Putting the Genie Back in the Bottle: Nuclear Non-Proliferation in an Era of Great Power Competition

Jerry Gilfoyle Physics Department, University of Richmond, Virginia

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- 2. Nuclear Arsenals and Their Impact.
- 2. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
- 3. Monitoring Nuclear Tests Science in the Public Interest.

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- 4. Why should you care?
- 6. Some Conclusions.

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Science Policy

Some Bits of History

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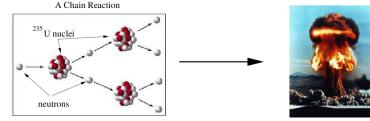
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 - Reduce or eliminate nuclear weapons.
 - Support the right to peacefully use nuclear technology

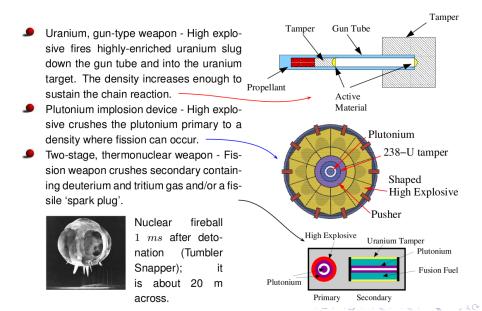
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- Return to Great Power competition \approx 2014 (US, China, Russia).

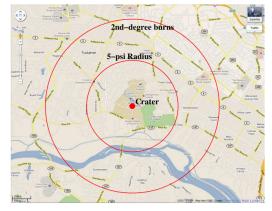
- Fissile materials (²³⁵U, ²³⁹Pu) release enormous energies.
- As each nucleus splits, it emits 2 or so neutrons plus lots of energy (≈ 180 MeV).
- If density is high, a 'chain reaction' will cause other fissions in a self-propagating process.



 Only about 8 kg of plutonium or 25 kg of highly-enriched uranium (HEU) is needed is needed to produce a weapon.

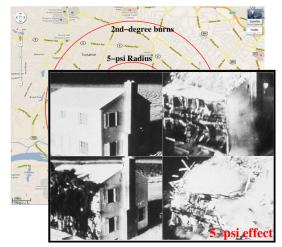


- Energy released in the form of light, heat and blast.
- **9** Blast \approx 40-50% of total energy.
- Thermal radiation ≈30-50% of total energy.
- Ionizing radiation ≈5% of total energy.
- Residual radiation ≈5-10% of total energy.
- Figure shows effect of a 15 kiloton bomb (about the size of the Hiroshima bomb) exploded over the Gottwald Science Center.



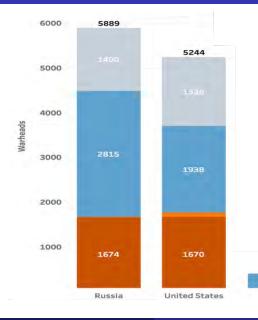


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The Strategic Balance



Measure Names

- Retired
- Reserve/Nondeployed
- Deployed Nonstrategic
 Deployed Strategic

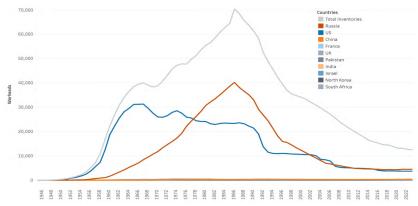
Russia and the US have, for decades maintained a policy of strategic deterence. Both sides have a large number of secure warheads and delivery systems that can mount an overwhelming response to an adversary's attack. This is the policy of mutual assured destruction or MAD. China has a smaller arsenal, but is expanding rapidly and intends to match or overtake the US in the future.

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China

The Nuclear Arms Race



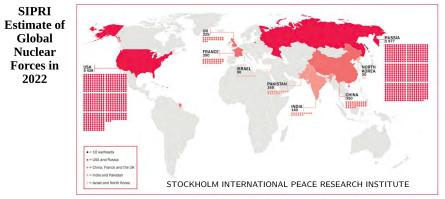
Six Decades of a Global Nuclear Arms Race

Source: Hans M. Kristensen. Matt Korda, and Robert Norris, "Status of World Nuclear Forces," 2023, Federation of American Scientists (FAS), March 29, 2023, https://fas.org/issues/nuclear-weapons/status-world-nuclear-forces/,

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Note: The boundaries used in this map do not imply any endorsement or acceptance by SIPRI.

