

Module 6: Nuclear Arsenals

ACDIS program in arms control & domestic and international security



ILLINOIS | COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS & SCIENCES

LAS GLOBAL STUDIES

Phys 280 Session 17

Module 6 – Nuclear Arsenals

1. RE4v1 due tomorrow, 3-29 at midnight



Impact Technology Has on Evolution of Nuclear Arsenals

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

strategic stability: The burstheight compensating super-fuze

Hans M. Kristensen, Matthew McKinzie, Theodore A. Postol

The US nuclear forces modernization program has been portrayed to the public as an effort to ensure the reliability and safety of warheads in the US nuclear arsenal, rather than to enhance their military capabilities. In reality, however, that program has implemented revolutionary new technologies that will vastly increase the targeting capability of the US ballistic missile arsenal. This increase in capability is astonishing—boosting the overall killing power of existing US ballistic missile forces by a factor of roughly three—and it creates exactly what one would expect to see, if a nuclear-armed state were planning to have the capacity to fight and win a nuclear war by disarming enemies with a surprise first strike.



<u>(/bio/hans-m-</u> <u>kristensen)</u>

<u>HANS M. KRISTENSEN</u> (/BIO/HANS-M-KRISTENSEN)

Kristensen is the director of the Nuclear Information Project with the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) in Washington, DC. His work

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

How US nuclear force modernization is undermining strategic stability: The burstheight compensating super-fuze

Hans M. Kristensen, Matthew McKinzie, Theodore A. Postol

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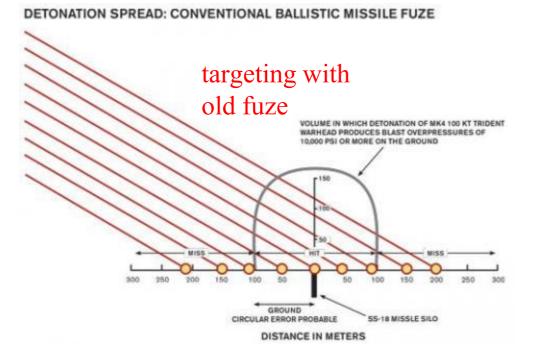
<u>(/bio/hans-m-</u> <u>kristensen)</u>

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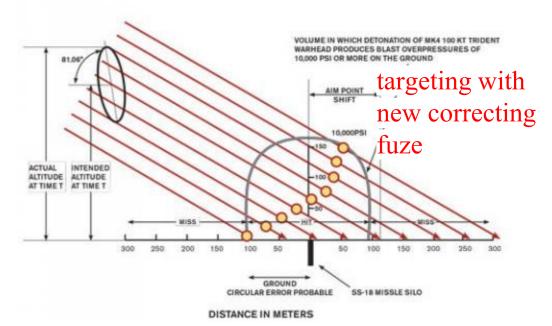
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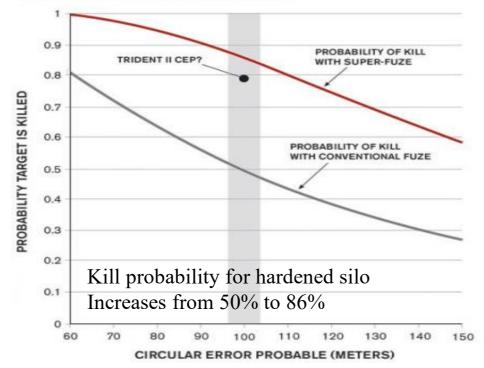
Impact Technology Has on Evolution of Nuclear Arsenals



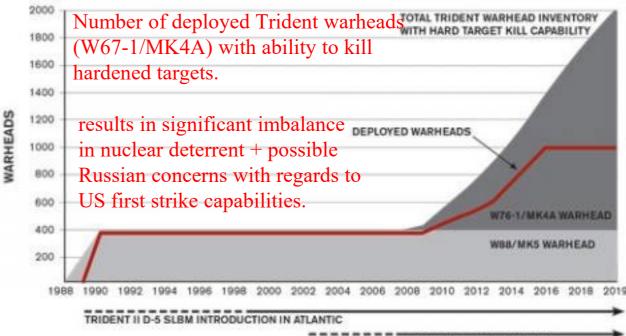
DETONATION SPREAD: SUPER-FUZE



100 KT LOW AIR-BURSTS, 10,000 PSI TARGET (MK4 OR MK4A WARHEAD FUZE)

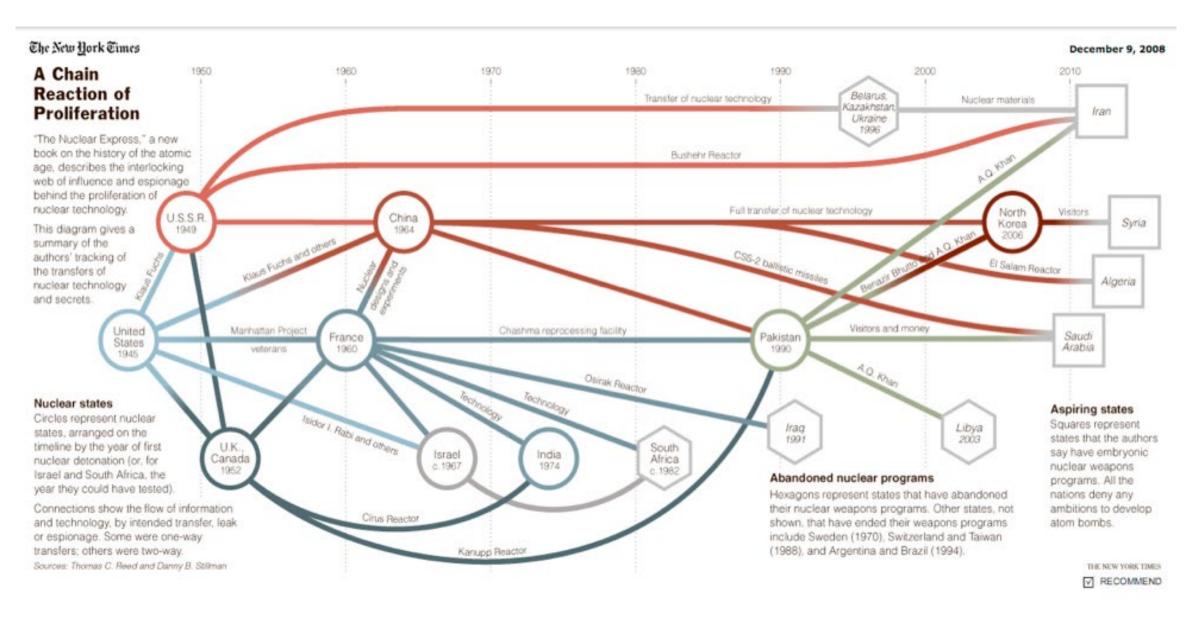


HARD TARGET KILL-CAPABLE WARHEADS ON US BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES



TRIDENT II D-5 SLBM INTRODUCTION IN PACIFIC

Chain of Proliferation

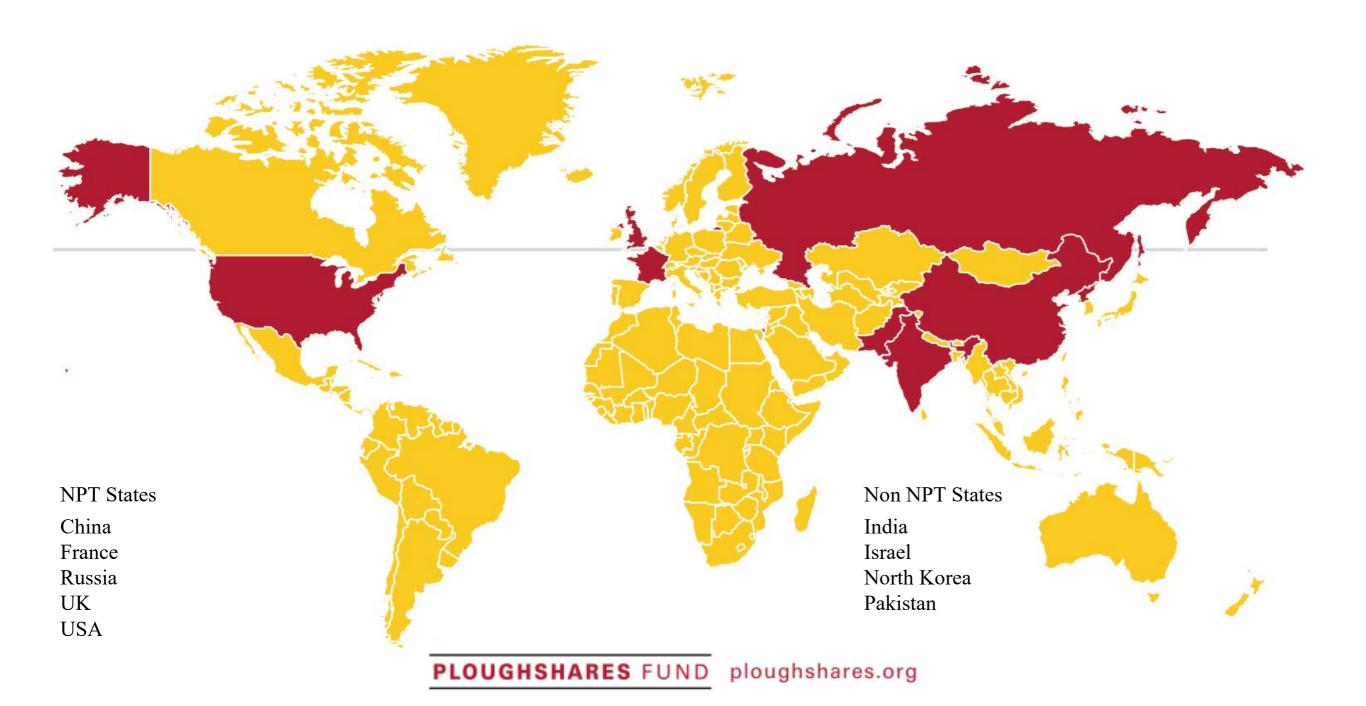


This article has been revised to reflect the following correction:

Correction: December 15,2008

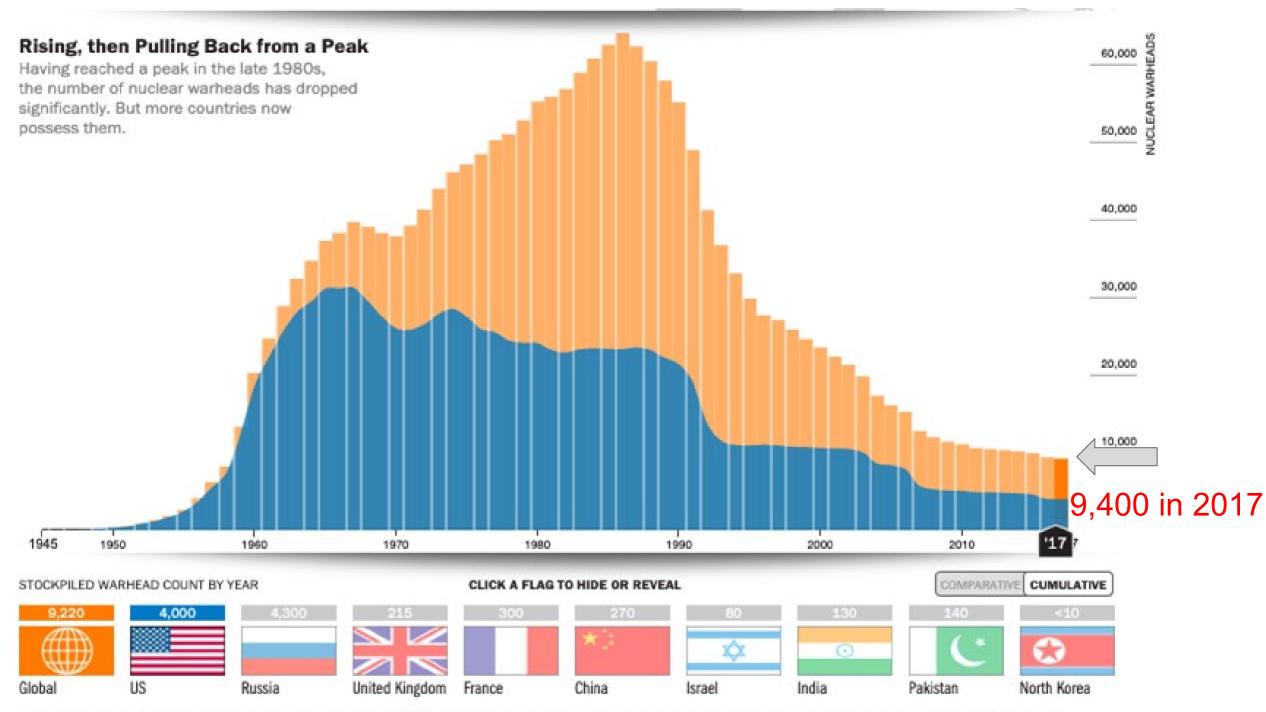
A chart last Tuesday with an article about the proliferation of the atomic bomb, showing the exchange of nuclear information and technology between countries, misidentified the type of reactor that India acquired from Canada, which allowed India to make fuel for its first nuclear test. It was a CIRUS reactor, not a Candu reactor.

States With Nuclear Weapons in 2019





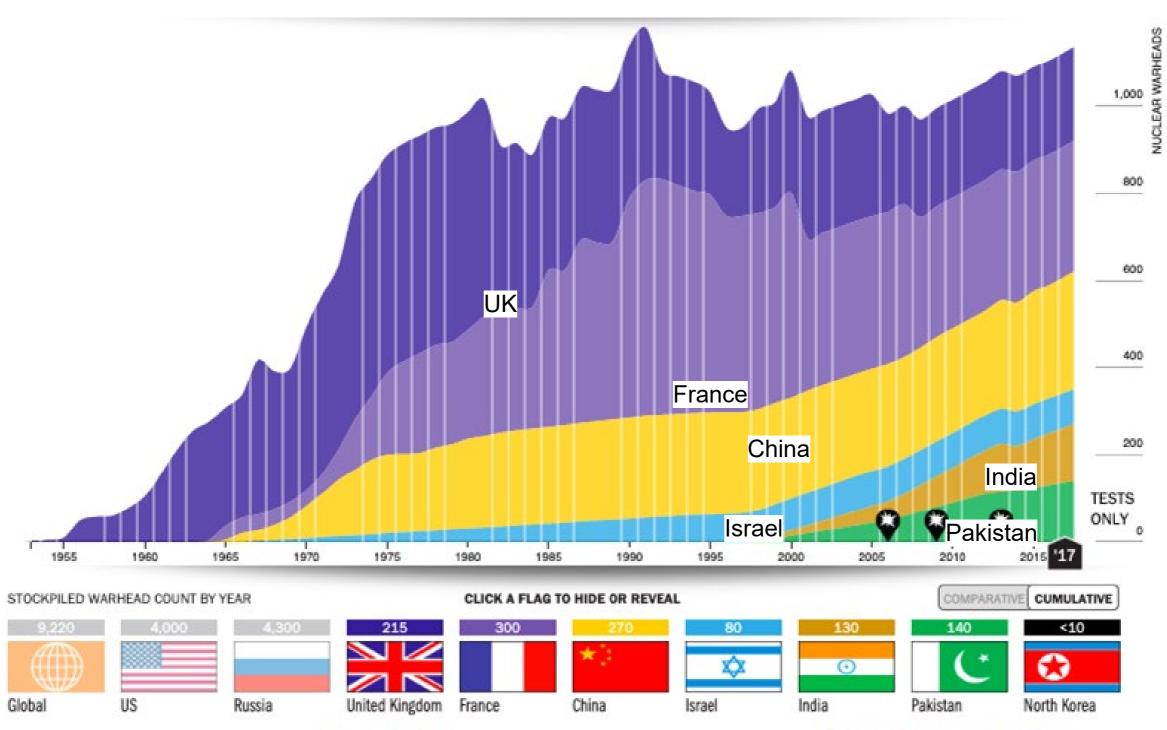
Nuclear Weapons Stockpiles 1945-2017



Source: The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists' Nuclear Notebook, written by Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, Federation of American Scientists

