

Endnotes

- ¹ Throughout the report it is assumed that there are still some 480 nuclear weapons remaining in Europe. This force level assumes that 20 bombs removed from Araxos, Greece, in 2001, and 20 bombs at Ramstein, Germany, for use by the German wing at Memmingen until 2002 remain at Ramstein. Some or all of these 40 weapons could have been returned to the United States. The nuclear weapons deployment authorization signed by the President on November 29, 2000, permits a deviation from the total 480 deployed in NATO by no more than 10 percent (i.e. 48 weapons). The number of weapons stored within a specific NATO country may vary in the short-term due to maintenance, but if the variance lasts for over one year, the Secretary of Defense must consult the President about the need to update the Directive. It is not known whether President George W. Bush has signed a Presidential Decision Directive regarding nuclear weapons deployment authorization in Europe.
- ² In addition to the air-delivered bombs, an unknown number of nuclear-tipped Tomahawk Land-Attack Missiles (TLAM/N) also support NATO nuclear planning. The TLAM/Ns can be delivered by selected Los Angeles, Improved Los Angeles, and (in the future) Virginia class attack submarines. The missiles are not deployed at sea under normal circumstances but are stored on land at the Strategic Weapons Facility Atlantic (SWFLANT) at Kings Bay, Georgia, on the U.S. east coast. Each TLAM/N carries a W80-0 warhead with a yield of 5-150 kilotons. There are 304 W80-0 warheads in the U.S. stockpile, half of which are at Kings Bay.
- ³ See: Thomas Cochran, Robert S. Norris, and Hans M. Kristensen, "Too Many, Too Slow: The Bush Administration's Stockpile Reduction Plan," Fact Sheet, Natural Resources Defense Council, June 2004, URL <<http://www.nrdc.org/nuclear/fstockpile.asp>>; Robert S. Norris and Hans M. Kristensen, "The B61 Family of Bombs," NRDC Nuclear Notebook, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January/February 2003, URL <<http://www.thebulletin.org/issues/nukenotes/jf03nukenote.html>>.
- ⁴ USAFE, "Munitions Support Squadron Officer Assignment Procedures," USAFE Instruction 36-2104, September 6, 2004, p. 4.
- ⁵ Prior to this structure, the MUNSS at Büchel AB, Kleine Brogel AB, and Volkel AB were assigned to the 52nd Fighter Wing at Spangdahlem AB. "New Group," *Eifel Times*, Spangdahlem Air Base, June 4, 2004, p. 4. The MUNSS at Ghedi Torre AB was previously assigned to the 31st Fighter Wing at Aviano AB.
- ⁶ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Atomic Energy), "History of the Custody and Deployment of Nuclear Weapons, July 1945 Through September 1977," February 1978, p. H-2. Partially declassified and released under FOIA to Robert S. Norris.
- ⁷ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Atomic Energy), "History of the Custody and Deployment of Nuclear Weapons, July 1945 Through September 1977," February 1978, pp. H-3 – H-5. Partially declassified and released under FOIA to Robert S. Norris.
- ⁸ William M. Arkin, *Code Names: Deciphering U.S. Military Plans, Programs, and Operations in the 9/11 World* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Steerforth Press, 2005), pp. 458, 515, 592, 531.
- ⁹ Protective Aircraft Shelters (PAS) were originally called Hardened Aircraft Shelters (HAS) but were renamed in 2000. U.S. Department of the Air Force, Air Force Instruction 91-113, "Safety Rules for Non-US NATO Strike Aircraft," May 1, 2000, p. 1.
- ¹⁰ U.S. Air Force, Force Protection C2 Systems Program Office, "Weapons Storage & Security (WS3) Program," n.d. [downloaded April 17, 2001]. This information has since been removed from the Air Force web site; Paul Sparaco, WS3 Program Manager, Electronic Systems Center, USAF, "WS3 Sustainment Program: Program Management Review for HQ USAF/LG," March 3, 2000, p. 10; Paul Sparaco, WS3 Program Manager, Electronic Systems Center, USAF, "Weapons Storage and Security System (WS3) Status Briefing to AF/ILM," December 16, 1997, p. 2. Both documents released under FOIA to Joshua Handler.
- ¹¹ Department of the Air Force, HQ Air Force Safety Center, "Operational Safety Review of the F-15E and F-16C/D Weapon Systems," April 1997, pp. 24-27; Department of the Air Force, HQ Air Force Safety Center, "Operational Safety Review of the Non-US NATO F-16A/B Weapon System," January 1994, pp. 19-23. Both documents partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹² U.S. Department of Defense, Press Release, Contract Number 446-96, July 26, 1996.
- ¹³ "Harold Smith's Goodbye: NATO Weapons-Protection Chairman Lauds Sandia-Designed Vaults, Technology," *Sandia Lab News*, December 20, 1996, p. 9.

