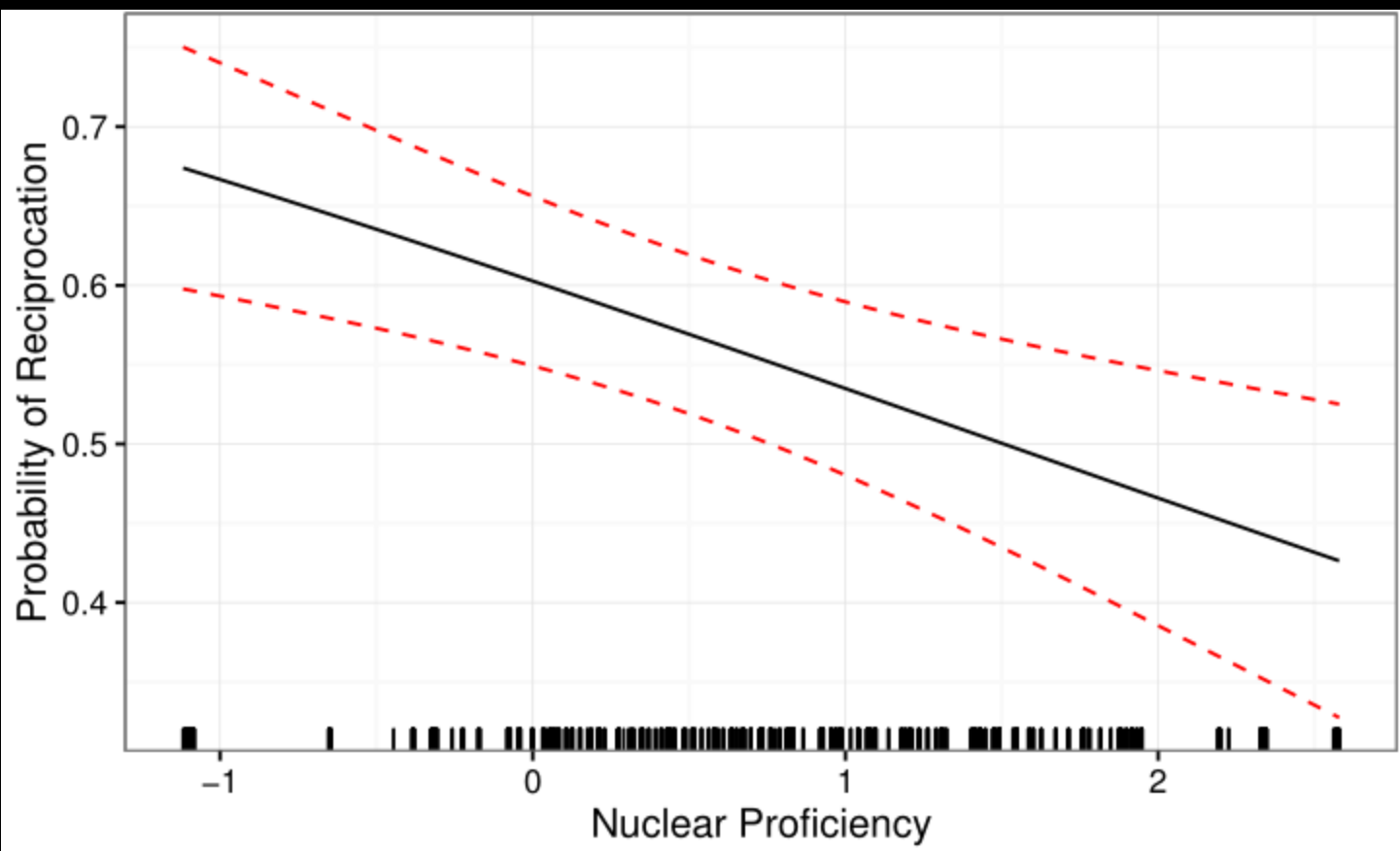
- War with compellent nuclear weapons:
 - .4 chance A will win and will get value of 1
 - .3 chance of stalemate and A will get value of .5
 - .3 chance B will win and A will get 0
- A's expected gains are:
 - $(.4)(1) + (.3)(.5) + (.3)(0) = .55$

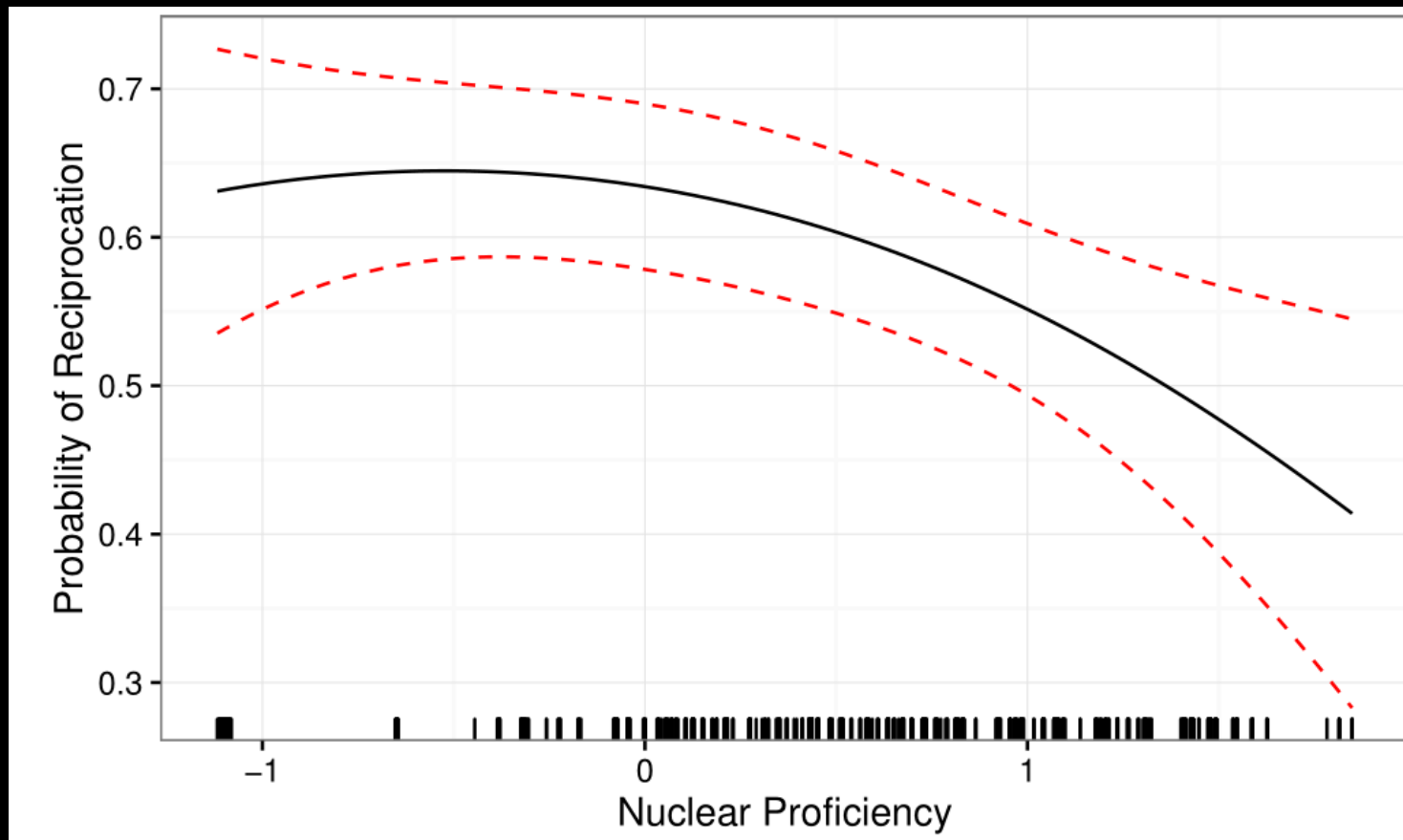
Example

- War with deterrent nuclear weapons:
 - .1 chance A will win and will get value of 1
 - .3 chance of stalemate and A will get value of .5
 - .6 chance B will win but A's nukes deter B from going more than half way, so A earns .5
- A's expected gains are:
 - $(.1)(1) + (.3)(.5) + (.6)(.5) = .55$

Latent Nuclear Capacity

- Suppose nuclear weapons are useful and states don't want others to develop them
- Then those countries should act with caution when in disputes with countries that could proliferate





Mutually Assured Destruction

- Suppose two nuclear weapons states are self-preserving and possess secured, second-strike capable nuclear weapons
- Is there incentive to fight a war?

Secured Second Strikes

- The United States had three methods of nuclear retaliation
 - Strategic bombers
 - Intercontinental ballistic missiles
 - Submarine-launched ballistic missiles

Secured Second Strikes

- Reason why Soviet Union and United States had way more nuclear weapons than necessary to destroy the entire world
- 68,000 down to 4,100

Instability Paradox

- But if we both have secured second strikes, what stops me from engaging in a conventional war against you?
- You can't nuke me because I can nuke you right back

Obsolescence

- Some think that major war has been obsolete for a long time
 - Mutually assured destruction did not do much to add to the peace

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Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

- Developed in 1968 as a 25 year treaty
- Extended indefinitely as it was about to expire
- Obliges recognized nuclear weapons states to work toward eliminating nuclear weapons

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

- Three pillars:
 1. Disarmament
 2. Nonproliferation
 3. Scientific use

By Some Accounts...

- The best treaty ever
- The worst treaty ever
- A treaty with a marginal but useful effect
- Maybe a reflection of the regime rather than a thing by itself?

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

- Who isn't living up to their obligations?

