

Why is China going nuclear?

Yun Zhou^{*1,2}

¹Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government,
Harvard University, 79 John F. Kennedy Cambridge, MA 02138, USA

²Center of International Security and Studies at Maryland, School of Public Policy, University of
Maryland, 4113 Van Munching Hall, MD, 20742, USA

*Corresponding author. Tel.: +1-917-293-2114; fax: +1-617.495.8963;

e-mail: yun_zhou@hks.harvard.edu

This article was first published in *Energy Policy* in July 2010.

Yun Zhou, “ Why is China Going Nuclear?” *Energy Policy*, vol. 38, no. 7 (July 2010).

© 2010 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2010.02.053

22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42

Abstract

In November 2007, China’s State Council approved its “Medium- and Long-Term Nuclear Power Development Plan,” which set as a goal to increase the nation’s nuclear capacity from about 7 GWe to 40 GWe by 2020. In March 2008, the National Development and Reform Commission suggested installed nuclear power capacity might even exceed 60 GWe by 2020 due to faster than expected construction. Even with this growth, nuclear power’s share of China’s installed total capacity would be only about 5 percent. Yet China’s rapid nuclear expansion poses serious financial, political, security, and environmental challenges. This study investigates China’s claim that nuclear energy is necessary to meet its growing energy demands by analyzing China’s energy alternatives and assessing their likelihood of contributing to total Chinese capacity. By looking at China’s transformative energy policy from several perspectives, this study finds that nuclear energy is indeed a necessity for China.

Keywords: China, Nuclear Power, Coal

43 **1. Introduction**

44 In the past several years China has made an extraordinary commitment to nuclear energy
45 development. It currently has 11 nuclear power units in commercial operation, a small stake
46 compared to the 104 operational reactors in the United States and the 59 operational reactors in
47 France, but its nuclear energy output is expected to grow substantially in the coming decades.

48 As of 2004, China's nuclear power plants had a capacity of 7 GWe and produced 50.4
49 TWh, accounting for 2.3 percent of nation's electricity generation (National Bureau of Statistics
50 of China, 2004). A slate of subsequent policy initiatives proposed building on this total. In 2006,
51 China's State Council approved the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC)'s
52 "Medium- and Long-Term Nuclear Power Development Plan (2005-2020)," which outlined
53 plans to increase the nation's nuclear capacity to about 40 GWe by 2020, raising to 4 percent
54 nuclear's share of the national electricity generation capacity. A 2007 State Council Information
55 Office White Paper, "China's Energy Conditions and Policies," further enshrined nuclear energy
56 as an indispensable energy option. Recent reports suggest that the country's installed nuclear
57 power capacity might even exceed 60 GWe by 2020 due to faster than expected construction
58 (China Daily, 2008).

59 While a 4-6 percent share of national generation capacity would be relatively small, the
60 absolute quantity is remarkably large. To implement the plan, China will have to construct at
61 least three 1-GWe nuclear power units each year for the next 16 years. This is a tremendous
62 growth rate, particularly in contrast to growth in Western countries, many of which have pledged
63 to phase out nuclear power or are waiting for the "nuclear renaissance" to begin.
64 Such rapid nuclear expansion will affect China financially, environmentally, politically, and even
65 socially. Yet the circumstances under which China has developed these nuclear energy policies

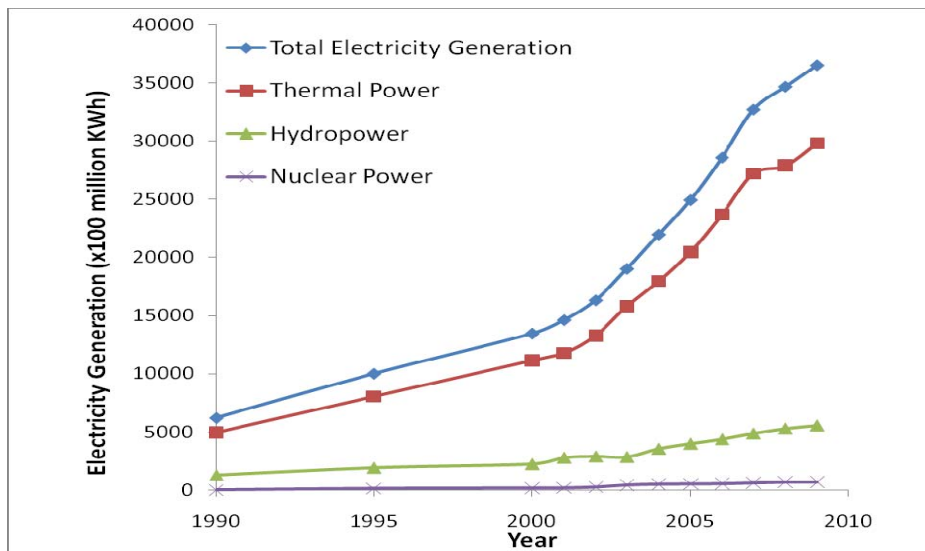
66 are not well understood. Why did China transform its nuclear energy policy so quickly? Is
67 nuclear energy necessary to meet China's huge and growing energy demands? How will the
68 Chinese nuclear expansion unfold? To address these questions requires a review of China's
69 energy profile and challenges, especially coal uses in China, which has dominated China's
70 energy mix for decades and will continue to dominate through 2030. A comparative study
71 between coal and other energy sources cannot be neglected in any China's energy policy studies.

72 **2. Can coal suffice to meet China's growing energy needs?**

73 **An increasing demand for coal.** Since its economic reforms in 1978, China's gross domestic
74 product (GDP) has grown by about 10 percent per year (Bergsten et al., 2006). This growth has
75 quadrupled China's total energy consumption (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 1978-
76 2006). **Figure 1** shows the total electricity generation and contributions from major generation
77 sources from 1990 to 2009. In 2009, China had a total installed electricity generation capacity of
78 874 GW and generated 3,650 TWh of electricity (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2009).
79 The rapid growth in electricity demand spurred significant investment in new power stations.
80 Since 2004, the total installed capacity has increased at an average rate of 90 GWe per year.