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SIPRI Estimate of	State	Year of first nuclear test		Stored warheads ^b	Total stockpile ^c	Retired warheads	Total inventory
World	United States	1945	1 744 ^{<i>d</i>}	1964 ^e	3 708	1720^{f}	5 428
Nuclear Forces in	Russia	1949	1 588 ^g	2889^h	4 477	1500^f	5 977
2022 - I	United Kingdom	1952	120	60	180	45^i	225 ^j
	France	1960	280	10^k	290		290
	China	1964	-	350	350	-	350
	India	1974	-	160	160		160
	Pakistan	1998	-	165	165		165
	Israel		-	90	90		90
	North Korea	2006	-	20	20		20^l
	Total		3 732	5 708	9 440	3 265	12 705

.. = not applicable or not available; – = nil or a negligible value.

Source: SIPRI, "10. World Nuclear Forces," SIPRI Yearbook 2022, p 342, https://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2022/10

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Why We Don't Want To Use Them.

- Little Boy dropped on Hiroshima (Aug 6, 1945)¹
 - 66,000 -140,000 prompt deaths.
 - 2 radiation-induced cancer and leukemia started appearing about 5 years later.
 - Inumber of birth defects not significantly higher.
 - Severe mental retardation from prenatal exposure.
- India-Pakistan Regional Exchange Simulation²
 - Regional nuclear war.
 - 2 Involve about 100 15-kiloton nuclear weapons.
 - 3 Launched at heavily populated urban areas.
 - 9 27 million prompt deaths.
- Full US-Russia Exchange Simulation²
 - Over 4,000 100-kT nuclear warheads.
 - 2 360 million prompts deaths.
 - Societal collapse.
 - Global climatic changes, widespread radioactive contamination.
 - **9** Famine could cause more than 10 times as many deaths.

 1 "Atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki", <code>https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page</code>.

² "Nowhere To Hide", François Diaz-Maurin, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, October 20, 2022.



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How Do We Prevent Their Use?

- Arms control agreements and confidence building measures manage strategic competition.
- Testing bans reduce the proliferation of nuclear weapons to other countries.
- The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) prohibits all nuclear explosions.
- An array of seismological, hydroacoustic, infrasound, and radionuclide sensors will monitor compliance.
- On-site inspection to check compliance.





Green - ratified Blue - signed Red - outside treaty

The CTBT Verification Regime

- The International Monitoring System (IMS), consists of 337 facilities that constantly monitor for signs of nuclear explosions. Over 90% are already collecting data.
- Detection technologies:
 - Seismic: 50 primary and 120 auxiliary seismic stations monitor shock waves.
 - Hydroacoustic: 11 hydrophone stations 'listen' for sound waves in the oceans.
 - Infrasound: 60 stations on the surface can detect ultra-low frequency sound waves (inaudible to the human ear) that are emitted by large explosions.
 - Radionuclide: 80 stations measure radiation in the state of the s
- On-site-Inspection: If IMS data show a nuclear test has occurred, a Member State can request an on-siteinspection subject to a vote.





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Status of the CTBT in the Biden Administration

- Biden supported the CTBT while in the Senate in the 1990's.
- Wey priority that serves the national security interests of the United States.¹
- Part of an array of arms control initiatives including negotiations with China and Russia while maintaining the viability of the US arsenal without nuclear weapons testing.²
- International Monitoring System (IMS) can detect even relatively low-yield nuclear explosions in any environment on Earth.¹
- Resuming U.S. nuclear testing 'would be 'as reckless as it is dangerous,' -Candidate Joe Biden.³
- Consistent with the goals of the CTBT, the United States continues to observe a moratorium on nuclear explosive testing and calls on all states possessing nuclear weapons to declare or maintain such a moratorium." - NNSA Administrator Jill Hruby, June 19, 2023.

¹ Ambassador B.D. Jenkins, Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security, UN Headquarters, September 23, 2021

² National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan, Arms Control Association (ACA) Annual Forum, June 02, 2023

³ The Nevada Independent, May 28th, 2020.