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

- Who isn't living up to their obligations?
 - United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France and China?
 - No, the NPT gives them a legal *right* to the weapons.
 - They just have to engage in a good-faith effort to get rid of them (eventually)

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

- Who isn't living up to their obligations?
 - India, Pakistan, Israel?

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

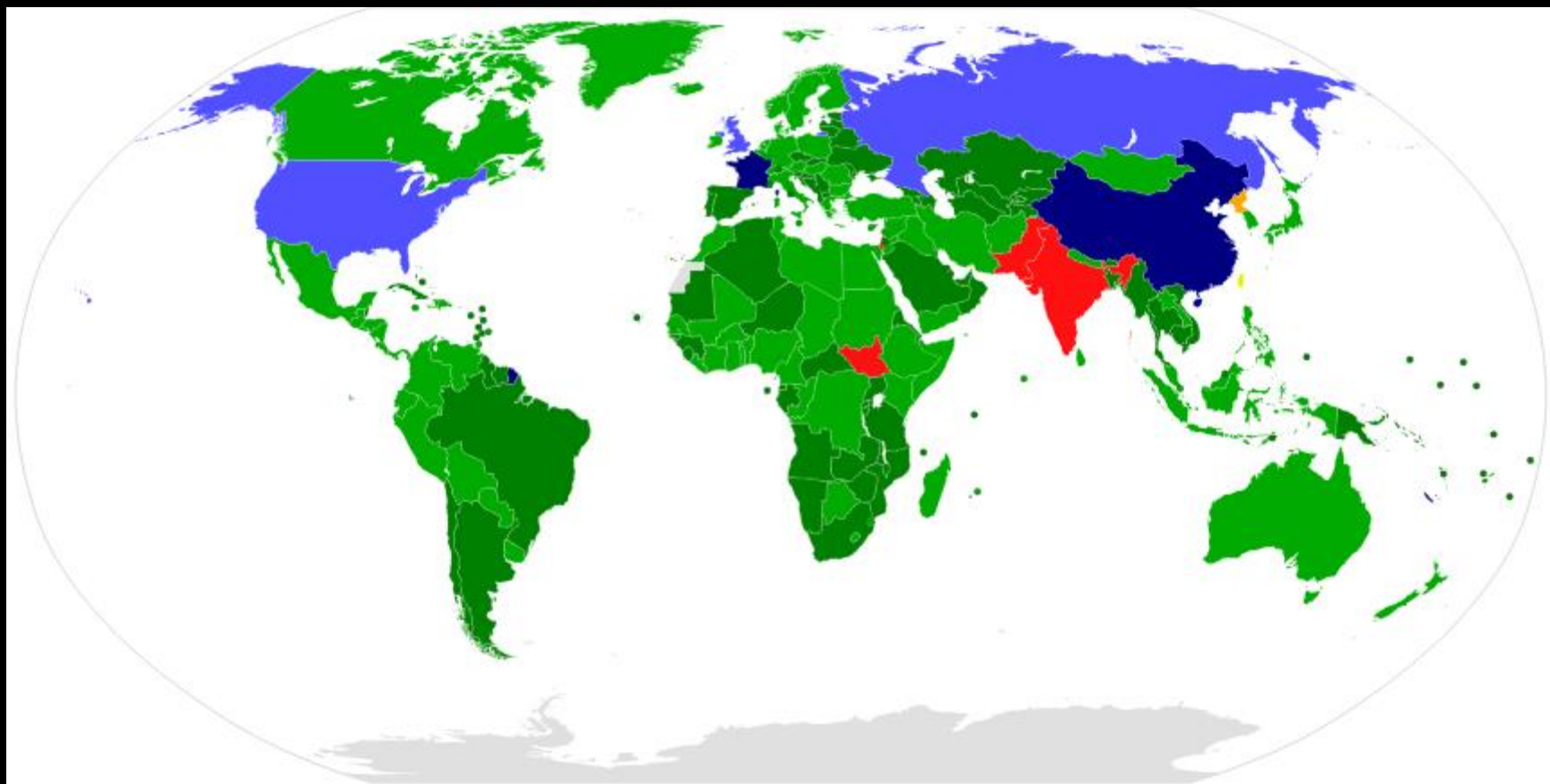
- Who isn't living up to their obligations?
 - India, Pakistan, Israel?
 - No, they never signed the treaty

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

- Who isn't living up to their obligations?
 - North Korea. After all, they signed the treaty...

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

- Who isn't living up to their obligations?
 - North Korea. After all, they signed the treaty...
 - Article X allows a country to withdraw with three months' notice
 - North Korea gave notice in January 2003

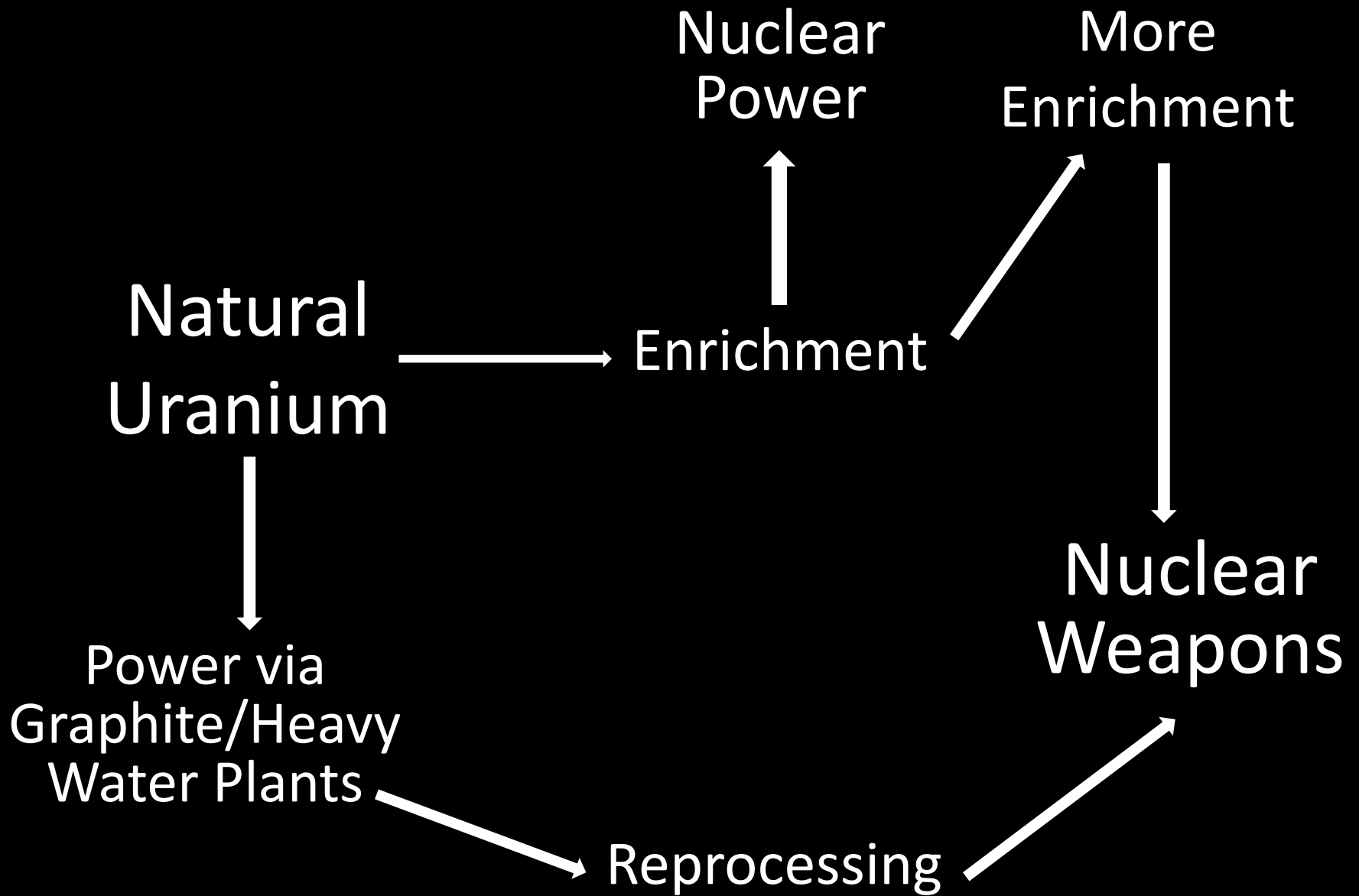


Atoms for Peace Program



Atoms for Peace Program

- US-based initiative to begin nuclear science sharing
- Has led to extensive bilateral relations, power assistance, fuel delivery, and research reactor construction
- Central idea: increase opportunity costs of assigning nuclear scientists to weapons programs



You Want Nuclear Power?

- Natural Uranium —> Enrichment —> Power is the way to go
- Centrifuges are the best way to run the operation profitably
- Safer too because they run on light water reactors

How Does Nuclear Power Work?

- Step 1: Use a nuclear reaction to get something very, very hot
- Step 2: Pour water on that very, very hot surface
- Step 3: Water turns into very high pressure steam, which turns turbines
- Step 4: Profit

How Does Nuclear Power Work?