- ¹⁴ I am indebted to Otfried Nassauer and Dan Charles for this photo.
- ¹⁵ U.S. Air Force, Force Protection C2 Systems Program Office, “Weapons Storage & Security (WS3) Program,” n.d. [downloaded April 17, 2001]. This information has since been removed from the Air Force web site.
- ¹⁶ HQ USAFE, “Plans and Policy: Implementation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe,” Directive Number 55-15, February 23, 2003, p. C-3.
- ¹⁷ U.S. Air Force, Cryptologic Systems Group (CPSG), “USAF Weapon Maintenance Truck (WMT) Team,” n.d. [downloaded July 15, 2004].
Initially, 18 Weapon Maintenance Trucks were purchased.
- ¹⁸ U.S. Air Force Inspection Agency, “Function Management Review – USAFE Regionalized Nuclear Weapons Maintenance Concept (RNWMC), PN 94-607, n.d. [1994], p. 3. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹⁹ Weidlinger Associates, “Blast-Resistant Structures,” n.d. [downloaded July 15, 2004].
- ²⁰ Defense Threat Reductions Agency, “RDT&E Project Justification,” R-1 Shopping List – Item No. 64-15 of 64-20, Exhibit R-2a (PE 0604222F), February 2004, pp. 772, 773; Paul Sparaco, WS3 Program Manager, Electronic Systems Center, USAF, “WS3 Sustainment Program: Program Management Review for HQ USAFE/LG,” March 3, 2000, p. 12. Released under FOIA to Joshua Handler.
- ²¹ U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, Hearing on the Department of Defense FY 1987 Military Construction Program, Part 5, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987, p. 216.
- ²² Department of Defense, Office of the Assistance Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), News Release, “Contract Number: No. 446-94,” July 26, 1996.
- ²³ United States General Accounting Office, “Defense Logistics: Air Force Report on Contractor Support Is Narrowly Focused,” GAO/NSIAD-00-115, April 2000, p. 29.
- ²⁴ E-mail, w/attch, Cole Marcus, MSgt USAFE/LGW, to Paul Sparaco, USAF/Hanscom AFB, et al., “WS3 PMR Minutes (Draft),” March 23, 2000, 4:39 PM. Released under FOIA to Joshua Handler.
- ²⁵ Award, “WS3 NATO Modernization Program Installation Upgrade for Monitoring and Console Equipment, 12 NATO Installations,” *FBOdaily.com*, July 30, 2004.
- ²⁶ Both images from <http://www.nvmygtz.netfirms.com/wmt.htm>
- ²⁶ Paul Sparaco, WS3 Program Manager, Electronic Systems Center, USAF, “WS3 Sustainment Program: Program Management Review for HQ USAFE/LG,” March 3, 2000, p. 19. Released under FOIA to Joshua Handler.
- ²⁸ Sandia National Laboratories, “Sandia Lab Accomplishments 2003,” February 2003.
- ²⁹ Department of Energy, FY2002 Congressional Budget, Weapons Activities/Stockpile Director Work, p. 14 of 28.
- ³⁰ Ken Frazier, “Modernized System to Manage Codes for Nation’s Nuclear Weapons Complete,” *Sandia Lab News*, January 11, 2002, pp. 1, 5.
- ³¹ Ken Frazier, “Modernized System to Manage Codes for Nation’s Nuclear Weapons Complete,” *Sandia Lab News*, January 11, 2002, pp. 1, 5; U.S. Air Force, 52nd Fighter Wing, “Semi-Annual Historical Report: 817th Munitions Support Squadron, 01 January 1996 to 30 June 1996,” n.d. [1996], p. 2. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ³² Department of the Air Force, “Nuclear Weapons Procedures: Maintenance,” Air Force Instruction 21-204, February 17, 2004, pp. 35-36.
- ³³ John German, “Lab-Designed B61 Weapons Trainers Being Delivered to Air Force, NATO Sites Worldwide,” *Sandia Lab News*, October 18, 2002, pp. 1, 4.
- ³⁴ See for example: Robert S. Norris, et al., “Where They Were,” *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November/December 1999, pp. 26-35, URL <<http://www.thebulletin.org/issues/1999/nd99/nd99norris.html>>.
- ³⁵ United States Senate, Committee of Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, “Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad,” 91st Congress, 2d Session, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 12.
- ³⁶ Command in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command, “CINCPAC Command History 1974,” Volume I, September 25, 1975, p. 262. Partially declassified and released under FOIA. This document is available on the Internet at URL <<http://www.nautilus.org/library/security/foia/japan/CINCPAC74Ip262.pdf>>.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 263. Partially declassified and released under FOIA. This document is available on the Internet at URL <<http://www.nautilus.org/library/security/foia/japan/CINCPAC74Ip262.pdf>>.

- ³⁸ Ibid., p. 262. Partially declassified and released under FOIA. This document is available on the Internet at URL <<http://www.nautilus.org/library/security/foia/japan/CINCPAC74Ip262.pdf>>.
- ³⁹ Thomas C. Reed, *At the Abyss: An Insider's History of the Cold War* (Ballantine Books, 2004), p. 173.
- ⁴⁰ "Symington Finds Flaws in NATO's Warhead Security; Greek Incident Hinted," *New York Times*, November 23, 1970.
- ⁴¹ J. W. Finney, "U.S. Delaying Removal of Warheads," *New York Times*, July 24, 1975; as referenced in M. Leitenberg, "Background Materials in Tactical Nuclear Weapons (Primarily in the European Context)," in SIPRI, *Tactical Nuclear Weapons: European Perspectives* (London: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 1978), p. 40.
- ⁴² NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," December 10, 1974, paragraph 3.
- ⁴³ NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," June 17, 1975, paragraph 7.
Part of the U.S. effort to increase the security of the nuclear weapons occurred under then Defense Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld.
- ⁴⁴ NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," January 26, 1976, paragraph 6.
- ⁴⁵ The withdrawal of 1,000 warheads was announced at the December 1979 special meeting where NATO also announced its decision to deploy 572 new medium-range missiles. The timeline for the 1,000 warheads was "as soon as feasible." By November 1980, the withdrawal of the 1,000 warheads was "well underway," and by December 12, 1980, the withdrawal had been completed. See: NATO, "Special Meeting of Foreign and Defence Ministers," December 12, 1979, paragraph 7; NATO, Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," November 14, 1980, paragraph 6; NATO, North Atlantic Council, "Final Communiqué," December 12, 1980, paragraph 14.
- ⁴⁶ In November 1983, the *New York Times* reported that a confidential DOD report to Congress showed 5,845 nuclear warheads in Europe. Richard Halloran, "Report to Congress Provides Figures for Nuclear Arsenal," *New York Times*, November 15, 1983, p. A15.
- ⁴⁷ The White House, Blue Ribbon Task Group, "Report to the President on Nuclear Weapons Program Management," July 1985, p. 4. Partially declassified and released under FOIA to the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Cost Study Project.
- ⁴⁸ NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "The Montebello Decision: Annex to the Final Communiqué of the Autumn Ministerial Meeting of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group (NPG)," October 27, 1983, paragraph 4.
- ⁴⁹ NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," October 30, 1985, paragraph 7; NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," March 27, 1985, paragraph 7; NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," April 4, 1984, paragraph 5; NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "The Montebello Decision: Annex to the Final Communiqué of the Autumn Ministerial Meeting of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group (NPG)," October 27, 1983, paragraph 7.
- ⁵⁰ Thomas B. Cochran, et al., "The Bomb Book: The Nuclear Arms Race in Facts and Figures," Natural Resources Defense Council, December 1987, p. 25.
Some W84 warheads from the Pershing II were later converted to the B61-10 bomb and returned to Europe where they remain in storage.
- ⁵¹ U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney reportedly wrote a letter to his Turkish counterpart, Safa Gitay, informing him of the planned changes. "US Trim Nuclear Stocks – Turkey," *DPA*, January 30, 1990; Robert S. Norris and William M. Arkin, "Turkey to Loose Some Nuclear Bombs," NRDC Nuclear Notebook, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, April 1990, p. 57.
- ⁵² NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," May 9-10, 1989 [sic], updated October 27, 2000, paragraph 5.
- ⁵³ U.S. Strategic Command, "Strategic Planning Study," Final Report, 1 October 1993, p. 3-35. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ⁵⁴ NATO Defence Planning Committee and Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," December 6-7, 1990, paragraph 7; NATO North Atlantic Council, "London Declaration On A Transformed North Atlantic Alliance," July 5-6, 1990, paragraphs 16, 18.
- ⁵⁵ NATO North Atlantic Council, "London Declaration On A Transformed North Atlantic Alliance," July 5-6, 1990, paragraph 18.
- ⁵⁶ NATO Defence Planning Committee and Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," December 6-7, 1990, paragraph 13.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., paragraphs 5, 14.