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Testing the Testers

- North Korean tests a nuclear bomb October 9, 2006.
 - Over 20 CTBTO seismic stations detect it.
 - Radionuclides detected two weeks and 4700 miles away (!) in the Yukon.
 - Yield: 0.7 2.0 kt.
- They do it again on May 25, 2009
 - 61 CTBTO seismic stations detect blast.
 - No radionuclides are found!!?? Epic fail?
 - Yield: 2 5.4 kt.
- February 12, 2013 Test
 - 94 seismic, 2 infrasound stations.
 - Radionuclides found again!
 - Yield: 6 16 kt.
- January 6, 2016 Test
 - NK claims a hydrogen bomb, but data consistent with previous test.
 - Yield: 7 10 kt.
 - Radionuclide evidence inconclusive due to background.



- September 9, 2016 Test
 - Yield: 20-30 kt.
 - No radionuclides detected.
- September 3, 2017 Test.
 - Yield is large 70-280 kt.
 - Hydrogen bomb or boosted fission.
 - error ellipse = ± 6.7 km.

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The American Geophysical Union and the Seismological Society of America have stated the IMS will detect all explosions down to 1 kiloton (and much less in some areas) and within a radius of 35 km (October, 2009).

Why Should You Care?

• ... clandestine nuclear tests could not be verified (by the IMS). ... even when Pyongyang declared that it would conduct a nuclear-weapons test and announced where and when it would occur, this monitoring system failed to collect necessary radioactive gases and particulates to prove that a test had occurred.

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 The worst-case scenario under a no-CTBT regime poses far bigger threats to U.S. security - sophisticated nuclear weapons in the hands of many more adversaries than the worst-case scenario of clandestine testing in a CTBT regime, within the constraints posed by the monitoring system.

> National Academy of Sciences (NAS), Technical Issues Related to the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, Washington, D.C., National Academy Press, 2002, pp. 10.

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Conclusions

- Do we live in a safer world than during the Cold War? Yes, sort of.
 - The threat of nuclear Armageddon has receded by managing the strategic competition with Russia arms agreements and testing moratorium.
- Has the threat of a nuclear conflict increased? Yes.
 - The war in the Ukraine, the positioning of tactical nuclear weapons by Russia in Belarus, the actions of North Korea, and other nations have raised the possibility of a limited nuclear exchange.
- What can be done? Lots, but it will take time, money (Opps! There goes my tax cut!) and leadership from the US (CTBT, NPT, ABM, BWC, CTR).
- What can I do?
 - Learn! Think! Cut through the hype.
 - Vote! Write to Congress!
 - The US and other countries are in desperate need of technical expertise.



Additional Slides

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Risk of a Nuclear War in Ukraine

- Russia has long-held a significant number of tactical nuclear weapons (≈ 2000) for use on the battlefield or "smaller" targets. Their yield ranges from a few tons to 100 kT. The Hiroshima bomb was 15 kT.
- Threats by Putin have raised the possibility of the Ukraine war going nuclear. There are many scenarios for how this would happen and many experts claim this is the most dangerous time for a nuclear war since the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- Many war game simulations in the past have shown that is is difficult NOT for a war to escalate after first-use. This is called climbing the escalation ladder. It is hard to climb down.
- It is likely a first-use of nuclear weapons by Putin would be met with a conventional response by NATO on military targets, *e.g* the site that launched the attack. It could also lead to strikes on other sites including ones in Russia.

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Why Should You Pay For It (basic science, that is)?

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Production of trained scientists, engineers, technicians. all from basic science research.

About 250 doctoral theses have come out of JLab.



In Paris in 1783 Benjamin Franklin watched with amazement one of the first hot-air balloon flights. The following exchange was said to occur.

Questioner to Franklin: Sir, what's the use of flying in the air?

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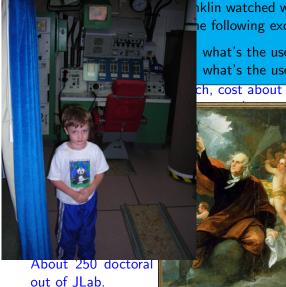
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Another Reason To Care - Timeline of North Korean Nuclear Program

- 1960's First NK reactor built at Yongbong with Soviet help.
- 1970's Plutonium reprocessing starts with Soviet help.
- 1980's NK develops nuclear weapons infrastructure with significant outside help.
- 1990's US President G.H.W. Bush announces US withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from S. Korea.
 - US, SK, and NK agree to nuclear-free Korean peninsula, but mutual inspections fail.
 - Agreed Framework "freezes" NK nuclear program and allows inspections in exchange for building power reactors and fuel oil.
- 2000's US President G.W. Bush names NK in the axis of evil.
 - Agreed Framework collapses over delays in inspections (US) and construction of reactors (NK).
 - NK starts reprocessing spent fuel, gets technical support for nuclear weapons from Pakistan in exchange for missile technology.
 - First nuclear tests.
- 2010's NK nuclear tests show increasing yield and technical prowess.
 - Rapid growth in missile technology.