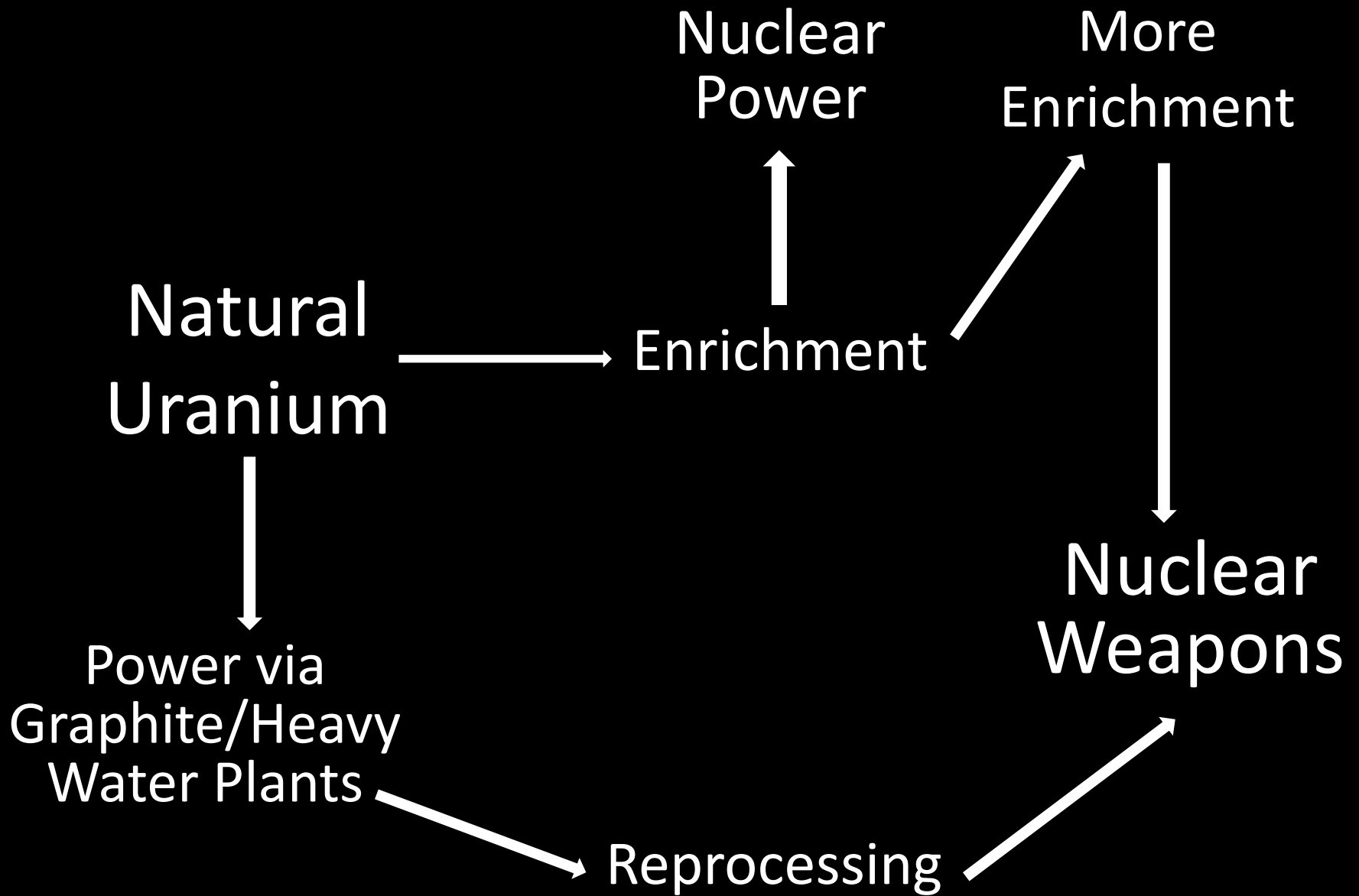
- Step 1: Use a nuclear reaction to get something very, very hot
 - This is the tricky part
 - U235 spits off neutrons
 - Neutrons naturally move too fast to hit other U235
 - So you need a *moderator* to slow them down
 - Moderators make the process work—they don't limit the reaction

How Does Nuclear Power Work?

- Step 1: Use a nuclear reaction to get something very, very hot
 - Naturally occurring water is a bad moderator
 - So you need to enrich uranium if you are going to use it
 - Conditional on that, the process is safer
 - Natural water serves as both the source of the steam and what controls the reaction

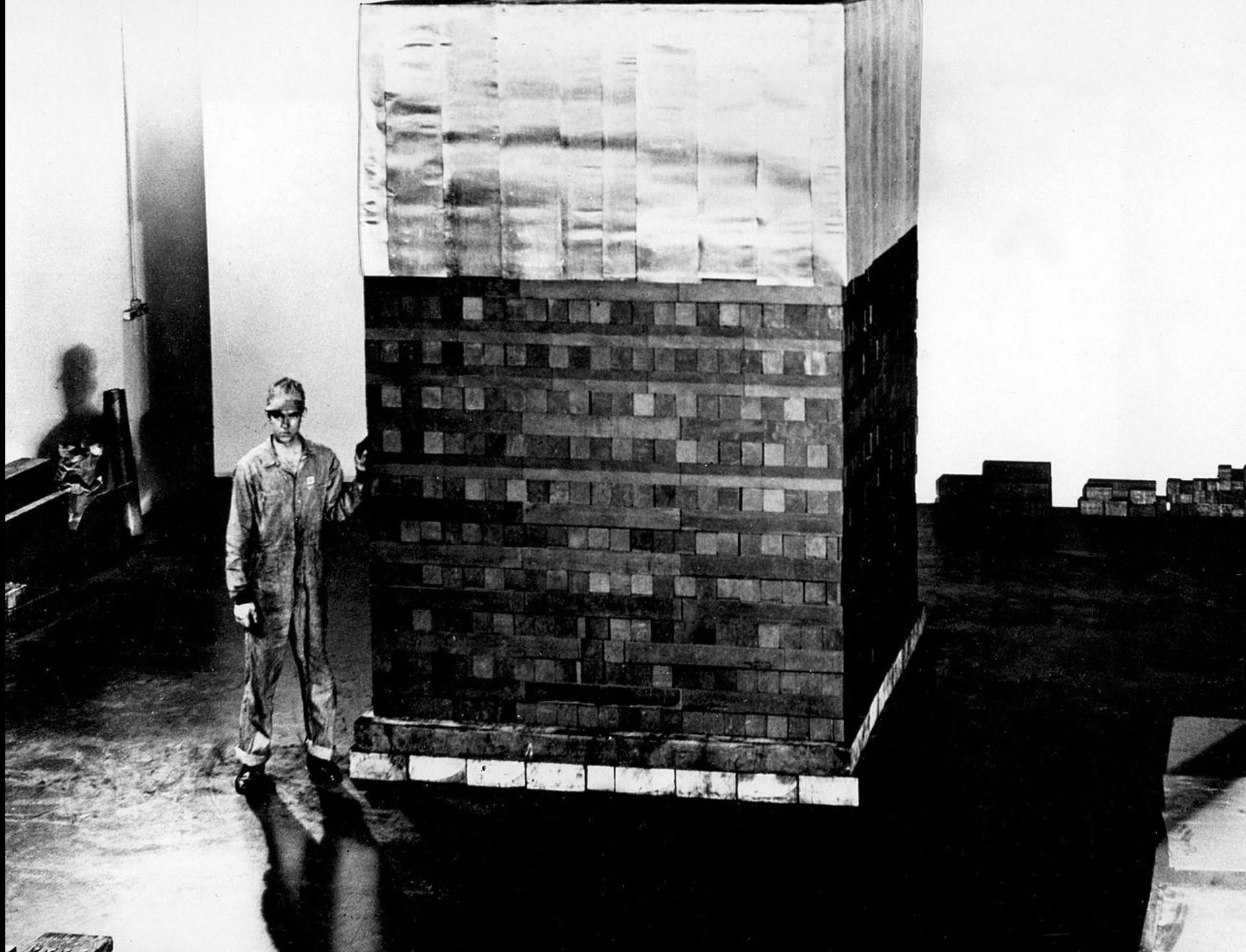
How Does Nuclear Power Work?

- Step 1: Use a nuclear reaction to get something very, very hot
 - Heavy water is a very good moderator of uranium
 - But it is expensive to produce
 - Also dangerous
 - But good solution if you want to build a bomb but can't master enrichment—e.g., North Korea



How Does Nuclear Power Work?

- Step 1: Use a nuclear reaction to get something very, very hot
 - Graphite is also a very good moderator of uranium
 - It is cheap and easy