81 Although China's rapid growth in electricity capacity makes it the second largest country
82 for installed capacity and electricity generation in the world, China still suffers from severe
83 power shortages. This is most apparent in the summer, when China's coastal regions have to
84 rotate daily power blackouts in industrial and residential areas to ease electricity load. China is
85 aiming to quadruple its 2000 GDP by 2020, which would be equivalent to a 7.2 percent annual
86 GDP growth rate. Projections for China's 2020 electricity demand range from 2,254 TWh to
87 5,200 TWh depending on differing assumptions about the relationship between electricity

88 demand growth and GDP growth, and about the electricity elasticity of GDP (Li et al., 2004; Hu
89 et al., 2005; EIA, 2006).



90

91

Figure 1. The total electricity generation and components in China from 1990 to 2009

92

While electricity demand projections are relatively uncertain, coal-fired generation will

93

definitely play a fundamental role in China's energy mix and electricity generation. Coal, as

94

China's primary energy resource, has supported most of its energy growth to date. Coal-fired

95

generation accounted for 80 percent of China's electricity generation in 2007 (National Bureau

96

of Statistics of China, 2007). Another way of characterizing China's dependence on coal is to

97

note that electricity generation is responsible for 68 percent of the increase in coal consumption

98

during the past 15 years; coal-fired generation has met on average 80 percent of increases in

99

electricity demand during the same period (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 1990-2007).

100

China's reliance on coal is only expected to increase as a consequence of rapid economic growth.

101

Although China aims to reduce the percentage of coal use in its total primary energy

102

consumption from 69.5 percent to 40 percent by 2050, coal-fired power generation will remain

103

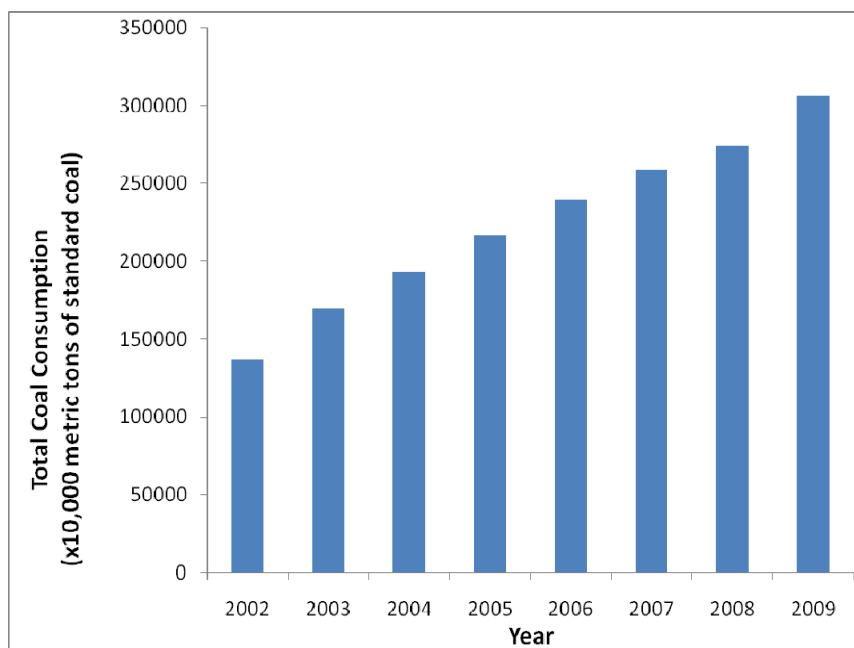
dominant.

104 On one hand ramping up coal generation is a sensible way to address energy demands.
105 Compared with other energy generation options, coal-fired power generation in China has lower
106 investment costs, shorter construction periods, and lower electricity production costs. The
107 pollution penalties for utilities are low, and coal-fired plants often choose to pay the fee rather
108 than invest in cleaner generation technologies. Yet, China's reliance on coal has slowed the
109 diversification of China's energy sector and has caused a range of problems, from heavy air
110 pollution to clogged transportation routes to unsafe coal mines.

111 China pursues comprehensive energy conservation and efficient energy use to lower its
112 energy demands. China's 11th Five-Year energy development plan aims to limit China's total
113 primary energy consumption to 2.7 billion tons of standard coal by 2010. However, in 2008,
114 China's coal production had already reached 2.72 billion tons of coal, and total energy
115 consumption reached 2.91 billion tons of standard coal in 2008 (see **Figure 2**, National Bureau
116 of Statistics of China, 2003-2009). China's Medium and Long-Term Energy Conversation Plan
117 (2004) warned that when national coal consumption approaches 3 billion tons of standard coal,
118 society and the environment would be pushed to a critical point, posing tremendous costs and
119 pressures on energy infrastructure construction, water resources, transportation capability.
120 Existing environmental problems also would be aggravated to an intolerable level. If China's
121 energy consumption continues to grow at the current pace, continued heavy reliance on coal
122 would result in energy security challenges.

123 It is not clear that China would expand its domestic coal production to meet demand,
124 even if all the attendant problems associated with coal could be solved. As part of its long-term
125 energy policy, China has said it would like to meet 90-percent of its energy demand with

126 domestic resources and generating capacity. Simply importing coal from abroad to meet its
127 growing energy demand is thus not an option.



128

129

Figure 2. Total coal consumption from 2003 to 2009

130

131 **Coal Transportation and Price.** In January 2008, the worst winter snowstorm in five decades
132 hit central, eastern and southern China. China's coal-dominated energy infrastructure
133 exacerbated the disastrous consequences of the extreme weather. Snow caused bad road
134 conditions that prevented coal from being transported from the inland regions to the major
135 population centers on the coast. The cold weather dramatically increased electricity demand
136 throughout the country. Coal-fired plants in several provinces, such as Zhejiang Province,
137 suffered a sharp decline in coal reserves. At the shortage's most severe point, coal stockpiles
138 were sufficient to generate only three days of electricity. Some regions had to cut the power
139 supply to their industrial areas to ensure local residents would survive.