⁵⁹ NATO Defence Planning Committee and Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," May 29, 1991, paragraph 14.

⁶⁰ By the eve of the war, Iraqi means for delivering chemical munitions were known to include area bombs and cluster munitions, artillery and mortar shells, and short-range rockets. U.S. Department of the Air Force, *Gulf War Air Power Survey* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993), Volume II, Part II: Effects and Effectiveness, pp. 312-313.

⁶¹ William M. Arkin, "Gulf War +10: The Secret Story," *The Stars and Stripes*, Special Report, n.d. [2000], Chronology, January 9, 1991.

⁶² James A. Baker, III, with Thomas M. DeFrank, *The Politics of Diplomacy* (New York: Putnam, 1995), p. 359. Emphasis added.

At the beginning of Operation Desert Storm, according to one unclassified estimate, the U.S. had some 1,000 nuclear warheads with its military forces in the region. This included 700 bombs and cruise missiles on aircraft carriers, surface ships and attack submarines, and 300 bombs in Turkey. William M. Arkin, et al., "U.S. Nuclear Weapons in the Persian Gulf Crisis," Greenpeace, January 1991, p. 1.

⁶³ James A. Baker, III, with Thomas M. DeFrank, *The Politics of Diplomacy* (New York: Putnam, 1995), p. 359.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ R. Jeffrey Smith and Rick Atkinson, "U.S. Rules Out Gulf Use of Nuclear, Chemical Arms," *Washington Post*, January 7, 1991, p. A1.

⁶⁶ Colin Powell, with Joseph E. Persico, *My American Journey* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1995), p. 486.

⁶⁷ William M. Arkin, "Agnosticism When Real Values Are Needed: Nuclear Policy in the Clinton Administration," Federation of American Scientists Public Interest Report, September/October 1994, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Joint Chiefs of Staff, "1991 Joint Military Assessment," Washington, D.C., March 1991, pp. 2-8, 6-1, 7-1 (box), 7-2, 11-12.

For in-depth analysis of how proliferation of weapons of mass destructions influenced U.S. nuclear doctrine and planning in the 1990s, see: Hans M. Kristensen, "Nuclear Futures: Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and U.S. Nuclear Strategy," British American Security Information Council (BASIC), Washington, DC, March 1998, URL <<http://www.nukestrat.com/pubs/nfuture2.pdf>>; Hans M. Kristensen, "Targets of Opportunity," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, September/October 1997, URL <<http://www.bullatomsci.org/issues/1997/so97/so97kristensen.html>>.

⁶⁹ Of warheads removed from Europe included approximately 1,300 artillery warheads and 850 warheads for Lance surface-to-surface missiles. NATO, "NATO's Nuclear Forces in the New Security Environment," NATO Issues, June 3, 2004, p. 3.

⁷⁰ NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," October 18, 1991, paragraph 4.

⁷¹ R. Jeffrey Smith, "NATO Approves 50% Cut in Tactical A-Bombs," *Washington Post*, October 17, 1991, p. A28.

In 2004, NATO stated that air delivered gravity bombs were reduced by "well over 50 percent."

⁷² NATO, "NATO's Nuclear Forces in the New Security Environment," NATO Issues, June 3, 2004, p. 3.

⁷³ NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," October 18, 1991, paragraph 5.

⁷⁴ NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-2(99)157, "Ministerial meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group: Final Communiqué," December 2, 1999, paragraph 7.

⁷⁵ NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-1(2001)87, "Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group," June 7, 2001, paragraph 8.

After the NPG meeting in Gleneagles, Scotland in October 1992, NATO declared: "All nuclear warheads from NATO's ground-launched and naval tactical nuclear weapons have now been removed, much earlier than originally envisaged, and... The reductions in the number of air-delivered nuclear weapons, the only remaining sub-strategic systems to be held by the Alliance in Europe, are underway."

⁷⁶ NATO Nuclear Planning Group, "Final Communiqué," October 21, 1992, paragraph 5.

⁷⁵ NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-1(1991)87, "Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group," June 7, 1991, paragraph 8.

⁷⁶ "NATO Nuclear Planning Group Communiqué," *NATO Review*, Vol. 39, No. 6, December 1991, pp. 26, 29.