9,330 Nuclear weapons in Military Stockpiles in 2019

World Nuclear Weapons Stockpile 1945-2017



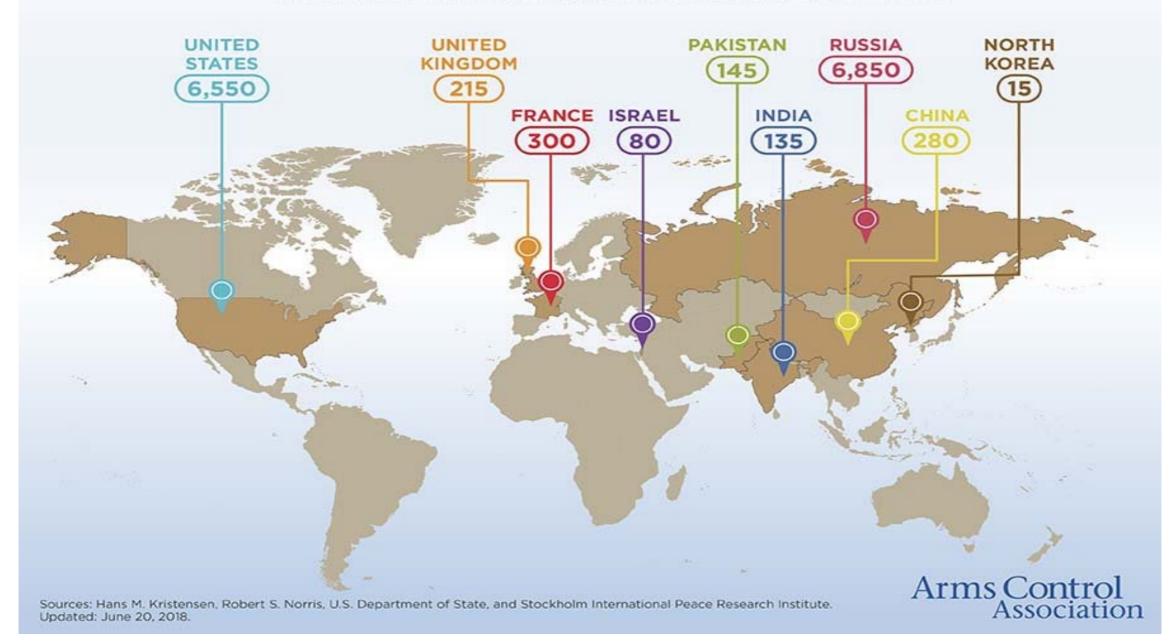
Source: The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists' Nuclear Notebook, written by Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, Federation of American Scientists



Arms Control Association 2018 estimate

2018 ESTIMATED GLOBAL NUCLEAR WARHEAD INVENTORIES

The world's nuclear-armed states possess a combined total of roughly 15,000 nuclear warheads; more than 90 percent belong to Russia and the United States. Approximately 9,600 warheads are in military service, with the rest awaiting dismantlement.

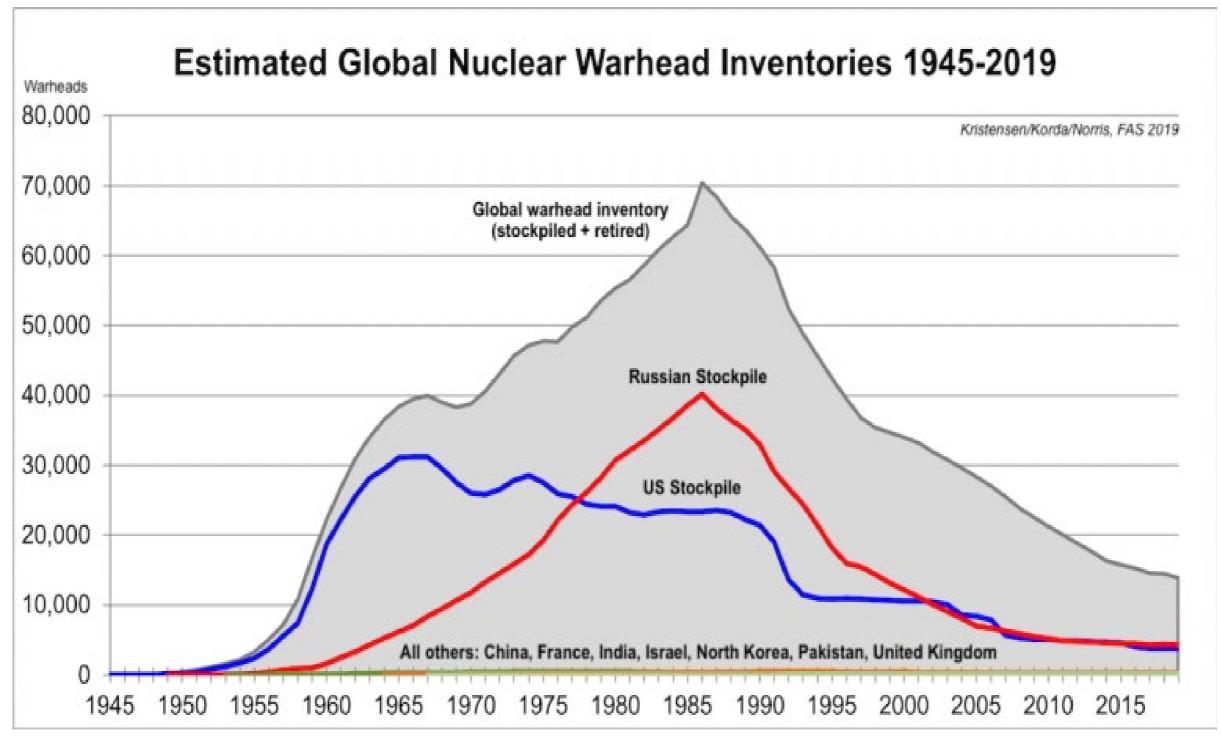


Breakdown of the Nuclear Weapons Stockpile (2019)





World Nuclear Weapons Stockpile 1945-2019



Source: Federation of Atomic Scientists, Nuclear Notebook, Hans Kristensen



Global Nuclear Weapon Inventory 2019 (Important)

	lear Weapon States tal Weapons)	Non-NPT Nuclear Weapon States (Total Weapons)		
China:	~ 290	Pakistan:	~ 140-150	
France:	~ 300	Israel:	~ 80	
Russia:	~ 4,330	India:	~ 130-140	
UK:	~ 215	North Korea	a: ~ 20-30	
	0.000			

US: ~ 3,800

Source: Status of World Nuclear Forces, Written by Hans M. Kristensen and Matt Korda, Federation of American Scientists



2019 Breakdown of Nuclear Forces

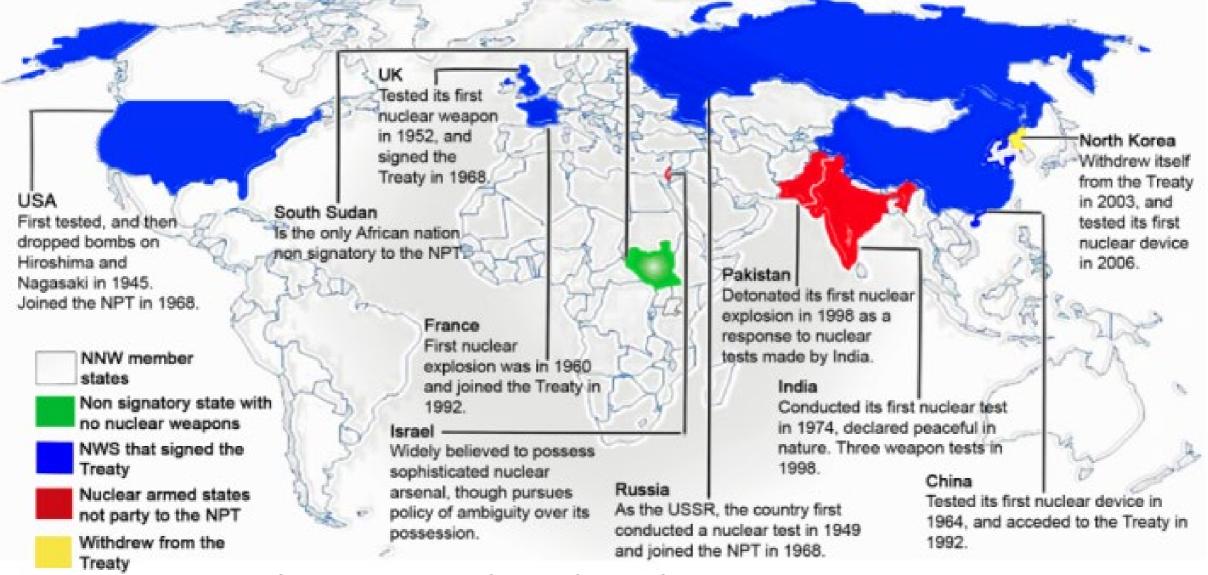
Status of World Nuclear Forces 2019*						
Country	Deployed Strategic	Deployed Nonstrategi c	Reserve/ Nondeploye d	Military Stockpile	Total Inventory	
Russia	1,600 <i>c</i>	0 <i>d</i>	2,730e	4,330	6,500 <i>f</i>	
United States	1,600 <i>g</i>	150 <i>h</i>	2,050 <i>i</i>	3,800 <i>j</i>	6,185 <i>k</i>	
France	280/	n.a.	20/	300	300	
China	0 <i>m</i>	?	290	290	290 <i>m</i>	
United Kingdom	120 <i>n</i>	n.a.	95	215	215 <i>n</i>	
Israel	0	n.a.	80	80	800	
Pakistan	0	n.a.	140-150	140-150	140-150 <i>p</i>	
India	0	n.a.	130-140	130-140	130-140 <i>q</i>	
North Korea	0	n.a.	?	20-30	20-30 <i>r</i>	
Total:	~3,600	~150	~5,555	~9,330	~13,890	



Source: Federation of American Scientists "Status of World Nuclear Forces"

Non-Proliferation Treaty Map

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Map



Source: British American Security Information Council



Nuclear Warheads on Alert (2017)

Estimated Nuclear Alert Forces, 2017

Country	Stockpiled Warheads	Alert Warheads	
United States	4,000	852	21% of Stockpile on Alert ICBMs: 392, SSBNs: 460
Russia	4,300	897	21% of Stockpile on Alert ICBMs: 686, SSBNs: 211
France	300	80 ^a	27% of Stockpile on Alert SSBNs: 80
Britain	215	40ª	19% of Stockpile on Alert SSBNs: 40
China	270	0	Warheads are not mated with delivery systems
Pakistan	140	0	Warheads are not mated with delivery systems
India	120	0	Warheads are not mated with delivery systems
Israel	80	0	Warheads are not mated with delivery systems
North Korea	(10-20)	(0)	Warheads are not mated with delivery sysyems
Total	9,425 ^b	1,869	

Source: Hans Kristensen, FAS, Alert Status of Nuclear Weapons



Arms Control Agreements

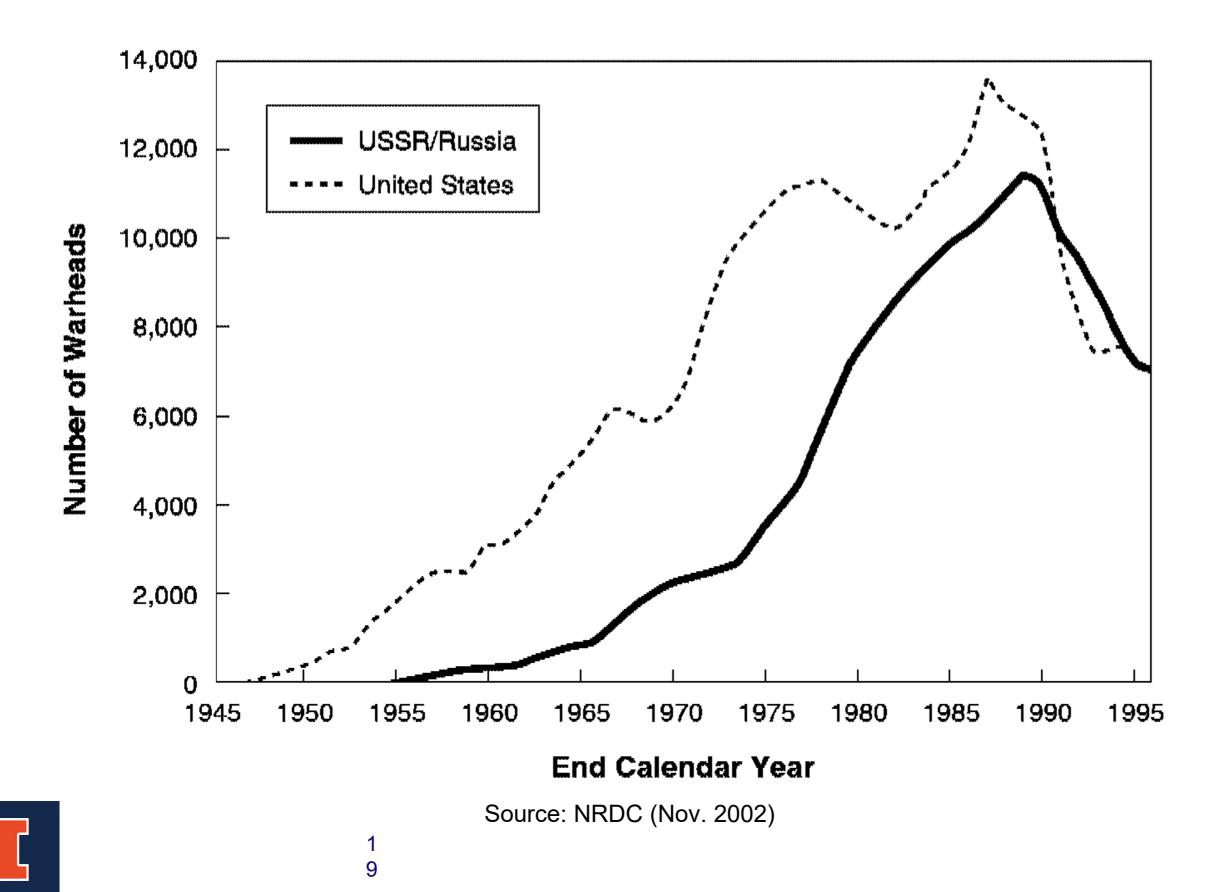
	Strategic N Abandoned by the US and Russia in Feb 1st, 2019							
	SALT I	SALT II	INF Treaty	START I	START II	START III	SORT	New START
Status	Expired	Never Entered Into Force	In Force*	Expired	Never Entered Into Force	Never Negotiated	Replaced by New START	In Force
Deployed Warhead Limit	N/A	N/A	N/A	6,000	3,000- 3,500	2,000- 2,500	1,700- 2,200	1,550
Deployed Delivery Vehicle Limit	US: 1,710 ICBMs & SLBMs USSR: 2,347	2,250	Prohibits ground- based missiles of 500- 5,500 km range	1,600	N/A	N/A	N/A	700
Date Signed	May 26, 1972	June 18, 1979	Dec. 8, 1987	July 31, 1991	Jan. 3, 1993	N/A	May 24, 2002	April 8, 2010
Date Ratifed, U.S.	Aug. 3, 1972	N/A	May 28, 1988	Oct. 1, 1992	Jan. 26, 1996	N/A	March 6, 2003	Dec. 22, 2010
Ratification Vote, U.S.	88-2	N/A	93-6	93-6	87-4	N/A	95-0	71-26
Date Entered Into Force	Oct. 3, 1972	N/A	June 1, 1988	Dec. 5, 1994	N/A	N/A	June 1, 2003	Feb. 5, 2011
Implementation Deadline	N/A	N/A	June 1, 1991	Dec. 5, 2001	N/A	N/A	N/A	Feb. 5, 2018
Expiration Date	Oct. 3, 1977	N/A	unlimited duration	Dec. 5, 2009	N/A	N/A	Feb. 5, 2011	Feb. 5, 2021**

Source: Arms Control Association "Strategic Nuclear Arms Control Agreements"