140

141

Even in good weather, coal transportation is a very serious challenge to China's power
industries. Approximately 80 percent of China's coal resources are located in mountainous

142 regions far away from industrial centers and highly populated coastal regions as shown in **Figure**
143 **3** (Barlow Jonkers, 2001). Shaanxi, Shanxi and Inner Mongolia, the three largest coal-producing
144 provinces, contribute more than 50 percent of China's total coal output, while coastal regions
145 such as Shanghai, Zhejiang, Guangdong, and Fujian account for a majority of coal consumption.
146 As of 2007, the rail network had the capacity to transport more than 1.17 billion metric tons of
147 coal per year, which amounts to more than 47 percent of the total railway transportation capacity
148 (Xinhua News, 2008). Yet this capacity has proved insufficient to deal with rising coal output
149 (see **Table 1**) and is one of the major factors leading to rising coal prices in recent years
150 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2003-2008). From 2000 to 2008, the rate of coal freight
151 carried by national rail grew only 8.8 percent annually, much lower than the 13.7 percent coal
152 production growth rate over the same period (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2000-2008).
153 The shortage of railway networks, their inferior foundations, and slow renovation schedules
154 suggest that railway transport capacity will remain nearly saturated along all the main coal
155 transport routes for the foreseeable future, except along the Daqin Railway, the largest coal haul
156 railway in China and the railway with the largest annual freight volume in the world (Liu, 2007).
157 The Daqin line uses an electrified double track system with advanced heavy-haul transportation
158 technologies that allowed it to increase its annual load to 300 million tons of freight in 2007. The
159 line is capable of maximally supporting the transport of 400 million tons of freight annually
160 (Xinhua news, 2009). According to the Ministry of Railways, demand for the rail transport of
161 coal is expected to be 1,700-1,800 Mtpa by 2010 and 2,000-2,200 Mtpa by 2020, which is larger
162 than rail capacity is expected to grow in the next decade. Therefore, bottlenecks are expected to
163 persist, particularly in Shaanxi and the central southern part of Shanxi as coal production
164 becomes further concentrated in these provinces and Inner Mongolia (IEA, 2009a).



166

167

Figure 3. The map of China’s mainland coal resources

168

169

Table 1. Total amount of coal transported, coal output and total length of railway routes from 2003 to 2008

Total amount of coal transported by railways (10000 Metric Tons)						
Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	88132	99210	107082	112034	122081	134418
Change rate		7.7% ↑	7.9% ↑	4.6% ↑	9.0% ↑	10.1% ↑
Total amount of coal output (10000 Metric tons)						
Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	172200	199232	220472	237300	252597	279300
Change rate		15.7% ↑	10.7% ↑	7.6% ↑	6.6% ↑	10.6% ↑
Total length of railway transportation routes (10000 Kilometers)						
Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	7.3	7.44	7.54	7.71	7.80	7.97
Change rate		1.9% ↑	1.3% ↑	2.3% ↑	1.2% ↑	2.2% ↑

170

171

Until recently, the Chinese government controlled domestic coal prices as a way to

172

guarantee enough cheap resources to support energy use and economic development. The

173

Chinese government shifted course in 1993 and adopted a “dual track” system. At the end of

174

every year, the government announces its “guided” utility coal price, which reflects some

175 increase based on market dynamics but is still below the commercial coal price. Table 2 gives
 176 the average coal prices from key state-owned mines under the Dual Track system (Pan et al.,
 177 2002-2009). In December 2005, the NDRC went a step further and abolished its use of a guiding
 178 price for utility coal. However, electricity prices remained fixed while coal prices soared hurting
 179 utility companies. The government [?] was forced to temporarily intervene, for example, by
 180 capping price increases at 8 percent in 2005 and capping them again in 2008. As demonstrated in
 181 **Table 2**, the gap between coal prices for electricity generation and coal prices for other users
 182 increased reached 32.4 percent in 2008, which showed the government's continued ability to
 183 mediate potential conflicts between coal producers and coal-fired plants. Nevertheless, the
 184 government has emphasized that it still plans on liberalizing coal pricing, ending government
 185 intervention, and encouraging long-term contracts between utility companies and mines. As part
 186 of coal industry reforms, the Chinese government also raised the tax rate for coal resources from
 187 1 percent to 3 percent, and the state council proposed requiring resource-based enterprises, such
 188 as the coal industry, to set up a reserve fund system for sustainable development. In addition, the
 189 government collects an environmental recovery deposit and contributions to a production safety
 190 fund.

191

192 Table 2. Average commercial prices of coal vs. prices of utility coal during 2002 ~ 2008.

Average commercial price of coal (Yuan/Ton)							
Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	168	174	207	270	302	331	463
Increase rate		6.0% ↑	15.7% ↑	30.4% ↑	11.9%↑	9.6 ↑	39.9↑
Average price of coal for electricity (Yuan/Ton)							
Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	137	139	162	212	216	246	313
Increase rate		1.5% ↑	11.7% ↑	30.9%↑	2%↑	13.9%↑	27.2%↑
Difference between two prices (Yuan/Ton)							
Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	31	33	45	58	86	100	150
Increase rate		6.5% ↑	36.4% ↑	28.9%↑	48.3%↑	16.3%↑	50%↑

193 **Coal Safety and Environmental Impacts.** The central government is simultaneously attempting
194 to reform safety regulations for coal mining. Due to insufficient safety measures and
195 management, nearly 6,000 Chinese coal miners died on the job in 2005. Such accidents are so
196 commonplace that only larger accidents that kill hundreds hit the news (Oster, 2006). Small coal
197 mines are especially dangerous. Because they currently account for about one-third of China's
198 coal production but two-thirds of the deaths in the coal industry, the State Council proposed
199 shutting down more than half of them and bringing their total number below 10,000 before 2010
200 (NDRC, 2008). Though the campaign might increase safety, it is also likely to reduce total coal
201 output capability by 250 million metric tons and it may take time for large state-owned mines to
202 lift their output to compensate the shortfalls (NDRC, 2008).

203 While coal output, transportation capacity, and mine safety can be improved gradually,
204 the environmental impact of massive coal use is irreversible and devastating. Coal use is
205 responsible for as much as 90 percent of China's sulfur dioxide emissions and 50 percent of its
206 particulate emissions (Economy, 2007). Coal-generated air pollution has contributed to a recent,
207 sharp rise in the number of people suffering from respiratory illness caused by particulates.
208 Sulfur dioxide discharged from plants has increased acid rain that has reportedly damaged soil
209 quality across one-third of China's landmass; and in 2005, acid rain fell in more than half of the
210 696 cities and counties under air-quality monitoring (Reuters News, 2006).

