

US NATO  
NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS

# safe?

the hidden dangers in your backyard

**SECURING  
OUR SAFETY,  
ENSURING  
OUR SURVIVAL**

WHY US NATO NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS IN EUROPE MUST GO

**GREENPEACE**

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## SECURING OUR SAFETY, ENSURING OUR SURVIVAL

WHY US NATO NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS IN EUROPE MUST GO

**GREENPEACE**

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**SECURING  
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WHY US NATO NUCLEAR  
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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**Six European countries - Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Turkey and the United Kingdom - host 480 US owned and controlled nuclear bombs under NATO “nuclear sharing” arrangements.<sup>1</sup> These weapons are illegal, irresponsible and unjustifiable.**

2006 brings an opportunity to finally put an end to this dangerous cold war legacy, as NATO begins a review process of its fundamental purpose and objectives. European leaders can use this opportunity to remove these nuclear weapons from NATO’s armoury and from Europe.<sup>2</sup> NATO, like the rest of the world in the 21st century, should be free of 20th century nuclear weapons and policies.

Each of the 480 US/NATO nuclear bombs has a destructive capacity of up to ten times of that which destroyed Hiroshima, with a combined power capable of wiping Europe off the map. Each of these bombs is a clear and present danger; each carries an unacceptable risk of accident and is a potential target.

US nuclear policy, plans and scenarios include roles for the weapons deployed in Europe. It is the President of the United States that would make these scenarios and plans a reality, and he can do so without the permission of the country hosting the weapons. This year, an article in the New Yorker exposed the frightening reality of current NATO nuclear sharing arrangements.<sup>3</sup>

Seymour M. Hersh revealed US scenarios that included the use of B61 bombs, the type of US bomb stored in Europe, in a potential strike on Iran. This demonstrates how European NATO nuclear sharing countries risk nuclear weapons being launched from their territories in a US conflict. Eliminating US/NATO weapons from Europe will enable Europeans to disassociate themselves from dangerous US nuclear doctrines of pre-emptive attack and preventative war.


The Russian Federation has been explicit about its unwillingness to negotiate further reductions in tactical nuclear weapons as long as the US continues to deploy nuclear weapons in Europe. Each of these 480 US/NATO nuclear bombs is a barrier to international negotiations for a more peaceful future. Each is a political stumbling block in negotiations with Russia. In addition, the existence of these nuclear bombs in Europe undermines other negotiating efforts by some European Union countries to stop and reverse the nuclear shadow that is spreading over the Middle East today. These bombs do not prevent proliferation; they provoke it.

<sup>1</sup> Hans Kristensen, “U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe: A Review of Post-Cold War Policy, Force Levels, and War Planning” (Natural Resources Defense Council, Washington DC, February 2005) <http://www.nukestrat.com/pubs/EuroBombs.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> This report refers to the continent of Europe and includes Turkey within that geographical boundary

<sup>3</sup> Seymour M. Hersh, “The Iran Plans: Would President Bush go to war to stop Tehran from getting the bomb?”, *New Yorker*, 7 April 2006

<sup>4</sup> “Spiegel Interview with US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld” 31 October 2005 <http://service.spiegel.de/cache/international/0,1518,382527-2,00.html>.



In 2005 US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said of US/NATO nuclear weapons *"Some countries in Europe made the decision to allow them to be on the continent. It was seen to be in their interest and is still seen that way today as it persists. So one would assume it continues being in their interest."*<sup>14</sup>

However, Europeans do not need to accept these weapons in Europe and have the power to ask for them to be removed. US/NATO nuclear weapons have been removed from Canada, Greece, Denmark (Greenland) and Iceland, and all remain actively cooperating NATO member states. When Europe finally stops being considered a theatre for nuclear war, a storage shed or an aircraft carrier by the US, the cold war will finally be over.

The debate has already started, with resolutions being passed in Belgium and Germany. The time is right build on this momentum, to rid Europe of nuclear weapons altogether and move towards a more peaceful future.