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Another Reason To Care - Timeline of North Korean Nuclear Program

- US Defense Intelligence Agency finds that North Korea has produced a miniaturized nuclear warhead for mounting on an ICBM and could have up to 60 nuclear warheads.⁵
- Rapid development of intercontinental ballistic missile capabilities (17 tests in 2017) leading to the Hwasong-15 tested on November 28, 2017 with a potential range of 13,000km range.



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The population of Seoul, South Korea area is about 25 million and is located 40 km from the Demilitarized Zone. Seven hundred artillery pieces and rockets (out of an arsenal of about 14,000 guns and rockets) can reach Seoul. Twenty-three thousand US troops are stationed in South Korea.

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OVERALL SCORE				
			Chang	e since
Rank / 24		Score / 100	2014	2012
1	Australia	93	0	+3
2	Switzerland	91	+2	+4
3	Canada	87	+2	+8
4	Poland	84	+3	+7
=5	Belgium	83	+3	+13
=5	Germany	83	+1	+6
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Since early 2010, a dozen countries have eliminated weapons-usable nuclear materials from their territories, dozens more have strengthened their nuclear security practices and policies...

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Since early 2010, a dozen countries have eliminated weapons-usable nuclear materials from their territories, dozens more have strengthened their nuclear security practices and policies...

However, the global threat environment has worsened...

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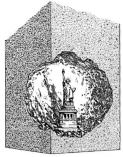
Without a comprehensive and effective global system in place, states' approaches to nuclear security continue to vary widely, thereby creating dangerous weak links that terrorists could exploit as they seek the easiest path to weapons-usable nuclear materials.

Can an Opponent Cheat on the CTBT?

- U.S. and Russian experiments have demonstrated that seismic signals can be muffled, or decoupled, for a nuclear explosion detonated in a large underground cavity.
- Such technical scenarios are credible only for yields of at most a few kilotons.
- Other scenarios require mine-masking, multiple explosions, hide-in-an-earthquake.
- The IMS is expected to detect all seismic events of about magnitude 4 or larger corresponds to an explosive yield of approximately 1 kiloton (the explosive yield of 1,000 tons of TNT).

What can be learned from low-yield, surreptitious blasts?

Can it extrapolated to full-up tests?



Demonstration of size of cavity needed to decouple a 5 kT blast.

US Congress, Office of Technological Assessment, *Verification of Nuclear Testing Treaties*, OTA-ISC-361, (Washington, DC; US Government Printing Office; May, 1988).

Why Should You Care?

"All the News That's Fit to Print" **Ehe New York Eimes**

Late Edition

New York: Today, cloudy with some light snow high 35. Tonight early snow, low 27, Tomorrow, becoming partly sunny, high 35. Yesterday, high 34, low 25. Weather map, Page D8.

HONORING '95 VOW.

HOUSE REPUBLICANS

REPLACE 13 CHIEFS

FIGHT FOR COVETED POSTS

In the Evenly Divided Senate.

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JANUARY 5, 2001

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REPORT TO CLINTON ASKS U.S. TO BATIFY TEST-BAN TREATY

A LAST-DITCH CAMPAIGN

Retired Head of Joint Chiefs Seeks to Assuage Critics of Pact Assailed by Bush

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

A former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who conducted a comprehensive study of the nuclear test ban treaty at the request of President Clinton has concluded that the United States must ratify it in order to mount an effective campaign against the spread of nuclear

The assessment by Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, who was chairman of the Joint Chiefs from 1993 to 1997, is part of a last-ditch attempt by Mr. Clinton to build support for the treaty, which Senate Republicans rejected in 1999 and on which Presidentelect George W. Bush's own top aides have sharply disagreed.