211 The environmental effects of China's heavy coal use are not China's problem alone. Acid
212 rain is already a regional problem in China, South Korea, and southwest Japan (Streets et al.,
213 1997). The government estimates that the costs of environmental damage from coal mining,
214 including wasted resources, environmental pollution, ecological destruction, and surface
215 subsidence, total about RMB 30 billion per year (IEA 2009a). In addition, carbon dioxide

216 emissions are impacting global climate. Studies show that China overtook the United States as
217 the largest emitter of carbon dioxide in 2009. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on
218 Climate Change (IPCC), to avoid severe and irreversible consequences to the climate, nations
219 need to stabilize the atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide at 550 ppmv (double the pre-
220 industrial level) or even 450 ppmv by 2050. To reach that goal, reductions in annual carbon
221 dioxide (CO₂) emissions need to begin by 2020. China has ratified the Kyoto Protocol so it
222 should be trying to reduce carbon emissions even if the treaty does not mandate reductions for
223 developing countries. In addition, China set as a goal to cut CO₂ emissions intensity by 40–45
224 percent below 2005 levels by 2020 as part of the agreement to emerge from the 2009 United
225 Nations Climate Change Conference. So far, though, China has failed to lower the environmental
226 costs of its economic growth (SEPA, 2006). Without stronger and more effective measures,
227 China will also fail to achieve the environmental goals of its 11th Five-Year Plan, which is to
228 reduce by 10 percent the emission of major pollutants by 2010.

229 The sum of these challenges—the rapidly increasing demand for coal, transportation
230 constraints, coal cost increases, and environmental costs—are driving China to diversify its
231 energy resources and to pursue comprehensive energy conservation and efficient energy use.
232

233 **3. China's Energy Alternatives**

234 To implement its energy self-sufficiency principle, relieve environmental and social pressures,
235 and promote sustainable development, China needs to develop a range of domestic power
236 generation alternatives. These alternatives have to be economically feasible, environmental
237 friendly, publicly acceptable, and capable of being implemented on a large scale. Of the possible

238 development directions, this analysis examines natural gas, hydropower (and other renewable
239 energy options such as solar and wind), clean coal technologies, and nuclear power.

240 *Natural gas.* Natural gas accounted for about 3 percent of total Chinese energy
241 consumption in 2005. The U.S. Energy Information Administration predicts that use of natural
242 gas in China will double by 2010 (EIA, 2005). As part of this growth, China has built several
243 large-scale liquefied natural gas (LNG) power plants in its southern and eastern regions.
244 Compared with coal-fired power plants, LNG plants have a number of advantages. They emit
245 only 42 percent of the carbon dioxide, 21 percent of the nitrogen oxides, and relatively little of
246 the sulfur dioxide that a coal-fired power plant of comparable size does. LNG plants require less
247 human, land, and water resources to construct and operate, which reduces construction
248 investment. Capital costs of LNG plants are one-third lower than those required by similarly
249 sized coal-fired plants. Additionally, the energy efficiency of advanced LNG plants can surpass
250 55-58 percent, a much higher rate than a coal-fired power plant, and these plants can be deployed
251 on a large scale (Wu et al., 2002).

252 LNG plants also have several financial limitations. Fuel costs account for 60 percent of
253 the total generating costs of LNG plants. As such, the cost and profitability of LNG power
254 generation is highly sensitive to gas prices. In recent years, natural gas prices have only
255 increased, while the price of coal for electricity generation remained cheap. An example of this
256 imbalance can be found in Zhejiang Province, where the price of natural gas has been more than
257 three times the price of coal, and where the price of electricity from natural gas generation has
258 been twice as expensive as from coal generation. Without strong subsidy support from the
259 Chinese government, LNG plants will have a difficult time competing with coal-fired plants (Wu
260 et al, 2002; Yang et al., 2007; Zhu, 2007).

261 Insufficient domestic sources of natural gas are another major constraint to its economic
262 viability. Chinese deposits of natural gas are distributed mainly within western provinces. China
263 built a 4,200 kilometer-long pipeline called “west gas transport east” to bring natural gas to
264 eastern regions, such as Shanghai and Zhejiang, yet this infrastructure would not be able to
265 supply the large-scale LNG plants located along the pipeline were natural gas’s contribution to
266 electricity generation to grow.

267 The lack of domestic supply has forced LNG plants to purchase natural gas from the
268 international market at much higher prices. Without supply stability, many LNG plants have had
269 to shut down after several months of operations. Additionally, natural gas suppliers and
270 consumers typically sign long-term contracts with a fixed price. Under this kind of agreement,
271 suppliers are unable to guarantee the provision of enough gas to meet periods of peak demand,
272 weakening the source’s competitiveness (NDRC, 2006). All of these characteristics suggest that
273 natural gas will not play a key role in reducing China’s reliance on coal and helping it mitigate
274 emissions during the coming decades.

275 **Renewable Energy.** Renewable energy accounts for only a small fraction of China’s total
276 primary energy supply. The Chinese government plans to increase the share of domestic
277 renewable energy consumption to 10 percent of total energy consumption by 2010, according to
278 the 11th Five-Year Plan, and it aims for a 30-percent share by 2050 (China Daily, 2007). Due to
279 grid constraints and an insufficient long-distance transmission infrastructure, large-scale
280 implementation of renewable energy will be a challenge, and its role in industrial and highly
281 populated regions will remain limited for the foreseeable future.

282 One bright spot for China has been wind power. Total installed wind capacity reached
283 12.2 GW in 2008, exceeding the planned capacity outlined in the 11th Five-Year Plan (NDRC,

284 2008). Although this rapid growth makes China the fourth largest wind market in the world, only
285 60 percent of this capacity is connected to grids (Forbes, 2009). Most wind resources are located
286 in the north and the west of China, in areas such as Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, and Gansu. This
287 poses a huge challenge as the government will need to construct a grid and transmit the
288 electricity generated by wind to the coastal areas where demand is high. In addition, although the
289 recent Renewable Energy Law sets up a preferential price for electricity generated by wind
290 power and priority access for wind power to connect to grids, it doesn't guarantee all electricity
291 generated by renewable resources the priority access to connect to electricity grids. Grid
292 companies don't have financial motivation to accommodate wind power as a non-baseload
293 power source. Extensive policy support and law enforcement are needed to help wind power
294 compete with other energy options. Thus, despite China's excellent wind resources, wind
295 power's total percent contribution to electricity generation will probably remain low, particularly
296 in the eastern coastal provinces.