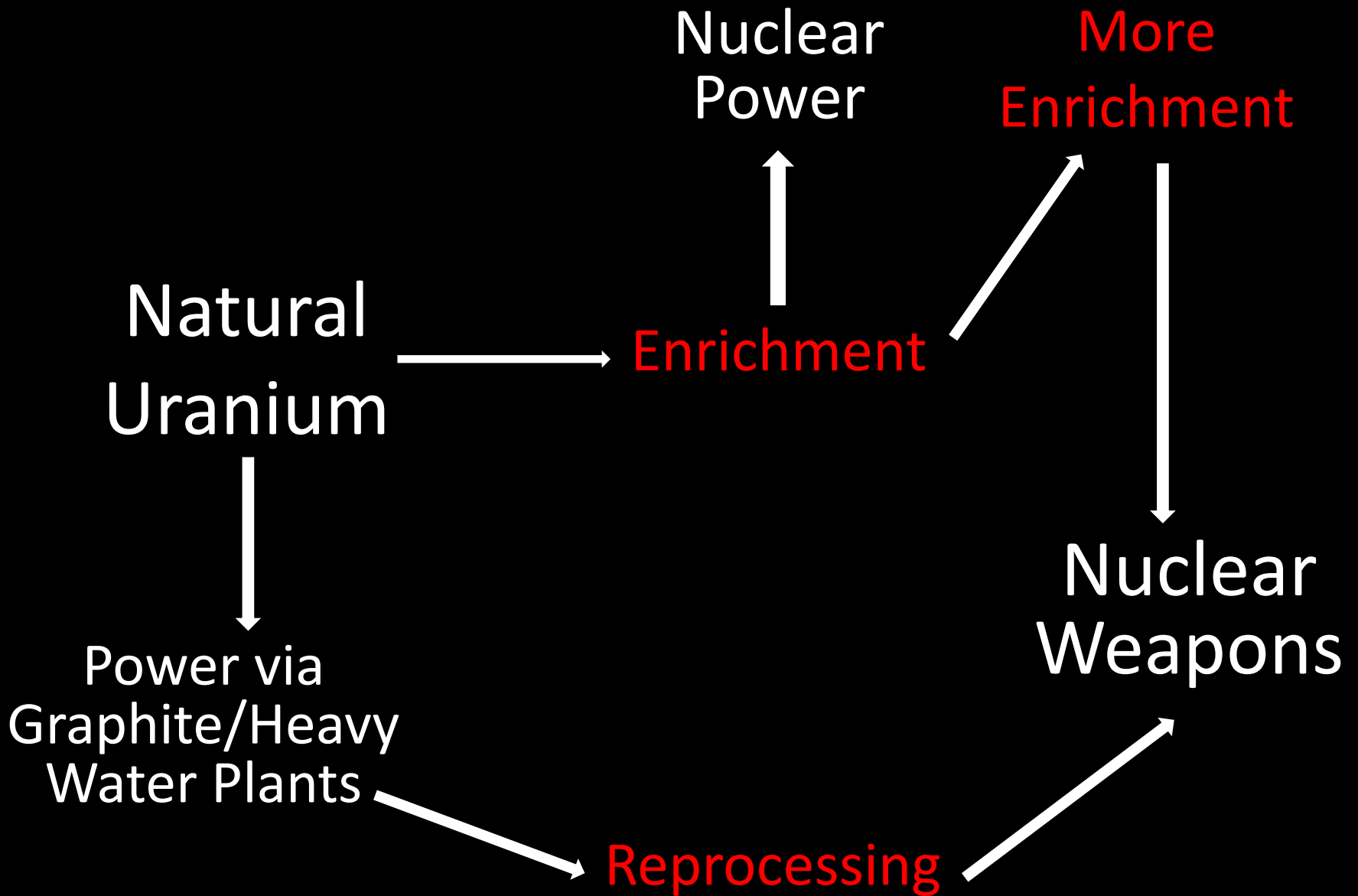
How Does Nuclear Power Work?

- Step 1: Use a nuclear reaction to get something very, very hot
 - Graphite is also a very good moderator of uranium
 - It is cheap and easy
 - But it is also flammable



Dual Use Problem

- If you want to run light water reactors, you need to enrich uranium
- But if you want to build a bomb, you just need to run that enrichment process for longer
- International community's response: control ENR technology





The Supplier's Deal

- Imagine you want to run nuclear power reactors
- You can ask for low enriched uranium from a supplier
- They will give it to you provided that
 - You don't run your own enrichment plants
 - You don't build reprocessing plants
 - You return the spent fuel

Agreed Framework

- 1994 deal between Clinton and North Korea
- Swapped NK heavy water reactors for construction of light water power plants, fuel for those power plants, and heavy oil
- Congress upheld full implementation

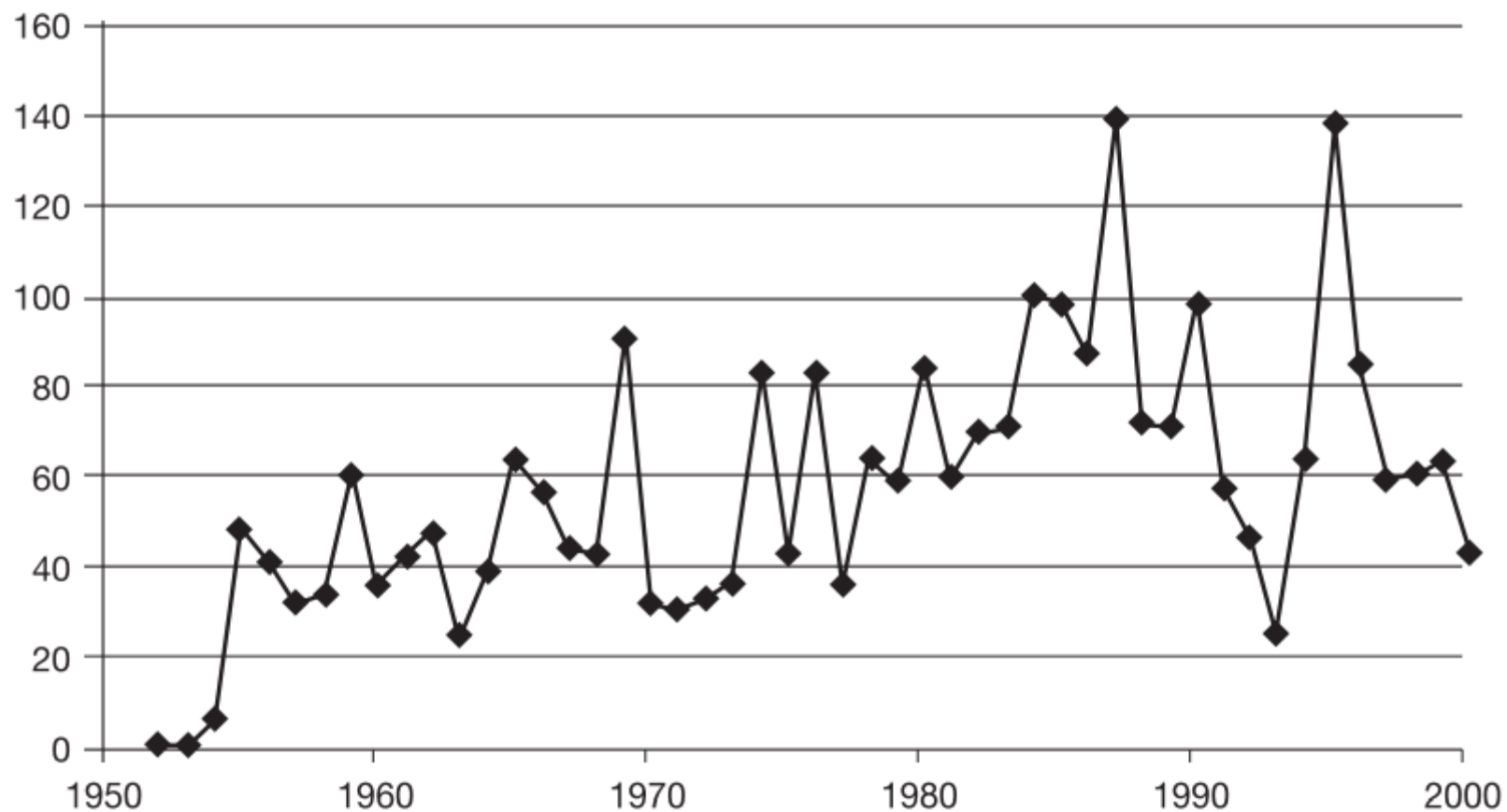
Problems

- Recipient could take the enriched uranium and not give it back
- This is bad, but not the end of the world
 - Low enriched uranium still needs to be further refined before it is fissile
 - So stealing the gives a head start, but not much of one

Problems

- Nuclear power plants have enormous start up costs
 - Interest payments can be as large as 30% of the overall cost
- But *very* cheap to operate once completed
- Gives supplier great bargaining power over state with power plant but no fuel source