## **GREENPEACE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EUROPE**

- 1. The Governments of Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Turkey and the United Kingdom, should request the immediate withdrawal of the 480 remaining US/NATO nuclear weapons in Europe to the US for dismantlement. They are obsolete, dangerous, and a stumbling block to international disarmament.**
- 2. The North Atlantic Council should remove all explicit references to nuclear weapons from any NATO Mission, mandate, strategic concept or structure and all military equipment and infrastructure assigned to NATO should be rendered incapable of supporting any NATO nuclear mission.**
- 3. NATO member States should invite international observers from an appropriate United Nations body with the International Atomic Energy Agency to observe the withdrawal of US/NATO nuclear weapons, the destruction of nuclear weapons vaults in all aircraft shelters and regular inspections of those same sites to ensure that there is no return of this nuclear capability.**

## **INTRODUCTION US/NATO nuclear weapons in Europe**

**Currently some 480 US owned and controlled nuclear bombs are spread across six European countries - Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Turkey and the United Kingdom.**

This report concerns itself with the security utility of removing these nuclear weapons from Europe as a concrete step towards a Europe free of nuclear weapons and a step towards international nuclear disarmament.

With a destructive capacity ranging from that of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima to more than 10 times as powerful, each US nuclear weapon in Europe is a clear and present danger to the people of the host country and beyond. Each bomb is a threat to European security and undermines international nuclear non-proliferation efforts. Each is a potential target of terror and poses an unacceptable accident threat.

Throughout the history of US/NATO nuclear weapons, concerns about safety and security as well as public pressure to eliminate the weapons have continuously challenged the presence of these nuclear weapons in Europe. While the number of US nuclear weapons in Europe has been significantly cut, as long as a single nuclear weapon remains, so do the attendant threats.

### **2006, an opportunity to remove this risk**

NATO members will be meeting in Riga, Latvia in November 2006 at a Summit being promoted as a "*major milestone*" for NATO "*modernisation for the 21st century.*"<sup>1</sup> The summit was suggested by the US to drive forward efforts to modernize NATO and to deepen its military capabilities<sup>2</sup>. At the Summit, NATO allies will begin a process to review the fundamental purpose and objectives of the Alliance and of the various political and military means that constitute its strategy for achieving them.

This is a real opportunity for European NATO members to take responsibility for the nuclear weapons on their soil and send them back to the US. By meeting this challenge, they would not only be avoiding potential complicity in a nuclear catastrophe, they will contribute to de-escalating global nuclear tensions. Due to its pre-emptive strike and first use policies, NATO is the world's only remaining military nuclear alliance that maintains a capability and plans for the use of nuclear force. NATO in the 21st century should be free of 20th century nuclear weapons and policies.



The NATO transformation and review offers a real opportunity for all those who have the potential to shape NATO policy, directly or indirectly, to denuclearise NATO. A thorough debate on the role of and the political and military utility and liability of US nuclear weapons in Europe should be held in all the NATO nuclear countries at the Ministerial level and through the NATO Parliamentary Assembly as part of the forward-looking review process underway on NATO's Mission Statement.

**We are presented this year with an opportunity to take steps to put an end to NATO nuclear madness in Europe. Removing these weapons will make a concrete contribution to a safer, more secure future; we must seize this opportunity.**