- 77 "Rome Summit," *NATO's Sixteen Nations*, December 1991, p. 58.
- 78 Nicholas Doughty, "NATO Strategy Allows Use of Nuclear Weapons to End War," *Reuter* (Brussels), 26 May 1992.
- 79 R. Jeffrey Smith, "Cheney Open to Soviet Bomb Storage Proposal," *Washington Post*, October 15.
- 80 "Defense Ministers Say NATO Must Maintain Limited Nuclear Arms," *United Press International* (Taormina), October 18, 1991.
- Different news report vary somewhat in their reporting of Mr. Woerner's statement. Reuters reported: "Nuclear weapons will never be disinvented. That is why I do not foresee a situation where we will denuclearise Europe." "NATO Says No Nuclear-Free Europe Despite Major Cuts," *Reuters* (Taormina), October 18, 1991.
- 81 Department of the Air Force, HQ USAFE, Special Order GB-54, September 30, 1993. Released under FOIA.
- 82 HQ USAFE, "History of the 31st Fighter Wing 1 April-31 December 1994," n.d. [1995], pp. 86, 87, 88. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- 83 Department of the Air Force, HQ USAFE Office of History, "History of United States Air Forces in Europe, Calendar Year 1993," Volume I, June 23, 1994, p. 269. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- 84 *Ibid.*
- 85 *Ibid.*, pp. lii, 270.
- 86 *Ibid.*, p. 258.
- 87 *Ibid.*
- 88 *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.
- 89 HQ USAFE, "History of the 31st Fighter Wing 1 April-31 December 1994," n.d. [1995], p. 24. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- 90 Department of the Air Force, HQ USAFE Office of History, "History of United States Air Forces in Europe, Calendar Year 1993," Volume I, June 23, 1994, p. 262. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- 91 Air Combat Command, "History of Air Combat Command, 1 January –31 December 1998," n.d. [1999], p. 47. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- 92 Keith P. Watts, et al., "Dual Capable Aircraft Prelaunch Survivability," Defense Nuclear Agency, DNA-TR-94-61, p. 3. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- 93 The SIOP was officially renamed OPLAN (Operational Plan) 8044 in 2003. The last plan to use the previous name was SIOP-03 Revision 3 from March 2003.
- 94 General George Lee Butler, U.S. Air Force, Strategic Command, "Statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee," 22 April 1993, p. 3.
- 95 *Ibid.*
- 96 U.S. Strategic Command, "The SILVER BOOK Concept: Providing Military Options to Counter Proliferation," July 1993, p. 8. Secret. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
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- 98 U.S. Strategic Command, "Minutes of the Fifty-Second United States Strategic Command Strategic Advisory Group Meeting (U), 27-28 October 1994, Offutt AFB, Nebraska," 27 January 1995, pp. 10, 17, 18. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- 99 U.S. Strategic Command, "Intelligence Support to the Silver Book Concept," Secret, March 1994, slide 4. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
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- 102 U.S. Strategic Command, "Extracts from USCINCPACSTRAT Brief for EUCOM Visit (Nov 1994)," November 1, 1994. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
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- ¹⁰⁵ U.S. Strategic Command/J513, Memorandum for the Record, “NSNF Working Group Meeting Minutes of 18 Jan 1994,” January 22, 1994, pp. 1-2. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹⁰⁶ U.S. Strategic Command/J513, “NSNF Working Group Meeting Minutes of 10 May 94,” May 10, 1994, p. 1. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*; U.S. Strategic Command/J513, “NSNF Working Group Meeting Minutes of 12 Apr 94,” April 14, 1994, p. 1. Both documents partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹⁰⁹ U.S. Strategic Command, “History of the United States Strategic Command 1 January 1995-14 February 1996, May 1, 1997, p. 5; USSTRATCOM/J531, “USSTRATCOM War Game Analysis Report For SIOP 95,” April 3, 1995, p. iv. Top Secret; USSTRATCOM/J513, Memorandum for the Record, “NSNF Working Group Meeting Minutes of 15 Mar 94,” March 18, 1994, p. 1. All documents partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹¹⁰ U.S. Strategic Command/J513, Memorandum for the Record, “NSNF Working Group Meeting Minutes of 29 Mar 94,” March 31, 1994, p. 1. Italics added. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹¹¹ U.S. Strategic Command, “Extracts from USCINCPACSTRAT Brief for EUCOM Visit (Nov 1994),” 1 November 1994. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹¹² Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, “CJCS Counterproliferation Missions and Functions Study Final Report,” n.d. [March 1995], p. B-3-1. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. B-3-10.
- ¹¹⁴ NATO Press Communiqué M-DPC/NPG-1(94)38, “Final Communiqué,” May 24, 1994, paragraph 11.
- ¹¹⁵ Donna Haseley, “NATO Revamps Nuclear Planning to Put Premium on Last-Minute Battle Plans,” *Inside the Air Force*, n.d. [1993].
- ¹¹⁶ Defense Information System Agency/DITCO-SCOTT, “Encore Task Order (TO) Statement of Work (SOW),” attached to Contract DCA200-02-D-5014, as of July 22, 2002, p. 1; U.S. Strategic Command, “STRATCOM Targeting, Analysis, and Mission Planning Support Study,” January 1998 (Revised March 1998), p. 30. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹¹⁷ Hans M. Kristensen, “Preemptive Posturing,” *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, September/October 2002.
- ¹¹⁸ Department of the Air Force, HQ USAFE Office of History, “History of United States Air Forces in Europe, Calendar Year 1992,” Volume I, September 28, 1993, p. 551; Department of the Air Force, HQ USAFE Office of History, “History of United States Air Forces in Europe, Calendar Year 1994,” Volume I, July 11, 1995, p. 717. Both documents partially declassified and released under FOIA.
- ¹¹⁹ In 1996, two years after the addition of the Tunisian range, the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Pelindaba) was signed. The treaty bans the use, threat of use, testing or stationing of any nuclear explosive device. This does not appear to prohibit testing of B61 training weapons, however, since these do not contain a nuclear device. Tunisia has signed but not ratified the treaty, which has not entered into force due to lack of sufficient ratifications.
- The U.S. Navy also used the range (although Navy aircraft were denuclearized after the 1994 Nuclear Posture Review) and described in 1997 how exercises with the Tunisian Air Force “provide out forces an opportunity for bombing practices on Tunisian ranges, replicating the conditions under which they may have to fly actual strike missions against a desert target.” Vice Admiral Steve Abbot, U.S. Navy, Commander Sixth Fleet, Statement Before the Joint Hearing by the Committee on Readiness and Subcommittee Military Personnel of the House of Representatives on Unit Readiness, People, and Quality of Life,” March 4, 1997.
- ¹²⁰ Herbert Welmers, “Cornfield Range Homepage,” n.d. [downloaded October 28, 2004], URL <<http://www.geocities.com/cornfield12000/>>. Reprinted with permission.
- ¹²¹ U.S. Strategic Command, “Overview of Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) Results,” n.d. [ca. September 22, 1994], p. 1. Released under FOIA.
- The decision suggests that the U.S. force level in Europe at the time the NPR was completed already had dropped to 480 weapons.
- ¹²² John Deutch, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Hearing Before the Committee on Armed Services: Briefing on Results of the Nuclear Posture Review, September 22, 1994, S. HRG. 103-870, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1994, p. 15.
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹²⁴ R. Jeffrey Smith, "Clinton Decides to Retain Bush Nuclear Arms Policy," *Washington Post*, September 22, 1994, p. A1.