297 Although China's solar power potential is enormous, the Chinese solar power industry is
298 in its infancy. Grid-connected solar photovoltaic capacity in China is still marginal, just a few
299 megawatts in 2006 (Martinot and Li, 2007). A large plant tied to the Chinese grid, such as the
300 1,000-MW plant installed in Germany in 2006, is still at least a decade away, as the cost of solar
301 photovoltaic technology declines further and as conventional power costs rise (Martinot and Li,
302 2007).

303 Of the renewable sources available, only hydropower presently makes a significant
304 contribution, accounting for about 16.4 percent of China's total electricity generation in 2008.
305 China has employed hydropower for thousands of years and is currently the world's third largest

306 consumer and producer, after Canada and Brazil. But concerns about the environmental and
307 social impact of implementing further hydroelectric projects might ultimately limit their growth.

308 China has built small- and medium-sized dams without great environmental and social
309 impact, but its large-scale dam projects, such as the Three Gorges Dam, have been controversial.
310 The Three Gorges project was completed as planned in 2008 and is expected to produce 84.7
311 billion kilowatt hours of electricity, about one-tenth of China's projected electricity consumption.
312 Critics of the dam allege that it could damage the local environment, culture, and historical
313 resources by, for example, changing the course of the Chang Jiang River, affecting water quality
314 and local climate, and inducing biodiversity loss. Between 1.2 million and 1.9 million people
315 have already been forced to leave their homes and resettle elsewhere as a consequence of the
316 dam's construction (Schreurs, 2007).

317 Strong public opposition has slowed down several other large-scale hydroelectric projects,
318 including the Nu River project, and has made future development uncertain. Another potential
319 challenge for hydropower is that most plants are located in western regions. As discussed
320 previously, transmitting energy and electricity from western regions to the east has the potential
321 to aggravate pressures on the environment and transportation infrastructure.

322 *Advanced-Coal and Decarbonization Technologies.* In recent years, the Chinese
323 government has improved its advanced coal technological capabilities, including clean coal
324 power technology, pollution-control technology, coal gasification technology, coal liquefaction
325 technology and coal gasification-based co-production technology and deployed certain
326 technologies, such as pollution-control technologies. For example, the total installed capacity of
327 flue gas desulfurization technologies increased from 53 GW in 2005 to 270 GW in 2007,
328 accounting for more than 50 percent of total installed thermal power capacity (Wang et al., 2008).

329 However, the development and deployment of coal gasification, coal liquefaction and coal
330 gasification-based co-production technologies are still very limited due to weak technological
331 innovation capabilities. In addition, due to insufficient regulation enforcement and lax emission
332 standards in China, the deployment of pollution-control technologies did not necessarily control
333 the increase of pollutant emissions. For example, even though a lot of flue gas desulfurization
334 units have been installed in coal-fired plants, it is not clear that the equipment is always in
335 operation (Zhao and Gallagher, 2007). Enforcing regulations and standards, raising regulatory
336 standards, and improving monitoring measures remain huge challenges. Since coal will continue
337 to dominate China's energy mix for decades, decarbonization technologies cannot be ignored as
338 a part of the solution. Innovative decarbonization technologies are well understood but have yet
339 to be demonstrated together at commercial scale. The cost of capturing, transporting, and
340 disposing of carbon dioxide is still high, and the environmental impacts are largely unknown.
341 Decarbonization technology is still a far way from the deployment stage. Liu and Gallagher
342 (2009) briefly described three phases for the development and deployment of carbon capture and
343 storage (CCS) technology in China. By 2020, pilot-scale demonstration projects should start up,
344 and early commercial deployment might be possible. By between 2020 and 2030, CCS could be
345 a commercialized technology for an emerging low-carbon economy. Beyond 2030, the adoption
346 of CCS could become standard practice for all large stationary fossil fuel installations.

347 **4. The Nuclear Energy Option**

348 The development of additional nuclear energy capacity in China promises to overcome many of
349 the barriers that confront the energy sources discussed above. Though China's reliance on
350 nuclear energy has been limited to date, it has built an extensive industrial base of nuclear and
351 technical capabilities that is poised to support substantial growth.

352 China built its first heavy water research reactor and cyclotron in 1958 and connected its
353 first indigenously designed, constructed, and managed pressurized water reactor to its electricity
354 grid in 1991. Since then, nuclear power growth has been slow. In 2004, China's nuclear power
355 plants produced only 50.4 TWh of electricity, accounting for 2.3 percent of national generation.
356 In comparison, South Korea's and Japan's nuclear power sectors account for 40 percent and 30
357 percent, respectively, of total electricity generation.

358 In contrast to other potential energy sources, nuclear reactors are a fully developed and low-
359 carbon emission electricity generating option that has the potential for large-scale expansion. Despite
360 the large cost of nuclear power plants, China's booming economy has helped to ensure enough capital
361 investment for planned projects. The ongoing global finance crisis has affected China, but it did not
362 decrease Chinese investment in nuclear energy development. Instead, the government has increased
363 the amount of financial aid and guaranteed loans for the nuclear industry. China has not participated
364 any international nuclear liability regime, but China set up its nuclear insurance pool in 1999, which is
365 a community comprising 15 major non-life insurance companies and four reinsurers.

