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# Verifying Nuclear Disarmament

**Alexander Glaser**

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and  
Department of Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering  
Princeton University

Vienna, September 27, 2013

Revision 3

# A New Era of Nuclear Disarmament?

*“We endorse setting the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons and working energetically on the actions required to achieve that goal.”*

A World Free of Nuclear Weapons  
George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger, and Sam Nunn  
*The Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007

*“While the new START treaty is an important step forward, it is just one step on a longer journey. As I said last year in Prague, this treaty will set the stage for further cuts. And going forward, we hope to pursue discussions with Russia on reducing both our strategic and tactical weapons, including non-deployed weapons.”*

U.S. President Obama, upon signing the New START Treaty, April 2010



# Thousands of Nuclear Weapons Are No Longer Deployed and Currently In Storage



W87/Mk-21 Reentry Vehicles in storage, Warren Air Force Base, Cheyenne, Wyoming

*Photo courtesy of Paul Shambroom, [www.paulshambroom.com](http://www.paulshambroom.com)*

# ***What Are We Worried About?***

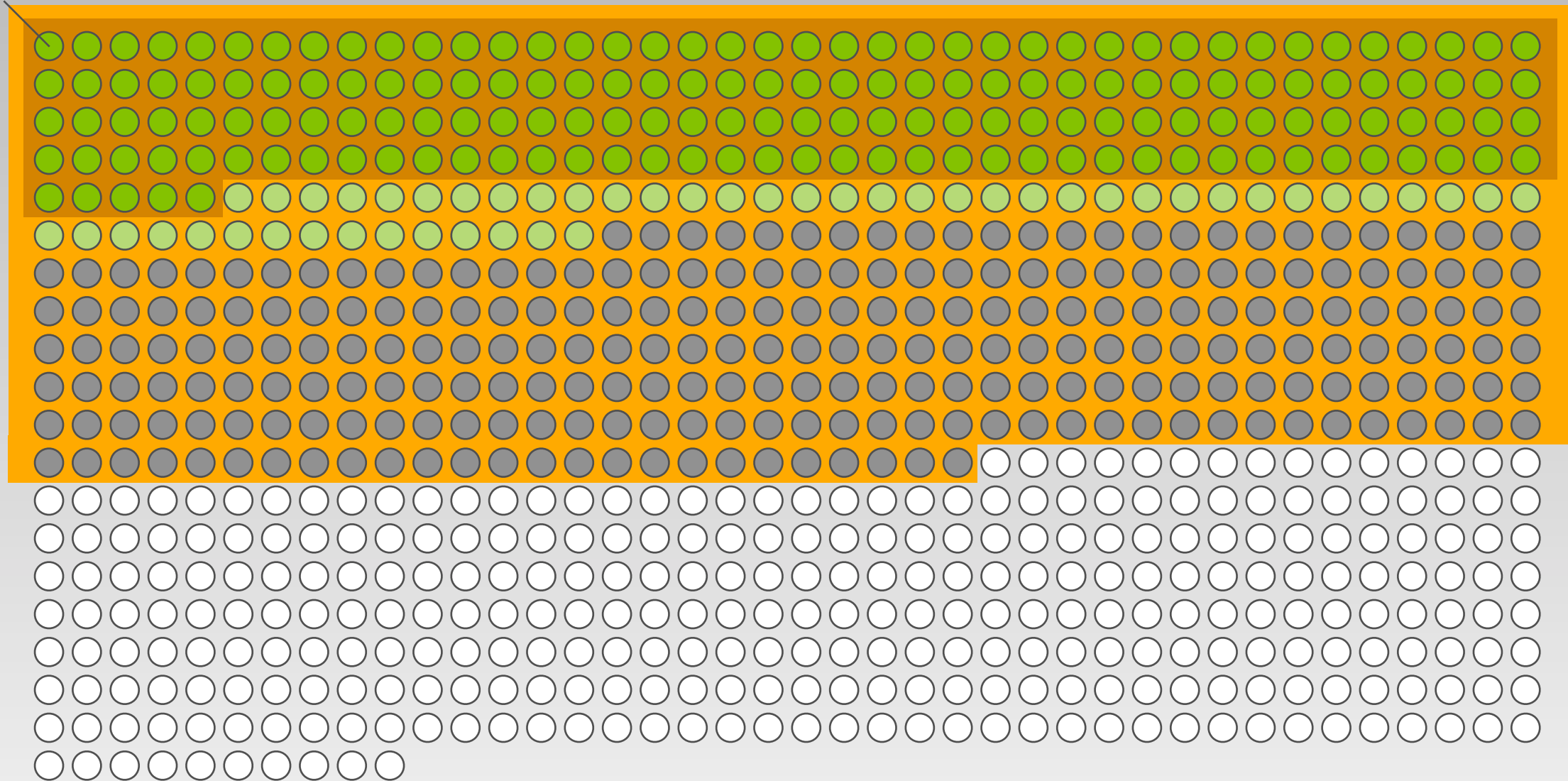
## ***(The Challenges of Nuclear Disarmament Verification)***



# Example

## (U.S. Nuclear Arsenal, 2013)

10 warheads

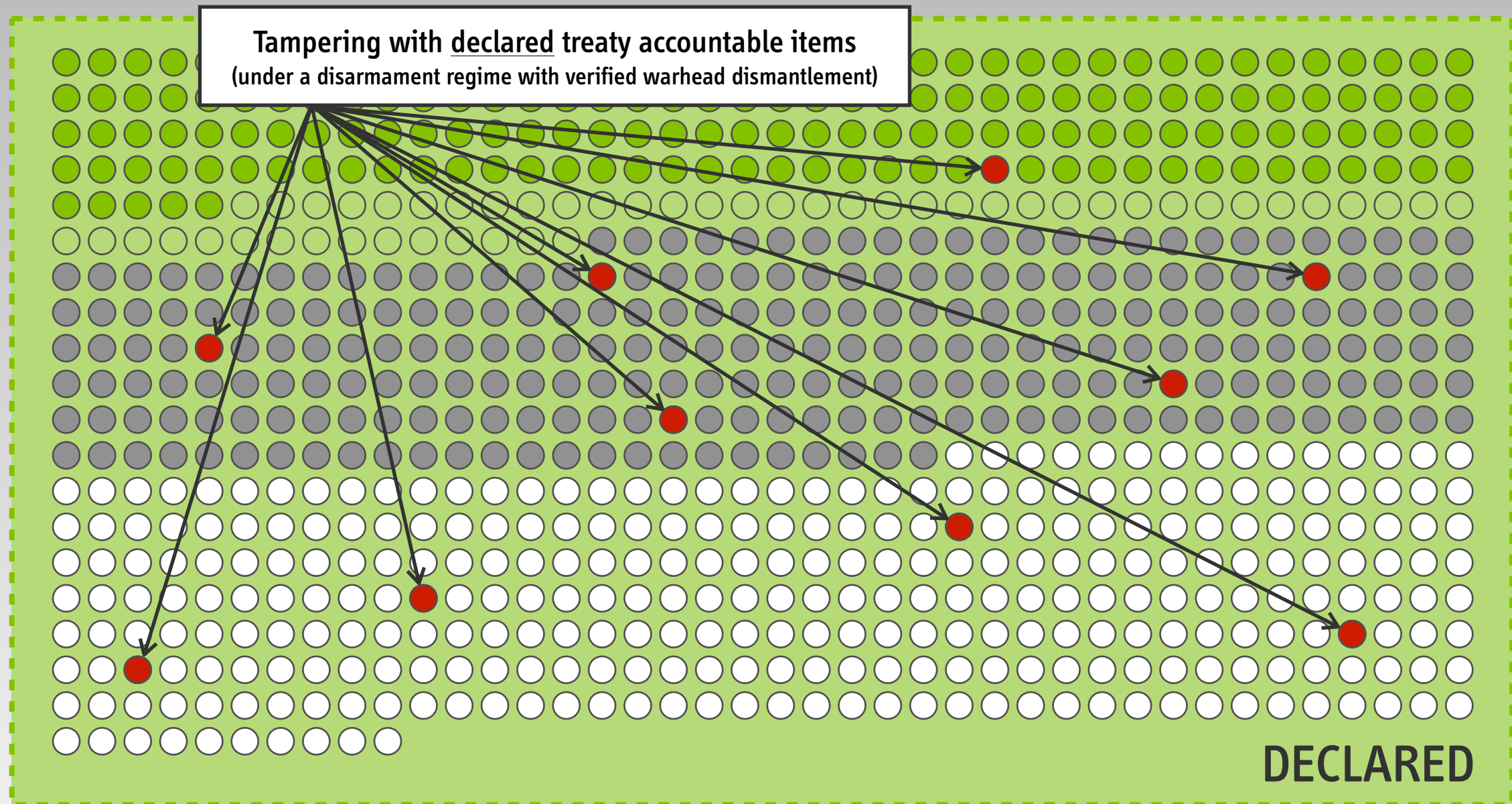


- 1,650 Deployed strategic warheads (as declared under New Start, March 2013)
  - 2,150 Total deployed warheads (estimated)
  - 4,650 Total stockpile, including reserve (declared, 5,113 as of September 2009)
  - 7,700 Total stockpile, including reserve and retired (but intact) warheads (estimated)
- declared numbers