Figure 1. Total Number of Nuclear Cooperation Agreements Signed, 1950–2000

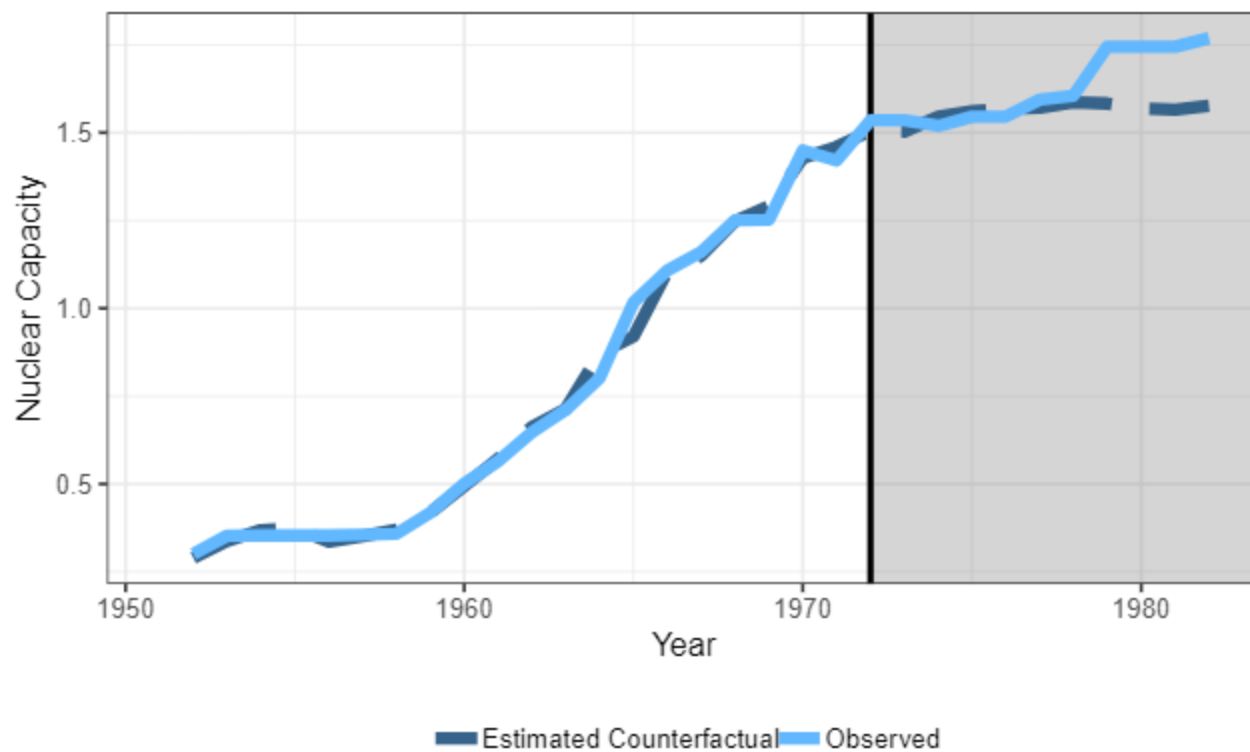




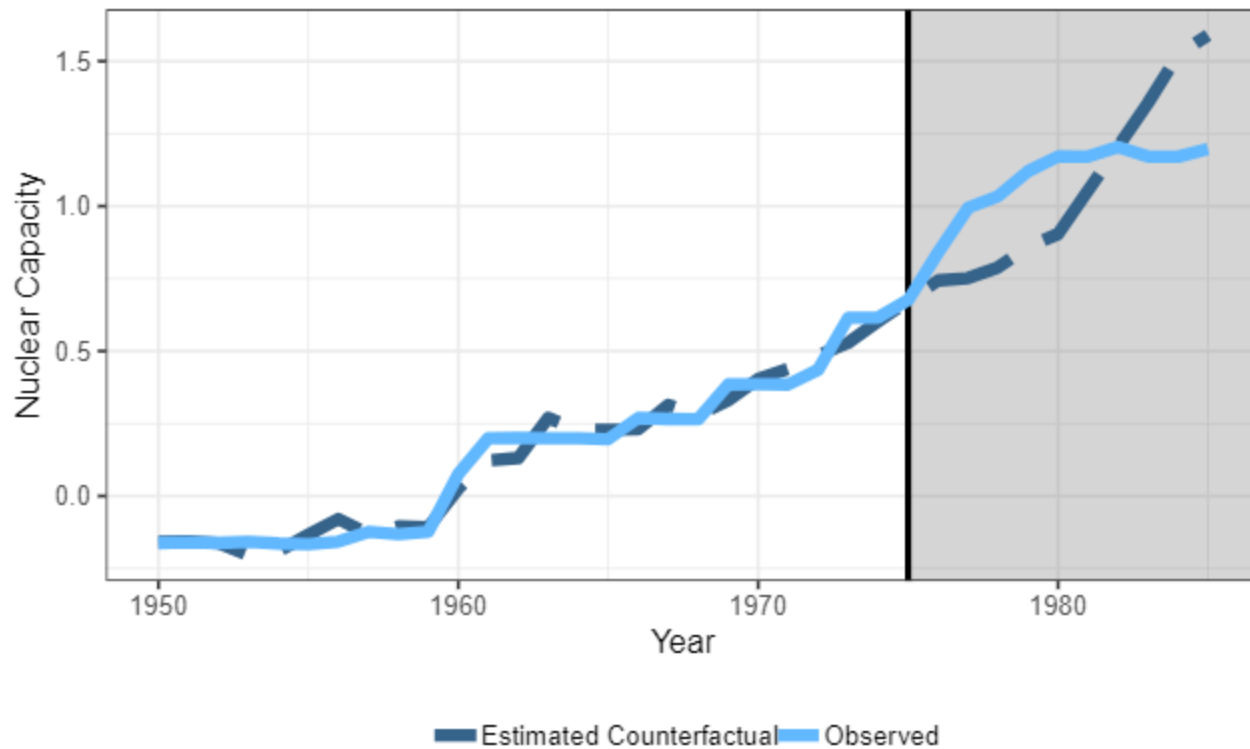
Agreements and Capacity

- Reaching agreements does not seem to slow down one's ability to produce nuclear weapons by much