# now's our chance...

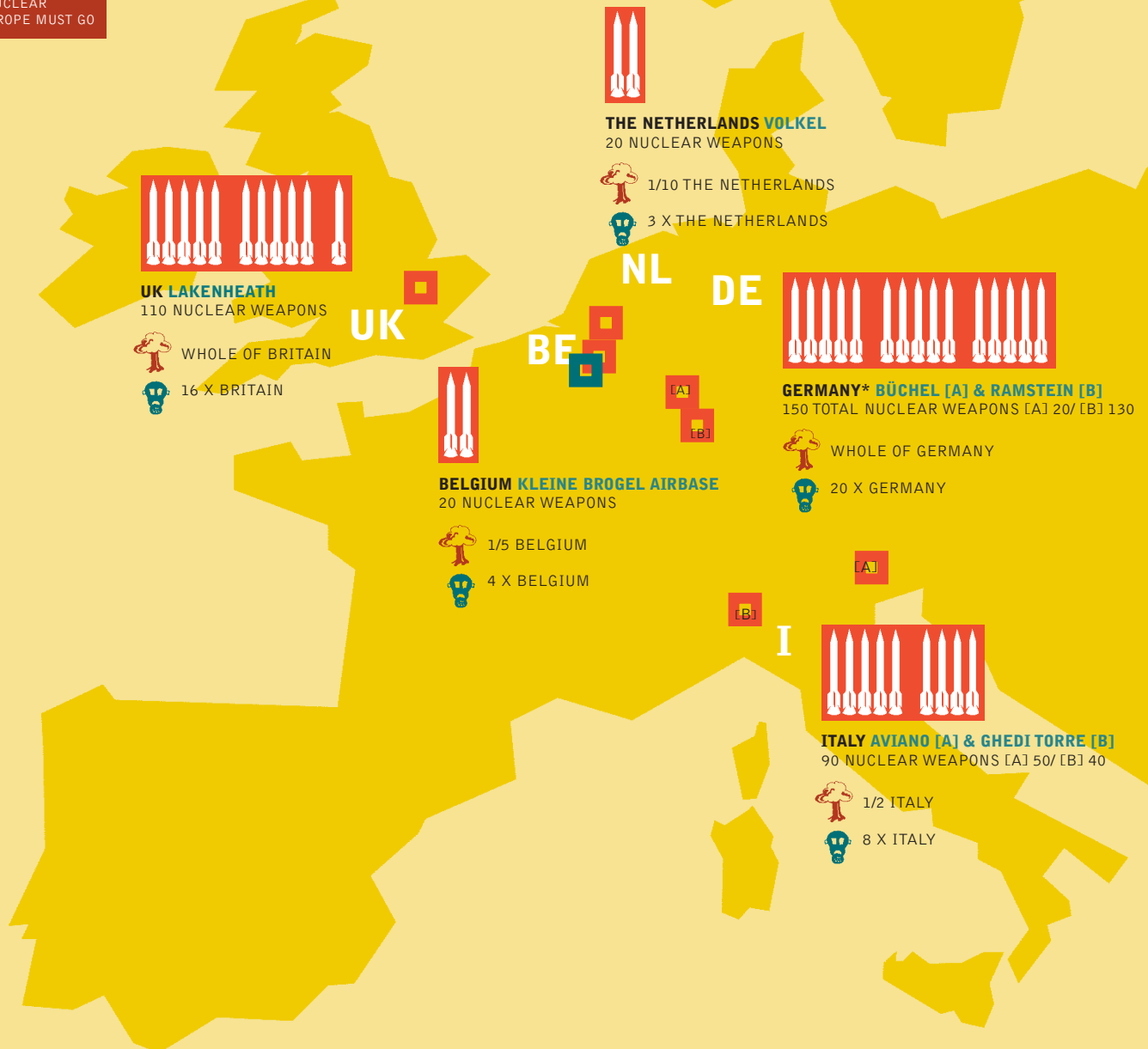
for a safer future! Remove all nuclear weapons from our backyards



# SECURING OUR SAFETY, ENSURING OUR SURVIVAL

WHY US NATO NUCLEAR  
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## US/nato nuclear weapons in Europe today




\* CURRENTLY GERMANY IS TECHNICALLY HOST FOR UP TO SOME 150 US NUCLEAR WEAPONS. DUE TO THE MODERNISATION OF RAMSTEIN AIR-BASE ONLY THE 20 BOMBS AT BÜCHEL ARE BELIEVED TO BE IN THEIR VAULTS IN GERMANY - BUT THE REST WILL VERY LIKELY RETURN AFTER THE CONSTRUCTION IS COMPLETE.





## LEGEND

 US/NATO LOCATION

 NATO HQ, BRUSSELS

 = 10 NUCLEAR WEAPONS


 AREA THAT WOULD BE IMMEDIATELY COMPLETELY DESTROYED


 AREA THAT WOULD FEEL THE DESTRUCTIVE IMPACT

**NOTES:** THESE CALCULATIONS ARE BASED ON THE WEAPONS BEING DETONATED IN ONE LOCATION AT THEIR MAXIMUM YIELD OF 170 KILOTONS. THESE CALCULATIONS ARE EXTRAPOLATED FROM A BROAD GENERALISATION OF A 1 MEGATON NUCLEAR BOMB GOING OFF AND DO NOT TAKE ACCOUNT OF ANY LOCAL TOPOGRAPHY, BUILDING STRUCTURES OR WEATHER IN THE AREA TARGETED.