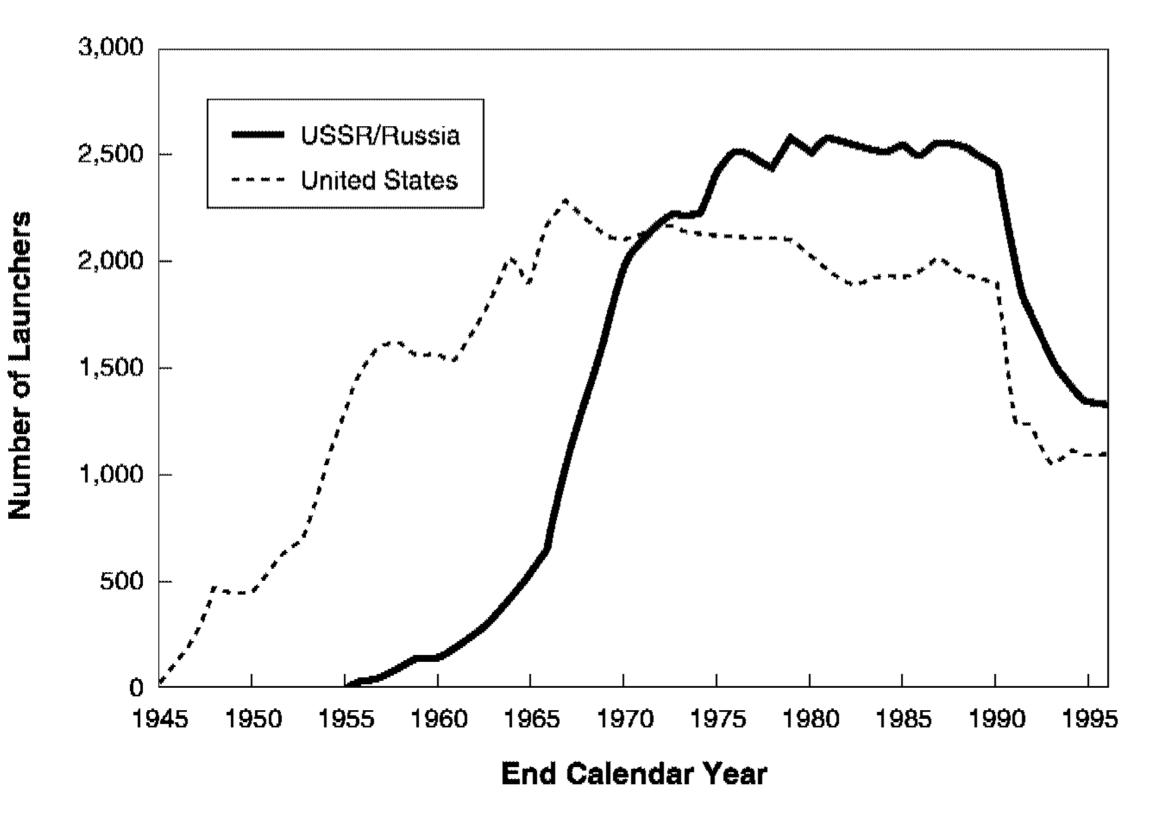
Module 6: Arsenals



Evolution of US and SU-Russian Strategic Nuclear Warhead Numbers

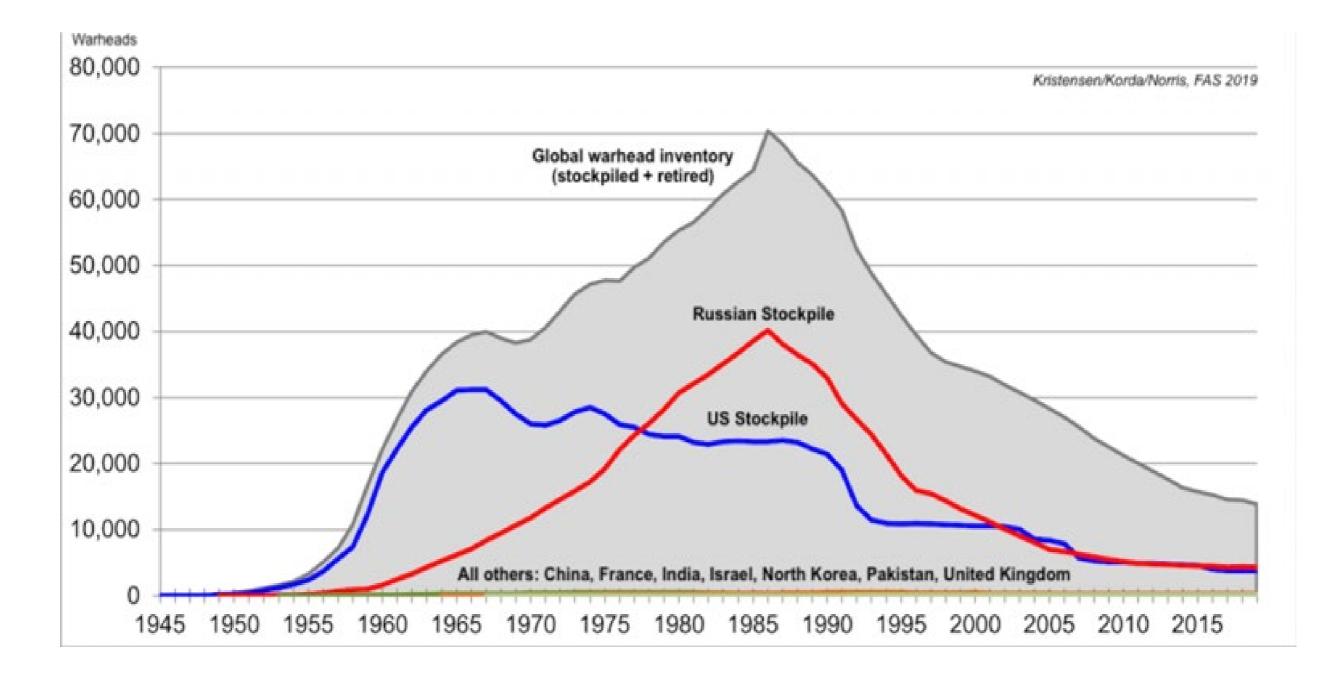


Evolution of US and SU-Russian Strategic Nuclear Launcher Numbers



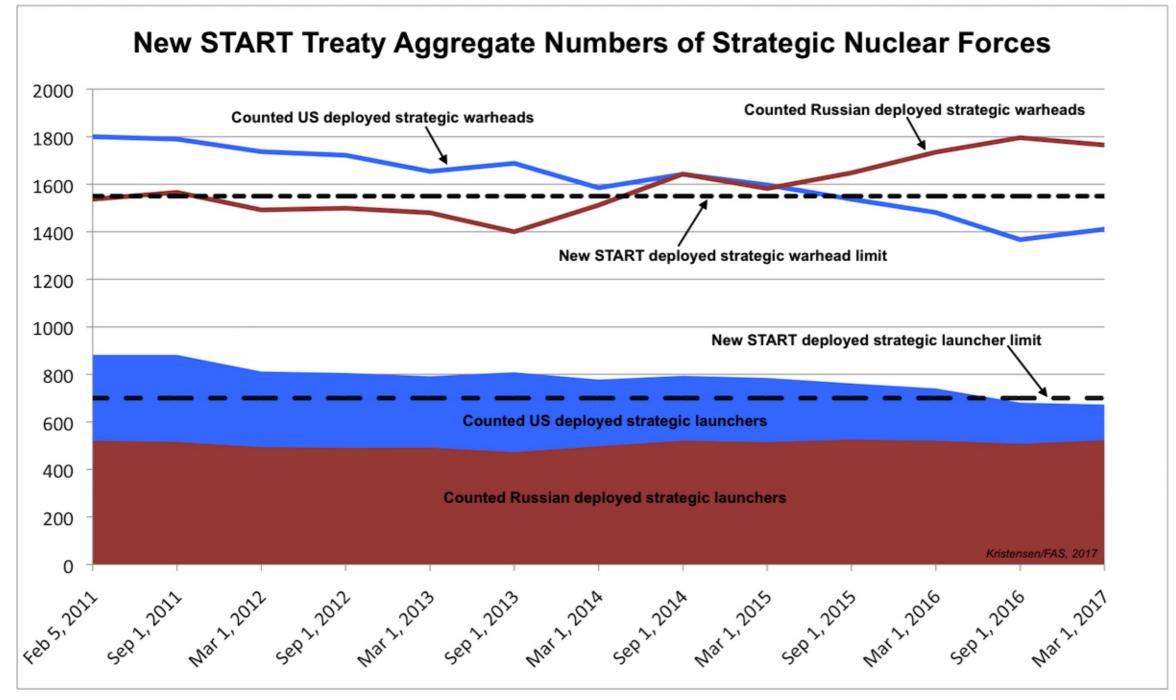
Source: NRDC (Nov. 2002)

Evolution of US and SU-Russian Nuclear Stockpiles (2019)





US and Russian Warheads after New START



Source: Federation of American Scientists



U.S. and Russian "Tactical" Weapons in Europe

- The U.S. is thought to have 150 tactical nuclear weapons based in Europe, in the form of aerial bombs.
- Most are based in Italy and Turkey, but some are based in Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands.
- Russia is thought to have about 2,000 operational "tactical" nuclear weapons in its arsenal.
- At the peak in 1971, 7100 U.S. tactical weapons were stationed in Europe: removed for concerns with regards to decision process of escalating conventional conflict and for security risks arising from political terrorism in Europe.



Evolution of US SSBN Nuclear Forces

SSBN Forces	2000	2001	2002	2007*	2012**	
SSBNs						
Trident [3]	18	18	18	14	14	
Total SSBNs	18	18	18	14	14	
SLBM Launchers						
Trident with C4 [9]	192	168	168			
Trident with D5 [10]	240	264	264	336	336	
Total Launchers	432	432	432	336	336	
SLBM Warheads						
W76 (C-4) [<u>14]</u>	1536	1008	1008			
W76 (D-5)	1536	1728	1728	1560	1300	
W88 (D-5) [<u>15]</u>	384	384	384	384	380	
Total Warheads	3456	3120	3120	1944	1680	

Source: NRDC



Evolution of US ICBM Nuclear Forces

ICBM Forces	2000	2001	2002	2007*	2012**		
Launchers							
MINUTEMAN III [8]	500	500	500	500	500		
MX (PEACEKEEPER) [9]	50	50	50	50	50		
Total Launchers	550	550	550	550	550		
ICBM Deployed V	ICBM Deployed Warheads						
W62 (MM III) [16]	600	300	300	0	0		
W78 (MM III) [17]	900	900	900	300	300		
W87 (MX) [18]	500	500	500	200	200		
Total (Deployed)	2000	1700	1700	500	500		

Source: NRDC



2018 Estimate of US Forces Under New START

Table 2. U.S. Strategic Nuclear Forces under New START

	Est	timated Forces, 2	010	Planned F	orces Under Nev	v START*
-		Launchers	Warheads	Total Launchers	Deployed Launchers	Warheads
CBM	Minuteman III	399	N/A	454	400	400
LBM	Trident	212	N/A	280	240	1,090
omber	B-52	38		46	42	42
	B-2	11	49	20	18	18
	Total	660	1393	800	700	1,550

(Estimated Current Forces and Potential New START Forces)

Source for 2018 data: US Strategic Forces Uncer New Start (2018), Arms Control Association

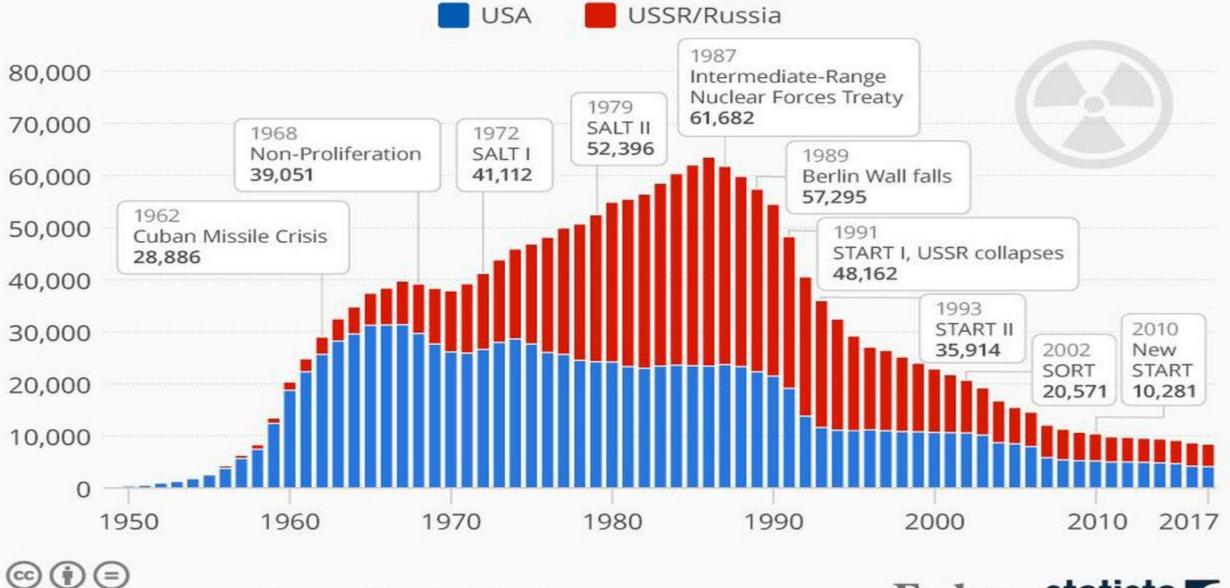
Nuclear Triad	Туре
Land	ICBM
Air	Bomber
Sea	SLBM



US and Russian Nuclear Evolution

How U.S. And Russian Nuclear Arsenals Evolved

Stockpiled nuclear warhead count by year



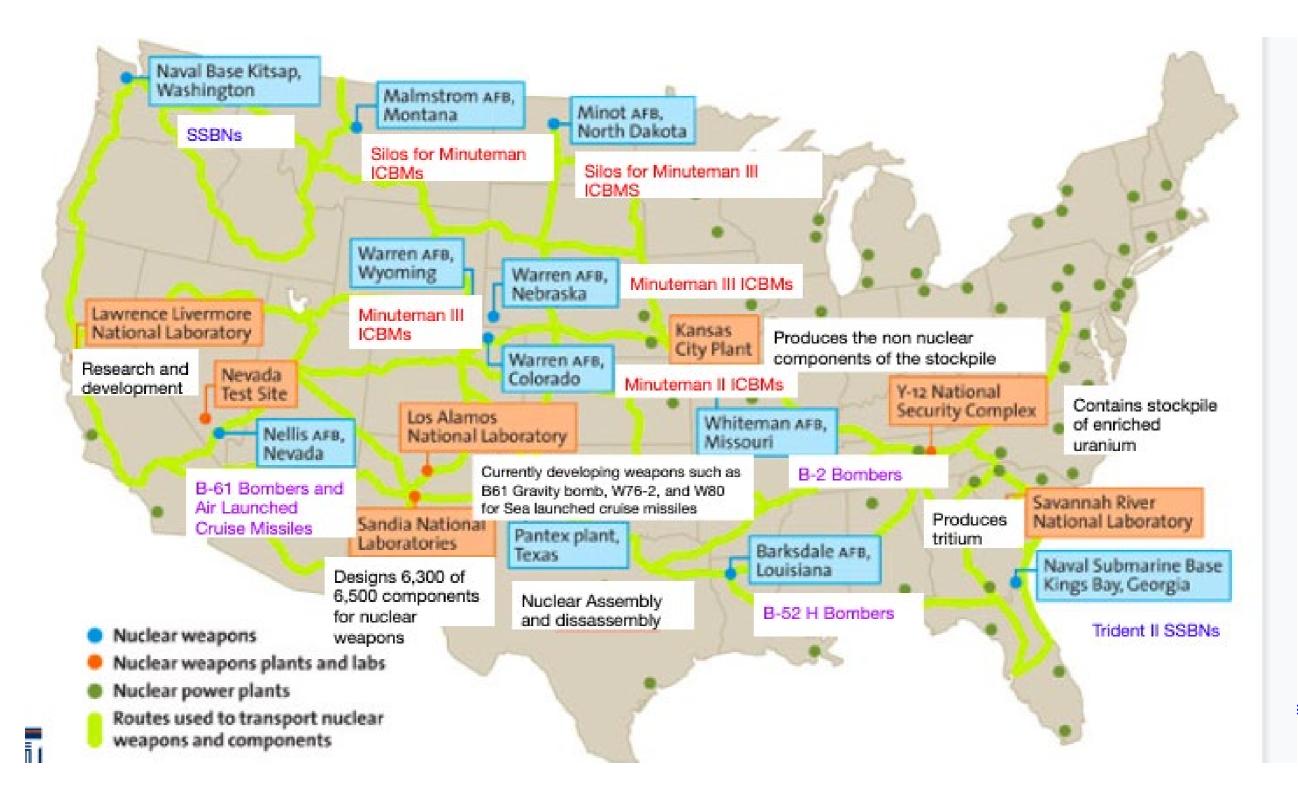
@StatistaCharts Source: Federation of American Scientists