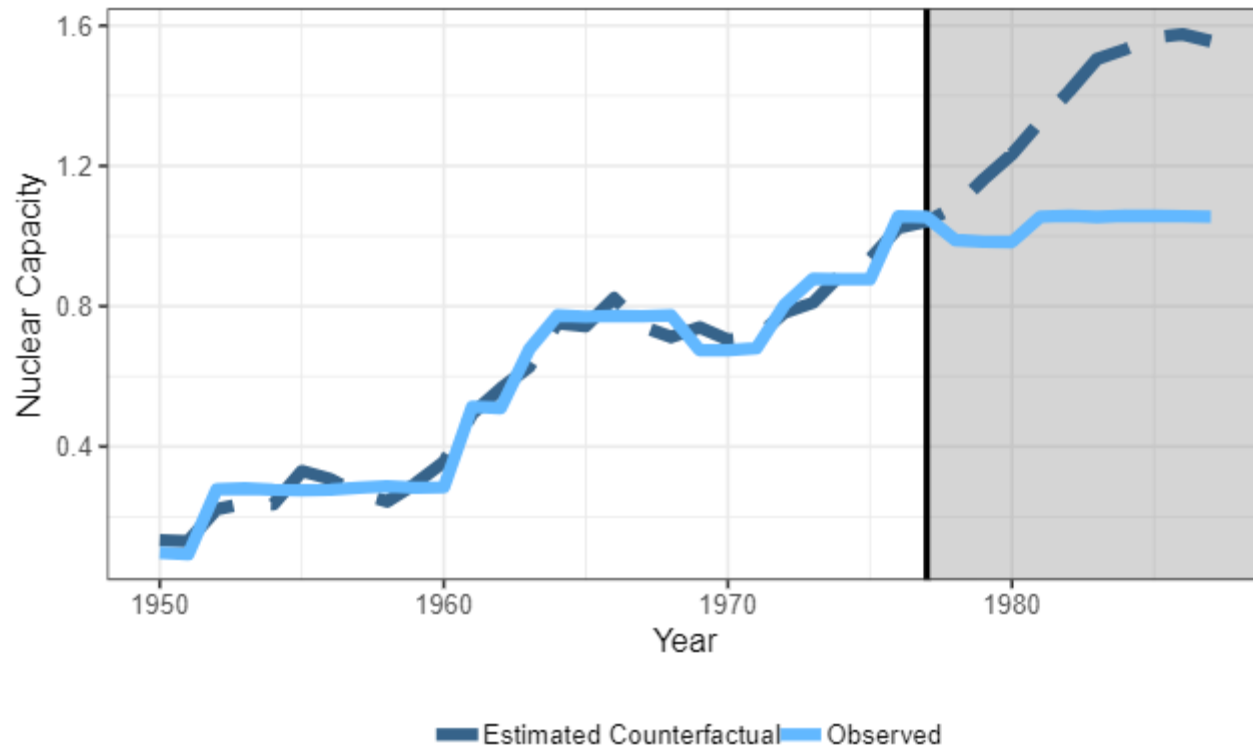
Japan Pre and Post-1972



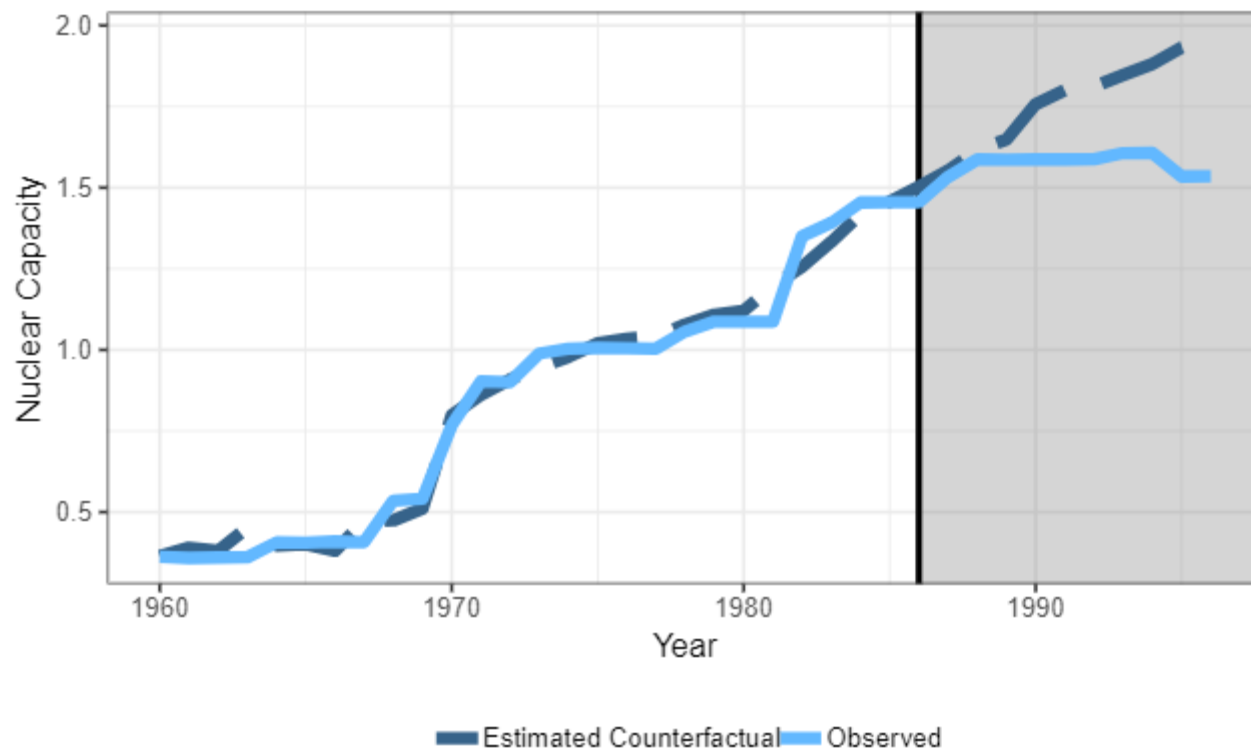
South Korea Pre and Post-1975



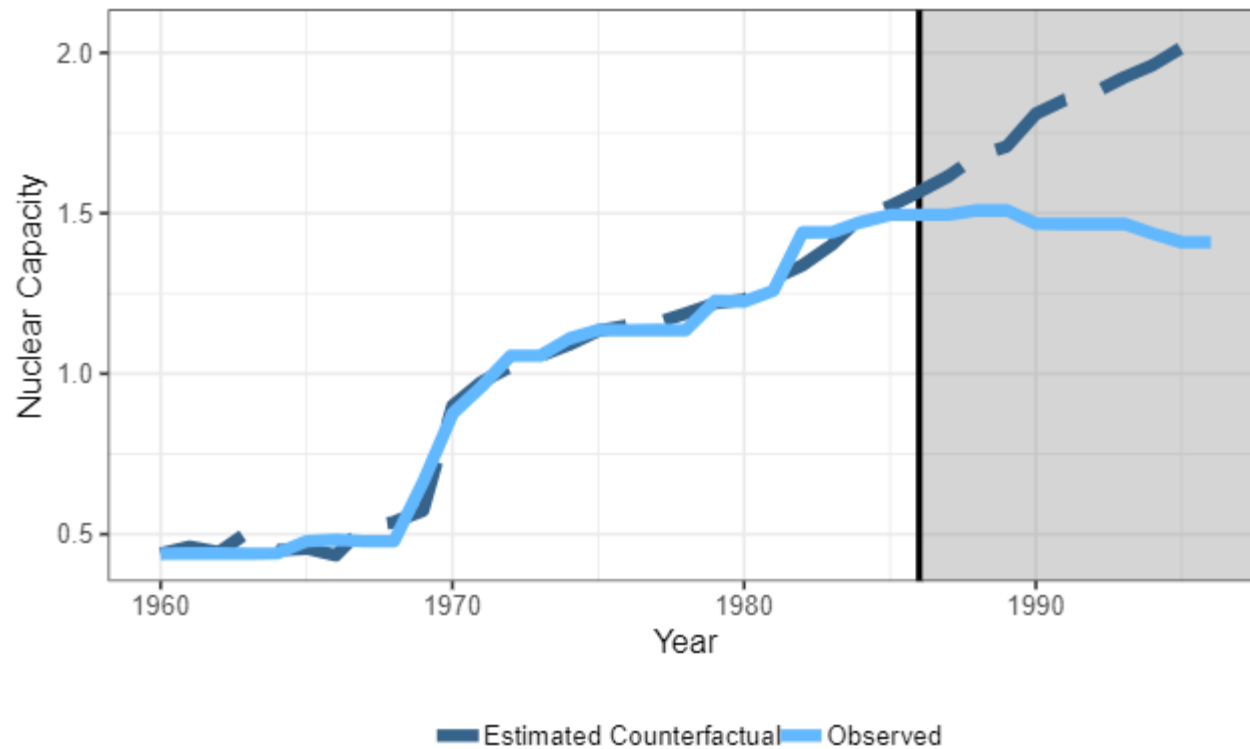
Taiwan Pre and Post-1977



Argentina Pre and Post-1986

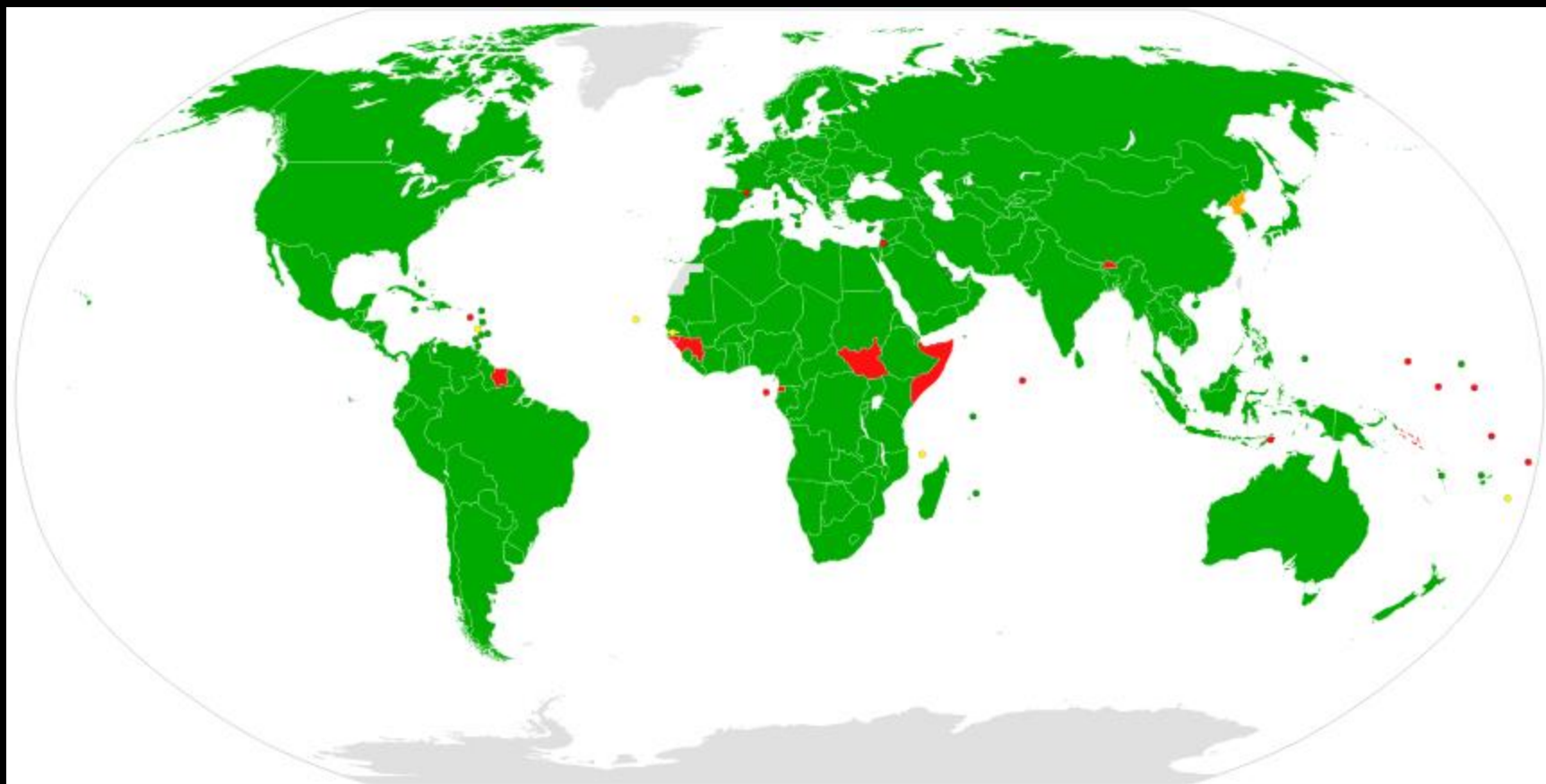


Brazil Pre and Post-1986



International Atomic Energy Agency

- Two primary functions
 - Weapons inspections
 - Distribution of nuclear technology



Inspections

- Major part of NPT obligations is to declare nuclear sites and open up for inspection
 - Monitor
 - Tag
 - Investigate

Inspections

- NPT's requirements are fairly weak
- Additional Protocol (1997) designed to strengthen inspections
 - IAEA can visit sites with only two hours' notice
 - Brazil has not joined (objects to it being necessary for ENR possession)
 - Egypt has not joined (waiting on Israel)
 - Iran has not joined (but complying under JCPOA)

Inspections

- What if someone says “no” to inspectors visiting a site?
 - Tells the inspectors what they need to know by omission

Inspections as a Nuisance

- Inspections make some sites off-limits for proliferation
- Does not make proliferation impossible
- But does make it more expensive