**TURKEY INCIRLIK**  
90 NUCLEAR WEAPONS

 1/5 TURKEY

 3 X TURKEY

**TUR**



Since 1954, Europeans have been denied adequate information about the presence of **US/NATO** nuclear weapons in their countries, or the health and safety hazards posed by these nuclear weapons. While the number of weapons has reduced from around 7000 in the 1970s, the 480 nuclear weapons that remain are enough to take Europe off the map. One nuclear weapon is one too many.

NATO's nuclear posture rests upon 480 US tactical nuclear weapons and a small number of the UK's Trident warheads, as well as "the strategic nuclear forces of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States; the independent nuclear forces of the United Kingdom and France"<sup>3</sup>. This report concerns itself with the arguments for removing and dismantling the 480 US/NATO tactical nuclear weapons from Europe as a concrete step towards a Europe free of Nuclear weapons and a step towards international nuclear disarmament.

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### Accidents do happen

Although NATO's nuclear weapons safety and security measures have been improved over the years, it is impossible to remove all of the risks especially during maintenance and transport of nuclear weapons.

Some nuclear weapons are transported by air over Europe and back to the US for maintenance. Regular maintenance is required to replace radioactive and other components that decay over time. Under US safety regulations it is not permitted for these flights to travel over the US. Yet, US military aircraft crisscross Europe carrying nuclear weapons.

While for obvious reasons no information is published about the frequency or the routes taken by nuclear flights, we can assume they

use established flight paths and routes and pass over large centres of population. The only way to eliminate the risks such flights entail is to remove these weapons entirely.

The greatest risk is fire. The radioactive materials contained in these weapons are extremely susceptible to heat, some can even spontaneously ignite on contact with air. For example if a nuclear weapon were engulfed in aviation fuel as a result of a crash, or a plane carrying nuclear weapons ignites in its hangar. This would not cause a nuclear explosion, but could result in a dangerous, highly radioactive smoke plume that would spread down wind.

#### Known US Aircraft Accidents involving nuclear weapons in Europe:

In Palomares, Spain, in January 1966, a B-52 nuclear bomber collided with its mid-air refuelling aircraft, exploded, and scattered debris and parts of nuclear weapons over several hundred acres.

As a result of the accident, an estimated 1,400 tons of radioactive soil and vegetation was excavated, packed in 55-gallon drums, and sent to the United States for disposal at the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina.

On January 21, 1968, a B-52 crashed near the Thule Air Base in Greenland, it landed and burned some seven miles southwest of the runway. The bomber carried four nuclear weapons, all of which were destroyed by fire. Wreckage of the plane was widely scattered over an area about 275 Meters on either side of the plane's path, much of it in "cigarette box-sized" pieces. Some 237,000 cubic feet of contaminated ice, snow and water, with crash debris, were removed to an approved storage site in the United States over the course of a four-month operation. Several hundred acres of farmland still have to be monitored today.

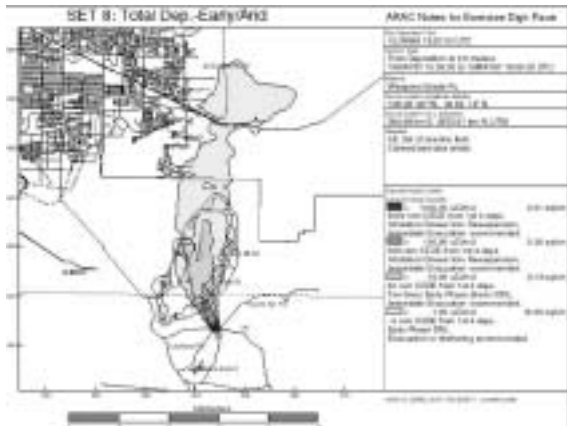
Link to a declassified list of known US nuclear weapons accidents can be found here, <http://www.milnet.com/cdiart.htm>



© REYNAERS/GIP



© US STRATEGIC COMMAND  
OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF  
DRUMS OF EXCAVATED SOIL AND  
VEGETATION AT PALOMARES.<sup>4</sup>