Forbes statista

Source: Information: Federation of American Scientists Chart: Statista



Nuclear Labs, Plants, and Weapons locations (2017)





Specific Warheads at Each Nuclear Weapons Facility (2019)

Rank	State/Country	Warheads	Remarks
United States			
1	New Mexico	2,485ª	Kirtland Underground Munitions and Maintenance Storage Complex (KUMMSC) Occasionally at Los Alamos National Laboratory Occasionally at Sandia National Laboratories
2	Washington	1,620 ^b	Strategic Weapons Facility Pacific (SWFPAC) Naval Submarine Base Kitsap (SSBNs)
3	Georgia	1,100 ^c	Strategic Weapons Facility Atlantic (SWFLANT) Naval Submarine Base Kings Bay (SSBNs)
4	North Dakota	350	91 st Missile Wing silos for Minuteman III ICBMs Minot AFB weapons storage area (ICBMs/B-52s)
5	Montana	150	341 st Missile Wing silos for Minuteman III ICBMs Malmstrom AFB weapons storage area
6	Missouri	100	Whiteman AFB weapons storage area
7	Texas	80	Pantex Plant (warhead assembly and dismantlement) ^d
8	Nebraska	72	90 th Missile Wing silos for Minuteman III ICBMs
9	Colorado	44	90 th Missile Wing silos for Minuteman III ICBMs
10	Wyoming	34	90 th Missile Wing silos for Minuteman III ICBMs F.E. Warren AFB weapons storage area
11	California	few	Occasionally at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory
Europe			
1	Turkey	50	Incirlik AB weapons storage vaults ^e
2	Italy	40	Aviano AB weapons storage vaults Ghedi AB weapon storage vaults
3	Belgium Germany Holland	20 20 20	Kleine Brogel AB weapon storage vaults Büchel AB weapon storage vaults Volkel AB weapon storage vaults



Source: Hans M. Kristensen and Matt Korda, United States Nuclear Forces (2019), Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

Phys 280 Session 18

Module 6 – Nuclear Arsenals





By David Ljunggren

Putin says Moscow to place nuclear weapons in Belarus, US reacts cautiously

PERMINANCE PERMINANCE

[1/2] Russian President Vladimir Putin and Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko observe training launches of ballistic missiles as part of the exercise of the strategic deterrence force, in Moscow, Russia February 19, 2022. Sputnik/Aleksey Nikolskyi/Kremlin via REUTERS **Read less**

March 25 (Reuters) - Russia will station tactical nuclear weapons in Belarus, President Vladimir Putin said on Saturday, sending a warning to NATO over its military support for Ukraine and escalating a standoff with the West.

Although not <u>unexpected</u> and while Putin said the move would not violate nuclear non-proliferation promises, it is one of the Russia's most pronounced nuclear signals since the beginning of its invasion of Ukraine 13 months ago.

The United States - the world's other nuclear superpower has reacted cautiously to Putin's statement, with a senior administration official saying there were no signs Moscow planned to use its nuclear weapons.

Putin likened his plans to the U.S. stationing its weapons in Europe and said that Russia would not be transferring control to Belarus. But this could be the first time since the mid-1990s that Russia were to base such weapons outside the country.

"There is nothing unusual here either: firstly, the United States has been doing this for decades. They have long deployed their tactical nuclear weapons on the territory of their allied countries," Putin told state television.



"We agreed that we will do the same - without violating our obligations, I emphasize, without violating our international obligations on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons."



Putin says Moscow to place nuclear weapons in Belarus, US reacts cautiously

By David Ljunggren

Putin did not specify when the weapons would be transferred to Belarus, which has borders with three NATO members - Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. He said Russia would complete the construction of a storage facility there by July 1.

"This is part of Putin's game to try to intimidate NATO ... because there is no military utility from doing this in Belarus as Russia has so many of these weapons and forces inside Russia," said Hans Kristensen, director of the nuclear information project at the Federation of American Scientists.

It was also unclear where in Belarus the weapons would be stationed. The transfer would expand Russia's nuclear strike ability along NATO's eastern border.

Putin said that Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko had long requested the deployment. There was no immediate reaction from Lukashenko.

"We are not handing over (the weapons). And the U.S. does not hand (them) over to its allies. We're basically doing the same thing they've been doing for a decade," Putin said.

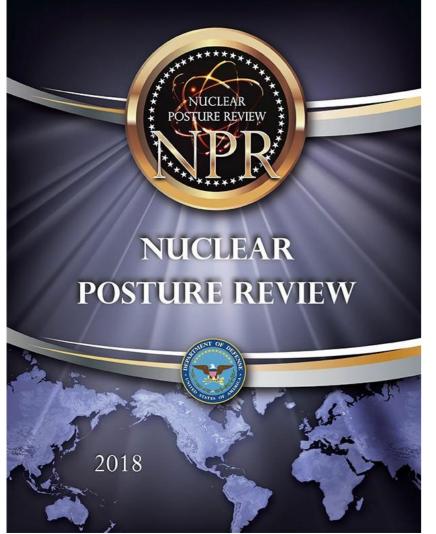
"They have allies in certain countries and they train ... their crews. We are going to do the same thing." Russia has stationed 10 aircraft in Belarus capable of carrying tactical nuclear weapons, Putin said, adding that it had already transferred to Belarus a number of Iskander tactical missile systems that can launch nuclear weapons.



. . .

2018 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review

https://media.defense.gov/2018/Feb/02/2001872877/-1/-1/1/EXECUTIVE-SUMMARY.PDF



The highest U.S. nuclear policy and strategy priority is to deter potential adversaries from nuclear attack of any scale. However, deterring nuclear attack is not the sole purpose of nuclear weapons. Given the diverse threats and profound uncertainties of the current and future threat environment, U.S. nuclear forces play the following critical roles in U.S. national security strategy. They contribute to the:

- > Deterrence of nuclear and non-nuclear attack;
- > Assurance of allies and partners;
- > Achievement of U.S. objectives if deterrence fails; and
- > Capacity to hedge against an uncertain future.

These roles are complementary and interrelated, and the adequacy of U.S. nuclear forces must be assessed against each role and the strategy designed to fulfill it. Preventing proliferation and denying terrorists access to finished weapons, material, or expertise are also key considerations in the elaboration of U.S. nuclear policy and requirements. These multiple roles and objectives constitute the guiding pillars for U.S. nuclear policy and requirements.

2022 NPR published in October 2022

- → Deterrence, Assurance, Achievement of Objectives if deterrence fails
- ➔ No nuclear threat to NPT non-nuclear weapons states
- → Commitment to nuclear weapons modernization program



2018 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review on Tactical Weapons in Europe

Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons

During the Cold War, the United States possessed large numbers and a wide range of non-strategic nuclear weapons, also known as theater or tactical nuclear weapons. However, we have since retired and dismantled almost all of those weapons. Current U.S. non-strategic nuclear forces consist exclusively of B61 gravity bombs carried by F-15E DCA, supported by responsive air refueling aircraft. Several NATO allies also provide DCA capable of delivering U.S. forward-deployed nuclear weapons. The forthcoming B61-12 gravity bomb will replace earlier versions of the B61, and be available for these DCA beginning in 2021.

U.S. and NATO DCA, together with U.S. gravity bombs, are forward deployed in European NATO countries. Their forward presence contributes significantly to the deterrence of potential adversaries and the assurance of allies. Their presence is a clear deterrence signal to any potential



Sandia National Laboratory mechanical engineer adjusts a microphone for an acoustic text on a B-61-12 system.

adversary that the United States possesses the forward-deployed capability to respond to escalation. If necessary, the United States has the ability to deploy DCA and nuclear weapons to other regions, such as Northeast Asia.

Source: 2019 Nuclear Posture Review

Russian Nuclear Laboratory and Stockpile Locations



Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Deadly Arsenals (2002), www.ceip.org



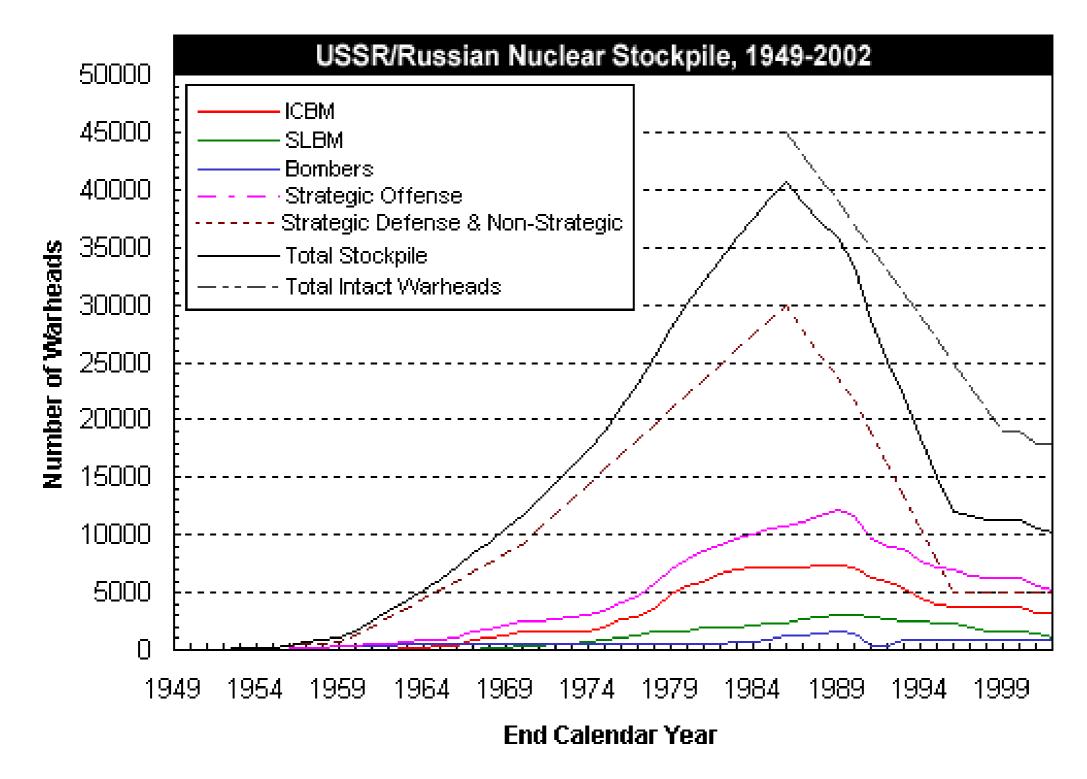
Russian ICBM locations







SU-Russian Nuclear Warheads



Source: NRDC (Nov. 2002)



Russian Nuclear Forces ICBMs (2019)

	Russian		Year	Warheads	Total
Type/name	Designation	Launchers	Deployed	x yield (kilotons)	Warheads
Strategic offensive weapons					
ICBMs					
SS-18 M6 Satan	RS-20V	46	1988	10 × 500/800 (MIRV)	460ª
SS-19 M3 Stiletto	RS-18 (UR-100NUTTH)	20 ^b	1980	6 × 400 (MIRV)	120 ^c
SS-19 M4	? (Avangard)	-	(2019)	$1 \times HGV$	-
SS-25 Sickle	RS-12M (Topol)	63	1988	1 × 800	63 ^d
SS-27 Mod 1 (mobile)	RS-12M1 (Topol-M)	18	2006	1 × 800?	18
SS-27 Mod 1 (silo)	RS-12M2 (Topol-M)	60	1997	1 × 800	60
SS-27 Mod 2 (mobile)	RS-24 (Yars)	99	2010	4 × 100? (MIRV)	396°
SS-27 Mod 2 (silo)	RS-24 (Yars)	12	2014	4 × 100? (MIRV)	48
SS-X-27 Mod ? (rail)	Barguzin	-	-	4 × 100? (MIRV)	-
SS-X-28 (mobile)	RS-26 (Yars-M)	-	-	4 × 100? (MIRV)	-
SS-X-29 (silo)	RS-28 (Sarmat)	-	(2020)	10 × 500? (MIRV)	-
Subtotal		318			1165 ^r

Source: Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Russian Nuclear Forces (2019), Hans Kristensen and Robert Norris



Russian Nuclear Forces Cont. (2019)

Type/Name	De	esignation	Lau s	Incher	Yea Dep	ar bloyed	War	head Yield	total	
SLBMs										
SS-N-18 M1 Stingray		RSM-50		1/16		1978		3 × 50 (MIRV)		48 ⁹
SS-N-23 M1		RSM-54 (Sineva)		6/96		2007		$4 \times 100 (MIRV)^{h}$		384 ⁱ
SS-N-32		RSM-56 (Bulava)		3/48		2014		6 × 100 (MIRV)		288 ^j
Subtotal		10/160 ^k								720 ⁱ
Bombers/weapons										
Bear-H6		Tu-95 MS6		25		1984		6 × AS-15A ALCMs, bombs	i	150
Bear-H16		Tu-95 MS16		30		1984		16 × AS-15A ALCMs, bomb	S	480
Blackjack		Tu-160		13		1987		12 × AS-15B ALCMs		156
Subtotal				68 ^m						786 ⁿ
Subtotal strategic offensive forces				546°						~2,670°

Source: Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Russian Nuclear Forces (2019), Hans Kristensen and Robert Norris



Russian Nuclear Forces Cont. (2019)

Type/Name	Designation	Launchers	Year Deployed	Warhead Yield	total
Nonstrategic and defensive weapons					
ABM/Air/Coastal defense					
S-300/S-400 (SA-20/SA-21)		~1000	1992/2007	$1 \times low$	~290
53T6 Gazelle		68	1986	1 × 10	68 ⁹
SSC-1B Sepal (Redut)		8"	1973	1 × 350	4
SSC-5 Stooge (SS-N-26) (K-300P/3M-55)		48	2015	$(1 \times 10)^{s}$	24
Land-based air					
Bombers/fighters (Tu-22M3/Su-24M/Su-34/ MiG-31K)		300	1974/2006/1983	ASMs, bombs	~530
Ground-based					
SS-21 Scarab SSM (9K79, Tochka)		12	1981	1 × 10-100	5
SS-26 Stone SSM (9K720, Iskander-M)		132	2005	1 × 10-100	66
SSC-7 GLCM (9M728) ^t					
SSC-8 GLCM (9M729)"		16 ^v	2017	1 × 10-100	16
Naval					
Submarines/surface ships/air				LACM, SLCM, ASW, SAM, DB, torpedoes	820
Subtotal nonstrategic and defensive forces					~1,820"
Total					~4,490×
Deployed					1,600
Reserve					2,890
Retired warheads awaiting dismantlement					2,000
Total inventory					6,490



Source: Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Russian Nuclear Forces (2019), Hans Kristensen and Robert Norris

Recent Evolution of Russian Nuclear Forces

Evolution of Russian total warheads is very similar to the evolution of US nuclear forces (because of START and New START limits).

Unlike the US, for geopolitical reasons Russia deploys more warheads on its ICBMs than on its SLBMs.