366 Nuclear power could be cost competitive with other forms of electricity generation, except
367 where utilities have direct access to low-cost fossil fuels, such as coal and natural gas. Yes, the cost of
368 building nuclear power reactors is relatively high, but the operating costs are relatively low.
369 Additionally, nuclear fuel costs are a minor portion of total generating costs, while they make up 40
370 and 60 percent of costs for coal-fired and LNG plants, respectively. This insulates the price of
371 electricity generated from nuclear reactors to fuel price escalation. Standardized designs, shorter
372 construction times, and high capacity factors have also lowered reactor construction costs to the point
373 that even without environmental subsidies, nuclear reactors can be competitive with other power
374 options over the their operating lifetimes (WNA, 2008). For example, when the price of coal for power

375 generation reaches 400 Yuan/Ton, domestically designed nuclear power plants with construction costs
376 of \$1,300 per kilowatt could compete economically with coal-fired power generation in China's
377 coastal regions, regions that don't have direct access to coal resources (Wen, 2005). The Westinghouse
378 AP1000 design follows the simplification principle by decreasing the number of components,
379 including pipes, wires, and valves, which helps to reduce the time and cost of construction. This
380 simplification is one of the major reasons that Westinghouse won its bid in 2005 to construct two
381 nuclear power plants in Sanmen and Haiyang, China.¹ Of course, no vendor can guarantee that new
382 and more standardized designs can be built at a lower cost than previous designs. If China's AP1000
383 project succeeds, it would be a good demonstration of the economic advantages of standardization and
384 serial construction. Environmental subsidies and related policies, such as a carbon dioxide tax, could
385 be introduced in China, which would make nuclear power even more economically competitive.

386 Nuclear energy has several other practical advantages for China. Nuclear fuel,
387 predominantly comprised of uranium, has the advantage of being a highly concentrated source of
388 energy that requires less transport capacity. For example, a 1-GWe pressurized water reactor
389 refills only one third of its fuel assemblies per year, and the total quantity of fuel is much less
390 than the amount of coal or oil needed to generate an equivalent amount of energy. Additionally,
391 extreme weather or seasons affect nuclear power plant operations very little.

392 Adequate and affordable uranium resources form the foundation of China's proposed
393 nuclear expansion. China's estimated uranium resources, about 100,000 tons (CAEA, 2007),
394 should enable it to satisfy uranium demands for the next decade.² To meet its longer-term needs,

¹ Personal communication with personnel from the Institute of New and Nuclear Technologies at Tsinghua University and the China National Nuclear Group ([names withheld by request](#)), January 2008

² The annual mass of fuel, in metric tons of heavy metal (MTHM), which must be loaded into one PWR reactor is obtained as:

395 it will need to strengthen its domestic uranium exploration and mining capacity. The China
 396 National Nuclear Group, the only state-owned nuclear corporation with uranium exploration and
 397 mining capabilities, recently announced that it had verified a large uranium ore deposit in the
 398 Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. And it claims that the amount of newly proven uranium
 399 found each year in China outpaces the country's growing demand. Assuming it will be able to
 400 mine and process these deposits at a reasonable pace, the group expects to be able to fuel
 401 Chinese nuclear power development for the long run (Xinhua News, 2008). In addition the
 402 IAEA's *Uranium 2007: Resources, Production and Demand*, also known as the "Red Book,"
 403 shows that an estimated 5.5 million tons of global uranium resources exist, 130 times the global
 404 production of uranium estimated for 2007 (IAEA, 2008). Unconventional uranium sources, such
 405 as those in phosphate rocks and in seawater, are available to explore when cheap uranium
 406 sources become scarce and uranium prices increase. In addition to using natural uranium

$$M = \frac{P \times CF \times 365}{\eta_{th} \times B}$$

where

M: mass of fuel loaded per year (NTHM/year);

P: installed electric capacity (GWe)

CF: capacity factor

η_{th} : thermal efficiency (GWe/GWth), and B: discharge burnup (GWd/MTHM). In this paper, the installed capacity of 60 GWe is assumed in 2020; the capacity factor is 85 percent; the thermal efficiency is 33 percent; and the discharge burnup is 50 GWd/MTHM. From the calculation, China needs 7090 tons uranium fuel from 2006 to 2020 with considering initial fuel load for new installed capacities.

The mass of natural uranium required for fuel production can be obtained by considering the enrichment process. The required enrichment level for a given burnup can be calculated given the amount of feed material (natural uranium 0.711%) by:

$$F = P \times \left(\frac{x_p - x_w}{x_f - x_w} \right)$$

Where;

x_f = weight fraction of U-235 in the natural uranium; here, $x_f = 0.711\%$

x_p = weight fraction of U-235 in the enriched uranium fuel; here, $x_p = 4.5\%$ for the time period of 2006-2020.

x_w = weight fraction of U-235 in the waste stream; here, $x_w = 0.3\%$

F = the amount of natural uranium

P = the amount of product enriched

From the calculation, China needs 72318 tons natural uranium from 2006 to 2020.

407 resources, a number of Chinese researchers are looking at the reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel
408 and advanced nuclear technologies, such as fast breeder reactor designs, as a way to significantly
409 extend existing uranium supplies. Uranium resources are thought to be geographically more
410 evenly distributed than any other energy resource, though a relatively few countries—including
411 Australia, Canada, and countries in Central Asia, hold the largest shares of the most economical,
412 high-grade uranium ores. Given this distribution of uranium resources, the risk of supply
413 disruption is minimal as compared to oil and natural gas reserves, which are concentrated in the
414 Middle East (EIA, 2009). In addition, countries can maintain stockpiles of nuclear fuel with
415 relative ease, given that uranium fuel storage requires far less space than for fossil fuels. Lastly,
416 nuclear fuel costs are only about 5 percent of total generating costs, while fuel costs for coal-
417 fired and natural gas-fired plants make up 40 percent and 60 percent of costs, respectively (NEA,
418 2008). All of these arguments suggest that the availability of nuclear fuel should not constrain
419 future nuclear expansions.

420 Building enough new nuclear power plants and operating them long enough to make a
421 significant contribution to China's growing energy needs will require greater acceptance from
422 the Chinese public. Public opposition has been a major impediment to nuclear development in
423 the West, but as a consequence of China's relatively centralized government and government-
424 driven economy, the Chinese public is typically informed of nuclear decisions only after they are
425 made. Chinese authorities are taking steps to increase public involvement in nuclear energy
426 decisions. The State Environmental Protection Administration, China's top environmental body,
427 recently initiated limited public involvement in the nation's environmental impact assessment
428 process. Local governments are now required to release environmental impact assessment reports
429 and allow public feedback during a public comment period before starting construction of large-

430 scale projects. This system has so far been ineffective and inefficient. Gradually, public
431 participation on nuclear projects should improve because of improved regulatory transparency.