JCPOA Requirements

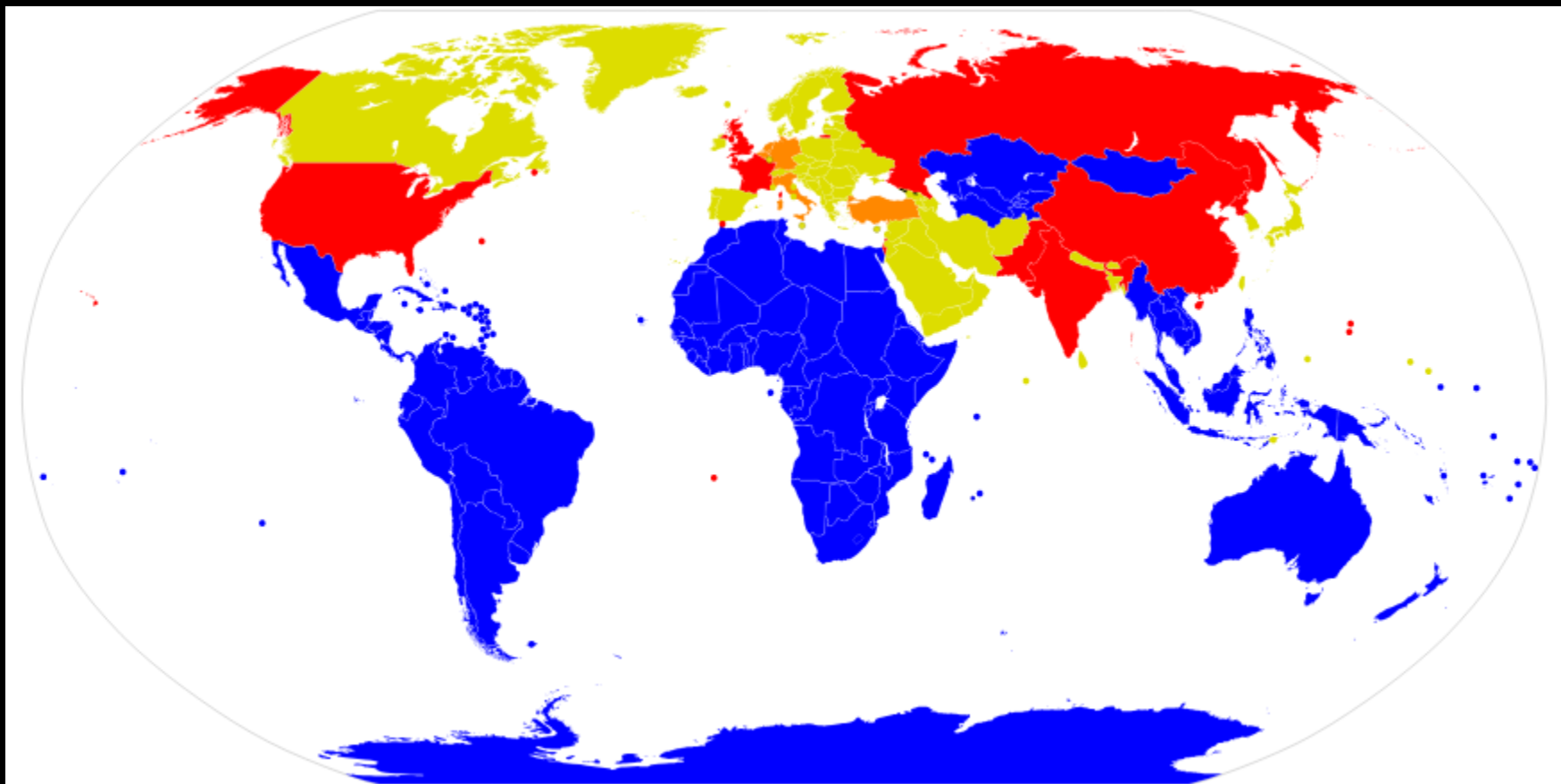
- Arak reactor to be filled with concrete
- Fordow enrichment plant to be turned into a science center
- Vast majority of uranium stockpiles to be downblended to 3.67% U-235
- Highest-quality centrifuges to be given to IAEA to be held under lock and key

Tradeoff

- Negotiated agreements must be commensurate with a state's ability to proliferate
- The more onerous the inspections and divestment, the more costly it is to build
- So it is understandable that a state would not want to do too much

Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

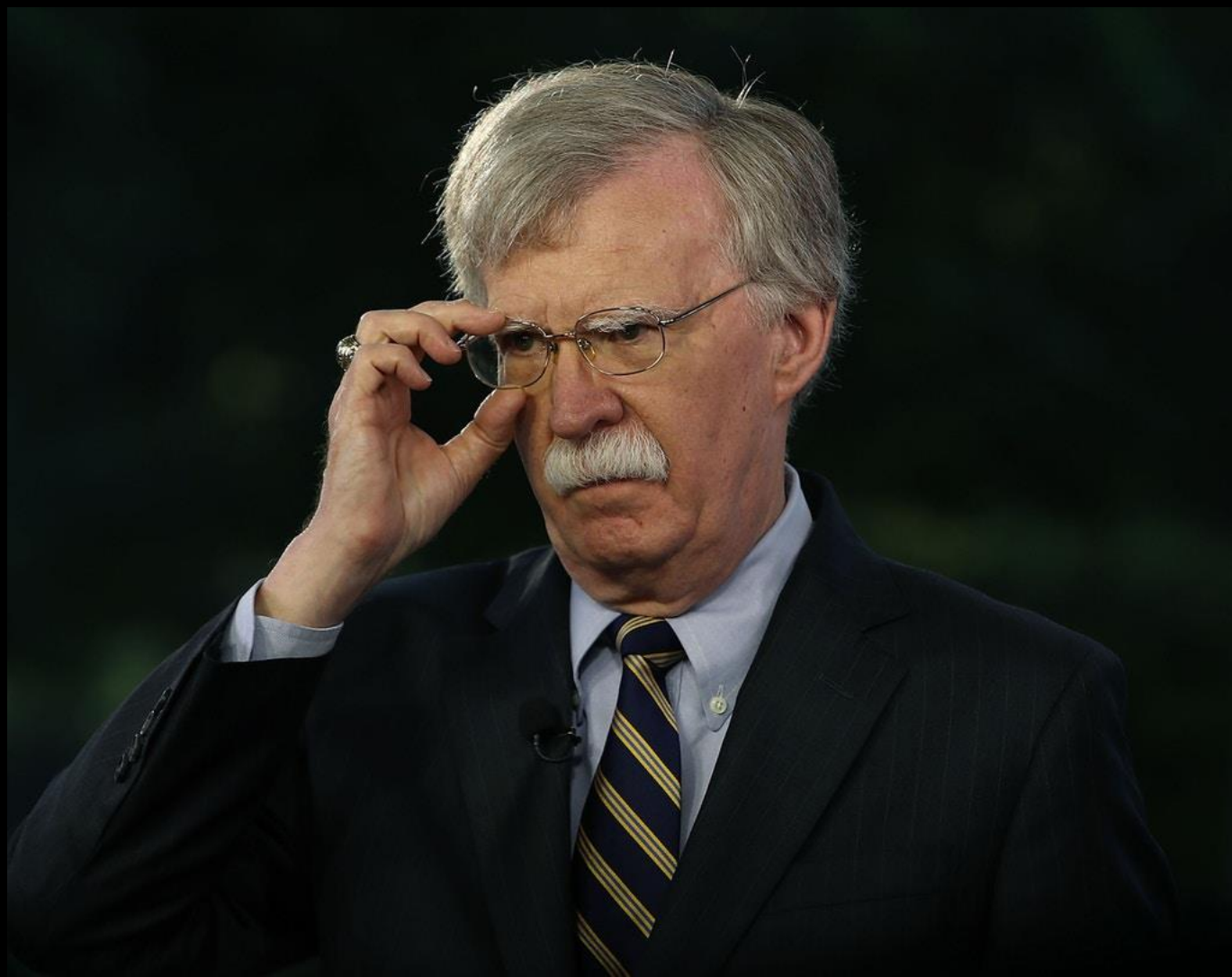
- Further legal fortification against development of nuclear weapons
- Also prevents stationing or passing through of other states' nuclear weapons





