### Nuclear Proliferation and Safeguards

June 1977

NTIS order #PB-275843

## Nuclear Proliferation and Safeguards



#### TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT BOARD EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASS., CHAIRMAN MARJORIE S. HOLT, MD., VICE CHAIRMAN

### Congress of the United States OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT DANIEL V. DESIMONE WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, S.C. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN. CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J. RICHARO S. SCHWEIKER, PA. TED STEVENS, ALASKA

OLIN E. TEAGUE, TEX. Morris K. Udall, Ariz. George E. Brown, Jr., Calif. CLARENCE E. MILLER, OHIO LARRY WINN, JR., KANS.

EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

Honorable Abraham A. Ribicof f Chairman, Committee on Government Af f airs United States Senate Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On behalf of the Board of the Office of Technology Assessment, we are pleased to forward this report Nuclear Proliferation and Safeguards.

The report consists of two volumes: the first covers the findings and analysis, the second consists of the appendices of supporting documentation. It was prepared by the Office of Technology Assessment in response to your Committee's request.

In accordance with OTA policy, this report provides a balanced and impartial analysis of the various initiatives proposed to reduce or eliminate nuclear weapons proliferation. The technical, institutional and political options discussed in the report are set in the context of both alternative energy perspectives and the various nuclear reactor fuel cycles to which they relate. We hope that this report will be useful to your Committee and the entire Congress in debating and resolving the best course for the country in prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons capabilities.

Sincerely,

Edward M. Kennedy

Chairman

Sincerely,

./Holt

Vice Chairman

cc: Honorable John H. Glenn Honorable Charles H. Percy TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT BOARD EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASS., CHAIRMAN MARJORIE S. HOLT, MD., VICE CHAIR MAN

### Congress of the United States

EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT DANIEL V. DESIMONE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510 June 30, 1977

ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, S.C. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, M INN. CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J, RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA. TED STEVENS, ALASKA

OLIN E. TEAGUE, TEX. Morris K. Udall, Ariz. George E. Brown, Jr., Calif. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., CALIF CLARENCE E. MILLER, OHIO LARRY WINN. JR., KANS. EMILIO Q. DADDARIo

Honorable Edward M. Kennedy Chairman Technology Assessment Board Off ice of Technology Assessment United States Congress Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The enclosed report, Nuclear Proliferation and Safeguards, presents OTA's analysis of the risk of further spread of nuclear weapons, and the relation of that risk to the peaceful use of nuclear technology.

This assessment, prepared under the direction of the OTA Energy Program, was requested by Senators Abraham Ribicoff, John Glenn, and Charles Percy of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. The purpose was to provide a comprehensive analysis of technological factors and potential options to assist Congress in evaluating national and foreign policy relevent to nuclear proliferation.

In addition to extensive internal review, the report has been reviewed by the Nuclear Proliferation and Safeguards Advisory Panel, the Energy Program Advisory Committee, the Technology Assessment Advisory Council, and others. The report addresses the motivations for nations and non-state groups to obtain nuclear weapons and the routes they could follow in doing so. A balanced analysis of the policy options available for combatting the problem is presented. The options are arranged to correspond with the responses that follow from three different perceptions of the risks of proliferation relative to the need for nuclear energy: priority, non-proliferation priority, and shared priority.

The study concludes that the complex and difficult problem of proliferation is controllable only by hard and controversial choices Honorable Edward M. Kennedy Page Two

by many nations over which the U.S. has only limited influence. Within these limits, however, there are many options for reducing the probability of proliferation. The desirability of these options depends not only on their effectiveness and feasibility, but also on perceptions of the importance of non-proliferation relative to other national choices.

Proliferation has emerged as a major concern in both the Congress and the Executive Department. Several bills have already been introduced in Congress, and the President has elevated non-proliferation to one of his highest foreign policy objectives. The OTA report should prove useful to the Congress in its consideration of these bills.

Sincerely,

EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

Director

Enclosure - 1

# **Acknowledgments**

This report was prepared by the Office of Technology Assessment Energy Program Staff. The staff wishes to acknowledge the assistance and cooperation of the following contractors and consultants in the collection of information.