H. M. Kristensen and R. S. Norris, "Global Nuclear Weapons Inventories, 1945–2013," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 69 (5), 2013, pp. 75–81

# Example

## Notional Cheating Scenarios





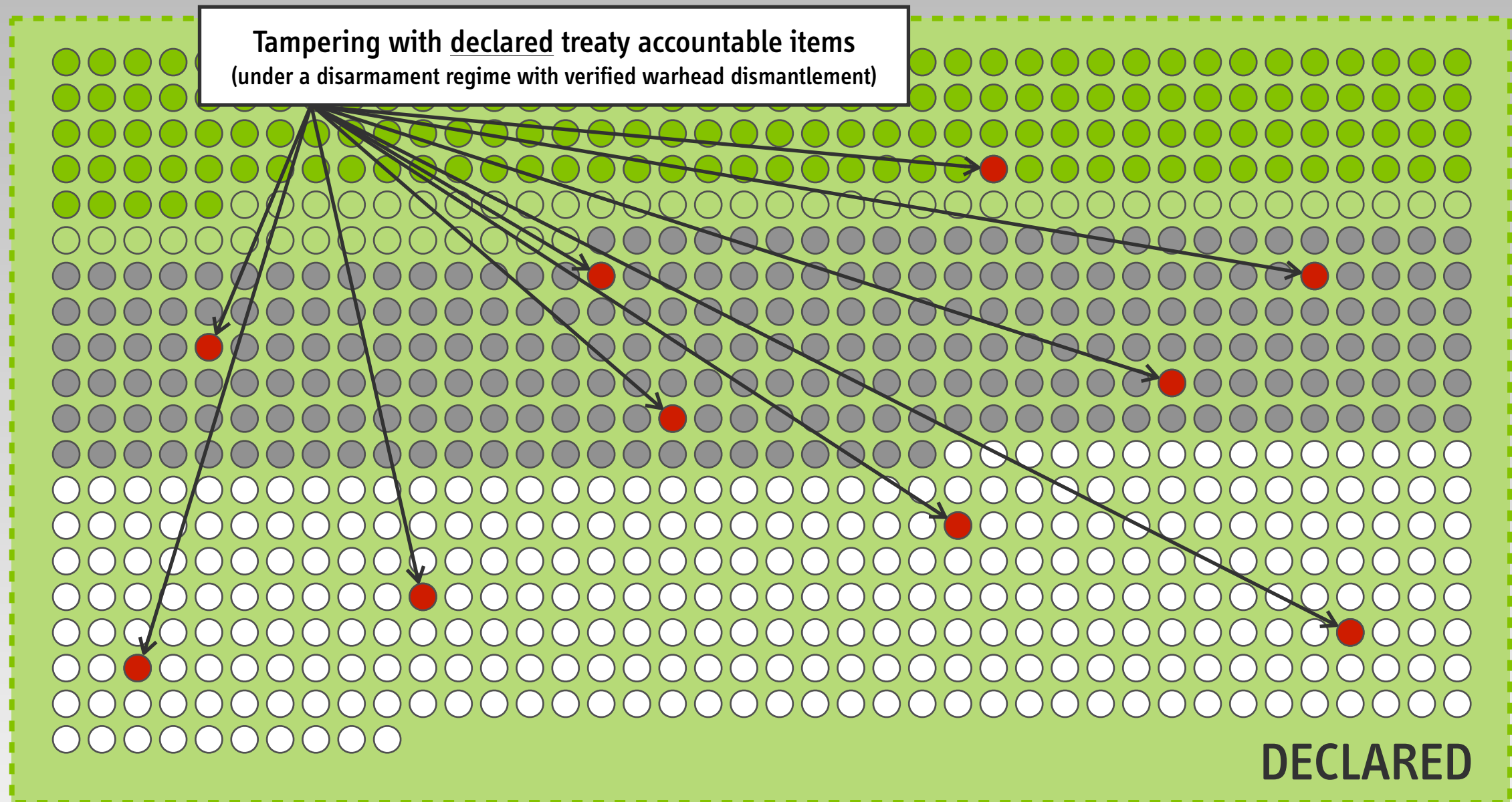


***What About the Secret Nuclear Weapons Stockpile  
Stashed Away on that Remote Island?***



# Example

## Notional Cheating Scenarios



● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●  
Keeping undeclared warheads



# Main Cheating Scenarios and Associated Verification Challenges

1

Party offers hoax or tampered devices instead of authentic treaty accountable items (TAI) so that real warheads, warhead components, or fissile material can be “diverted” to a secret stockpile of nuclear weapons

⇒ Verifying the dismantlement of nuclear warheads

2

Party provides incomplete baseline declarations so that some treaty accountable items (e.g. warheads) are never part of the verification regime

⇒ Verifying the completeness of declarations

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Party has undeclared fissile material production capacities, which are used to supply material for new weapons, e.g. to replace dismantled TAI

⇒ Verifying the non-production of new fissile material for weapons

(Same challenge for NPT and FMCT)

*Interlude*

# *Declarations*

*(and Nuclear Transparency more generally)*



# Some Weapon States Have Recognized the Value of Declarations

*“The data will ... have valuable nonproliferation benefits by making potential International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards easier to implement.”*

Declassification of Today's Highly Enriched Uranium Inventories at Department of Energy Laboratories  
U.S. Department of Energy, 27 June 1994, [www.ipfmlibrary.org/doe06a.pdf](http://www.ipfmlibrary.org/doe06a.pdf)

*“The U.K. believes that transparency about fissile material acquisition for defence purposes will be necessary if nuclear disarmament is to be achieved.”*

Historical Accounting for U.K. Defence Highly Enriched Uranium,  
U.K. Ministry of Defence, March 2006, [www.ipfmlibrary.org/mod06.pdf](http://www.ipfmlibrary.org/mod06.pdf)

# United States

## May 2010 Declaration of U.S. Nuclear Weapon Stockpile

***“As of September 30, 2009, the U.S. stockpile of nuclear weapons consisted of 5,113 [active and inactive] warheads. This number represents an 84 percent reduction from the stockpile’s maximum (31,255) at the end of fiscal year 1967, and over a 75 percent reduction from its level (22,217) when the Berlin Wall fell in late 1989.”***

Increasing Transparency in the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Stockpile, U.S. Department of Defense, Fact Sheet, May 3, 2010  
available at [www.defense.gov/npr](http://www.defense.gov/npr), mirrored at [www.ipfmlibrary.org/gov10.pdf](http://www.ipfmlibrary.org/gov10.pdf)



# United Kingdom

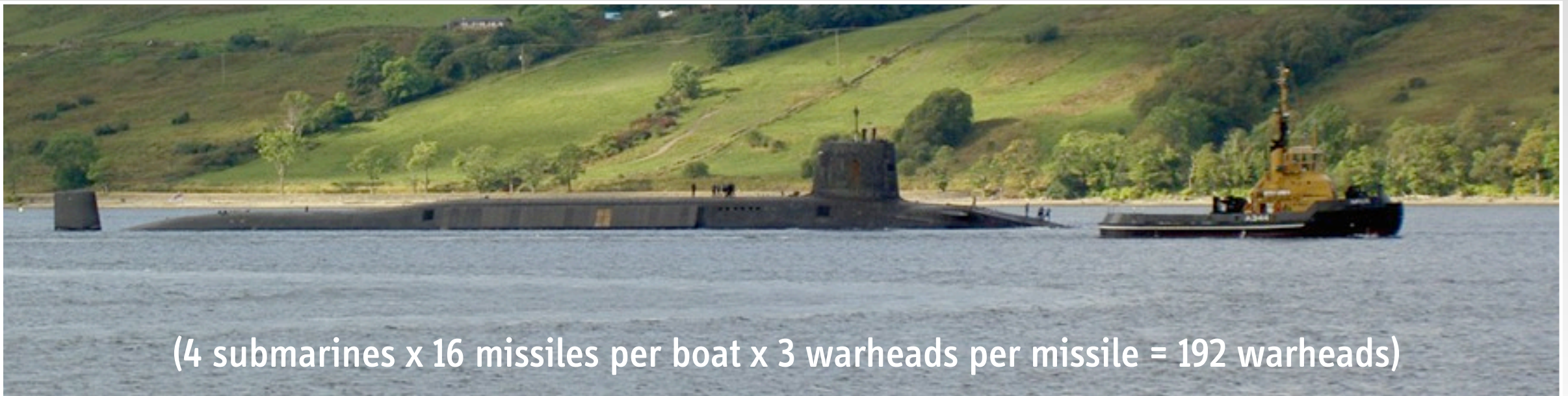
## March 2009 and May 2010 Declarations

***“Our operationally available warheads now number fewer than 160”***

UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown, March 2009

**Total number of nuclear weapons in the UK stockpile does not exceed 225**

UK Foreign Secretary William Hague, May 2010, [www.twitter.com/WilliamJHague](http://www.twitter.com/WilliamJHague)



(4 submarines x 16 missiles per boat x 3 warheads per missile = 192 warheads)

# France

March 2008 Announcement by French President N. Sarkozy

*“I can tell you that our arsenal will include fewer than 300 nuclear warheads. [...]*

*I have decided to invite international experts to observe the dismantlement of our Pierrelatte and Marcoule military fissile material production facilities.”*