For an accord of the 1994 Nuclear Posture Review, see Janne Nolan, *An Illusive Consensus* (Brookings Institution Press, 1999). For a review of U.S. Strategic Command force structure studies during the 1990s, see Hans M. Kristensen, "The Matrix of Deterrence," The Nautilus Institute, May 2001, URL <<http://www.nukestrat.com/pubs/matrix.pdf>>.

¹²⁵ *The Washington Post* report on September 22, 1994, that part of the NPR decision was to retain 480 nuclear bombs in Europe. R. Jeffrey Smith, "Clinton Decides to Retain Bush Nuclear Arms Policy," *Washington Post*, September 22, 1994, p. A1.

¹²⁶ John Deutch, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Hearing Before the Committee on Armed Services: Briefing on Results of the Nuclear Posture Review, September 22, 1994, S. HRG. 103-870, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1994, p. 27.

Deutch apparently got this information from an NPR briefing slide that stated that the "NATO stockpile [was] cut by 91%" since 1988. U.S. Department of Defense, Briefing, "Nuclear Posture Review," September 22, 1994, slide 29.

¹²⁷ John Deutch, Deputy Secretary of Defense, statement before House Foreign Affairs Committee, Hearing on United States Nuclear Policy, October 5, 1994, *Reuter Transcripts* 10/05/94, p. 30.

¹²⁸ NATO Press Communiqué M-DPC/NPG-2(94)126, "Final Communiqué," December 15, 1994, paragraph 19.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Department of the Air Force, HQ USAFE Office of History, "History of United States Air Forces in Europe, Calendar Year 1994," Volume I, July 11, 1995, p. 252. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

¹³¹ Department of Defense, OSD/PA, "Press Conference [re. Nuclear Posture Review]," News Release 545-94, September 22, 1994; Michael R. Boldrick, "The Nuclear Posture Review: Liabilities and Risk," *Parameters: US Army College Quarterly*, Volume XXV, No. 4, Winter 1995-96, 100.

Seven years later, in December 2001, the subsequent Nuclear Posture Review conducted by Bush administration would also claim to have abolished MAD.

¹³² Mission termination for the 7401 MUNSS at Rimini AF was March 1, 1993. HQ USAFE/XP, "Rimini AB PROTAF I, 15-20 Feb 93," September 14, 1998, p. 4. Released under FOIA.

¹³³ "Two Air Force Detachments in Turkey Close," *AirForceLINK* News Article, May 20, 1996; Department of the Air Force, HQ USAFE Office of History, "History of United States Air Forces in Europe, Calendar Year 1994," Volume I, July 11, 1995, p. 9. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

The nuclear weapons withdrawal from Nörvenich AB was completed in December 1995. After this, it took a week to deactivate all WS3 vaults. U.S. Air Force, 604th Munitions Support Squadron, "Semi Annual History July-December 1995," p. 1. Released under FOIA.

Both the 604 MUNSS at Nörvenich AB and the 605 MUNSS at Memmingen AB were scheduled for closure by September 30, 1996. HQ USAFE, Organizational Charts, n.d. [1995], slide 30. Released under FOIA.

¹³⁴ Department of the Air Force, HQ USAFE Office of History, "History of United States Air Forces in Europe, Calendar Year 1994," Volume I, July 11, 1995, pp. 72-74. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

The MUNSS were tasked by the USAFE commander through the HQ USAFE staff or numbered air forces for support of contingencies or war. The operational chain of command did not run through Regional Support Groups (RSGs) commander for purposes of contingency and wartime tasking. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹³⁵ Department of Defense/OASD(PA), "Additional U.S. Overseas Bases to End Operations," News Release No. 228-95, April 27, 1995.

¹³⁶ "Two Air Force Detachments in Turkey Close," *Air Force News*, May 20, 1996.

¹³⁷ Department of the Air Force, "The History of 16 Air Forces, 1 January-31 December 1996," n.d. [1997], pp. 29-31. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

¹³⁸ NATO Press Communiqué M-DPC/NPG-1(95)57, "Final Communiqué," June 8, 1995, paragraph 23.

¹³⁹ The deactivation of the WS3 vaults is mentioned in: Paul Sparaco, WS3 Program Manager, Electronic

Systems Center, “Weapons Storage and Security System (WS³) Status Briefing to AF/ILM, December 16, 1997, p. 4. Released under FOIA to Joshua Handler.

The reorganization in Europe also led to the rumor in 1996 that U.S. nuclear weapons had been withdrawn from RAF Lakenheath. This was not the case, with 110 weapons remaining at the base. For a report of this rumor, see: Christopher Bellamy, “Wing of Change as US Removes Last Nuclear Bombs From Britain,” *Independent*, October 28, 1996, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ NATO Press Communiqué Press Communiqué M-DPC/NPG-1(95)57, “Final Communiqué,” June 8, 1995, paragraph 23.