**source** USA Department of Defense, Nuclear Weapons Accident Response Procedures (NARP), February 22, 2005, Office of the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Nuclear and chemical and Biological Defense Programs. Dod 3150.8-M

**NUCLEAR WEAPONS STORED NEAR DENSELY POPULATED AREAS.** THE TOWN CENTRE OF ADANA IN TURKEY, A CITY OF 1.9 MILLION PEOPLE, IS 15 KM FROM INCIRLIK AIRBASE. IN GERMANY 150,000 PEOPLE LIVE WITHIN 15KM OF THE RAMSTEIN AIRBASE.



**THIS IS AINAGUL AGED 6 FROM CLOSE TO SEMIPALATINSK, KAZAKHSTAN** A FORMER NUCLEAR TESTING SITE. SHE STOPPED GROWING AT THE AGE OF THREE. HER FATHER CAME FROM THE VILLAGE ZNAMEKA CLOSE TO THE TESTING SITE. HER PARENTS ARE ASHAMED OF HER AND HAVE TAKEN HER FROM SCHOOL. THIS IS QUITE COMMON IN KAZAKH CULTURE. THEY ARE CONSIDERING PUTTING HER IN AN ORPHANAGE BECAUSE THEY LACK THE MONEY TO TAKE GOOD CARE OF HER. © **ROBERT KNOTH**

The example on the left, taken from US military nuclear weapons accident response procedures manual, shows that if a nuclear weapon accident occurred in the early morning and under dry conditions, the radioactive core of the bomb could be widely dispersed with serious consequences:

Up to 4 kms downwind people could receive up to 100 times the recommended radiation dose limit, requiring immediate evacuation. Up to 11 kms downwind contamination at the maximum dose limit could be received and sheltering and/or evacuation could be necessary. Of course the stronger the wind speeds on the day of the accident the greater the impact would be.

The risk of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorists is not hypothetical. Recently, Al-Qaeda has plotted attacks against NATO nuclear weapons bases in both Belgium and Turkey.<sup>5</sup> Whilst it is unlikely that terrorists could gain access to the nuclear weapons vaults, the regular maintenance procedures provide opportunities for attack, with fire once again being the greatest risk.

## SECURING OUR SAFETY, ENSURING OUR SURVIVAL

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# NATO Nuclear Weapons Policy - Illegal, Irresponsible and Unjustifiable

Current NATO nuclear policy is outlined in its 1999 Strategic Concept, which states that NATO will maintain a mix of nuclear and conventional weapons "for the foreseeable future" in order to "protect peace and to prevent war or any kind of coercion".<sup>6</sup> NATO's Nuclear Planning Group reaffirmed its nuclear policy and force posture in 2005.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey, the five non-nuclear weapon states engaged in NATO nuclear sharing, all have agreements with the US for nuclear cooperation programmes that include the maintenance of dual capable aircraft prepared for the conduct of nuclear missions, training people in nuclear weapons planning and use and physically hosting the weapons on their soil.



## Nuclear sharing is illegal

NATO nuclear sharing is illegal as it is in breach of Articles I and II of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Under Article I: ***“Each nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly...”***

And under Article II: non-nuclear weapon states undertake not to receive the transfer of nuclear weapons or control of nuclear weapons.

Under NATO nuclear sharing arrangements the United States is clearly transferring control over the nuclear weapons to a non-nuclear state. While the bombs may be in US hands until implementation of a decision to use them, the weapons are stored on the territory of non nuclear weapons states and their personnel can carry out the delivery to targets.

Whilst some argue that nuclear sharing is legal because these arrangements were in place at the time of negotiation of the NPT, this is spurious. NATO nuclear sharing is not acknowledged in the treaty, unlike the acknowledgement that five states possess nuclear weapons<sup>8</sup>. This argument ignores the fundamental objective of the NPT, which is to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons by states other than those states having possessed and tested them by 1967.

NATO nuclear sharing is also inconsistent with Article VI of the NPT, which legally obliges all NPT signatories to work towards achieving a world free of nuclear weapons. NATO's continued retention of nuclear weapons and reassertion of their political and military value breaks this legal commitment. In fact, NATO nuclear sharing continues to be raised by NPT States as a matter of deep concern and as an example of how the US in particular is not living up to its NPT disarmament obligations. They further quote it as an example of the increasing value placed by some nations on retaining nuclear weapons.