Nicholas Sarkozy, President of the French Republic  
Presentation of *“Le Terrible”* in Cherbourg  
21 March 2008



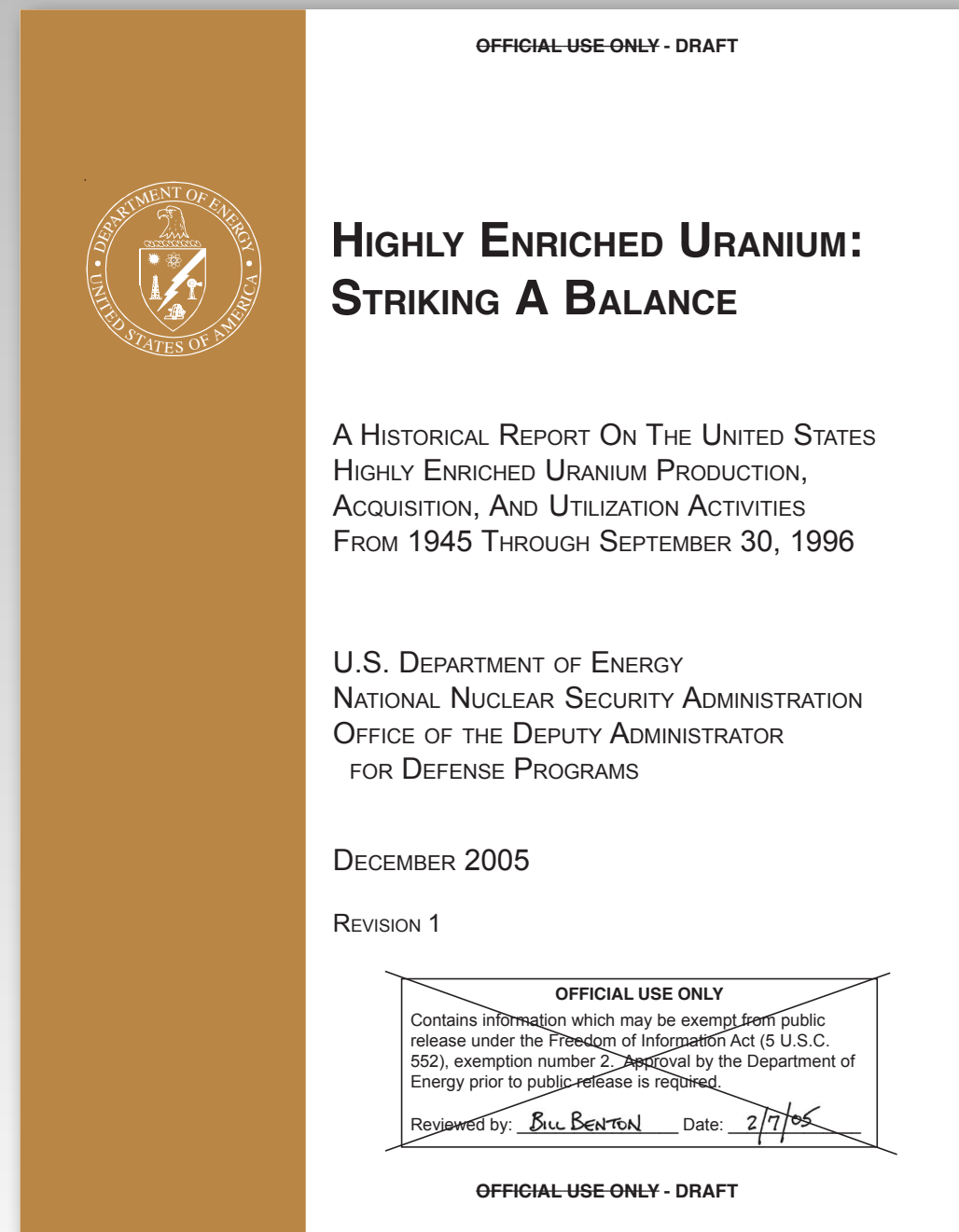
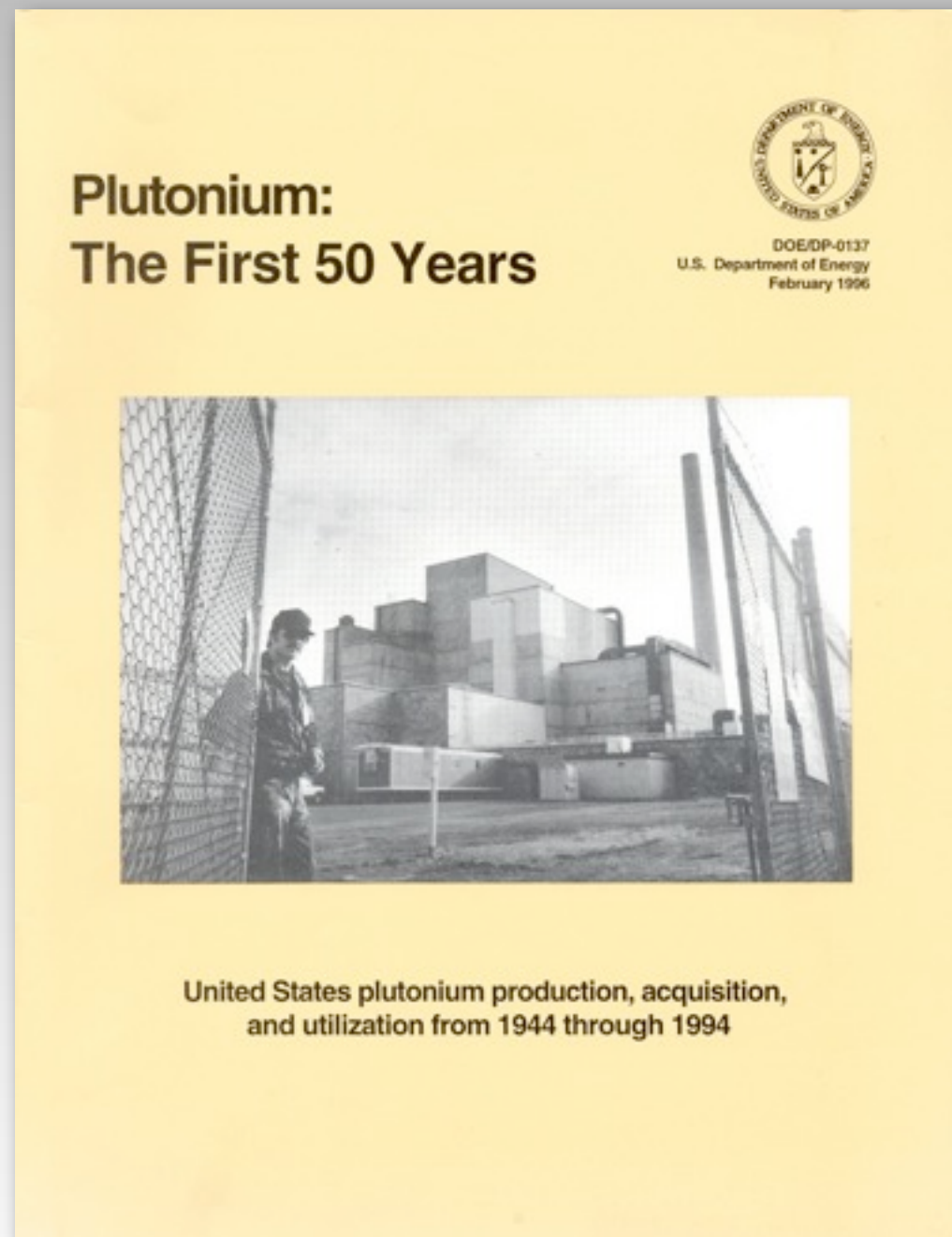


Picture galleries available at  
[www.francetnp2010.fr](http://www.francetnp2010.fr)