¹⁴¹ Department of Defense, OASD(PA), News Release, “Contract Number: No. 446-94,” July 26, 1996.

¹⁴² NATO Press Communiqué M-DPC/NPG-1(96)88, Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee in Ministerial Session, “Final Communiqué,” June 13, 1996, paragraph 8.

¹⁴³ Air Combat Command, “History of the Air Combat Command, 1 January-31 December 1995,” n.d. [1996], p. 83. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

¹⁴⁴ SSS, Almeida, Lt Col, ACC/DONP, “Reassigning CONUS-based Dual Capable Aircraft (DCA) Taskings,” May 10, 1996, p. 2. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

¹⁴⁵ Message, Almeida, R., Lt Col, ACC/DONP, to HQ ACC, “CONUS-Based Dual Capable Aircraft Readiness Posture,” May 15, 1996, p. 1; Message, Almeida, R., Lt Col, ACC/DONP, to HQ ACC, et al., “CONUS-Based Dual Capable Aircraft Readiness Posture,” May 10, 1996, pp. 1, 2. Both documents partially declassified and released under FOIA.

¹⁴⁶ Air Combat Command, “History of the Air Combat Command, 1 January-31 December 1998,” n.d. [1999], p. 45. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

¹⁴⁷ Air Combat Command, “History of Air Combat Command, 1 January –31 December 1998,” n.d. [1999], pp. 45, 46; IOI (S/DECL X-4), ACC/DONP to ACC/CC, “Dual Capable Aircraft (DCA) Fighter-Nuclear Readiness Change (U),” 13 Apr 98. Both documents partially declassified and released under FOIA.

This adjustment coincided with NATO lowering the readiness level of its DCAs from a response time of “hours/days” to “weeks/months.” In 2002, NATO placed all its aircraft on “months” readiness. NATO, “NATO’s Nuclear Forces in the New Security Environment,” NATO Issues, June 3, 2004, p. 6.

¹⁴⁸ NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-1(97)70, “Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meetings of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group,” June 12, 1997, paragraph 11.

The wording of the paragraph addressing Russian non-strategic nuclear weapons was: “Russia still retains a large number of tactical nuclear weapons of all types. We renew our call upon Russia to bring to completion the reductions in its tactical nuclear weapons announced in 1991 and 1992, and to further review its tactical nuclear weapons stockpile with a view towards making additional significant reductions.”

¹⁴⁹ Msg (S/DECL x4), 121705Z Dec 97, USCINCEUR/ECDC to JCS/J3 et al., “CONUS-based Dual Capable Aircraft (DCA) Readiness Requirements (U), pp. 1-2. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

USCINCEUR’s claim about the accuracy of DCA is in stark conflict with internal assessments made by DOD personnel as part of the current updating of the Doctrine for Joint Nuclear Operations (Joint Pub 3-12). According to the Joint Staff, “[n]uclear capable aircraft may have many advantages. Accuracy (as compared to other systems) is not one of them.” European Command (EUCOM) added that, “there is no current precision nuclear strike capability in the inventory.” Department of Defense, “Joint Staff Input to JP 3-12, *Doctrine for Joint Nuclear Operations* (Second Draft),” April 28, 2003, p. 43. Italics in original.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² NATO, “Study on NATO Enlargement,” September 1995, p. 20.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Department of the Air Force, HQ Air Force Safety Center, “Operational Safety Review of the F-15E and F-16C/D Weapon Systems,” April 1997, pp. 6-11; SSS (U), ACC/DONP, “Operational Plan Data Document (OPDD) for Dual Capable Aircraft,” February 18, 1997. Both documents partially declassified and released under FOIA.

¹⁵⁵ Department of the Air Force, HQ Air Force Safety Center, “Operational Safety Review of the F-15E and F-16C/D Weapon Systems,” April 1997, p. 1. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

- ¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 1, 2.
- ¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 39-40.
- ¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 41.
- ¹⁵⁹ U.S. Department of the Air Force, Air Force Instruction 91-113, "Safety Rules for Non-US NATO Strike Aircraft," May 1, 2000, p. 1.
- ¹⁶⁰ NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-1(2000)59, "Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group on 8 June 2000," June 8, 2000, paragraph 7.
- ¹⁶¹ Walter Slocombe, "Is there Still a Role for Nuclear Deterrence," *NATO Review* (web edition), Vol. 45, No. 6, November/December 1997, pp. 23-26.
- ¹⁶² Air Combat Command, "History of Air Combat Command, 1 January –31 December 1998," n.d. [1999], p. 47. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.
1998 was a busy year for the 4th Fighter Wing in support of regional nuclear war planning. In June of that year, the wing's F-15Es simulated a similar nuclear strike against North Korea. See: Hans M. Kristensen, "Preemptive Posturing," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, September/October 2002, pp. 54-59, URL <<http://www.thebulletin.org/issues/2002/so02/so02kristensen.html>>.
- ¹⁶³ Memo/1 Atch (U), ACC/DONP to ACC/AD), Question on Gen Marcottes Note, 3 Jul 97. Released under FOIA.
- ¹⁶⁴ For a review of how proliferation has affected U.S. nuclear strategy and doctrine, see: Hans M. Kristensen, "Changing Targets II," Greenpeace International, April 2003, URL <<http://www.nukestrat.com/pubs/ChangingTargets2.pdf>>; Hans M. Kristensen, "Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and U.S. Nuclear Strategy," British American Security Information Council (BASIC), Washington, DC, March 1998, URL <<http://www.nukestrat.com/pubs/nfuture2.pdf>>; Hans M. Kristensen, "Targets of Opportunity," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, September/October 1997, URL <<http://www.bullatomsci.org/issues/1997/so97/so97kristensen.html>>.
- ¹⁶⁵ William S. Cohen, U.S. Defense Secretary, DoD News Briefing, Monday, November 23, 1998 - 10 a.m.
- ¹⁶⁶ NATO Press Release NAC-S(99)65, "The Alliance's Strategic Concept Approved by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington D.C. on 23rd and 24th April 1999," April 24, 1999, paragraphs 46, 62-64.
The Strategic Concept ended with the statement that, "sub-strategic nuclear weapons will...not be deployed in normal circumstances on surface vessels and attack submarines." Tactical nuclear weapons were removed from U.S. Navy and Royal Navy warships in 1991-1992 and both countries later denuclearized their surface vessels. France is the only NATO nuclear power that has retained a nuclear capability for surface vessels (aircraft carriers), so the statement suggests that the current French aircraft carrier (Charles de Gaulle) does not carry nuclear weapons under normal circumstances.
- ¹⁶⁷ NATO Press Release NAC-S(99)65, "The Alliance's Strategic Concept Approved by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington D.C. on 23rd and 24th April 1999," April 24, 1999, paragraph 63.
- ¹⁶⁸ NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-1(2000)59, "Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group," June 8, 2000, paragraphs 2, 7.
- ¹⁶⁹ NATO Press Communiqué M-DPC/NPG-2(2000)115, "Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group," December 5, 2000, paragraph 8.
- ¹⁷⁰ Department of the Air Force, HQ USAFE, Special Order GD-17, April 6, 2001. Released under FOIA.
The 731 MUNSS at Araxos was formally removed from the Pentagon's Defense Acquisition Regulation Supplement and announced on the Federal Register on April 30, 2003. U.S. Department of Defense, "DFARS Change Notice 20030430," April 30, 2003.
- ¹⁷¹ "Gov't on Removal of US Nuclear Weapons From Western Greece Base," *BHMA.net* (ANA), January 18, 2001; "The Greek Government did not Comment on the Nuclear Arms in Araxos," *Macedonian Press Agency*, January 17, 2001.
- ¹⁷² Rear Admiral Craig R. Quigley, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Public Affairs, Department of Defense News Transcript, January 30, 2001.
- ¹⁷³ Robert S. Norris and William M. Arkin, "U.S. Nuclear Weapons Stockpile, July 1994," NRDC Nuclear Notebook, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July/August 1994, p. 62.
- ¹⁷⁴ Department of the Air Force, Headquarters United States Air Forces in Europe, Special Order GD-17, April 6, 2001. Released under FOIA.