432 In general, the Chinese public seems willing to accept and embrace nuclear technologies
433 and the role they will play in the country's continued development. Further nuclear development,
434 for instance, is likely to provide thousands of jobs in local communities, which has set off a
435 scramble among local governments eager to have nuclear power plants built in their regions. In
436 contrast to Japan, for example, where local officials have fought to keep nuclear facilities out of
437 their regions, local Chinese officials believe that nuclear power can positively impact the local
438 economy, increase the local tax base, and resolve electricity shortfalls and have aggressively
439 initiated cooperation with nuclear investment corporations, such as the China National Nuclear
440 Group.

441 Still the government knows that a single nuclear safety accident could adversely affect
442 public opinion. China's record of nuclear power operation is relatively clean, and keeping it that
443 way is a priority for Chinese officials. By building on its existing safety culture and the new
444 passive safety features of Generation III reactors, China hopes to maintain its safety record.
445 Significant human resources will be needed to support the implementation of China's aggressive
446 nuclear energy policy. As part of its military-related nuclear program in the 1950s, China had a strong
447 nuclear technology workforce made up of technocrats, engineers, designers, and researchers. China's
448 modest nuclear energy industry, however, couldn't sustain interest in the field. Low student demand
449 forced many universities that had trained the initial nuclear workforce to cancel their nuclear
450 engineering programs. Today, only a few Chinese universities have nuclear engineering programs. The
451 Chinese nuclear industry is well aware of these problems and is attempting to ensure the necessary

452 workforce for future nuclear energy development.³ Universities are pitching in by launching new
453 nuclear engineering programs. Some of these programs matriculate junior students from other
454 engineering majors and offer one-year professional training programs focused on nuclear science and
455 engineering. These students are often offered work in nuclear power plants directly after they graduate.
456 Nuclear power plants pay competitive wages and offer excellent benefits in order to keep talent, yet it
457 remains to be seen whether personnel who undergo such a short training program will be able to
458 maintain current quality standards. These recruitment programs do not address the need for high-level
459 research and development personnel to work on core areas, such as nuclear reactor design. One
460 significant potential barrier to the impact of new nuclear power plants is the time it will take for these
461 plants to come online. Three nuclear expansion scenarios present themselves as possibilities. The first
462 scenario is the reference case and is based on China’s current long-term nuclear power plan, which
463 anticipates that nuclear power will have a 20-percent share (the current world nuclear share) of the
464 total national installed capacity by 2050. The second scenario is a high-growth scenario, which
465 anticipates continuous nuclear expansion and nuclear to have a 30-percent share of installed capacity
466 by 2050. The third scenario is the low-growth scenario, which anticipates a 10-percent nuclear share
467 by 2050. These scenarios assume that the nuclear growth will take the form of additional 1 GWe
468 pressurized water reactors and that Generation IV reactors will be developed to the point that they are
469 commercially deployable by 2040.

470

471 **5. Meeting Rising Demand**

³ “The Challenges and Countermeasures for Human Resources Development on Nuclear Power in the 21st Century” Presentation delivered by SNERDI at “International Conference on Opportunities and Challenges for Water Cooled Reactors in the 21st Century” Vienna, Austria. October 2009.

472 For a country like China, there is no single approach to accomplish the goals of reducing
473 environmental issues and ensuring energy demands at the same time. It's hard for one particular
474 technology alone to ease all issues on a timescale or size scale. Of all the energy technologies
475 discussed, nuclear has the clearest potential to contribute to increased Chinese demand and
476 climate change mitigation strategies. Nuclear should not be left out of China's energy mix. But
477 how much can nuclear contribute? The current average installed capacity in countries part of the
478 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is approximately 2.1 KW per capita
479 (IEA, 2009b). Assuming that 20 percent of China's population will reach this level of
480 industrialization by 2050, and the remaining part of the population will reach half this level by
481 the same time, China will need an installed capacity of 1,800 GWe to satisfy the demands of its
482 expected 1.5-billion strong population. This is near the middle point of projections used in other
483 studies, which range from 1,200 GWe to 2,300 GWe (Zhao et al., 2000; Wen, 2005; Liu et al.,
484 2006). The nuclear growth laid out by Chinese planning documents and the reference scenario
485 above could contribute substantially to Chinese efforts to meet this growing demand. But this
486 growth will depend on China ramping up what has essentially been a modest industry that has
487 never before been incorporated into national economic planning. And there is still the question of
488 whether China can manage the technological, financial, and social challenges associated with
489 nuclear expansion while simultaneously addressing proliferation, waste disposal, and safety
490 concerns.

491

492 **Acknowledgements**

493 Personal communication with personnel from the Institute of New and Nuclear Technologies at
494 Tsinghua University and the China National Nuclear Group. Comments from Robert Budnitz,

495 Peipei Chen, Steve Fetter, Nancy Gallagher, Andrew Kadak, Jonas Siegel, and John Steinbruner.
496 This research was supported by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation through the
497 Center of International Studies and Security at Maryland. This paper is completed with generous
498 support from the Carnegie Corporation through the Project on Managing the Atom in the Belfer
499 Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University.
500

501 **References**

- 502 Auffhammer, M., Carson, R.T., 2008. Forecasting the Path of China's CO2 Emissions Using
503 Province Level Information. *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 47 (1): 47-
504 62.
- 505 Barlow Jonker Pty Ltd., 2001. *Major Coalfields of China*, Sydney, Australia.
- 506 Bergsten, C.F., Bates Gill, B., Lardy, N.R., and Mitchell, D., 2006. *China: The Balance Sheet: What the World Needs to Know About the Emerging Superpower*, the Center for Strategic and
507 International Studies.
- 508
- 509 China's Atomic Energy Authority (CAEA), 2007. *China's Uranium Resource, Production and*
510 *Demand*.
- 511 China Daily, 7 February 2007. Beijing to Host Carbon Market. Available at:
512 (http://english.people.com.cn/200702/07/eng20070207_348243.html).
- 513 China Daily, 20 December 2008. Nuclear Power to Get a Big Boost. Available at:
514 (http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2008-12/20/content_7324967.htm).
- 515 Economy, E., 2007. The Great Leap Backward? *Foreign Affairs*, 86 (5): 38-59.
- 516 EIA, 2005. *Electric Power Industry Overview*.
- 517 EIA, 2006. *Annual Energy Outlook 2006*.
- 518 EIA, 2009. *World Proved Oil and Natural Gas Reserves*. Available at:
519 (<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/international/reserves.html>).
- 520 Forbes, July 2009. Weaknesses in Chinese Wind Power. Available at:
521 (<http://www.forbes.com/2009/07/20/china-wind-power-business-energy-china.html>).