# ***Fissile Material Declarations***



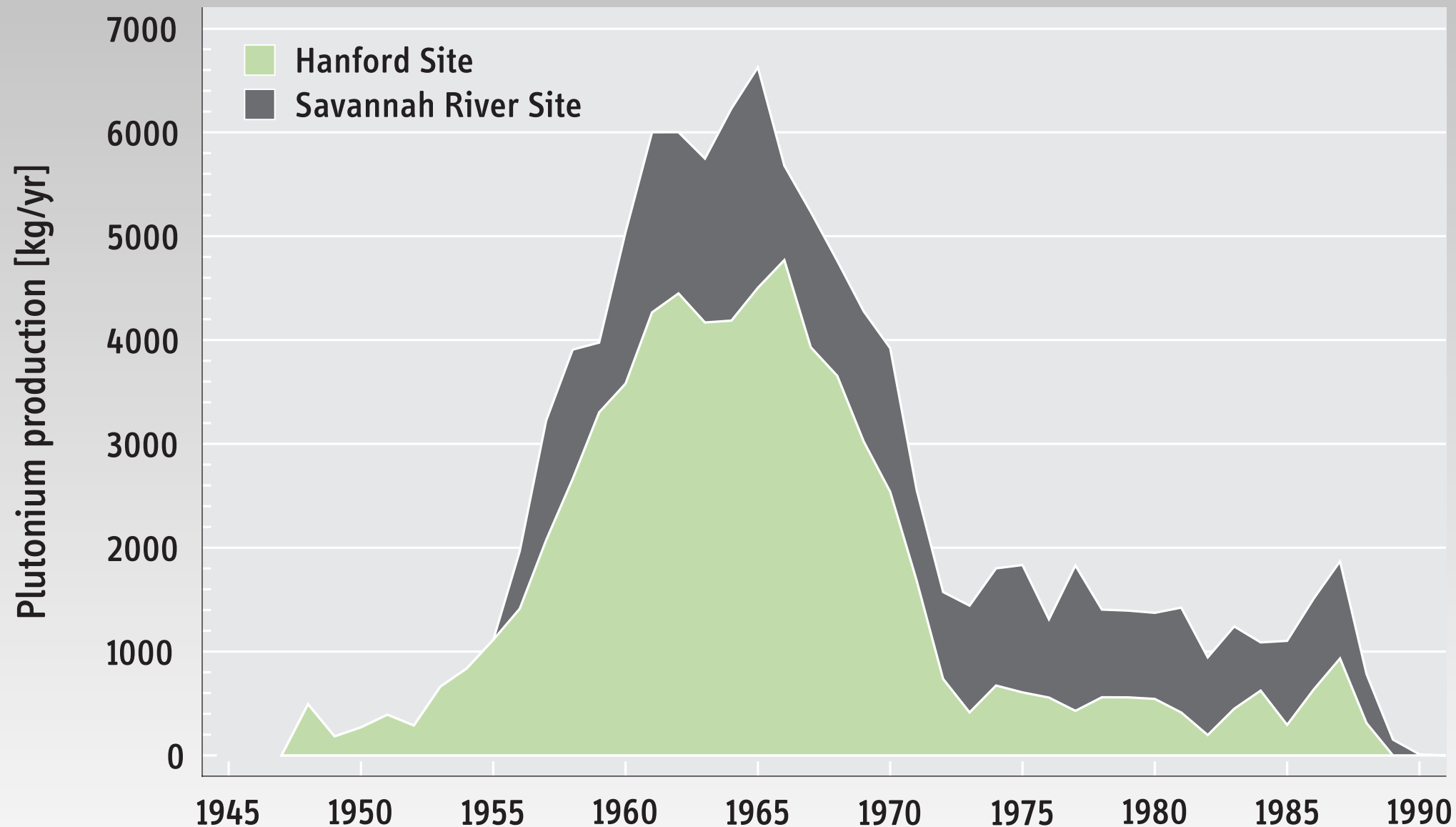
# The 1996 and 2001 U.S. Declarations



(The 1996 plutonium declaration has been updated in 2012, [www.ipfmlibrary.org/doe12.pdf](http://www.ipfmlibrary.org/doe12.pdf))

# Examples from the U.S. Declarations

(Plutonium Production by Year and Site)

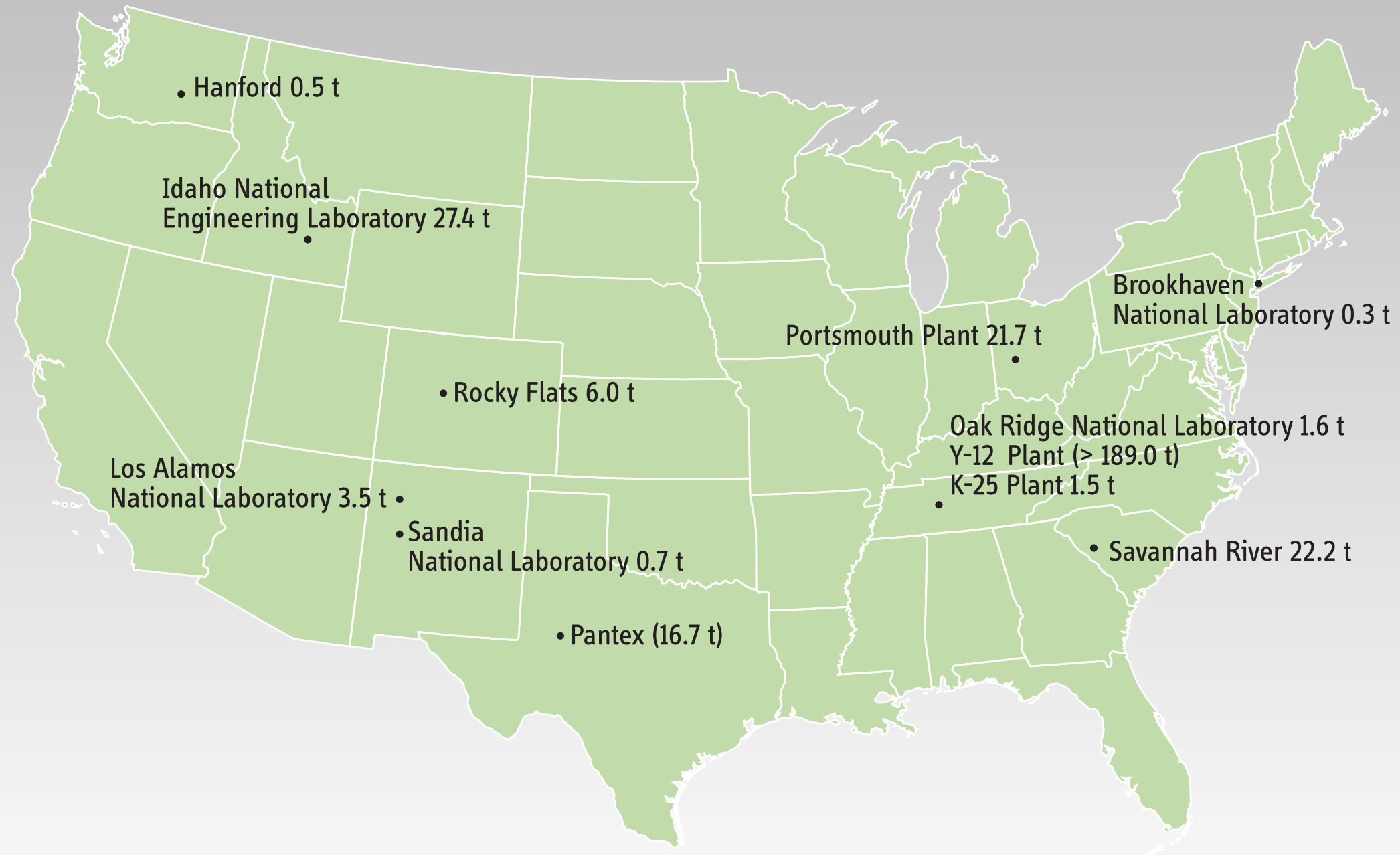


*Plutonium: The First 50 Years: United States Plutonium Production, Acquisition and Utilization from 1944 Through 1994*  
U.S. Department of Energy, DOE/DP-0137, 1996, [www.ipfmlibrary.org/doe96.pdf](http://www.ipfmlibrary.org/doe96.pdf)



# Examples from the U.S. Declarations

Stockpile of Highly Enriched Uranium by Location (U.S. DOE Sites, 1996)



*Highly Enriched Uranium: Striking a Balance. A Historical Report on the United States Highly Enriched Uranium Production, Acquisition, and Utilization Activities from 1945 through September 30, 1996, U.S. Department of Energy, January 2001 (publicly released in 2006), [www.ipfmlibrary.org/doe01.pdf](http://www.ipfmlibrary.org/doe01.pdf)*

## *Summary*

***Nuclear Warhead and Fissile Material Declarations  
are critical “first steps” in preparation  
for a deep-cuts nuclear disarmament regime***

*(more about this at the end)*



# Main Cheating Scenarios and Associated Verification Challenges

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⇒ Verifying the dismantlement of nuclear warheads

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⇒ Verifying the non-production of new fissile material for weapons

(Same challenge for NPT and FMCT)