Russian Nuclear Forces



Russian SS-27 Road-Mobile Launcher



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Module 6:Arsenals

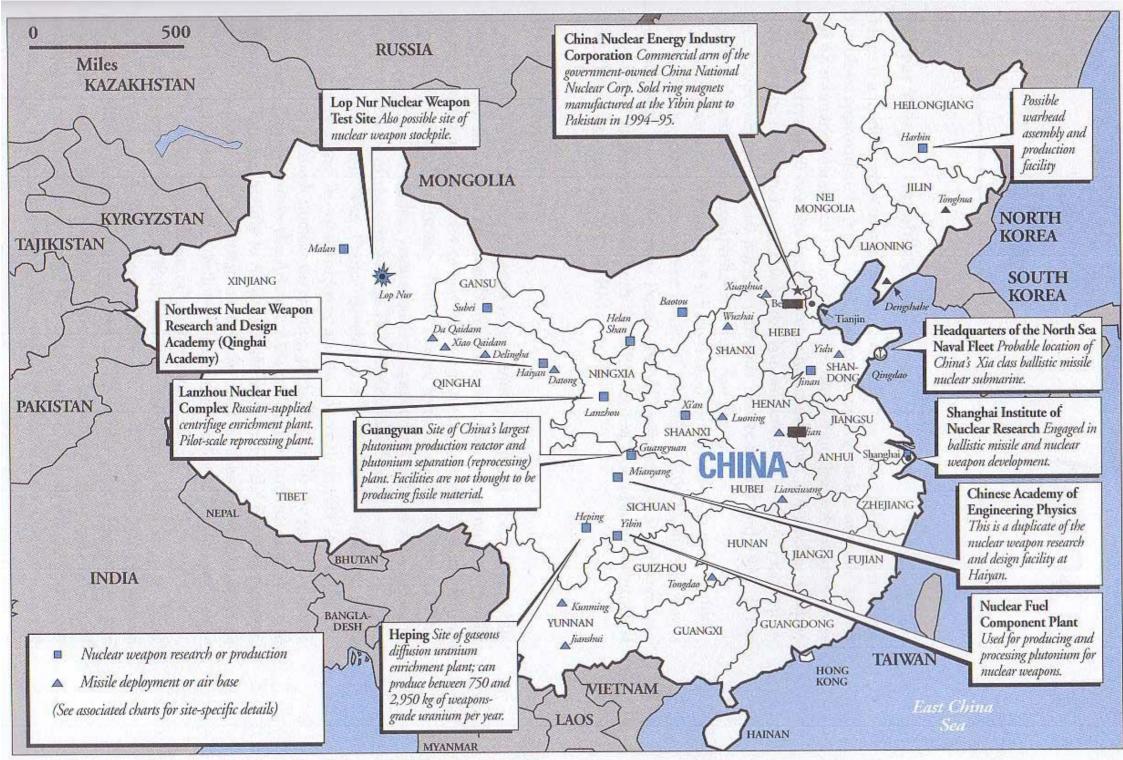
ACDIS program in arms control & domestic and international security



LAS GLOBAL STUDIES

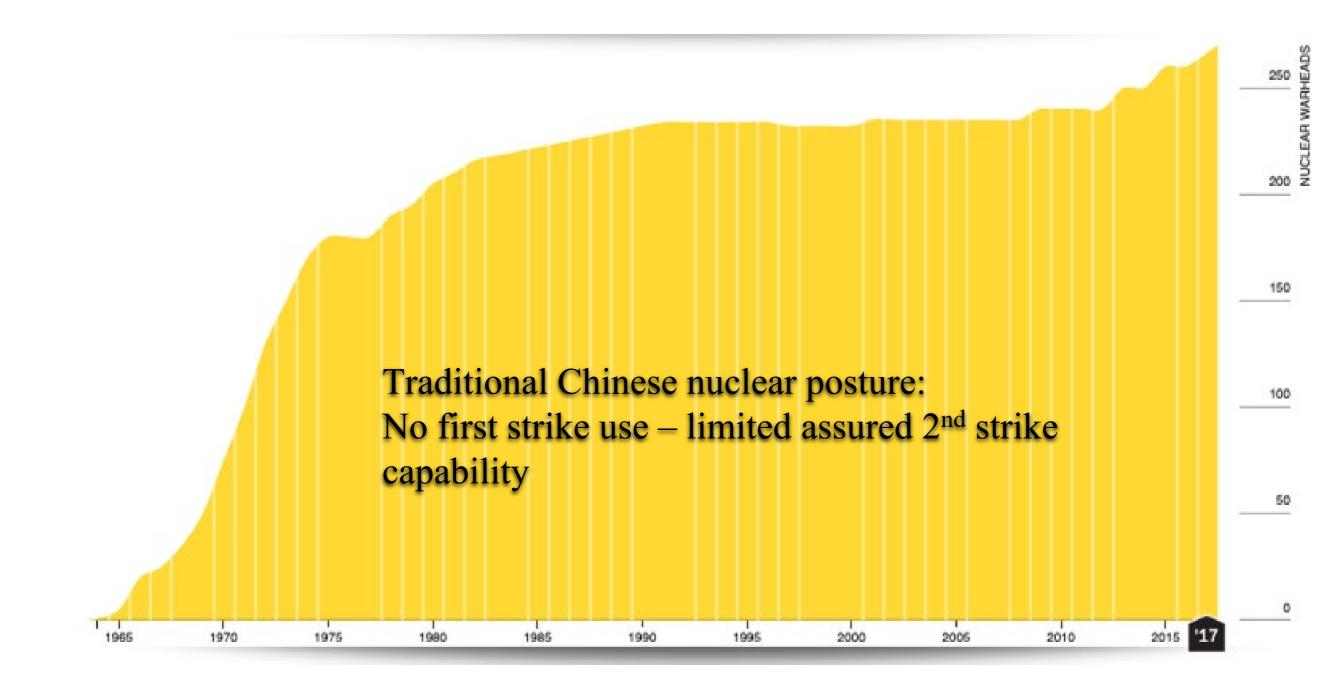


China's Nuclear Infrastructure



Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Deadly Arsenals (2002), www.ceip.org

Total Chinese Nuclear Warheads 1945-2017



Source: The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist Nuclear Notebook, written by Hans M Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, Federation of American Scientists



Chinese Nuclear Forces (2018)

Туре	NATO designation	Number of launchers	Year deployed	Range (kilometers)	Warhead x yield ^a (kilotons)	Number of warheads
Land-based ballistic missiles						
sDF-4	CSS-3	~5	1980	5,500+	1 x 3,300	~10
DF-5A	CSS-4 Mod 2	~10	1981	13,000+	1 x 4,000-5,000	~10
DF-5B	CSS-4 Mod 3	~10	2015	~13,000	3 x 200-300	~30
DF-15	CSS-6	?	1990	600	1 x ?	? ^b
DF-21	CSS-5 Mods 2, 6	~40	1991, 2000, 2016	2,150	1 x 200-300	~80 ^c
DF-26	?	16	(2017)	4,000+	1 x 200-300	16
DF-31	CSS-10 Mod 1	~8	2006	7,000+	1 × 200-300	~8
DF-31A	CSS-10 Mod 2	~32	2007	11,000+	1 × 200-300	~32
DF-31AG ^d	(CSS-10 Mod 3?)	(16)	(2017)	?	(1 x ?)	?
DF-41	CSS-X-20	n.a.	?	?	n.a.	n.a.
Subtotal:			~121			~186 ^e
Submarine-launched ballistic missiles ^f						
JL-2	CSS-N-14	48	(2016)	7,000+	1 x 200-300	48
Aircraft						
H-6 ^g	B-6	(~20)	1965	3,100+	1 x bomb	(~20)
					(1 x ALBM)	0
Fighters ^h	?	?	?	n.a	1 x bomb	?
Cruise Missiles ⁱ						
Total						~254 (280) ^j

Currently: Modernizing nuclear forces to strengthen assured 2nd strike capability

- road mobile ICBM launchers
- new DF-41
- submarine based missiles

See for example:

China's Transition to a More Credible Nuclear Deterrent: Implications and Challenges for the United States Michael S. Chase in Asia Policy, July 2013

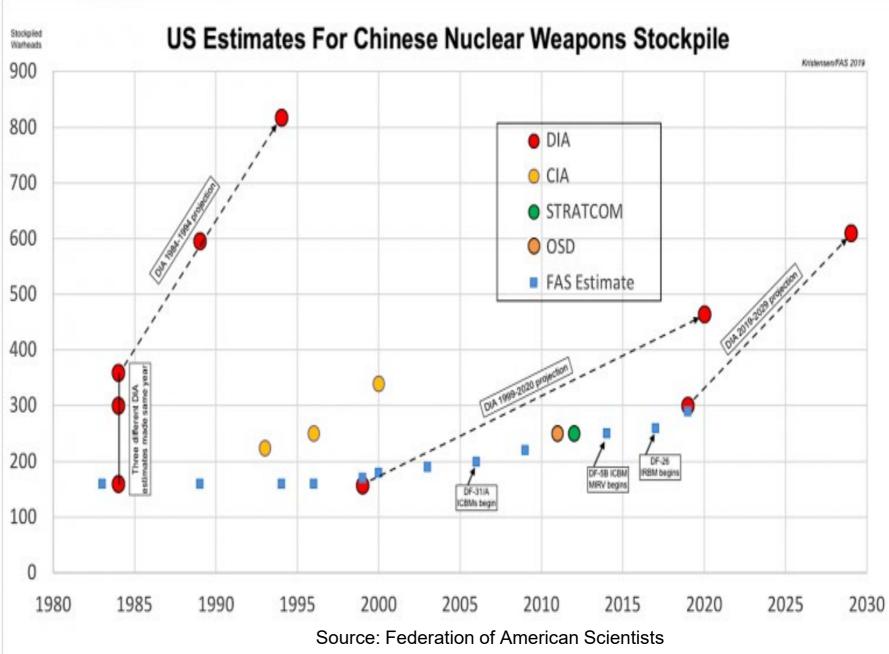


Chinese Nuclear Stockpile Growth

Selected Worldwide							
Nuclear Weapons Inventories							
<u>Country</u>	<u>Country 1999 2020</u>						
China							
ICBM	40-45	180-220*					
SLBM	0-12	28-44					
SRBM**							
Total	140-157	358-464					

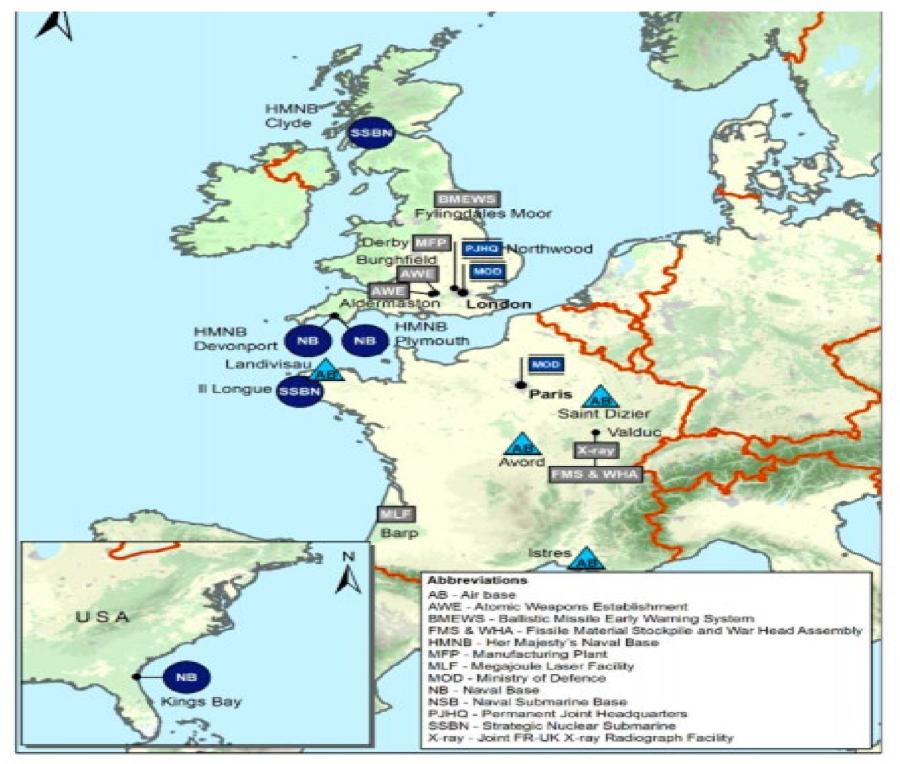
* Assumes U.S. NMD & TMD deployment and Chinese build-up in response to U.S. deployment.
** "SRBM" probably includes all missiles other than ICBMs and SLBMs, including MRBMs.

Source: DIA, The Decades Ahead: 1999-2020, A Primer on the Future Threat, July 1999





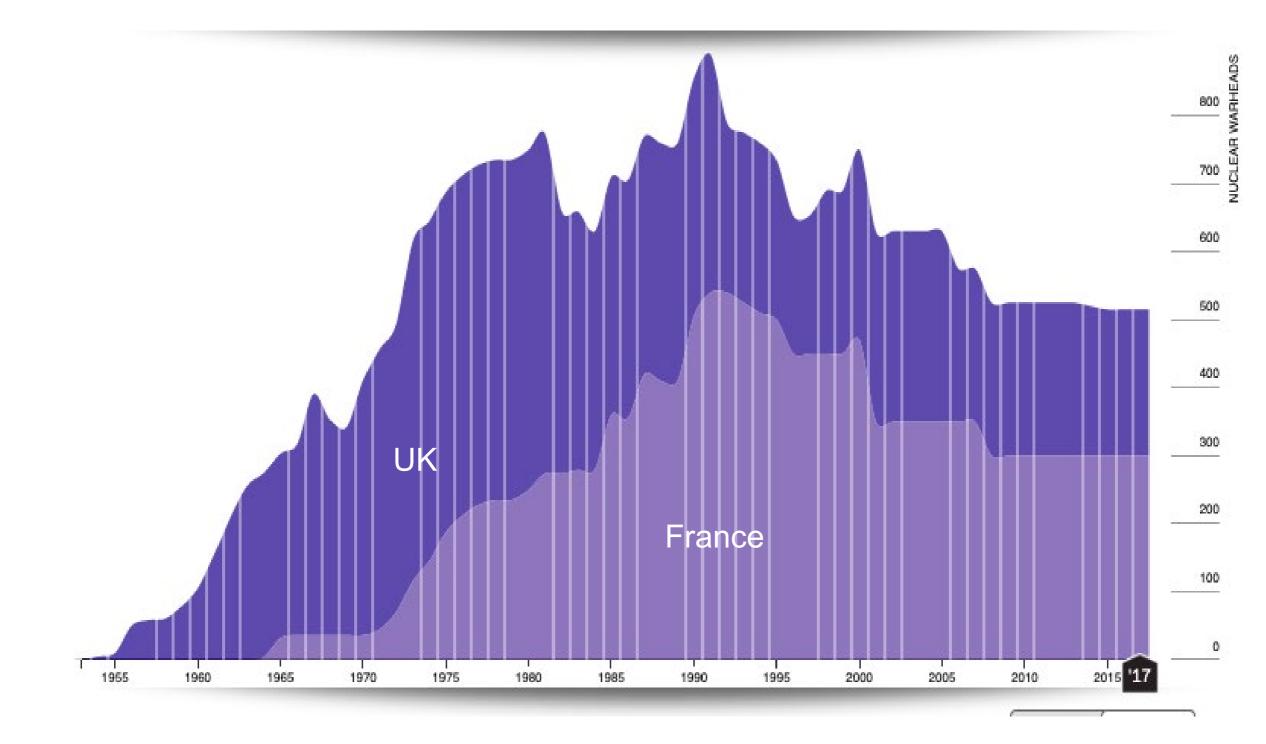
French and British Nuclear Structure



Source: Nuclear weapons in Europe: British and French deterrence forces, Niklas Granholm and John Ryvidqist



French and British Nuclear Forces(2017)



Source: The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist Nuclear Notebook, written by Hans M Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, Federation of American Scientists



French Arsenals (2019)

Weapon System	No.	Yearoperational	Range(km) ^a	Warheadsx yield	WarheadType	Warheads
Land-based aircraft ^b						
Rafale F3/ASMPA	40	2010 ^c	2,000	1 x up to 300 kt	TNA	40
Carrier-based aircraft						
Rafale MF3/ASMPA	10	2011	2,000	1 x up to 300 kt	TNA	10
Submarine-launched ballistic missiles						
M51.1	32	2010	6,000+	4-6 x 100 kt MIRV	TN75	160
M51.2	16	2017	6,000+	4-6 x 150 kt MIRV	TNO	80
Total	98					300 ^d

NAME/SLBM*	YEAR OPERATIONAL	MISSILE RANGE (KILOMETERS)	WARHEADS X YIELD (KILOTONS)	TOTAL WARHEADS
Le Triomphant/M45	1997	4,000+	4-6 TN75 x 100	80
Le Téméraire/M45	1999	4,000+	4-6 TN75 x 100	80
Le Vigilant/M45	2005	4,000+	4-6 TN75 x 100	80
Le Terrible/M51.1**	(2010)	6,000	4-6 TN75 x 100	0

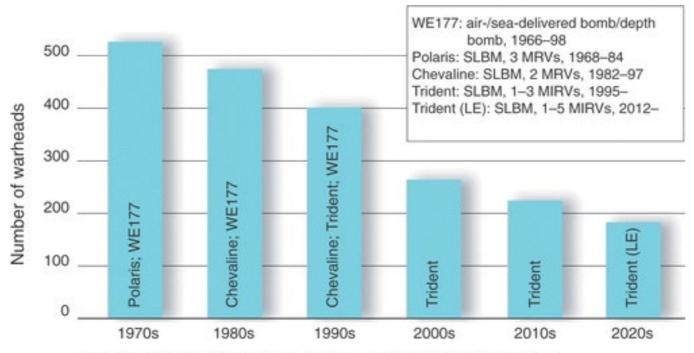
Source: Hans M. Kristensen & Matt Korda (2019) French nuclear forces, 2019, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists



U.K. Strategic Nuclear Forces



Source: NRDC (Nov. 2002)



Key: LE = life-extended; MIRV = multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle; MRV = multiple reentry vehicle; SLBM = submarine-launched ballistic missile.