### **Nuclear sharing is unjustifiable**

NATO nuclear weapons are both militarily and politically unjustifiable.

During the Cold War it was claimed that nuclear weapons were a defence against the USSR, there is little doubt that today they are offensive weapons and are in line with US rather than European national military policy. It is the President of the United States that would make the decision to use these weapons, and he can do so without the permission of country hosting the weapons. As recognised by Walter Kalbow, former Federal Secretary of Defence for Germany, Germany does not have "*nuclear weapons at its disposal, neither in times of peace nor for Germany's defence*".<sup>9</sup>

### **NATO at a glance**

**Established:** 1949 by the North Atlantic Treaty (the "Washington Treaty")

**Original members:** Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, United States (12)

**Current members:** Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States (26)

**Purpose:** Members resolve "to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security."

**US nuclear weapons currently located in:** Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Turkey, United Kingdom

**US nuclear weapons previously located in:** Canada, Greece, Denmark (Greenland), Iceland

**Nuclear Planning Group (NPG)** chaired by the Secretary General of NATO (**Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**) and consisting of NATO countries' defence ministers is NATO's main body for consultations and decision-making on nuclear issues, including NATO nuclear posture, strategy, weapons systems, and potential use of nuclear weapons.

**The High Level Group (HLG)** is a senior advisory body to the NPG on nuclear policy and planning issues.

**The Military Committee** is made up of senior military officers from the NATO member countries that serve as their country's Military Representatives to NATO, representing their Chiefs of Defence. It can also meet on the level of Chiefs of General Staff. It meets normally every Thursday. The current Chairman of the Military Committee is General **Ray Henault** of Canada.



## NATO Nuclear Weapons Policy - Illegal, Irresponsible and Unjustifiable

*continued*

While these nuclear weapons are a projection of US nuclear policy in Europe, the Pentagon's own Defense Science Board assessment makes it clear that, *"there is no obvious military need for these systems... To a great extent their continuation is a policy decision."*<sup>10</sup> Some air forces in NATO nuclear-sharing countries appear to agree with this assessment and are phasing out nuclear-capable aircraft.<sup>11</sup> The next step would be to demand the removal of the weapons altogether.

NATO members hold a position that the nuclear weapons *"provide an essential political and military link between the European and North American members of the Alliance"*. However the facts demonstrate otherwise. Of 26 NATO member countries only 6 host US nuclear weapons. Moreover, US/NATO nuclear weapons were previously located in Canada, Greece, Denmark (Greenland) and Iceland and despite the weapons being removed each country remains a member of NATO.

When asked in a recent interview by the German newspaper Der Spiegel about the purpose of US nuclear bombs stationed in Germany, US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld replied, *"I think I'll leave that to the Germans and to NATO. Some countries in Europe made the decision to allow them to be on the continent. It was seen to be in their interest and is still seen that way today as it persists. So one would assume it continues being in their interest."*<sup>12</sup> The ball is in 'Europe's' court.

### **Nuclear sharing is irresponsible**

NATO policy allows for first use of nuclear weapons, which adds a new dimension of danger when coupled with a US security policy that argues for pre-emptive and preventive war. The US encourages developing nuclear weapons that provide 'more flexible options' in times of military/political conflict or tension. This clearly increases the likelihood of the use of nuclear weapons. The 2006 US National Security Strategy states *"we do not rule out the use of force before attacks occur, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack."*<sup>13</sup> The US has recently developed a *"Global Strike Plan"* which describes the potential use of US/NATO nuclear bombs deployed in Europe in a pre-emptive strike.<sup>14</sup> US nuclear policy includes arguments and plans in support of sustaining and modernizing its nuclear forces in this context, including a role for NATO nuclear weapons.



NATO nuclear doctrine mirrors that of the US. The NATO Nuclear Planning Group is even chaired by the US Assistant Secretary of Defence, who is also responsible for drafting and implementing all US nuclear doctrine.