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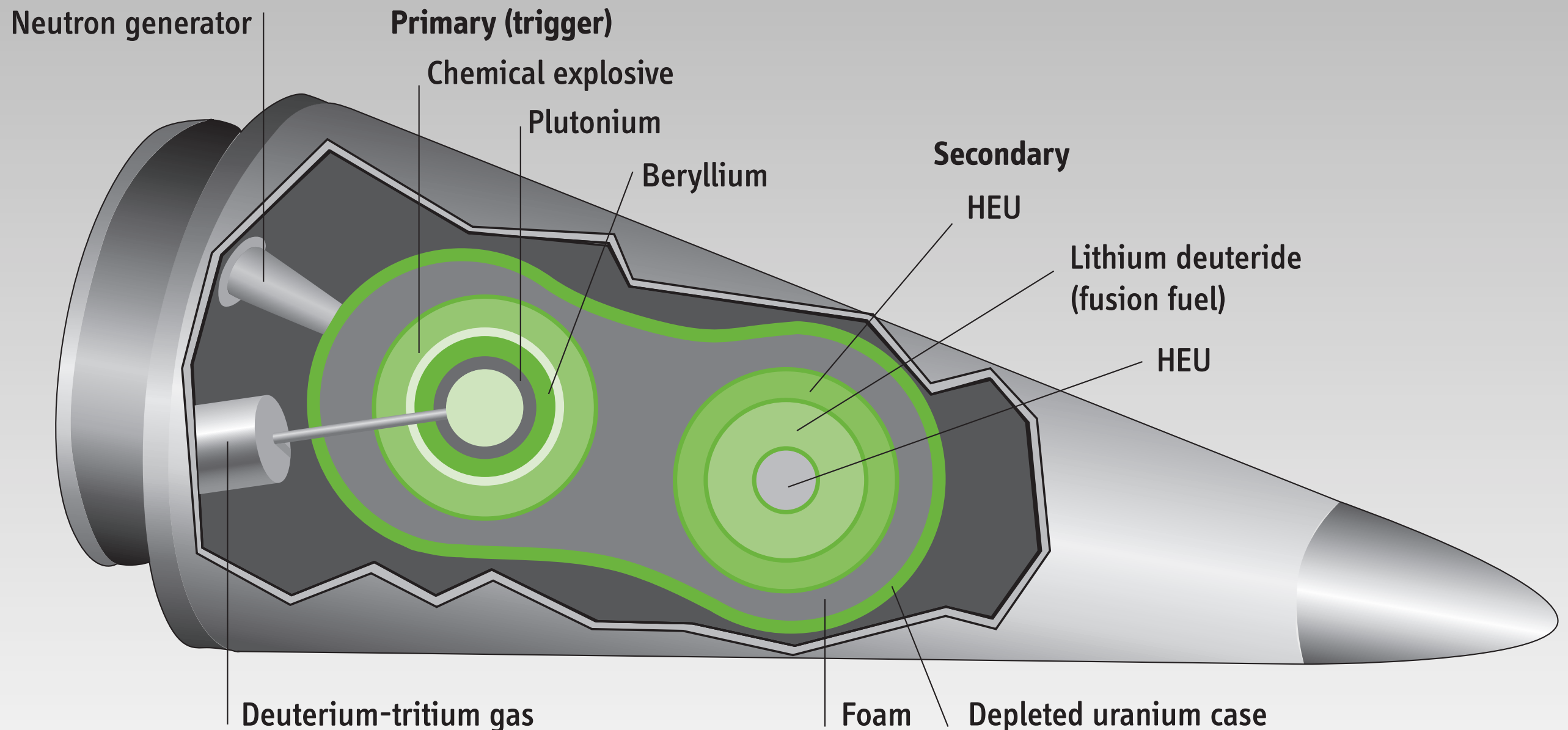
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*Nuclear Warhead  
(Dismantlement) Verification*

# Modern Thermonuclear Warhead

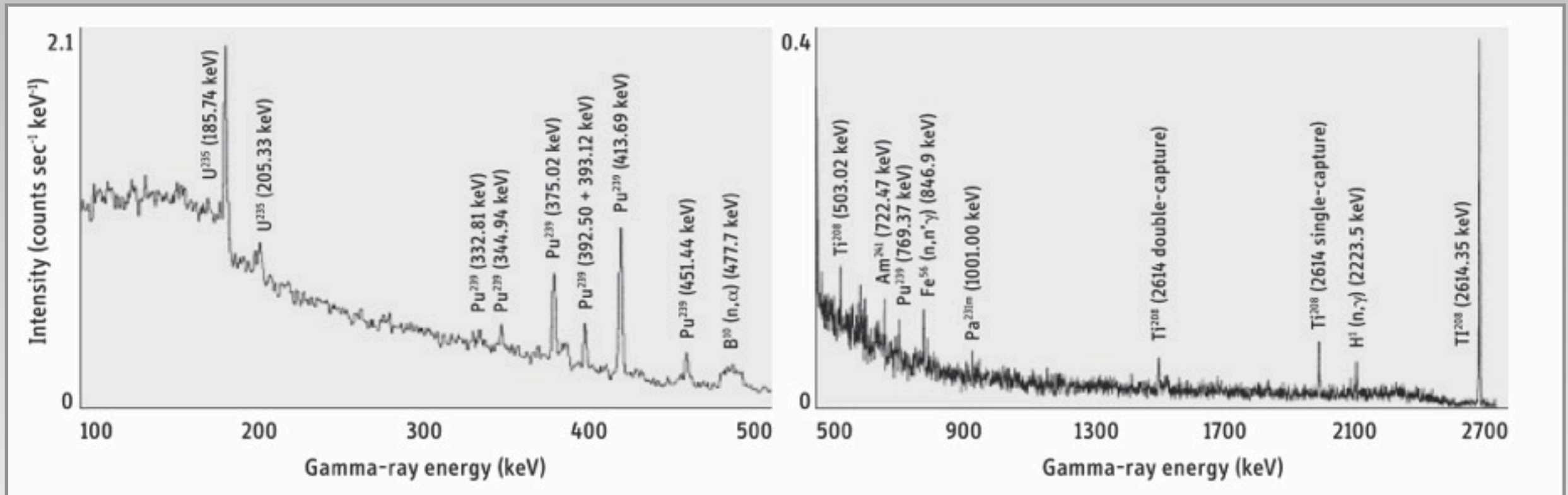


A modern thermonuclear warhead may contain *both* plutonium and highly enriched uranium  
(Average estimated values are 3–4 kg and 25 kg of plutonium and HEU, respectively)



# Nuclear Warheads Have Unique Signatures

(but most of them are sensitive and cannot be revealed)

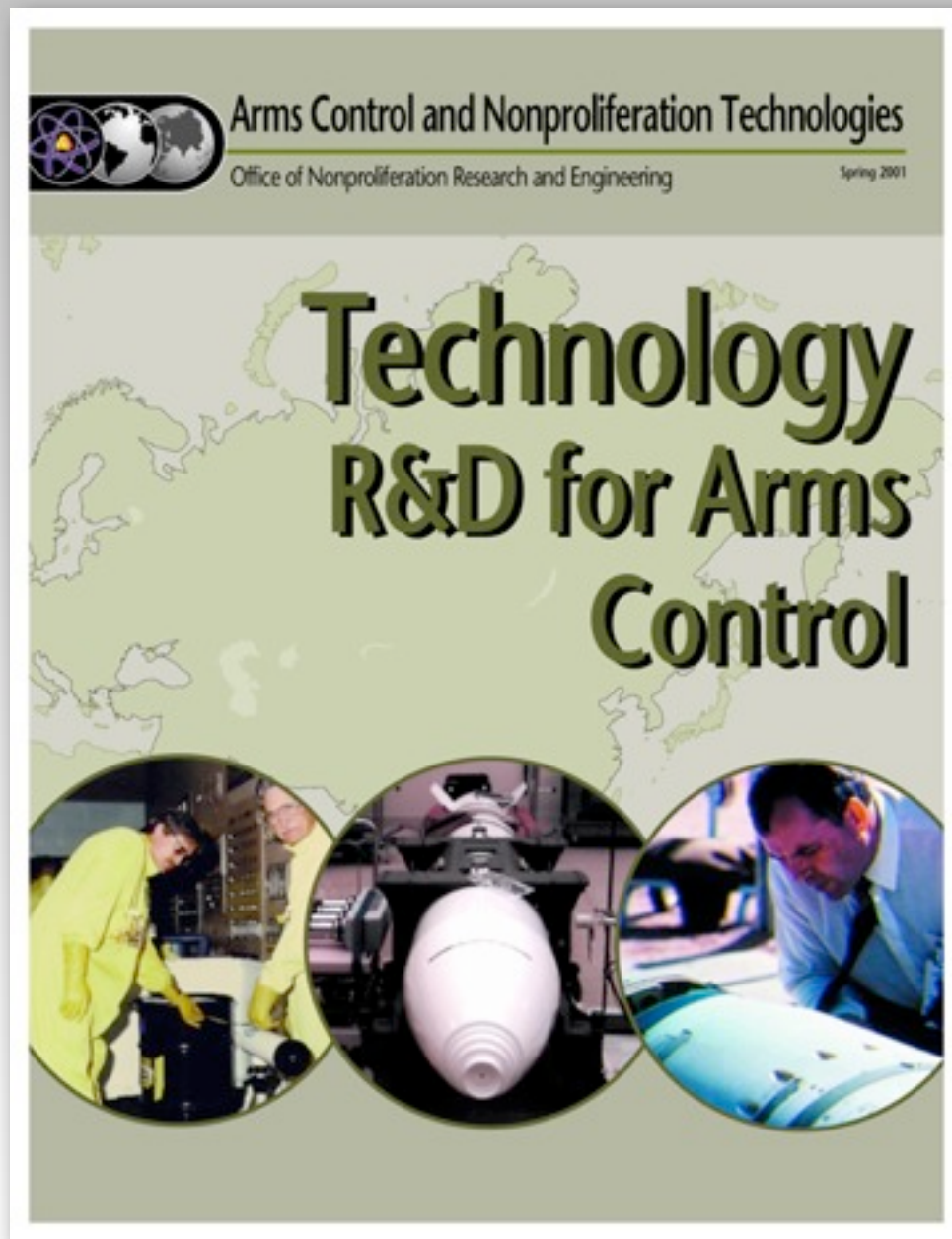


Gamma radiation spectrum from a Soviet warhead measured in 1989

Steve Fetter, Thomas B. Cochran, Lee Grodzins, Harvey L. Lynch and Martin S. Zucker

“Measurements of Gamma Rays from a Soviet Cruise Missile,” *Science*, Vol. 248, 18 May 1990, pp. 828–834