Source: Hand Kristensen and Robert S Norris,British Nuclear forces 2011, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists The United Kingdom and France (largely) rely on a nuclear deterrent in form of a naval submarine based nuclear arsenal





Module 6: Programs and Arsenals

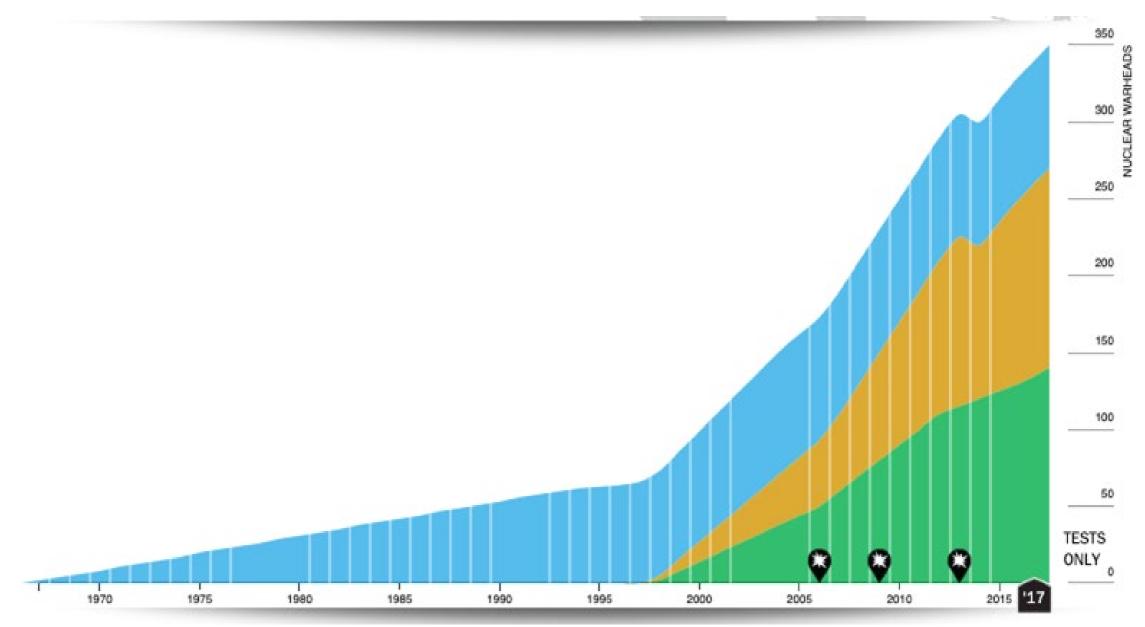
ACDIS program in arms control & domestic and international security



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LAS GLOBAL STUDIES

Estimates for Arsenals in India, Israel, North Korea and Pakistan (2017)

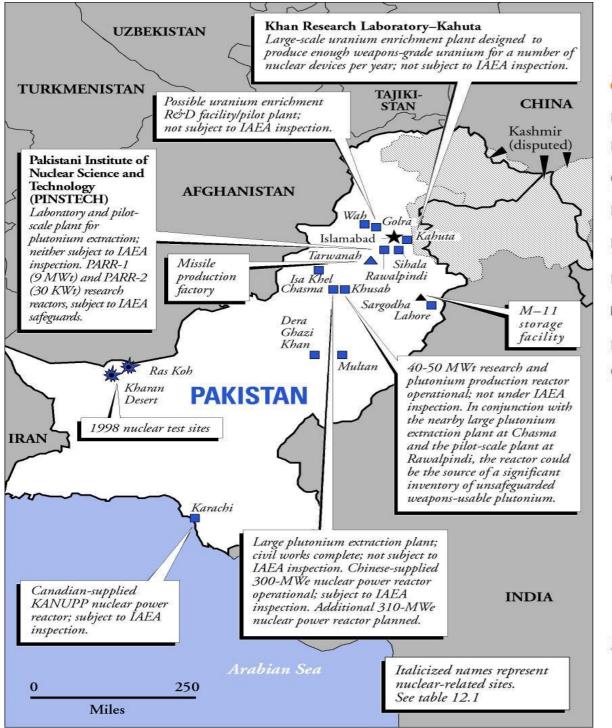


Source: The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist Nuclear Notebook, written by Hans M Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, Federation of American Scientists

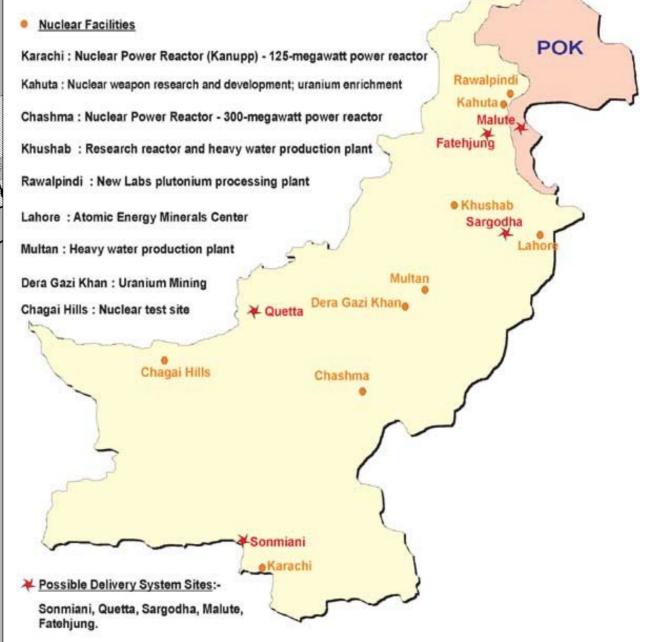
Israel ~ 80 India ~ 130 Pakistan~ 140 North Korea < 10



Indian locations of Nuclear Power and Weapons



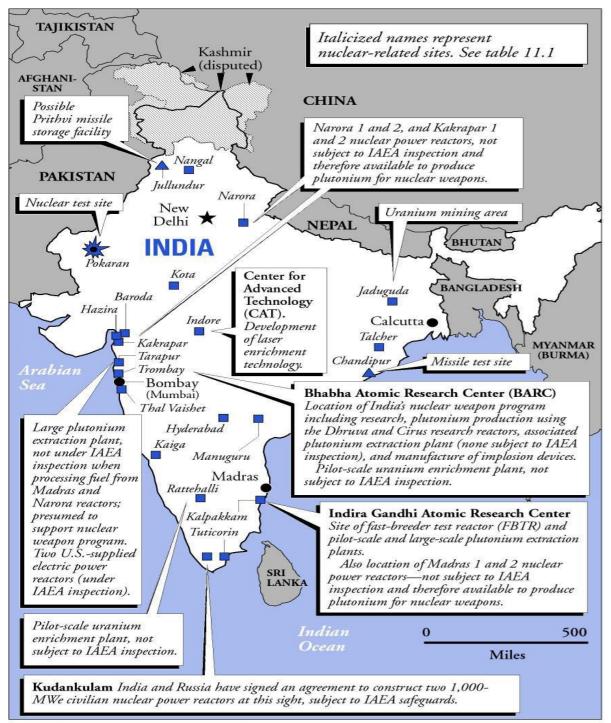
NUCLEAR FACILITIES & DELIVERY SYSTEMS



Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Deadly Arsenals (2002), www.ceip.org

Map not to scale

Indian locations of Nuclear Power and Weapons



Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Deadly Arsenals (2002), www.ceip.org

India planning huge increase in nuclear power

India is making nuclear power one of its key policy initiatives, with plans to build 48 new reactors and boost output to 63,000 megawatts by 2032 – an almost 14-fold increase on current levels. The country's existing 20 nuclear reactors generate about 4,700 megawatts



Source: Indian Defense Review, RSN Singh

India's Nuclear and Missile Programs – 1

India's nuclear weapons use plutonium

- India's first nuclear explosive device used explosive material diverted illegally from a civilian nuclear reactor provided by Canada
- Estimated to have produced 600 kg of weapons-grade plutonium
- Estimated to have produced a smaller, but publicly unknown, quantity of weapons-grade uranium
- This quantity of plutonium is thought to be enough for India to produce ~150-200 nuclear weapons
- The FAS estimates that India has about 130-140 warheads
- India is thought to have the components to deploy a small number of nuclear weapons within days
- No nuclear weapons are known to be deployed among active military units or deployed on missiles



India's Nuclear and Missile Programs – 2

India							
Date							
May 18, 1974	02:34:55	27.095 N 71.752 E	2-5 kt				
May 11, 1998	10:13:42	27.102 N 71.857 E	12 kt*				
May 11, 1998	10:13	?	?*				
May 13, 1998	06:51	?	? **				

India's nuclear weapon tests

Local time is 5 and one-half hours later than GMT

* The Indian government announced that three nuclear devices were detonated simultaneously in two shafts, about one kilometer apart. We count this as two tests.

** Seismic records do not discriminate the explosions of two devices (announced by Indian scientists as being 0.2 kt and 0.6 kt), one or both of which may not have detonated.



India's Nuclear and Missile Programs – 3

- India has developed several types of ballistic missiles capable of carrying and delivering a nuclear payload
- Three versions of the short-range, liquid-propellant, road-mobile Prithvi have been developed —

—Army (range = 150 km, payload = 500 kg)

—Air Force (range = 250 km, payload = 500–750 kg)

-Navy (range = 350 km, payload = 500 kg)

- India has developed and successfully tested 7 medium range missiles Agni I-III, with a declared range of up to 3,000 km. The payload for the Agni III missile is assumed to be 1.5 tons.
- India has developed and successfully tested Agni-IV with a range of 4,000 km and Agni V with a range of 5,000 and a payload of 1.5 tons.



• In 2018 India became one of three nations to possess a nuclear triad after the⁵₈successful deterrent patrol of Arihant, India's first

Indian Nuclear Forces (2018)

z	NATO	Number of	Year	Ranges	Warhoad	Number of
Туре	designatio	launchers	deploye	(kilometers	x yield	warheads
.,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	n		d)	(kilotons)	
Aircraft				II		
Vajra	Mirage 2000H	~16	1985	1,850	1 × bomb	~16
Shamshe r	Jaguar IS/IB	~32	1981	1,600	1 × bomb	~32
Subtotal:		~48				~48
Land-bas	ed ballistic n	nissiles				
Prithvi-II	n.a.	~24	2003	350b	1 × 12	~24
Agni-I	n.a.	~20	2007c	700+	1 × 40	~20
Agni-II	n.a.	~8	2011d	2,000+	1 × 40	~8
Agni-III	n.a.	~8	2014?	3,200+	1 × 40 🔻	~8
Agni-IV	n.a.	n.a.	(2018)	3,500+	1 × 40	n.a.
Agni-V	n.a.	n.a.	(2020)	5,200+	1 × 40	n.a.
Subtotal:		~60				~60e
Sea-base	d ballistic m	issiles				
Dhanush	n.a.	2	2013	400	1 × 12	4
K-15	(Sagarika)	(12)	(2018)	700	1 × 12	(12)
K-4	n.a.	(4)	?	3,500	1 × ?	0
Subtotal:		(18)				(16)
Total						130-140f

Source:Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist "Indian Nuclear Forces, Hans Kristensen and Matt Korda

India's Ballistic Missiles (2019)

Name	Туре	Range	Stages/Fuel	Payload Capacity	Last Reported Test	Inducted?	Nuclear Capable?
Prithvi-I	Ballistic	150 km	Single/Liquid	800 kg*	May 2007	Y(a)	Y
Prithvi-II	Ballistic	350 km	Single/Liquid	500-1,000 kg	October 2018*	Y	Y
Dhanush	Ballistic	350 km	Single/Liquid	500 kg	February 2018*	Y*	Y
Agni-I	Ballistic	700 – 900 km	Single/Solid*	1,000 kg*	October 2018*	Y	Y*
Agni-II	Ballistic	2,000 km	Two/Solid	1 ton	February 2018*	Y	Y
Agni-III	Ballistic	3,500 km	Two/Solid	1.5 tons	April 2017*	Y	Υ*
Agni-IV	Ballistic	4,000 km	Two/Solid	1,000 kg*	December 2018*	Υ*	Y
Agni-V	Ballistic	+5,000 km	Three/Solid	1,000 kg*	December 2018	Ν	Y
Prahaar	Ballistic	150 km	Single/Solid	200 kg	September 2018*	N*	N*
Pragati	Ballistic*	60 km – 170 km*	Single/Solid*	200 kg	Not Tested	N*	N*

Source: Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control

India's SLBM and Cruise Missiles (2019)

Name	Туре	Range	Stages/Fuel	Payload Capacity	Last Reported Test	Inducted?	Nuclear Capable?
K-15 (aka B0-5)	SLBM(b)	750 km*	Two/Solid*	1,000 kg*	August 2018*	Υ*	Υ*
K-4	SLBM*	3,500 km*	Two/Solid*	Unknown	December 2017 <mark>(c)</mark> *	N*	Y*
BrahMos	Cruise	290 – 400 km	Two/Solid and Liquid(d)	200-300 kg	May 2019	<mark>(e)</mark> N-I: Y	Ν
		loo lali	Enquila(d)			B-I: Y	
						B-II: Y	
						B-III: Y*	
						ALCM: Y	
						SLCM: N*	
Nirbhay	Cruise	1,000 km	Two/solid and liquid <mark>(f)</mark>	450 kg*	April 2019	N*	Υ*

Source: Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control



Pakistan's Nuclear and Missile Programs – 1

Pakistan's current nuclear weapons mainly use HEU

- Pakistan stole uranium enrichment technology from Urenco; has since supplied it to many other countries of concern
- Is estimated to have produced 585–800 kg of highly enriched uranium
- FAS estimates that it could have 120 HEU nuclear weapons
- May possess enough weapon-grade plutonium to produce 3–5 nuclear weapons
- Nuclear weapons are thought to be stored in component form, with the fissile core stored separately from the non-nuclear explosives
- Thought to possess enough components and material to assemble a small number of nuclear weapons in a matter of hours or days



Pakistan's Nuclear and Missile Programs – 2

Pakistan's nuclear weapon tests

Pakistan						
Date						
May 28, 1998	10:16:15	28.862 N 64.818 E	9-12 kt#			
May 30, 1998	06:54:55	28.487 N 63:787 E	5 kt			
Local time is 5 ho	ours later than GM					
	# Pakistani officials announced that five nuclear devices were tested. Seismic records do not discriminate these and possibly only one device was detonated.					

last revised 11.25.02

Source: NRDC



Pakistan's Nuclear and Missile Programs – 3

Pakistan's nuclear delivery capability

- Thought to have about 30 nuclear-capable short-range Chinese M-11 surface-to-surface missiles, which have a range of 280–300 km
- Announced deployment of the Shaheen I in 2001
- Tested Ghauri I (range > 1,300 km, payload = 700 kg)
- Tested Ghauri II (range = 2,000 km, payload = 850 kg)
- Tested Shaheen II, (range 1,500-2000 km, payload 700kg)
- Primary nuclear capable aircraft is the F-16, which can deliver a 1,000-kg bomb to a distance of 1,400 km