In April an article in the New Yorker by Seymour Hersh provided a real example of how NATO nuclear sharing countries are implicated in US Policy. Hersh exposed US military plans considering the option of using tactical nuclear weapons against Iran.<sup>15</sup> These plans specifically mentioned the B61 nuclear bomb, which may be housed at the US/NATO airbases. If the intention in such a scenario were to use land based aircraft, then this would probably involve the use of Incirlik airbase in Turkey,<sup>16</sup> where US weapons are currently stored. As such, European NATO nuclear sharing countries are not only endorsing preemptive US nuclear weapons policy through their passivity, but they also risk bases on their territories being used to launch nuclear weapons in a US conflict.

No NATO member state has publicly criticized the new US policy on the use of nuclear weapons, even in a conventional conflict or before a visible threat emerges. Through their silence, through hosting these weapons and through supporting NATO policy, NATO member states are accepting the use of US nuclear weapons by Alliance aircraft and pilots in these scenarios. Eliminating nuclear weapons from Europe will enable Europeans to disassociate themselves from the US nuclear doctrine, which is giving an increased role for nuclear weapons and thereby increasing the likelihood of use.

### **Nuclear sharing sets a dangerous precedent**

NATO nuclear sharing sets a dangerous precedent for nuclear-armed states to deploy nuclear weapons outside their territory and to share them with non-nuclear weapon states.

NATO nuclear sharing is a model that others could follow, using pre-existing relationships as a legal basis. Pakistan could cite NATO nuclear sharing to support sharing its nuclear weapons with another state in the Middle East. What would stop it arguing, as the current NATO Strategic Concept does, that its nuclear forces are a "*significant factor*" in the maintenance of security and stability? The presence of nuclear weapons on European soil is more likely to provoke than deter potential proliferation.



## NATO Nuclear Weapons Policy - Illegal, Irresponsible and Unjustifiable

*continued*

### NATO policy-making and policy-shaping

#### The North Atlantic Council (NAC)

- \* Most important decision-making body
- \* Represented by permanent representative at Ambassadorial level in Brussels, supported by a delegation.
- \* Effective political authority and powers of decision.
- \* Meets at higher levels- Foreign Ministers, Defence Ministers or Heads of Government, but has same authority and powers of decision-making, at whatever level it meets.<sup>19</sup>
- \* Meets at least once a week, usually chaired by the Secretary-General of NATO.

#### Defence Planning Committee (DPC)

- \* Composed of Permanent Representatives
- \* Meets also at the level of Defence Ministers at least twice a year
- \* Deals with most defence matters and subjects related to collective defence planning.
- \* All NATO members except France (who have observer rights) are represented in this forum.

The DPC provides guidance to NATO's military authorities and has the same functions, attributes and the same authority as the NAC within the area of its responsibilities. The work of the DPC is prepared by a number of subordinate committees with specific responsibilities and in particular by the Defence Review Committee, which oversees the Force Planning Process within NATO and examines other issues relating to the Integrated Military Structure.<sup>20</sup>

#### Nuclear Planning Group (NPG)

- \* Made up of Defence Ministers that take part in the DPC
- \* Meets when necessary at the level of Ambassadors and up to twice a year at the level of Ministers of Defence.

The NPG covers a "broad range of nuclear policy matters, including the safety, security and survivability of nuclear weapons, communications and information systems, deployment issues and wider questions of common concern such as nuclear arms control and nuclear proliferation. The Alliance's nuclear policy is kept under review and *decisions are taken jointly to modify or adapt it in the light of new developments* and to update and adjust planning and consultation procedures."<sup>21</sup>

## **NPG High Level Group (HLG)**

- \* Senior advisory body to the NPG
- \* Chaired by the US Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security
- \* Composed of national policy makers and experts from capitals.
- \* Meets several times a year

HLG meets to discuss aspects of NATO's nuclear policy, planning and force posture, and matters concerning the safety, security and survivability of nuclear weapons.

## **NATO Foreign Ministers**

- \* Meet up to twice a year in formal session
- \* Meet also with members of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council along with their respective defence ministers
- \* Participate in meetings of the NATO-Russia and NATO-Ukraine Councils.

## **Supreme Allied Commander Europe**

Day to day military responsibilities are done by Allied Command Operations commanded by Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR).