# Inspection Systems for Nuclear Warhead Verification Have Been Under Development Since the 1990s



edited by David Spears, 2001

## Attribute Approach

Confirming selected characteristics of an object  
in classified form  
(for example, the presence/mass of plutonium)

## Template Approach

Comparing the radiation signature  
from the inspected item with a reference item  
("golden warhead") of the same type

## Information Barrier

Technologies and procedures that prevent the  
release of sensitive nuclear information  
(needed for both approaches)

# Warhead Dismantlement Verification

Some Precedents Exist and Future Work Can Build on Them



Inspection System developed as part of the 1996–2002 Trilateral Initiative during a demonstration at Sarov

*Source: Tom Shea*



Visual contact with a mockup nuclear weapon during a UK-Norway Initiative Dismantlement Exercise

*Source: UK Norway Initiative, David Keir*

Rationale behind verifying warhead dismantlement is to provide confidence that actual warheads are being destroyed and that the fissile material they contained is recovered and accounted for



# Many Challenges for Verified Warhead Dismantlement Remain

**Development and Demonstration of Practical Inspection Systems**  
that assure the inspecting party that instrument works as described  
and assure the host state that sensitive information is not leaked during the inspection

Trilateral Initiative developed focused only on plutonium

**Demonstrate Viability of Cooperation  
Between Nuclear and Non-nuclear Weapon States**

UK Norway Initiative has broken new ground in this area  
but secrecy issues tend to make research and development outside the weapons labs difficult

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# *Verifying the Completeness of Declarations*



# *Life Cycle of a Nuclear Weapon*

# Making Nuclear Weapons

1



Source material  
(Uranium)

Uranium enrichment

2



2



Plutonium production

3



Production of  
weapon components

4



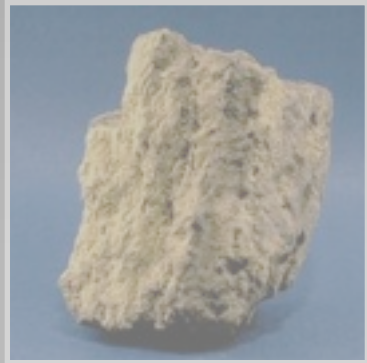
Warhead / Weapon  
assembly

5



Deployment

# Dismantling Nuclear Weapons



Source material  
(Uranium)



Plutonium production or  
uranium enrichment



Production of  
weapon components



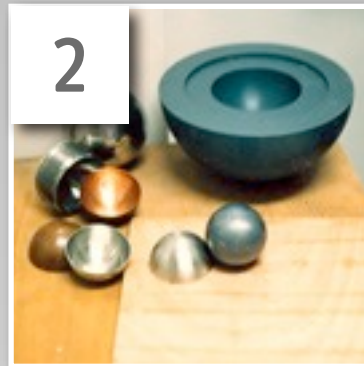
Warhead / Weapon  
assembly



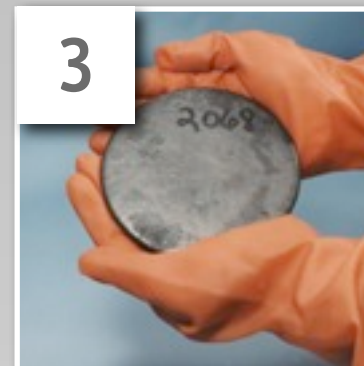
Deployment



Warhead / Weapon  
disassembly



Recovery of  
weapon components



Recovery of  
fissile material



Elimination/disposition  
of fissile material



# Key Stages for a Verification Approach

(going beyond verifying limits on deployed nuclear weapons)



Source material  
(Uranium)



Plutonium production or  
uranium enrichment



Production of  
weapon components



Warhead / Weapon  
assembly



Deployment



Warhead / Weapon  
disassembly



Recovery of  
weapon components



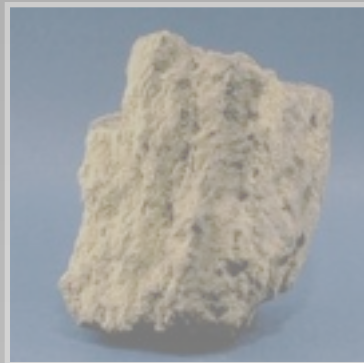
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Production of  
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Warhead / Weapon  
assembly



Deployment



Warhead / Weapon  
disassembly



Recovery of  
weapon components



Recovery of  
fissile material



Elimination/disposition  
of fissile material

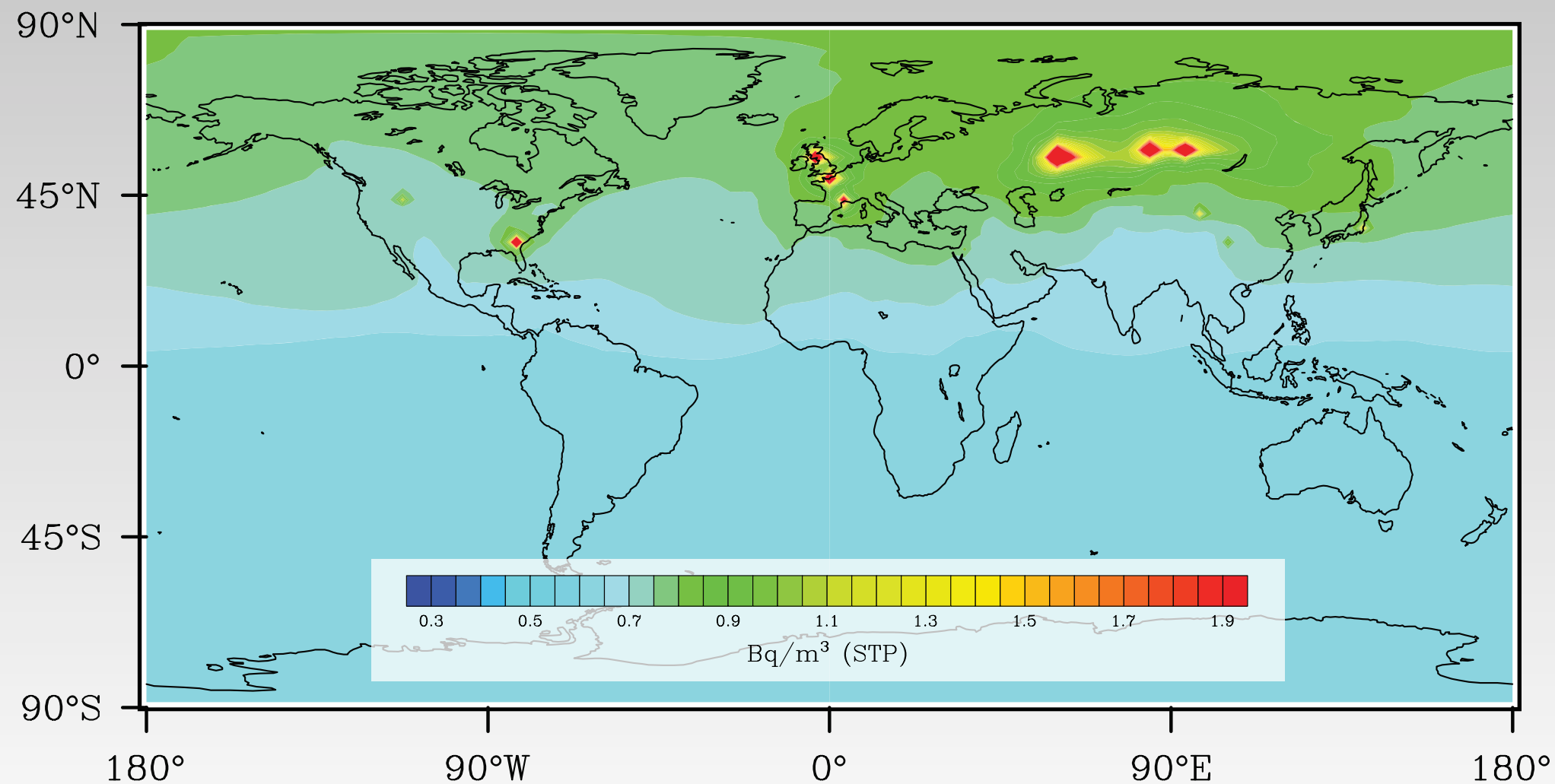
# ***Independent Assessments***

***(Consistency checks of declarations with or without data sharing)***



# Many Aspects of Declarations Can Be Reviewed for Consistency Even Without Verification

Historic atmospheric krypton-85 levels have been recorded and can be used to estimate large-scale plutonium production in some nuclear weapon states



Simulated data for MONTH 1981; Ole Ross, *Simulation of Atmospheric Krypton-85 Transport to Assess the Detectability of Clandestine Nuclear Reprocessing*, PhD Thesis, Hamburg University, Germany, 2010

# Public Historic Documents Can Often Help Reconstruct Production Histories

Encore une fois, les Directions de La Hague et de la Cogema a été de minimiser les faits et leurs conséquences possibles, afin de rassurer l'opinion publique française et la clientèle étrangère, faisant prendre ainsi

chaque année en séparant le combustible venant de G2 et G3 (taux de combustion compris entre 700 et 1200 MWJ/t) et le combustible EDF (taux de combustion atteignant 5000 MWJ/t.)