¹⁷⁵ “Gov’t on Removal of US Nuclear Weapons From Western Greece Base,” *BHMA.net* (ANA), January 18, 2001; “Araxos Air-Base Closed in May. NATO Disassociates Cases of Leukemia From the Use of Depleted Uranium Weapons,” *Hellenic Radio* (ERA), January 17, 2001.

¹⁷⁶ One media report stated that Araxos AB would be closed down at the end of May 2001. “Araxos Air-Base Closed in May. NATO Disassociates Cases of Leukemia From the Use of Depleted Uranium Weapons,” *Hellenic Radio* (ERA), January 17, 2001.

¹⁷⁷ This flexibility permits would permit a return of the Araxos weapons (and those from Memmingen AB) to the United States without requiring a change to the NWDP. Whether this happened is not known.

¹⁷⁸ See for example: “Greece: Hellenic Air Force – HAF,” *F-16.net*, 2003 (downloaded September 10, 2004).

A contract awarded by the U.S. Air Force in July 2004 for upgrade of the WS3 system involves work at 12 sites, which suggest that the vaults at Araxos Air Base may be maintained, at least for now, in a caretaker status.

¹⁷⁹ Incirlik AB is the only base in Turkey that stores nuclear weapons. Most of these are for U.S. fighters, but the base also stores the 40 bombs that moved from Akinci and Balikesir in 1995.

¹⁸⁰ The 20 weapons from Memmingen AB may have been returned to the United States following the closure of the base in 2003.

¹⁸¹ The 604 MUNSS at Nörvenich AB and the 605 MUNSS at Memmingen AB closed on September 30, 1996. HQ USAF, Organizational Charts, n.d. [1995], slide 16. Released under FOIA.

¹⁸² “Tornado IDS des jaboG 34 im Abshiedslack,” *fliegerrevue.de*, n.d. [2001].

¹⁸³ The new structure plan for the Luftwaffe was issued on January 29, 2001. Otfried Nassauer/BITS, “In our [sic] Out? – Nuclear Weapons in Germany,” n.d. [2001].

¹⁸⁴ U.S. Air Force, 52nd Fighter Wing, “Semi-Annual Historical Report: 817th Munitions Support Squadron, 01 January 1996 to 30 June 1996,” n.d. [1996], p. 1. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

Between 1985, when the JaboG 33 Tornados first assumed the NATO nuclear strike mission, and 2000, the squadron has undergone at least 19 nuclear related inspections for certification for its nuclear strike mission.

¹⁸⁵ U.S. Air Force, 52nd Fighter Wing, “Semi-Annual Historical Report: 817th Munitions Support Squadron, 01 January 1996 to 30 June 1996,” n.d. [1996], p. 1. Partially declassified and released under FOIA.

¹⁸⁶ Deutscher Bundestag, “Schriftliche Fragen mit den in der Woche von 12. Juli 2004 eingegangenen Antworten der Bundesregierung,” Drucksache 15/3609, July 16, 2004, pp. 27-28; “Germany Launches Wide-Ranging Defense Reform,” *nationaldefensemagazine.org*, December 2003.

¹⁸⁷ Reprinted with permission.

¹⁸⁸ NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-1(2001)87, “Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group,” June 7, 2001, paragraph 5.

¹⁸⁹ NATO, “The Alliance’s Strategic Concept agreed by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council,” November 8, 1991, paragraph 55.

¹⁹⁰ NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-1(2001)87, “Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group,” June 7, 2001, paragraph 4.

¹⁹¹ The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, “Remarks by the President to Students and Faculty at National Defense University,” May 1, 2001.

¹⁹² NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-1(2001)87, “Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group,” June 7, 2001, paragraph 6.

¹⁹³ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of Secretary of Defense, “Nuclear Posture Review Report,” December 31, 2001, p. 44.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 44.