General Shalikashvili's report outlines measures intended to assuage critics of the treaty, including increased spending on verification, greater efforts to maintain the United States nuclear arsenal and a joint review by the Senate and administration every 10 years to determine whether the treaty is still in American interests

President-elect Rush assailed the treaty as unverifiable and unenforce- In the presidential campaign

Road Ban Set For One-Third Of U.S. Forests Clinton Order Will Put Logging Off Limits

By DOUGLAS JEHL

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4 - In the biggest land conservation act in decades, President Clinton will approve an order on Friday putting nearly a third of the national forest land permanently off limits to road building and logging.

The move, covering more than 58 million acres in 39 states, is to be cast by the White House as a canstone in the president's efforts to protect public lands from development. It would effectively prohibit not only commercial logging but also oil and gas development across an area larger than the nation's current national parks. And while not specifically banned, off-road vehicle activity would probably be severely limited in the modless areas because of their inaccessibility.

The president's order, a strengthened version of an October 1999 administration proposal, is likely to set off furious challenges from Western states and Republican lawmakers who have called the plan hasty and irresponsible

Among those who plan to head almost immediately to federal court to try to block the sweeping effort is the governor of Idaho, who with other Westerners has denounced the action as an unwise intrusion into landuse decisions better made at a local

Three Who Are Losing Their Old Chairmanships



Bud Shuster of Pennsylvania

Former chairman of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee announced vesterday that he was resigning.



chairman of International Belations chairman

... and Three New Chairmen of Powerful Committees



Bill Thomas of California Ways and Means



Billy Tauzin of Louislana Energy and Commerce



Jim Leach of lowa

Michael G. Oxley of Ohio

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Financial Services

Former chairman of Banking and Financial Services Committee: still in Congress but no longer a



WASHINGTON, Jan. 4 - Six years after promising to change the ways of Washington fundamentally. House Republicans today made good on their pledge to curtail the power of committee barons and replaced 13 of their most senior chairmen

The newly created selection process created fierce competition among members who sought the positions, intensified party fund-raising by the members seeking to demonstrate loyalty and led to the creation

Representative Bill Thomas, a Californian known for his sharp intellect and temper, was named as the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, which oversees tax policy. Medicare and Social Security. defeating a more senior and more conservative competitor. And Representative Henry J. Hyde of Illinois. who as chairman of the Judiciary Committee handled President Clinton's impeachment, will now head the International Relations Commit-

In an institution where change usually comes slowly and against great

27/36

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Financial Services

HONORING '95 VOW. HOUSE REPUBLICANS **REPLACE 13 CHIEFS**

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In the Evenly Divided Senate. Democrats Move Toward a Deal to Share Power

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ

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The Soviet and US Nuclear Arsenals

- By the end of the Cold War the US and USSR had nuclear arsenals containing about 64,000 warheads on various delivery vehicles.
- US and Soviet military stockpiles contained about 1600 tons of highly-enriched uranium (HEU) and about 200 tons of plutonium.



• An unforeseen consequence of the end of the Cold War was the disposition of nuclear weapons materials.

Loose Nukes?

Fissile Material Security in Russia Declines

- The economic situation in Russia left few funds for maintaining the security of now-unused nuclear materials.
- Reports by the National Research Council in 1994, 1997 and 1999 have revealed the extent of the decline of security.



Building at the Kurchatov Institute housing enough HEU for a nuclear bomb. It had no motion sensors, detectors, or portal monitors.

- In the 1990's there have been numerous instances of smugglers apprehended with nuclear materials.
- In late 1998 the Russian FSB (successor to the KGB) reports stopping an attempt to steal 18.5 kg of weapons-usable material.

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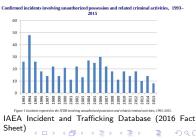
Why Should You Care?

- The US and most other nations have a long-standing policy of nuclear nonproliferation.
- A nuclear blast would have horrific consequences; loss of life, property, and security.
- Even acquisition of a nuclear weapon by an adversary could have a devastating influence on US security and non-proliferation.
- One of the highest hurdles to obtaining a nuclear weapon is acquiring enough weapons-grade fissile material to produce a bomb. Iraq spent \$5-\$10 billion in the 1980's to produce a few grams of plutonium.
- Smuggling fissile material is a 'short-cut' to acquiring nuclear weapons; it lowers the acquisition hurdle.
- Prevention (*i.e.*, security) is critical especially against an 'insider' threat.

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What Can an Opponent Do?