	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Tonnage G2, G3 . . . . .	190	130	320	620	640	760	850	820	960	730	890
Tx de combustion . . . . .	100	100	100	200	200	300	300	300	400	400	450
Tonnage EDF . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Tonnage G2 G3 . . . . .	530	570	460	480	240	280	260	170	non connu	non connu	190
Tx de combustion . . . . .	450	450	500	600	700	800	1000	1200			1200
Tonnage EDF . . . . .					113	8	25	120	245	280	310

Si jusqu'aux années 1972-73 les tonnages retraités sont très élevés, une des raisons essentielles en est le faible taux de combustion des combustibles.

Le tonnage retraité diminue ensuite sensiblement en

ne. Il est également inférieur aux prévisions faites par la Cogéma au début de l'année 1980 puisque 310 tonnes ont été retraitées alors que les prévisions étaient 365 tonnes.

LES CONDITIONS DE TR

Le retraitement des combustibles irradiés: La situation de la Hague et Marcoule, Analyses et positions de la CFDT  
Rayonnement, Syndicat National du Personnel de l'Energie Atomique, No. 92, Février 1981

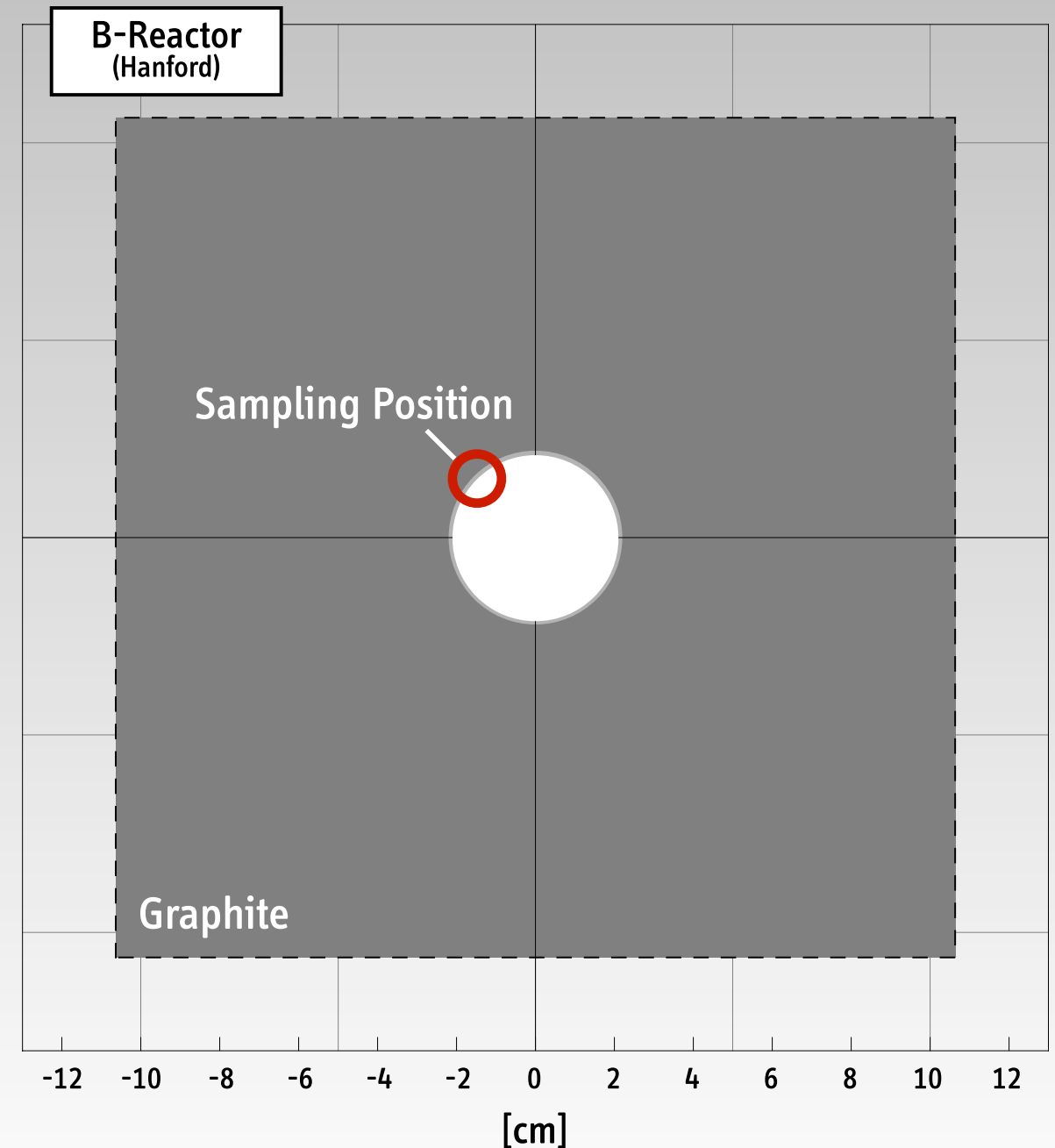
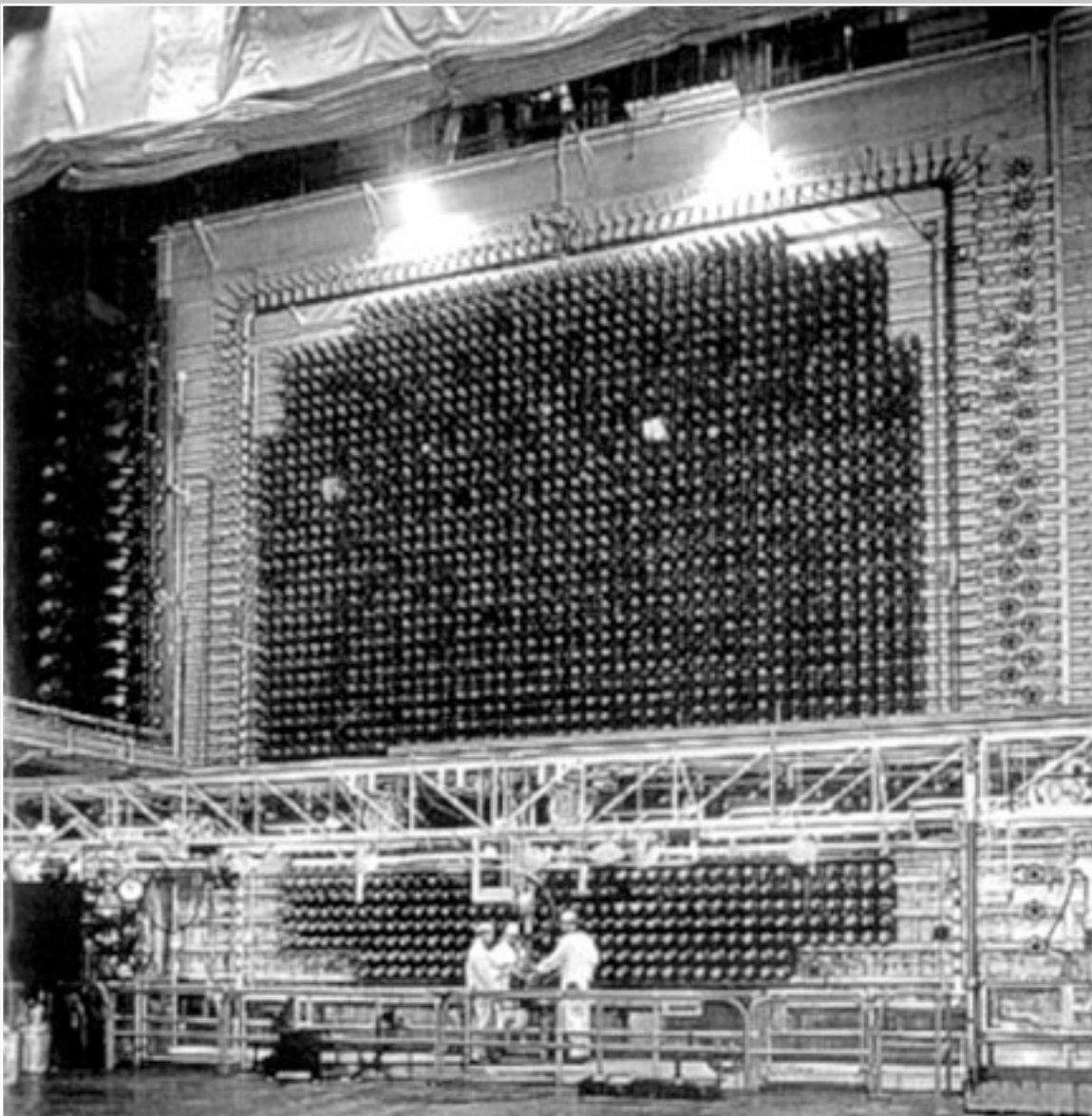
# ***Nuclear Archaeology***

***(with onsite inspections)***



# Nuclear Archaeology for Plutonium

(U.S. Hanford B Reactor, 1944–1968)



# North Korea's Yongbyon Reactor, 2008



*Credit: CNN/Brian Rokus*



# “The Clock is Ticking”

Shutdown production reactors and enrichment plants are being decommissioned



Shutdown of the last Russian plutonium production reactor ADE-2 in Zheleznogorsk, 2010