Jerry J. Cadwell
Barry M. Casper
Robert Clark
Thomas Cotton
L. Douglas DeNike
John Deutch
Warren H, Donnelly
Richard Garwin
Theodore Greenwood

The Hudson Institute Allan Krass John R. Lamarsh Barbara G. Levi Sarah J. Miller C. Bradley Moore Robert Mullen John N. O'Brien The Rand Corporation Jack Ruina Science Applications, Inc. O. F. Schuette Benjamin Snavely Stanford Research Institute Lorin Stieff Alan Westin

Task Force on Nuclear Weapons

J. Carson Mark, *Chairman*Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory

Thomas B. Cook Sandia Laboratories

George B. Kistiakowsky" Harvard University Robert W. Selden Lawrence Livermore University

Theodore B. Taylor\*
Princeton University

The following government agencies also provided assistance:

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

The Department of Defense

The Department of State

The Energy Research and Development Administration

The European Atomic Energy Community

The International Atomic Energy Agency

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission

<sup>\*</sup>Also a member of the advisory panel.

# Office of Technology Assessment

#### OTA ENERGY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Milton Katz, Ckairrnm Director, International Legal Studies, Harvard Law School

Thomas C. Ayers

President and Chairman

of the Board

Commonwealth Edison Company

Kenneth E. Boulding
Professor of Economics
Institute of Behavioral Science
University of Colorado

Eugene G. Fubini Fubini Consultants, Ltd.

Levi (J. M.) Leathers

Executive Vice President

Dow Chemical USA

Wassily Leontief

Department of Economics

New York University

George E. Mueller
President and Chairman of the Board
System Development Corporation

Gerard Piel
Publisher, Scientific American

John F. Redmond, Retired Shell Oil Company

John C. Sawhill
President
New York University

Chauncey Starr
President, Electric Power
Research Znstitute

OTA Nuclear Proliferation and Safeguards Project Staff

Lionel S. Johns, Energy Program Manager Alan T. Crane, Project Director A. Buyrn Marvin C. Ott

Support Staff

Linda Parker, Joanne Seder, Lisa Jacobson

#### NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND SAFEGUARDS ADVISORY PANEL

# Thomas L. Hughes, *Panel Chairman*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Frederick S. Carney
Southern Methodist Liniversity

Thomas B. Cochran
Natural Resources Defense Council

David D. Comey
Citizens for a Better Enviironment

Chester L. Cooper Institute for Energy Analysis

William A. Higinbotham Brookhaven National Laboratory

Leonid Hurwicz
University of Minnesota

George B. Kistiakowsky

Harvard University

George Quester Cornell *University*  Herbert Scoville Consultant

Henry De Wolf Smyth Princeton University

George J. Stathakis

General Electric Company

Theodore B. Taylor Princeton University

Alvin M. Weinberg Institute for Energy Analysis

Mason Willrich
University of Virginia

Cyrus R. Vance\*
Simpson, Thatcher & Bartlett

<sup>\*</sup>Resigned effective January 1, 1977

### **Preface**

This study has been undertaken in response to a request from the Senate Committee on Government Operations (now the Committee on Governmental Affairs) to help provide Congress with the capability to "independently evaluate the policymaking activities of our Government and other nations and be prepared to take legislative actions" with regard to nuclear proliferation and safeguards.

This report has been prepared by the Energy Program of OTA with the assistance of an advisory panel of 16 members from industry, Government, and academia, who have reviewed draft material for each section of the report and have periodically met to comment on the course of the study and provide guidance to the staff. The advisory panel provided advice and critique throughout the assessment, but does not necessarily approve, disapprove, or endorse the report, for which OTA assumes full responsibility.

The Technology Assessment Board approves the release of this report, which identifies a range of viewpoints on a significant issue facing the U.S. Congress. The views expressed in this report are not necessarily those of the Board, OTA Advisory Council, or of individual members thereof.