

# U.S. Nonstrategic Weapons in Europe: Views in the United States and Europe

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## Status of US NSNW

1980s—stationed at 125 bases in Europe  
2000- stationed at 10 bases in 7 countries  
**Since 2000, some addl. wpns withdrawn:  
Greece, Ramstein AFB, Germany, UK**

1991--- 4000 weapons in Europe

**Current:**

**US – up to 1100 total stockpile  
(including reserves),  
~ 200 in European NATO states**

U.S. also stores SLCMs for defense of Japan.  
But Nuclear Posture Review said this mission is ending



Michael Ammons, U.S. Air Force/Getty Images

# US NSNW in Europe

## B61 Gravity Bombs in 5 European Countries:

- **Belgium**—Kleine Brogel—10-20
- **Germany**- Buchel- 10-20  
Ramstead was largest base, withdrawn  
Use Tornados, nearing end of service life
- **Netherlands**-Volkel— 10-20
- **Italy**- Aviano—50  
? Ghedi Torre (20-40)— Rumored consolidated at Aviano
- **Turkey**-Incirlik—50-90  
Rotational wing, no fighter wing permanent base  
Turkish national nuclear mission may have expired



# Nuclear Posture Review: Reducing the role of nuclear weapons

“Although nuclear weapons have proved to be a key component of U.S. assurances to allies and partners, the United States has relied increasingly on non-nuclear elements to strengthen regional security architectures...As the role of nuclear weapons is reduced in U.S. national security strategy, these non-nuclear elements will take on a greater share of the deterrence burden.”

# Nuclear Posture Review: Political value of NSNW

“Although the risk of nuclear attack against NATO members is at an historic low, the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons—combined with NATO’s unique nuclear sharing arrangements...contribute to Alliance cohesion and provide reassurance to allies and partners who feel exposed to regional threats.”

# Nuclear Posture Review: Addressing NSNW in bilateral negotiations

- One “key recommendation” of the NPR is to “address non-strategic weapons, together with the non-deployed nuclear weapons of both sides, in any post-START negotiations with Russia.”
- Clinton echoed this point at the Tallinn meeting

# U.S. Domestic politics



- The main arms control goal for the Administration in 2010 is Senate endorsement of New START
- Senate approval may not come until the lame duck session of the current Congress in late 2010 or even January 2011.
- Some Republican criticism of New START's lack of any provision on NSNW:
  - “They tied one hand behind our back on missile defense, and we did nothing to address the Russian advantage in tactical nuclear weapons...Personally, I'm not sure the treaty is worth what we give up.” –Senator Jon Kyl, April 2010.

# Tallinn Meeting: Obama Administration/ NATO Priorities



- Reduce the role of nuclear weapons, but maintain alliance cohesion
- Placate U.S. Congressional critics with regard to Russian NSNW and the New START agreement
- Shift the onus for action to the Russians



# Germany



- German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle conditioned his support for coalition government on steps being taken to remove U.S. NSNW from Germany.
- “[NSNW] no longer serve a military purpose. That is why, through talks with our partners and allies, we, the German Government, are working to create the conditions for their removal. As part of this process, we also want to discuss confidence-building measures with Russia as well as a reduction of its weapons.” –FM Westerwelle

# Western European support for removing TNW

- In February, the Belgian Foreign Ministry released a statement saying that Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Norway would call “in the coming weeks” for the removal of U.S. NSNW in Europe.

# Eastern European views

- The new members of NATO are generally less inclined to consider the removal of NSNW from Europe
- An anonymous ambassador from a new NATO member is quoted as saying:

Nuclear deterrence by the US and...the presence of American warheads in Europe is the ultimate test of NATO's credibility. If that fails, you will see a different NATO – more will follow the Poles in seeking bilateral guarantees. It is the essence of NATO membership.

# Eastern European views

- **“Nuclear deterrence based in Europe must remain, as it preserves close trans-Atlantic ties and allows for greater flexibility in deterrence,” Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paet said at the 2010 NATO foreign ministers meeting.**

# Polish diplomacy

- Polish Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski and Sweden's FM Carl Bildt called for a reciprocal agreement with Russia on NSNW in a February op-ed.
- Sikorski and Norwegian FM Jonas Gahr Støre wrote in a joint communique April 10 that "NATO should raise the issue of the inclusion of tactical nuclear arsenals in the arms control framework without delay."
- "Reciprocity and mutually agreed measures are called for."

# Clinton at Tallinn meeting



- **Three principles:**
  - As long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will be a nuclear alliance
  - Sharing nuclear risks and responsibilities is fundamental
  - Continue to reduce the role of nuclear weapons
- **“Our aim should be to seek Russian agreement to”:**
  - increase transparency of NSNW
  - relocate weapons away from the territory of NATO members
  - include non-strategic nuclear weapons in the next round of U.S.-Russian arms control discussions

# NATO Secretary-General Rasmussen at Tallinn



- “ In a world where nuclear weapons exist, NATO needs a credible, effective, and safely managed deterrent.”
- “My personal view is that the presence of American nuclear weapons in Europe is an essential part of a credible nuclear deterrent.”



# NATO process

- NATO members are working to develop a new 10-year Strategic Concept
  - Need to mesh NSNW issue with Missile Defense, CFE, NATO expansion, other issues
- VP Biden recently traveled to NATO to discuss
- Albright Experts Group report expected out soon.
- Report and Concept will be discussed at upcoming defense ministers meeting, and in the report of a high-level advisory group
- Will be finalized around the Lisbon summit in November.



# US officials on Future NSNW Negotiations



- **U.S. Negotiator Rose Gottemoeller**
  - “The trade [for Russian NSNW] cannot be a direct one”
  - “We are looking to develop a comprehensive agenda for future to address complex trade-offs” CFE? Stored Warheads?
- **VP Biden— May 6 IHT Op-ed**
  - Reciprocal NATO/Russian transparency—nuclear, conventional, and missile defense
  - Reciprocal NATO/Russia limitations on size and location of conventional forces