*Source: U.S. Department of Energy*



Demolition of the K-25 uranium enrichment plant began in December 2008 and will be completed in 2012

*Source: Bechtel Jacobs*

**In many cases, facilities have been temporarily preserved;  
but in other cases, environmental concerns (or site stewardship decisions)  
have led to the demolition of former production sites**



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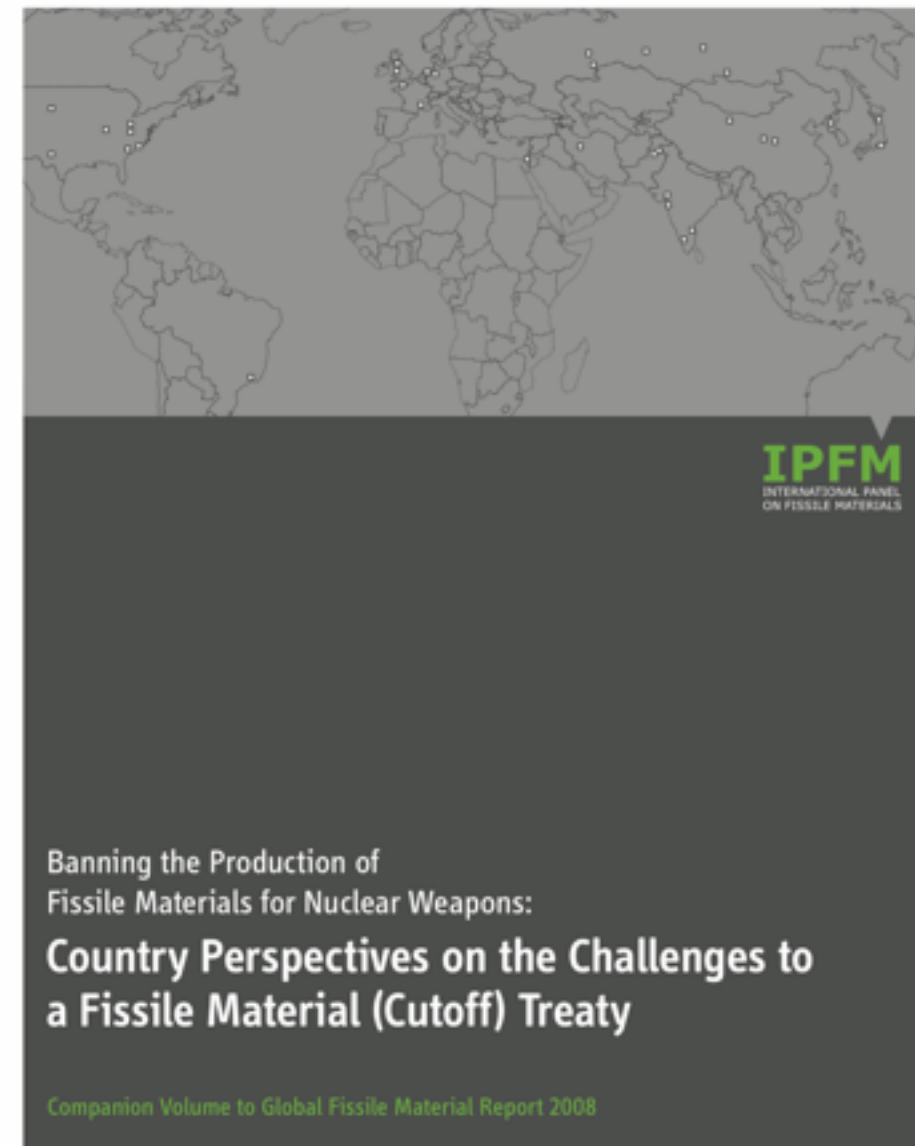
(Same challenge for NPT and FMCT)

# *Non-Production of New Fissile Material for Weapons*

*(FMCT Verification)*

# Global Fissile Material Report 2008

[www.ipfmlibrary.org/gfmr08.pdf](http://www.ipfmlibrary.org/gfmr08.pdf) and [www.ipfmlibrary.org/gfmr08cv.pdf](http://www.ipfmlibrary.org/gfmr08cv.pdf)





# Verification Challenges

1. Shutdown facilities
2. Operational enrichment plants
3. Operational reprocessing plants
4. Challenge inspections at military nuclear sites

.....  
*depending on scope of FMCT*

5. Naval-reactor fuel cycle
6. Weapon-origin fissile material

Precedents for verification exist in NPT safeguards  
in non-weapon states, but some (important) differences

# *Way Forward / Next Steps*

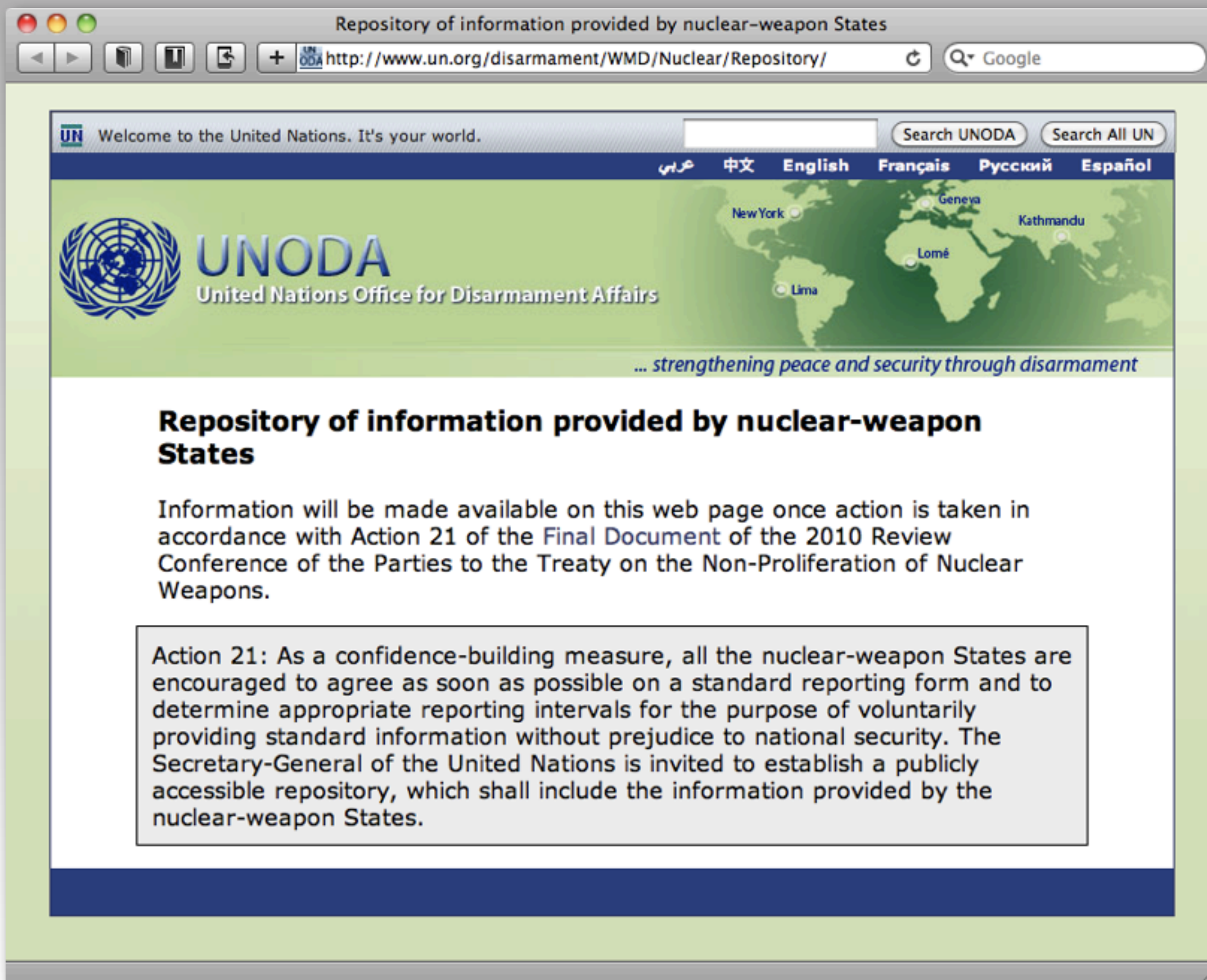
# 2010 NPT Review Conference

The “Action Plan on Nuclear Disarmament” affirmed:

- “the importance of supporting cooperation among governments, the UN, other international and regional organizations and civil society aimed at increasing confidence, improving transparency and developing efficient verification capabilities related to nuclear disarmament.”
- “nuclear-weapon States are encouraged to agree as soon as possible on a standard reporting form and to determine appropriate reporting intervals for the purpose of voluntarily providing standard information.”

Progress report expected at 2014 NPT PrepCom





# Way Forward / Next Steps

**By 2015 Review Conference, NPT nuclear weapon-states could:**

1. Make initial baseline declarations about total nuclear warhead and fissile material stocks
2. Place additional (and eventually all) civilian, military excess, and waste fissile material under IAEA safeguards
3. Agree to begin preparations to make more detailed historical declarations to build confidence for deeper reductions in warhead and fissile material stocks
4. Agree to launch cooperative pilot verification projects  
(ideally, in partnership with the IAEA and interested countries)