- What can a terrorist organization do?
 - Acquiring the necessary technology to enrich uranium or plutonium is beyond the capabilities of most terrorists.
 - Stealing the necessary fissile material is NOT!
 - A gun-type, uranium weapon of low yield is still a difficult endeavor, but could be done.
 - There are other alternatives for terrorists like a 'dirty bomb'.
 - The likeliest terrorist weapons are still guns and bombs.
- All of the above can be negated if one of the current nuclear powers gives one away. This is unlikely.
 Confirmed incidents involving unauthorized posterior and related criminal activities, 1993-2015
- There is continued smuggling activity for nuclear materials.
- The ITBD includes three incidents involving HEU and three involving plutonium during the period 1992-2015.



The US Response

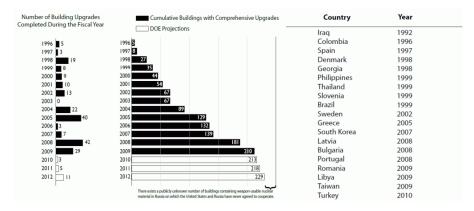
- In 1991 the US Congress passes the Nunn-Lugar Act. The US pays to improve security of fissile materials and to dismantle the Russian nuclear complex (cooperative threat reduction).
 - The US spent about \$700 million a year to reduce this threat.
 - The Fissile Material Storage Facility (FMSF) securely stores plutonium and uranium from dismantled weapons.
 - HEU Purchase Agreement downblended about 500 metric tons of HEU to reactor fuel (not usable in a nuclear weapon) for \$20 billion.



Fissile Material Storage Facility at Mayak financed by the US Cooperative Threat Reduction program.

• Most of these cooperative programs ended by December, 2014 due to the conflict over Russian actions in the Ukraine.

How Loose are the Nukes?



Countries that have eliminated all weapons-usable fissile material.

Reproduced from M. Bunn, *Securing the Bomb 2010*, Harvard University and the Nuclear Threat Initiative, April 2010).

Jerry Gilfoyle

Number of Building Upgrades Completed During the Fiscal Yea		Cumulative Buildings with Comprehensive Upgrades		Country	Year
Action Taken	Completed	% of 2017 Goal	Action Taken	Completed	% of 2017 Goal
Warheads Deactivated	7616	82.2%	SLBM Launchers Eliminated	492	80.4%
ICBMs Destroyed	914	87.8%	Nuclear Air-to-Surface Missiles Destroyed	906	100%
ICBM Silos Eliminated	498	76.4%	Bombers Eliminated	155	100%
ICBM Mobile Launchers Destroyed	197	54.9%	Nuclear Test Tunnels/Holes Sealed	194	100%
Nuclear Weapons- Carrying Submarines Destroyed	33	84.6%	Nuclear Weapons Transport Train Shipments	611	73.7%
Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs) Destroyed	695	95.3%	Nuclear Weapons Storage Facility Upgrades	24	100%
Cooperative Biological Engagement Laboratories Secured	47	57.3%	Declared CW Agent Destroyed (Metric Tons)	4018.6	73.4%

weapons-usable fissile material.

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If you want to get paid (jobs):

- The National Academies (NAS, NAE, NRC, IOM) hire Senior Project Assistants and Research Assistants.
- The scientific societies (AIP, APS, AGU, AGI, ACS, AAAS or AAS) hire science policy researchers.
- Other organizations like the Center for Science, Policy, and Outcomes, the Federation of American Scientists, and the Union of Concerned Scientists sometimes hire researchers.
- The General Accounting Office hires researchers.
- The Congressional Research Service (CRS) produces an annual guide of policy jobs in Washington, DC.

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- Policy-makers are in dire need of technical expertise in writing laws to evaluate national security threats, handle privacy, and regulate medical diagnostic testing.
- People are hungry for information.
- An educated electorate is essential.
- Training the populace could save lives in the event of an attack.
 - Panic will amplify the effect of an attack.
 - Panic is greatly diminished when people receive training.

What should you stay awake worrying about at night?

Deaths in 2019*	Cause		Deaths in 2019*	Cause
2,854,838	All causes		45,404 [†]	Car accidents
659,041	Heart disease	Ì	26,031	Homicide
606,880	Cancer		65,773	Poisoning
224,935	Accidents	Ī	39,443	Falling
40,400	Influenza/Pneumonia		4,301	Drowning
47,500	Suicide		3,704	Fire

* Assembled from CDC, Statista.com websites.

[†] Included in "Accidents" category