Pakistani Nuclear Forces, 2018

Туре	NATO designation	Number of launchers	Year deploy ed	Range (kilomete rs)1	Warhead x yield <u>(kilotons)3</u>	Number of warhea ds2
Aircraft						
F-16A/B		~24	1998	1,600	1 x bomb	~24
Mirage III/V		~12	1998	2,100	1 x bomb (or Ra-ad)	~12
Subtotal:		~36				~36
Land-based ballistic missiles						
Abdali (Hatf-2)		10	(2015)	200	1 x 5-12 kt	10
Ghaznavi (Hatf-3)		~16	2004	300	1 x 5-12 kt	~16
Shaheen-1(Hatf-4)		~16	2003	750	1 x 5-12 kt	~16
Shaheen-1A (Hatf-4)		1 <u>-</u> 1	(2018)	900	1 x 5-12 kt	1.21
Shaheen-2(Hatf-6)		~12	2014	1,500	1 x 10-40 kt	~12
Shaheen-3 (Hatf-6)		-	(2018)	2,750	1 x 10-40 kt	
Ghauri (Hatf-5)		~24	2003	1,250	1 x 10-40 kt	~24
NASR (Hatf-9)		~24	(2013)	60-70	1 x 5-12 kt	~244
Ababeel (Hatf-?)		-	-	2,200	MIRV or MRV	
Subtotal:		~102				~102

Source:Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist "Pakistani Nuclear Forces, Hans Kristensen and Matt Korda

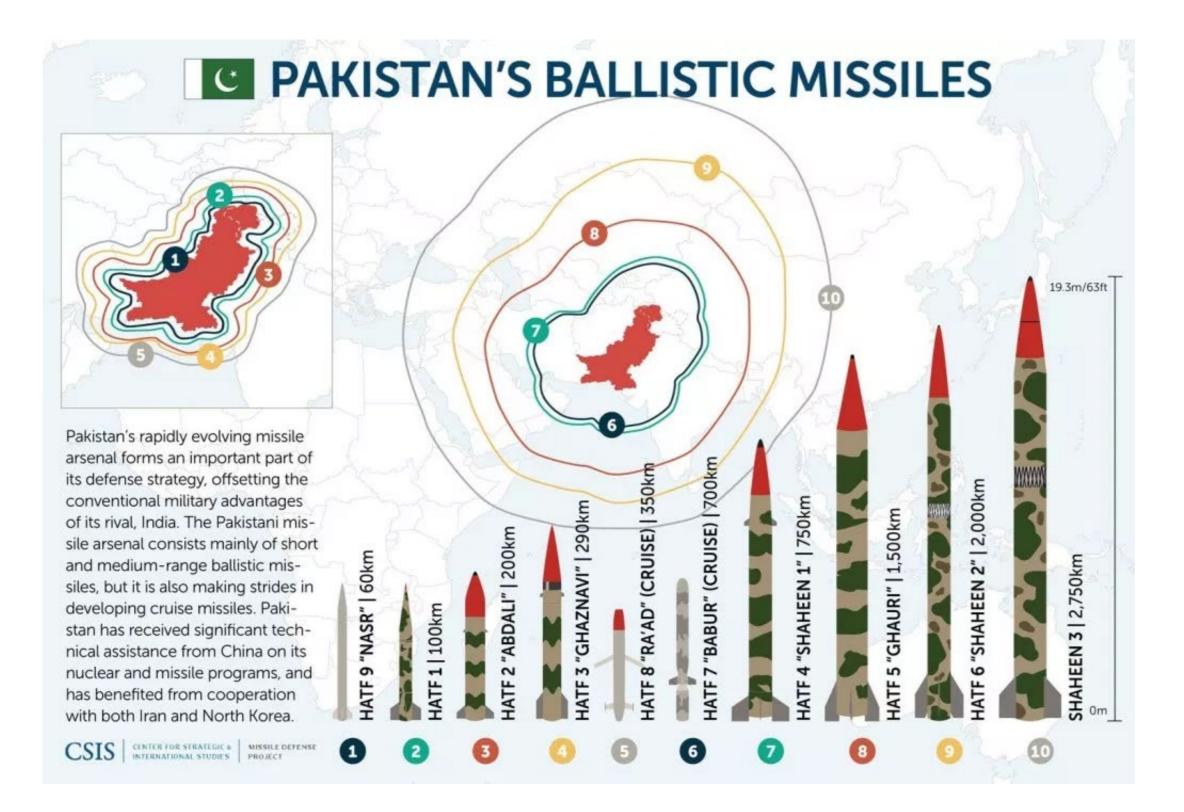
Pakistani Ra'ad Air-Launched Cruise Missile



Pakistani Ra'ad Air Launched Cruise Missile



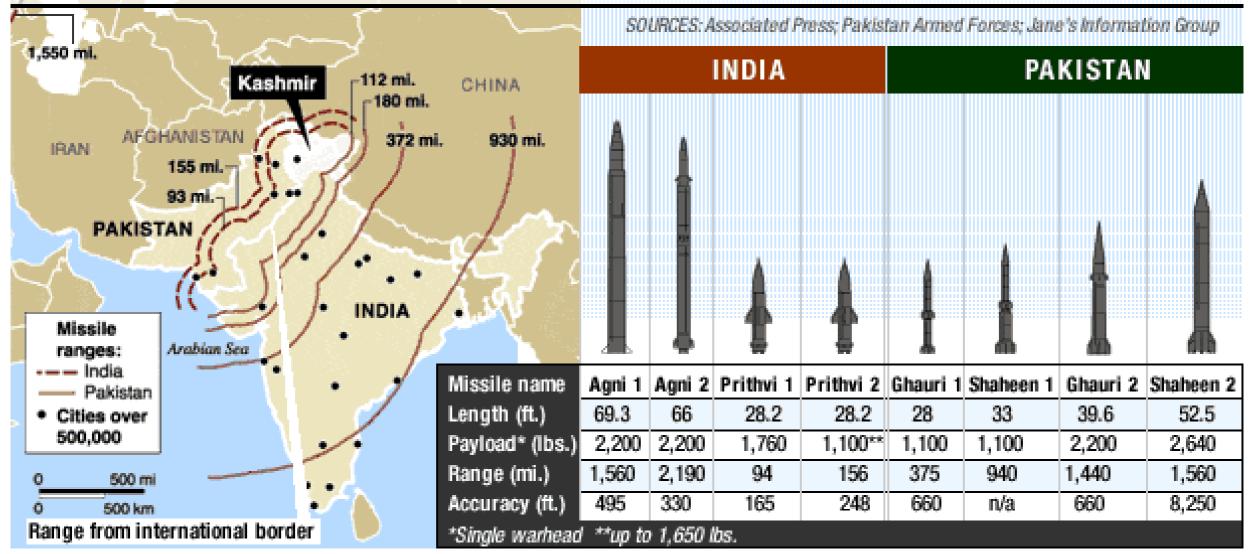
Pakistan's Ballistic Missiles Lineup



Source: Missile Defense Project, "Missiles of Pakistan," *Missile Threat*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 14, 2018, last modified June 15, 2018, https://missilethreat.csis.org/country/pakistan/.

Security Concerns of India's and Pakistan Define the Parameters of Ballistic Missile Arsenals

With India and Pakistan both possessing nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them great distances, a possible war could result in millions of deaths in both countries. The following illustrates the range of missiles:



Source: CNN (May 2003)



Israel's Nuclear Weapons Complex



Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Deadly Arsenals (2002), www.ceip.org

Israel's Nuclear and Missile Programs – 1

Israel's nuclear weapons primarily use Pu

- Is thought to have completed its first nuclear device by late 1966 or early 1967, probably using HEU stolen from the United States
- Is reported to have hurriedly assembled deliverable devices just before the 1967 six-day war.
- Is estimated to have produced ~ 860 kg of weapons-grade plutonium as of January 2017
- Is thought to have enough plutonium to fabricate ~ 100–200 nuclear weapons
- Is thought to have ~ 75–200 fission weapons, FAS estimate: 80. (Some sources disagree, claiming much more capability, including modern thermonuclear weapons)



Israel's Nuclear and Missile Programs – 2

Israel's nuclear delivery capability

- Jericho I: short-range, solid-propellant (range = 500 km, payload = 500 kg). Developed with the French. Deployed in 1973. Land- and rail-mobile.
- Jericho II: medium-range, solid-propellant (range = 1,500 km, payload = 1,000 kg). Developed with the French. Deployed in 1990; currently has ~ 100. Land- and rail-mobile.
- Jericho III: intermediate-range, solid-propellant (range approx. 4,000 km, payload = 1,000 kg). Indigenous. Tested.
- Israel could also deliver nuclear weapons using its U.S.-supplied F-4E and F-16 aircraft.
- Israel could also deliver nuclear weapons using its cruise missiles (the U.S.-supplied Harpoon, range = 120 km, payload = 220 kg, or a new 1,200-km cruise missile).



Summary of Israel's Nuclear Delivery Systems

Table 1. Israeli nuclear forces, 2014

TYPE	YEAR FIRST DEPLOYED	RANGE (KM)	COMMENT
AIRCRAFT			
F-16A/B/C/D/I Fighting Falcon	1980	1,600	Nuclear bombs posssibly stored at underground facility near Tel Nof Air Base
F-15I Ra'am (Thunder)	1998	3,500	Potential nuclear strike role
LAND-BASED MISSLES			
Jericho II	1984-1985	1,500+	Possibly 25-50 at Zekharia for TELs in caves
Jericho III	?	4,000 ?	In development
SEA-BASED MISSLES			
Dolphin-class submarines	2002 ?	?	Possibly modified cruise missile for land-attack

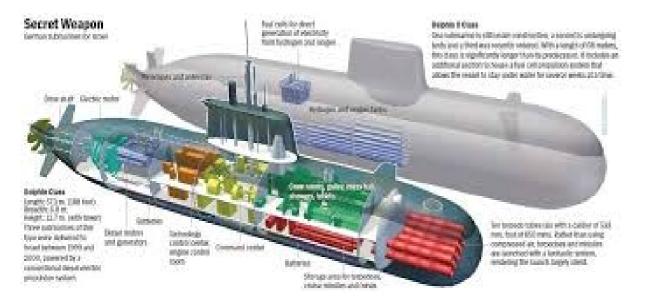
Dolphin class submarines, if nuclear armed, provide secure nuclear 2nd strike capability.

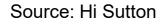


Israeli Dolphin Class Submarines



Source: Secret Shores







Source: National Interest



Source: Spiegel Online

ILLINOIS Physics grainger college of engineering

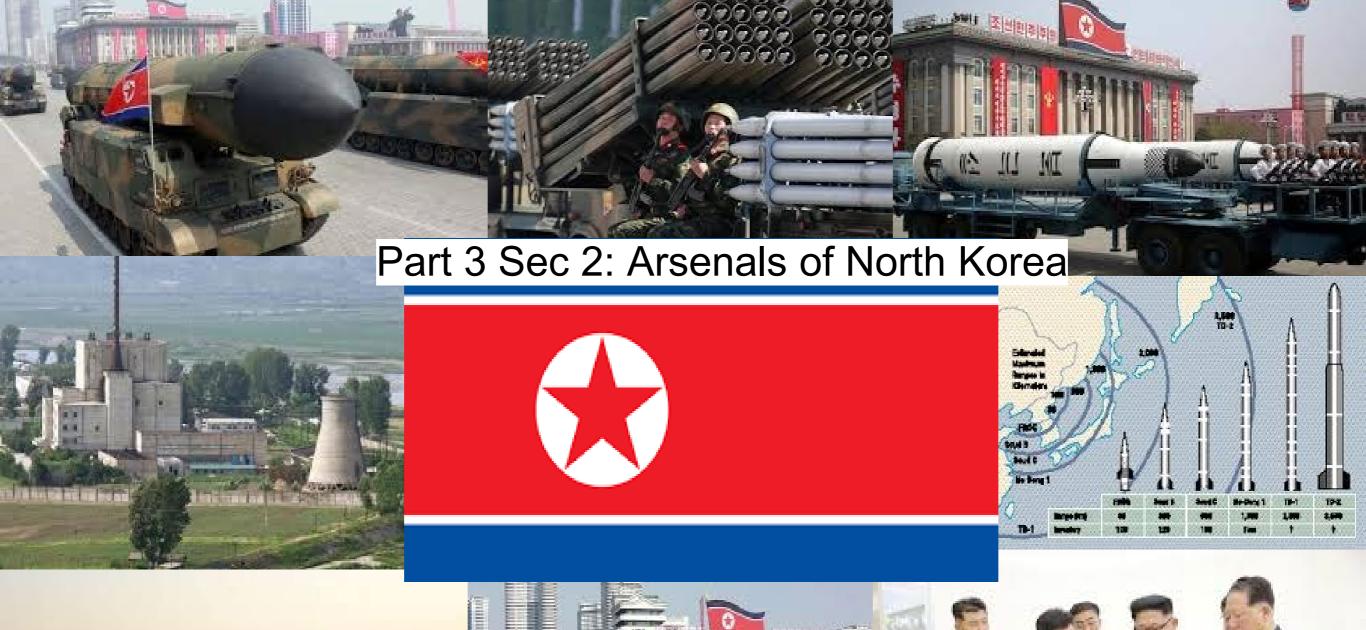
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Module 6: Arsenals

ACDIS program in arms control & domestic and international security



LAS GLOBAL STUDIES



The History between Trump and Kim

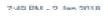




Why would Kim Jong-un insult me by calling me "old," when I would NEVER call him "short and fat?" Oh well, I try so hard to be his friend - and maybe someday that will happen!



North Korean Leader Kim Jong Un just stated that the "Nuclear Button is on his desk at all times." Will someone from his depleted and food starved regime please inform him that I too have a Nuclear Button, but it is a much bigger & more powerful one than his, and my Button works!





~ (wo

Just heard Foreign Minister of North Korea speak at U.N. If he echoes thoughts of Little Rocket Man, they won't be around much longer!

11:08 PM - 23 Sep 2017



Follow

A message from Kim Jong Un: "North Korea will stop nuclear tests and launches of intercontinental ballistic missiles." Also will "Shut down a nuclear test site in the country's Northern Side to prove the vow to suspend nuclear tests." Progress being made for all!

31,009 Retweets 134,354 Likes | 🚯 🌚 💽 🍪 💽 🚯

8:22 PM - 20 Apr 2018



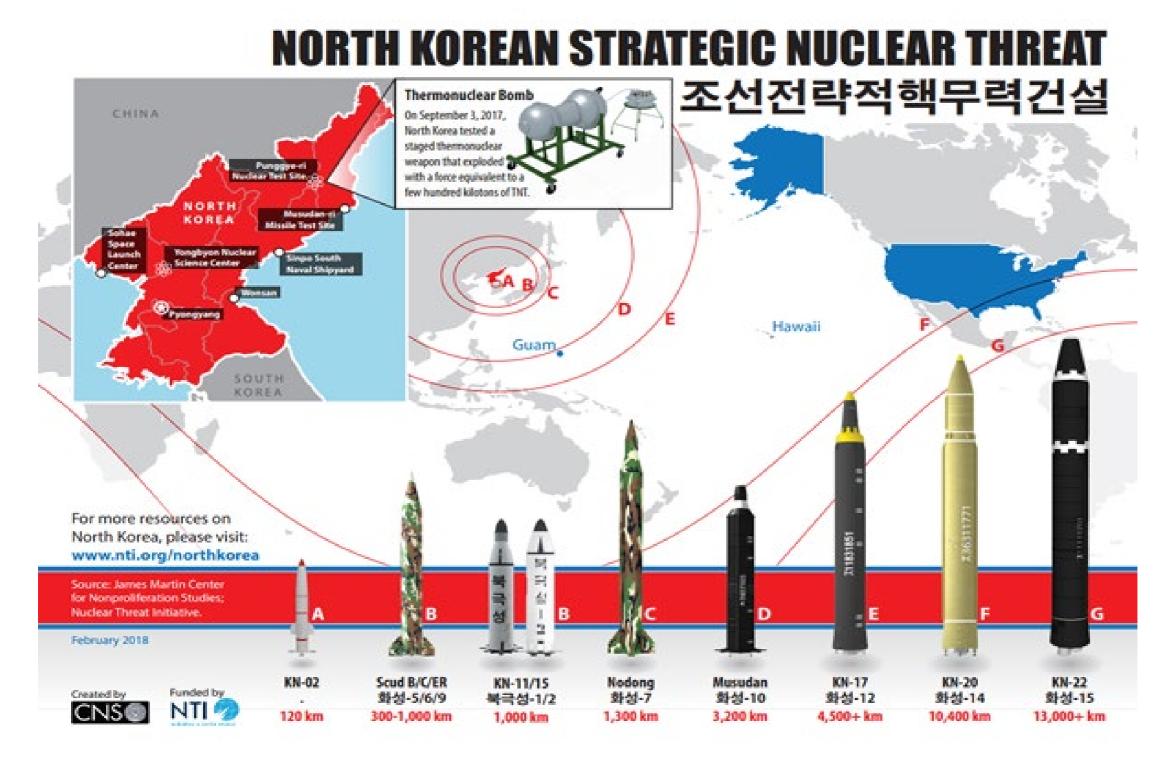


Following

Vietnam is thriving like few places on earth. North Korea would be the same, and very quickly, if it would denuclearize. The potential is AWESOME, a great opportunity, like almost none other in history, for my friend Kim Jong Un. We will know fairly soon - Very Interesting!