522 Hu, Z., Moskovitz, D., Zhao J., 2005. Demand-Side Management in China's Restructured Power
523 Industry: How Regulation and Policy can Deliver Demand-Side Management Benefits to a
524 Growing Economy and a Changing Power System. Washington, DC: World Bank. Available at
525 (<http://www.raonline.org/Pubs/China/Dec05ChinaDSM.pdf>).

526 IAEA, 2008. The Report of Climate Change and Nuclear Energy.

527 IEA, 2009a. Cleaner coal in China.

528 IEA, 2009b. Electricity information 2009

529 Li, S., He, J., Li, X., 2004. China's Economic Growth Prospects and Electricity Demand
530 (Chinese). DRC Expert Report.

531 Lin, B., Dong, B., Li, X., 2006. Forecasting Long-term Coal Price in China: a Shifting Trend
532 Time Series Approach. The International Conference of WTO, China, and the Asian Economies,
533 IV: Economic Integration and Economic Development. Beijing, China.

534 Liu, X., Xu, J., Zhu, Y., 2006. Chinese Nuclear Power Development and Related Fuel Cycle
535 Scenarios. Chinese Journal of Nuclear Science and Engineering (Chinese), 24 (6), 22- 25.

536 Liu, J., 2007. Resolve Coal Production and Transportation Contradiction: China's Railway
537 Quicken the Pace of Construction". World Railway (Chinese), 12, 34-35.

538 Liu, H., Gallagher, K., 2009. Catalyzing strategic transformation to a low-carbon economy: A
539 CCS roadmap for China. Energy Policy, 38 (1), 59-74. National Bureau of Statistics of China,
540 1978-2009 (<http://www.stats.gov.cn/>).

541 National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), 2006. China's Natural Gas-fired
542 Power Generation Policy Study. Available at:
543 ([http://www.efchina.org/csepupfiles/report/2006102695218437.4278106914576.pdf/NG_Power_](http://www.efchina.org/csepupfiles/report/2006102695218437.4278106914576.pdf/NG_Power_Generation_Rept_ERI_CN_060302.pdf)
544 [Generation_Rept_ERI_CN_060302.pdf](http://www.efchina.org/csepupfiles/report/2006102695218437.4278106914576.pdf/NG_Power_Generation_Rept_ERI_CN_060302.pdf)).

545 National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), 2008. China's Renewable Energy
546 Development in the "Eleventh Five-Year Plan". Available at:
547 (<http://us.chineseembassy.org/chn/gyzg/t416003.htm>).

548 National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), 2008. The Notice About Closing
549 Small Coal Mines in the Last Three Years of "Eleventh Five-Year" Plan. Available at:
550 (http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2008-10/15/content_1122092.htm).

551 Martinot, E. and Li, F., 2007. Powering China's Development: The Role of Renewable Energy.
552 Worldwatch Institute, Washington, DC, USA.

553 Nuclear Energy Agency, 2008. Nuclear Energy Outlook 2008.

554 Oster, S., 27 December, 2006. Illegal Power Plants, Coal Mines in China Pose Challenge for
555 Beijing. The Wall Street Journal.

556 Reuters News, August 2006. Acid Rain Affects Large Swathes of China.

557 Schreurs, M., 2007. "Renewable Energy: A Future in China?" in Lutz Mez, ed., Green Power
558 Markets: Development and Perspectives.

559 State Council Information Office, 2007. China's Energy Conditions and Policies. Available at:
560 (http://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2007-12/26/content_844159.htm)

561 State Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA), 2006. Policy to Regional Restriction. Available
562 at: (http://www.gov.cn/jrzg/2007-01/10/content_492231.htm).

563 Streets, D.G., Carmichael, G.R., Arndt, R.L., 1997. Sulfur Dioxide Emissions and Sulfur
564 Deposition from International Shipping in Asian Waters. Atmospheric Environment, 31, 1573–
565 1582.

566 Wang, Z., Pan, L., Zhang, J., 2008. Franchising Pilot Project of Thermal Power Plant Electric
567 Power Technologic Economics. Energy Conservation and Environment Protection (Chinese), 20
568 (4): 38-43.

569 Wen, H., 2005. The Impact of Increasing Coal Prices on China's Nuclear Power Development,
570 Chinese Journal of Nuclear Science and Engineering (Chinese), 25 (2), 116-123.

571 World Nuclear Association, 2008. The New Economics of Nuclear Power. Available at:
572 (<http://www.world-nuclear.org/uploadedFiles/org/info/pdf/EconomicsNP.pdf>).

573 Wu, J., Yu, J., Hu, Y., Zheng, J., 2002. Research on the Development of Gas-fired Power
574 Generation in China for Year 2001~2020. Electricity (Chinese), 13 (2): 25-32.

575 Xinhua News Agency, 27 February 2008. China Nuclear Body Says Uranium Reserves
576 Sufficient for Power Development. Available at: ([http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-
577 02/27/content_7681721.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-02/27/content_7681721.htm))

578 Xinhua News Agency, 12 March 2008. Coal resources in China. Available at
579 (<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90884/6371735.html>).

580 Xinhua News Agency, 24 June, 2009. Daqin Railway Records World's Largest Annual freight
581 Volume. Available at (<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90882/6685245.html>).

582 Yang, W., Gu, Y., Feng, J., 2007, Natural Gas Power Plants in Southern Regions: Research
583 studies on Price Policy. Energy Conservation and Environmental Protection (Chinese), 1, 30-33.

584 Zhao, R., Ruan, K., Shi, D., 2000. R&D Progress of 863 Plan Energy Technologies, Atomic
585 Energy Press, Beijing.

586 Zhao, L., Gallagher, K., 2007. Research, Development, Demonstration, and Early Deployment
587 Policies for Advanced-Coal Technology in China. Energy Policy, 35 (12), 6467-6477.

- 588 Zhu, C., 2007. Natural Gas and China's Energy Conservation and Emission Reduction.
589 International Petroleum Economics (Chinese), 6, 31-36.