¹⁹⁵ NATO Press Release 2002-071, “Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group,” June 2, 2002, paragraphs 6, 7; NATO Press Release M-DPC/NPG-1(2001)87, “Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group,” June 7, 2001, paragraph 8.

¹⁹⁶ “New Group,” *Eifel Times* (Spangdahlem AB) June 4, 2004, p. 3.

¹⁹⁷ NATO Issue Paper, “NATO Nuclear Forces in the New Security Environment,” June 3, 2004, pp. 4, 5.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ NATO Press Release 2003-64, “Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group: Final Communiqué,” June 12, 2003, paragraph 14.

- ²⁰⁰ NATO Issue Paper, “NATO Nuclear Forces in the New Security Environment,” June 3, 2004, p. 6.
- ²⁰¹ NATO Press Release 2003-64, “Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group: Final Communiqué,” June 12, 2003, paragraph 10.
- ²⁰² NATO Press Release 2004-147, “Final Communiqué: Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group,” December 1, 2003, paragraphs 9, 10.
- ²⁰³ Tech. Sgt. Tammy Brubaker, “39th SFS Gear Up For Surety Inspection,” 39th Wing Public Affairs, April 25, 2003.
- ²⁰⁴ “Engineer of the Week,” *HENAAC*, December 15, 2003.
- ²⁰⁵ “General Says Russia Won’t Destroy Tactical Nuclear Weapons,” *Interfax*, November 26, 2003.
- ²⁰⁶ U.S. Department of State, “Press Roundtable at Interfax: Stephen G. Rademaker, Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control,” October 6, 2004, p. 5.
- ²⁰⁷ U.S. Department of State, “Press Roundtable at Interfax: Stephen G. Rademaker, Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control,” October 6, 2004, p. 5.
For an overview of the status of U.S. and Russian reductions in tactical nuclear weapons since 1991, see: Joshua Handler, “The 1991-1992 PNIs and the Elimination, Storage, and Security of Tactical Nuclear Weapons,” chapter two in Brian Alexander and Alistair Millar, *Tactical Nuclear Weapons* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey’s Inc., 2003), pp. 20-41.
- ²⁰⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, “Alexander Yakovenko, the Spokesman of Russia’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Answers a Russian Media Question at Press Conference at IRA Novosti Concerning Russia’s Initiatives for Reducing Tactical Nuclear Weapons,” October 7, 2004 (unofficial translation).
- ²⁰⁹ “Défense: L’arsenal nucléaire se réduit en Europe,” *Le Libre Belgique*,” March 10, 2004; NATO/SHAPE, “General Jones,” SHAPE News Summary & Analysis, March 10, 2004; “U.S. to Reduce Nuclear Presence in Europe, Top NATO Commander Says,” *Global Security Newswire*, March 12, 2004.
- ²¹⁰ Foreign Minister Louis Michel (on behalf of Defence Minister Flahaut), response to question by Theo Kelchtermans, “Integraal Verslag met Vertaald Beknopt Verslag van de Toespraken,” Belgische Kamer van Volksvertegenwoordigers, CRIV 51 PLEN 058, Donderdag, 01-04-2004, Namiddag, p. 13.
An unofficial translation provided by Karel Koster from the Project on European Nuclear Non-Proliferation (PENN) network gives a slightly different wording: “...in the first place, there was a meeting concerning NATO. In the second I can confirm that the USA is withdrawing part of its nuclear weapons arsenal from Europe. In the third place defence policy planning does not assume any changes for the air force base in Kleine Brogel.” NATO sources later claimed that General Jones did not mention nuclear weapons at the Belgian Senate meeting. See: Karel Koster, “NATO Nuclear Doctrine and the NPT,” June 29, 2004, URL <<http://www.basicint.org/pubs/20040629NATO-nuclear-Koster.htm>>.
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- ²¹³ Department of Defense, “Report Required by Section 2912 of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990, as amended through the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003,” March 2004, p. 39.
- ²¹⁴ Sgt. 1st Class Dug Sample, “U.S. Will ‘Reposition’ Overseas Footprint Before BRAC Cuts at Home,” *American Forces Press Service*, October 7, 2003.
- ²¹⁵ Award, “WS3 NATO Modernization Program Installation Upgrade for Monitoring and Console Equipment, 12 NATO Installations,” *FBOdaily.com*, July 30, 2004.
- ²¹⁶ Peter Almond and Michael Smith, “RAF Worried About Pullout of Fighters,” *London Daily Telegraph*, August 17, 2004.
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- ²¹⁸ NATO Issue Paper, “NATO Nuclear Forces in the New Security Environment,” June 3, 2004, pp. 5, 6.
- ²¹⁹ *Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements* (Washington, D.C.: ACDA, 1990), p. 99.
- ²²⁰ *Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements* (Washington, D.C.: ACDA, 1990), p. 99.
- ²²¹ Questions on the Draft NPT asked by the US Allies together with answers given by the United States, Appendix 1, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings on the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Part 2, 18

- and 20 February 1969; as cited in Martin Butcher, et al., "NATO and Nuclear Proliferation," Centre for European Security and Disarmament/British American Society Information Council, n.d. [1994], p. 5.
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- ²²⁵ Constant Brand, "Al Qaeda Bomb Plotter Convicted in Belgium," *Washington Post* (AP), October 1, 2003, p. A17; "18 Guilty in Terror Trial in Belgium: 3 Linked to Plot on NATO," *New York Times* (AP), October 1, 2003.
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- ²³⁰ Umit Enginsoy and Burak Ege Bekdil, "Turkey Will Not Back U.S. Military Action on Iran," *Defense News*, December 6, 2004, p. 6.
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- ²³⁴ A satellite image of Büchel Air Base was not available. The map used is from the German website Military Airfield Directory (<http://www.mil-airfields.de/>) and is reprinted with permission.
- ²³⁵ A satellite image of Volkel Air Base was not available. The map used is an excerpt from a detailed base map provided online by the Dutch organization Onkruit (<http://www.contrast.org/onkruit/axies/vokelmap.html>).
- ²³⁶ Commander in Chief (CINC) has formally been changed to Combatant Commander (CC).