Proliferation Security Initiative

- George W. Bush era initiative
- Created by John Bolton

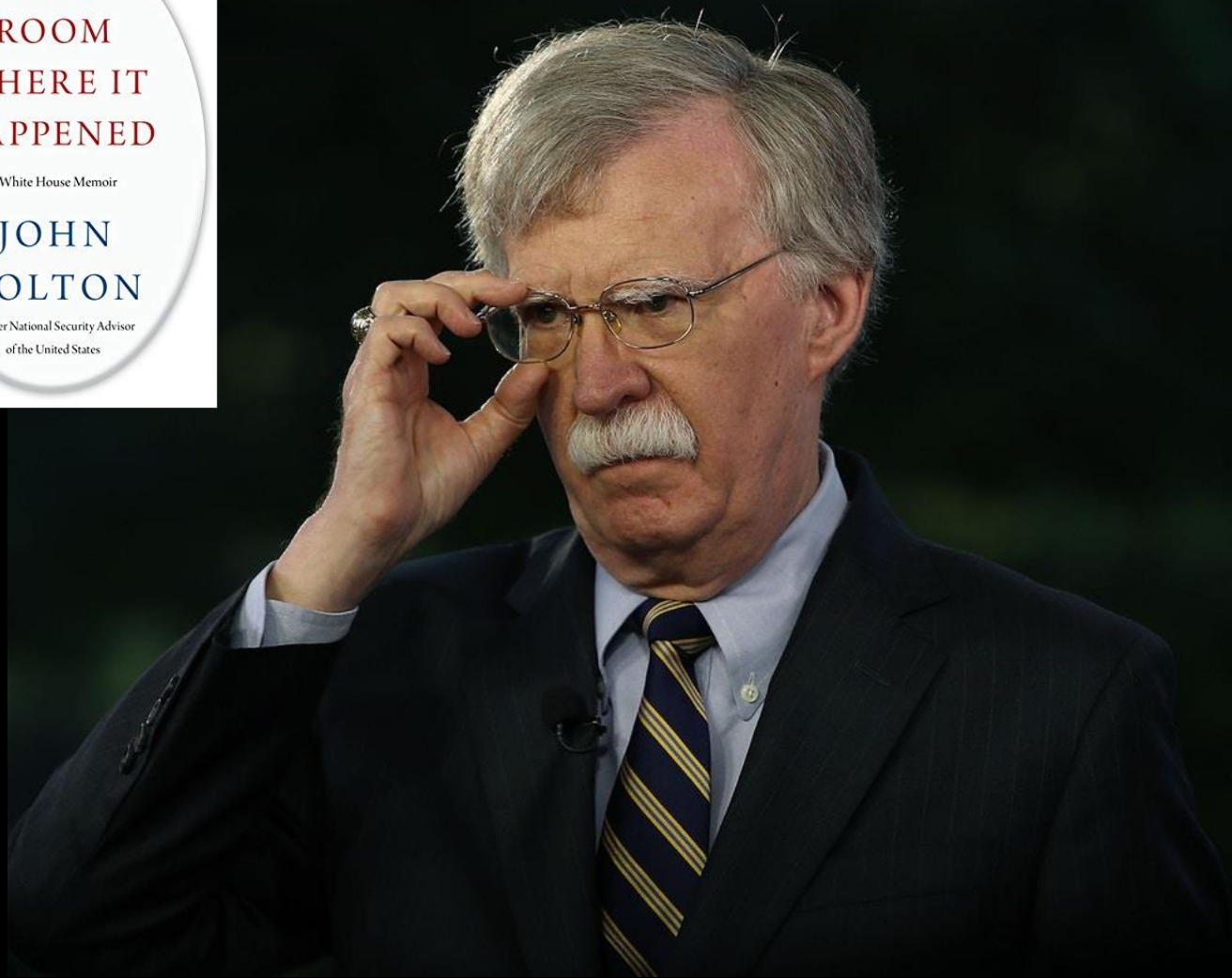


THE
ROOM
WHERE IT
HAPPENED

A White House Memoir

JOHN
BOLTON

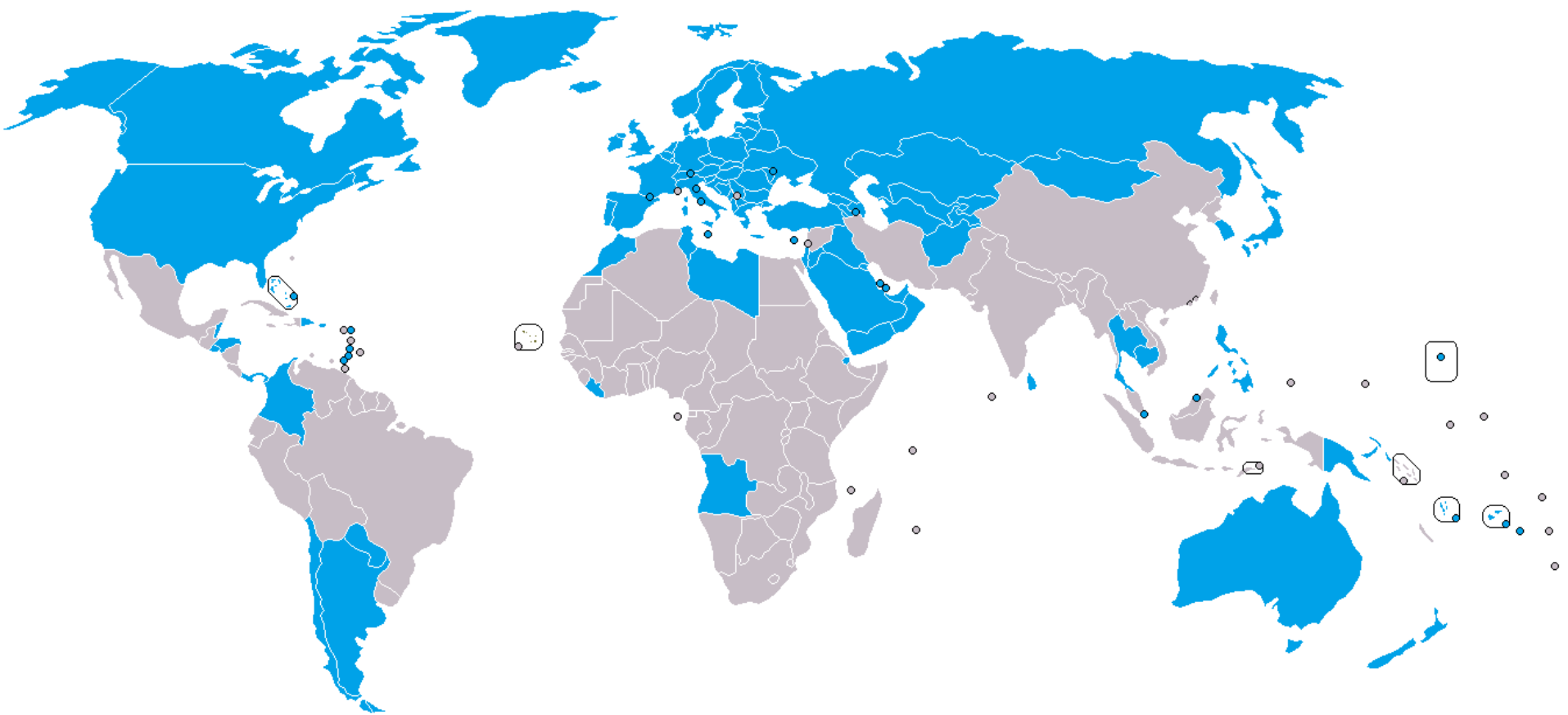
Former National Security Advisor
of the United States



Proliferation Security Initiative

- George W. Bush era initiative
- Created by John Bolton
- Designed to create a worldwide anti-trafficking net
- Ships and intelligence





Partial Test Ban Treaty

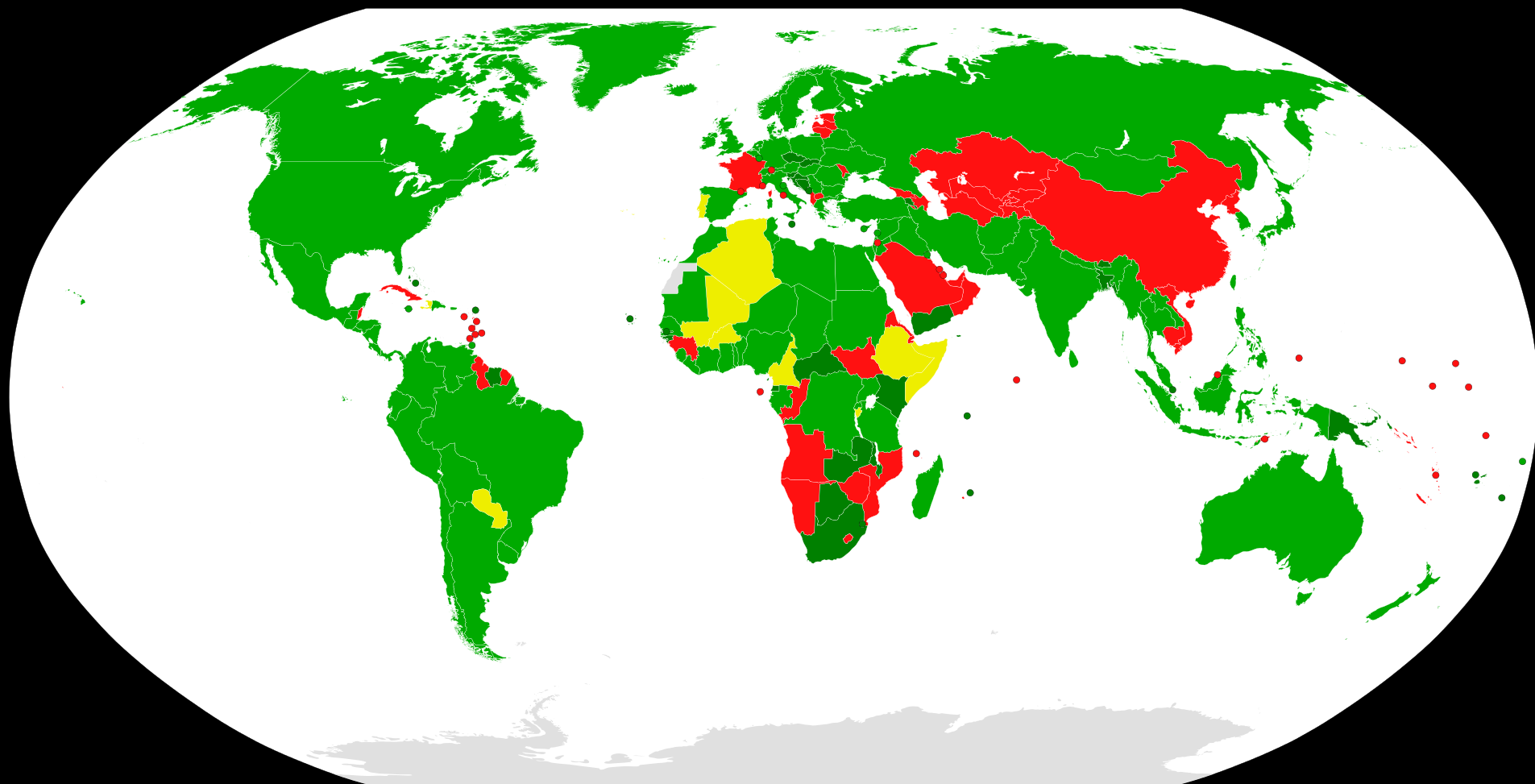
- Early tests of nuclear weapons started getting out of hand

TOTAL NUCLEAR TESTS BY LOCATION



Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963)

- Early tests of nuclear weapons started getting out of hand
- Ban prohibited above-ground testing



Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1993)

- Bans all testing of nuclear weapons
- Has not entered into force, and won't until all countries that were in on the design of the PTBT ratify it
 - Missing (among others): United States, China, India, Pakistan, North Korea