9:31 PM - 26 Feb 2019

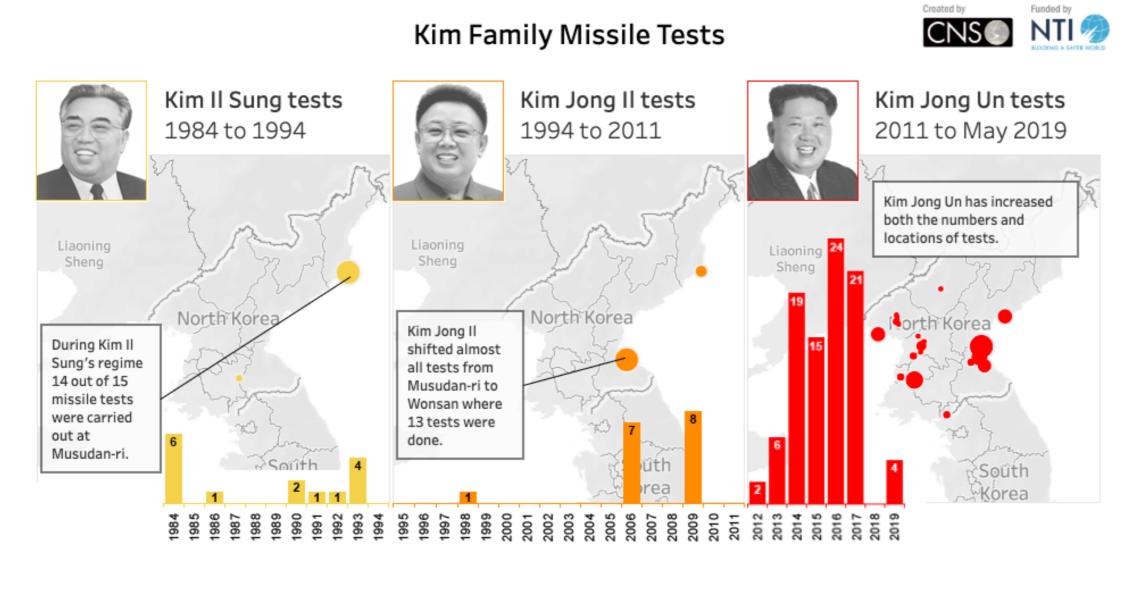
North Korea's Nuclear Capabilities (2018)



Source: Nuclear Threat Initiative



History of North Korean Missile Tests



‡‡ + a b | e a u

 $\vdash \rightarrow \vdash \sim \Box$

Source: Understanding North Korea's Missile Tests, NTI



North Korean Missile Test Successes and Failures



Failure Success Comparison of missile tests since Kim Jong Un took power in 2011. North Korea's older missiles are very reliable compared to its missiles still under development.

Source: Understanding North Korea's Missile Tests, NTI



North Korean Missiles with Nuclear Capability (2018)

Type/Name ^a	US/Other Designations	Year Deployed	Range (km) ^b	Stages (Fuel)	Payload × Capacity (kg)	Launchers ^c		
Land-based ballistic missiles ^d								
ICBMs (5,500+ km range)								
(Bukkeukseong-3)	?	Dev.	?	? (solid)	1 × ?	TEL (C) ^e		
Hwasong-15	KN-22\	Dev.	13,000	2 × liquid	1 × 1,000?	TEL		
Hwasong-14	KN-20	Dev.	10,400	2 (liquid)	1 × ?	TEL		
Hwasong-?	KN-14	Dev.	(9,000)	3 (liquid)	1 × ?	TEL		
Hwasong-13	KN-08 ^f	Dev.	5,500+	3 (liquid)	1 × ?	TEL		
Taepo Dong-2	Taepo Dong-2 ⁹	(2012)	12,000+	3 (liquid)	1 × 800+	Fixed		
IRBMs (3,000-5,500 km range)								
Hwasong-12	KN-17	Dev.	3,300-4,500	1 (liquid)	1 × 1,000	TEL		
Hwasong-10 ^h	Musudan, BM-25	(2017)	3,000+	1 (liquid)	1 × 1,000	<50 TEL		
MRBMs (1,000-3,000 km range)								
Bukkeukseong-2 ⁱ	KN-15	Dev.	1,000+	1 (solid)	1 × ?	TEL (C)		
Hwasong-7	Nodong ^j	(1993)	1,200+	1 (liquid)	1 × 1,000	<100 TEL		
Hwasong-9	Scud ER, KN-4	(2016)	1,000 ^k	1 (liquid)	1 × 500	TEL		
Submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)								
Bukkeukseong-1 ¹	KN-11	Dev.	(1,000+)	1 (solid)	n.a.	(1) SSB		

Source:Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist "North Korean Nuclear Capabilities (2018), Hans Kristensen and Matt Korda



North Korean Nuclear Tests and Resource Capabilities (2018)

Date	Seismic Signal	Estimated Yield	Remarks
October 9, 2006	Magnitude 4.1	0.5 kilotons	The Director of National Intelligence (DNI) said the test produced a yield of "less than one kiloton - well below the yield of other states' first nuclear test."a
May 25, 2009	Magnitude 4.5	1–3 kilotons	DNI said the yield of the test was "a few" kilotons, ^b which "suggests the North has the capability to produce nuclear weapons with a yield of roughly a couple kilotons TNT equivalent." ^c
February 12, 2013	Magnitude 5	10 kilotons	DNI said "several kilotons."
January 6, 2016	Magnitude 4.8	5 kilotons	North Korea said test was a successful "hydrogen bomb," but the US intelligence community said "the low yield of the test is not consistent with a successful test of a thermonuclear device."
September 9, 2016	Magnitude 5.1	10–15 kilotons	
September 3, 2017	Magnitude 6.1	140– 250 kilotons	
Total: 6			

Source: Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist "North Korean Nuclear Capabilities (2018), Hans Kristensen and Matt Korda



North Korean Missile Displays











- 1950s: NK nuclear research reportedly begins.
- mid-1980s: Concerns over NK's nuclear weapons program grow when US intelligence satellites reportedly photograph construction of a research reactor and the beginnings of a reprocessing facility at Yongbyon.
 - 1985 April: NK accedes to the NPT after a concerted sales effort by the USSR, which hopes to sell light-water reactors (LWRs) to NK for electrical power generation. These are never built, in part due to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

1991: US signals it will withdraw its nuclear weapons from SK as part of its global return of tactical nuclear weapons to United States territory.



History (cont'd) —

- IAEA chemical analysis indicates NK had separated plutonium in four campaigns over a 3-year period beginning in 1989 and that NK possesses more Pu than it had declared to the IAEA or to the international community.
- 1993: NK announces it is withdrawing from the NPT.
- 1994: US threatens war with NK. President Carter flies to NK and negotiates a nuclear agreement to avoid war.



Key Elements of the 1994 Agreed Framework

North Korea	United States
North Korea freezes its operation and construction of nuclear facilities under IAEA supervision.	The United States agrees to provide heavy fuel oil to replace the electri- cal production potential of the shutdown 5-MW reactor.
North Korea allows the canning and nonreprocessing of spent fuel from its 5-MW reactor under IAEA monitoring. Fuel to be removed from North Korea.	The United States agrees to establish an international consortium to construct two modern, light-water reactors in North Korea.
North Korea agrees to provide all necessary information and access, "including taking all steps that may be deemed necessary by the IAEA" to determine the accuracy of North Korea's initial declaration on past plutonium production	International consortium agrees to complete a significant portion of the reactor complex, not including key components.
North Korea agrees to begin dismantling its finished and incomplete nuclear facilities and to begin removal of spent fuel upon delivery of key reactor components for first light-water reactor.	International consortium to deliver key components for first light-water reactor.
North Korea agrees to com- plete dismantling of its nuclear facilities and removal of its spent fuel upon delivery of key components for second reactor.	International consortium to deliver key components for second light- water reactor.

The Aftermath of the 1994 Agreement

The light-water reactors were <u>never built</u>. The US-led consortium tasked with constructing them was in severe debt; senators <u>accused Clinton</u> of understating their cost while overstating how much US allies would contribute to funding them. Hawkish Republicans in Congress <u>derided</u> the framework for supposedly <u>rewarding aggressive behaviour</u>.

Heavy fuel shipments were often delayed. Rust Deming, assistant secretary of state, <u>told Congress</u> that "to be frank, we have in past years not always met the fuel year deadline". Meanwhile, Robert Gallucci, a diplomat who had negotiated the framework, <u>warned that it could fail</u> unless the US did "what it said it would do, which is to take responsibilit for the delivery of the heavy fuel oil".

North Korea was not removed from the State Department's list of state sponsors of terrorism until 2008, though it had <u>long met the criteria for</u> <u>removal</u>. A <u>limited number</u> of US sanctions were eased, but not until 2000 – six years later than pledged in the Agreed Framework. Accordin to Gallucci, Congressional <u>scepticism</u> about the deal led to "the minimum interpretation of sanctions lifting". As he <u>told a congressional</u> <u>committee</u>: "the North Koreans have always been disappointed that mon has not been done by the US." This only worsened under Washington's next regime: in 2002, the Bush administration's <u>Nuclear Posture Review</u> listed North Korea as one country the US might have to use nuclear weapons against, while its <u>2002 National Security Strategy</u> listed the north as a "rogue" regime against which the US should be prepared to use force. To this day, the US has <u>28,500 troops</u> stationed across 11 US military bases in South Korea, and the two countries continue with their joint annual military exercises off the coast of the Korean Peninsula.

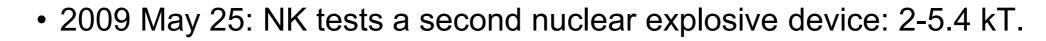
As abhorrent as the North Korean regime is, it's not hard to see why the ruling clique might have concluded that Pyongyang remains in Washington's crosshairs and that the US was never truly committed to the Agreed Framework. Still, as subsequent <u>negotiations</u> have shown, North Korea remains desperate for fuel, and its regime still exhibits a paranoid, self-serving obsession with security. Its past actions strongly suggest that the nuclear programme is a bargaining chip that Pyongyang is prepared to give up under the right circumstances.

The benefits of a new, more robust peace agreement are obvious: an end to the threat of nuclear war in East Asia, and a boost to the global nuclear non-proliferation regime. The story of the 1994 framework proves this is far from impossible, but also that it will demand both careful, determined diplomacy and a commitment to honouring any promises made. Sadly, the Trump administration so far seems capable of neither.

Source: The Conversation, Why the US's 1994 deal with North Korea failed – and what Trump can learn from it

History (cont'd) —

- 2002 December: NK announces it is restarting its reactor because US violated the Agreed Framework, ends its cooperation with the IAEA, orders inspectors out.
- 2003 January: NK announces it is withdrawing from the NPT.
- 2004: NK tells visiting US experts it has separated the Pu in the spent reactor fuel at Yongbyon and is making nuclear weapons, shows "Pu" to visiting experts. NK is believed to have extracted 24–42 kg of Pu, enough for 6–12 nuclear bombs.
- 2006 October 9: NK tests a Pu nuclear explosive device: 0.7-2 kT.
- 2007 February 28: New 6-party agreement announced (see separate slide).
- 2009 April 5: NK launches a long-range rocket, is condemned by the UN, announces it will build its own LWR without outside help.





Six-Party Agreement (2007 Feb 28)

An important first step toward complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the establishment of a more stable, peaceful, and prosperous Northeast Asia.

The D.P.R.K. agreed that it will, within 60 days:

- Shut down and seal Yongbyon nuclear facility for eventual abandonment
- Invite IAEA to conduct necessary monitoring and verifications
- Discuss with the other parties a list of all its nuclear programs, including plutonium extracted from used fuel rods, that would be abandoned

The other Parties agreed that they will:

- Provide emergency energy assistance to North Korea in the initial phase
- Make an initial shipment of emergency energy assistance equivalent to 50,000 tons of heavy fuel oil (HFO) within the first 60 days of the agreement

Five working groups will be established to carry out initial actions and formulate specific plans to implement the agreement, leading to a denuclearized D.P.R.K. and a permanent peace.



Enrichment (see the assigned reading written by Hecker) —

- 2010 November: NK showed visiting U.S. experts (Carlin, Hecker, and Lewis)
 - An openly constructed, recently completed small but industrial-scale centrifuge uranium-enrichment facility
 - -An experimental light-water reactor (LWR) under construction
- NK claimed 2,000 P-2 centrifuges in 6 cascades in the modern facility at Yongbyon (build with external help from Khan)
- Publicly displayed facility is sufficient to produce
 - -2 tons of LEU/year, enough to supply the LWR under construction
 - 1 bomb/year of HEU, if slightly reconfigured
- Experts believe NK has undisclosed centrifuge facilities at other sites, probably producing weapon-grade HEU. NK has fundamentally changed its nuclear strategy.
- New leadership under Kim Jong-un appears to continue nuclear weapons program aggressively.



History (cont'd) —

- 2011 Dec 17 Kim Jong-un ascends to Supreme Leader of NK
- 2012 Feb 29: NK agrees to freeze nuclear program in exchange for energy and food relieve.
- 2012 Apr. 12: Unsuccessful NK missile test leads to cancellation of food and energy relieve agreement.
- 2012 May 4: Reports that NK has resumed construction of LWR for Pu production at Yongbyon.
- 2012 Dec. 12: Successful test of long range missile launching satellite into orbit
- 2013 Feb. 12: NK tests third nuclear explosive device, 6-16kT.
- 2016 Jan. 6: NK tests fourth nuclear warhead, 7-9kT, claimed thermonuclear device
- 2016 Sep. 9: NK tests fifth nuclear warhead, 15-25 kT.
- 2017 Sep. 3: NK tests sixth nuclear warhead, 70-280 kT.
- 2018 June 12: First US and North Korean Summit held in Singapore
- 2019 Feb 27: The Second US and North Korean Summit held in Hanoi, Vietnam



- NK's new nuclear strategy
 - —Appears to have abandoned its Pu program, shutting down its 5 MWe gas-graphite reactor and giving up on external assistance for LWRs
 - Is attempting to construct an experimental 25-30 MWe LWR of indigenous design as part of an electrical power program (probably not for bomb Pu)
- Major concerns about NK's new nuclear strategy
 - —Can NK construct its own LWR safely?
 - —Will NK's enrichment program lead to additional weapons or export?



- Can NK construct its own LWR safely?
 - —NK appears to have no experience with key LWR design and safety issues.
 - —Radiation-resistant steels and stringent construction are needed to withstand the intense, long-term radiation produced by LWRs.
 - —NK has little experience with uranium oxide fuels and fuelcladding alloys.
 - —The concrete reactor foundation is insufficiently robust.
 - —The concrete containment shell is being poured in small sections from a small concrete mixer.
 - —These safety concerns will increase dramatically if NK builds larger LWRs, because the risks would extend well beyond NK's borders.



- Will NK's enrichment program lead to additional weapons or export?
 - Bomb-grade HEU can be produced by slightly reconfiguring the existing centrifuge cascade
 - —NK has indigenous U ore and all the know-how and equipment needed to make feedstock for its centrifuge cascades
- NK can ratchet up the current nuclear threat by
 - —Greatly expanding its HEU production at undisclosed sites
 - -Increasing substantially the size of its nuclear arsenal
 - —Conducting additional nuclear tests to increase the sophistication of its nuclear weapon designs
 - -Exporting nuclear weapon materials or technology
- NK's categorical denial of any earlier enrichment activities, when they clearly existed, complicates diplomatic reengagement



What to Do About NK's Nuclear Program?

- Top priority: prevent NK from expanding its arsenal or exporting its nuclear technologies
- Long-term goal: denuclearize the Korean peninsula
- Few options but to reengage NK diplomatically
- Hecker advocates 3 No's supported by 1 Yes:
 - —No more bombs
 - -No better bombs (which means no more testing)
 - -No export of bombs or bomb technology and materials
 - —Yes to meeting NK's fundamental security concerns
- What are NK's fundamental security requirements?
 - -Normalization of relations with the United States
 - —Energy and economic aid / Regime survival