## **The NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NPA)**

- \* Independent of NATO but is a link between national parliaments and the Alliance.
- \* Consists of 248 members from the 26 NATO member States and a further 59 parliamentarians from 13 "associate member" States.
- \* National defence committees usually nominate the participants.

The NPA was set up so that national parliaments took NATO concerns and needs into account when framing national legislation. It has a number of committees, sub-committees and working groups who make recommendation to the bi-annual plenary of the Assembly for adoption on a wide range of issues concerning NATO.

## **France - A Special Case**

In 1966 President De Gaulle removed all foreign troops from France and withdrew from the military planning and decision-making structure of NATO.

France retained its decision-making powers on the North Atlantic Council, still contributes financially to the NATO civil and military budgets and occasionally provides military support to NATO missions.



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## NATO Nuclear Weapons Policy - Illegal, Irresponsible and Unjustifiable

*continued*

### NATO nuclear weapons inhibit negotiations with Russia

NATO tactical nuclear weapons impede efforts to negotiate with Russia over reductions of its nuclear weapons. The Russian Federation has been explicit about its unwillingness to negotiate reductions in tactical nuclear weapons as long as the US continues to deploy nuclear weapons in Europe. The thousands of tactical (non-strategic) nuclear weapons that Russia unilaterally declared in 1991 that it would destroy remain mostly intact.



### Nuclear sharing is looking for a justification

Perhaps most alarmingly, NATO nuclear sharing seems to be seeking a new justification.

There is a well-founded concern that NATO is increasingly looking to the Middle East as a reason for keeping US weapons in Europe. Largely driven by US nuclear war planning this new rationale has developed outside of NATO and stands to influence evolving NATO policy. The war on terror and the "axis of evil" rhetoric has put a spotlight on the Middle East and past experience indicates that the US does not always fully consult its allies when making nuclear war plans.

In addition, efforts by some European countries to stop and reverse the nuclear shadow that is spreading over the Middle East today will be more credible and successful if foreign deployments of nuclear weapons in European countries cease. European states could actually do more to prevent escalation of a nuclear crisis in the Middle East, but at the moment European efforts to negotiate with Iran are severely undermined by the duality (and resulting perceptions of hypocrisy) in European states' nuclear policies. Attempting to negotiate the denuclearisation of Iran from this position is patently absurd.

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## The impact of one NATO weapon

While the use of one of these weapons may seem unimaginable, the possibility of their use is conceivable and has been supported by US military strategists with the recent suggestions that NATO/US B-61 bombs could be considered for use against Iranian nuclear targets.

THIS IS BAYAN BEISENGALIEVA, AGED 15 FROM SEMIPALATINSK, KAZAKHSTAN A FORMER NUCLEAR TESTING SITE. SHE WAS 6 WHEN DOCTORS FOUND A BRAIN-TUMOR. SHE WAS TREATED IN GERMANY. LAST YEAR THEY DISCOVERED A NEW ONE. NOW SHE RECEIVES CHEMO-THERAPY IN THE ONCOLOGY DEPARTMENT OF THE SEMIPALATINSK HOSPITAL AND HOPES IT WILL CURE HER. A REPORTED 498 NUCLEAR TESTS WERE CONDUCTED BY THE SOVIET UNION BETWEEN 1949 AND 1989. THE NUCLEAR TESTS CAUSED WIDE SPREAD RADIO ACTIVE CONTAMINATION IN PARTICULAR IN KAZAKHSTAN AND SIBERIA. AROUND 1.7 MILLION PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SEVERELY AFFECTED BY RADIATION. CANCERS, LEUKEMIA, HEART, CARDIO VASCULAR DISEASES AND BONE DISEASES AND CHILDREN BORN WITH PHYSICAL OR MENTAL HANDICAPS HAVE INCREASED DRAMATICALLY SINCE THE TESTING STARTED. IN 1999 UNDP DECLARED THE REGION A DISASTER ZONE AND CALLED FOR WIDE SPREAD SUPPORT FOR THE PEOPLE LIVING THERE. © ROBERT KNOTH



## SECURING OUR SAFETY, ENSURING OUR SURVIVAL

WHY US NATO NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS IN EUROPE MUST GO

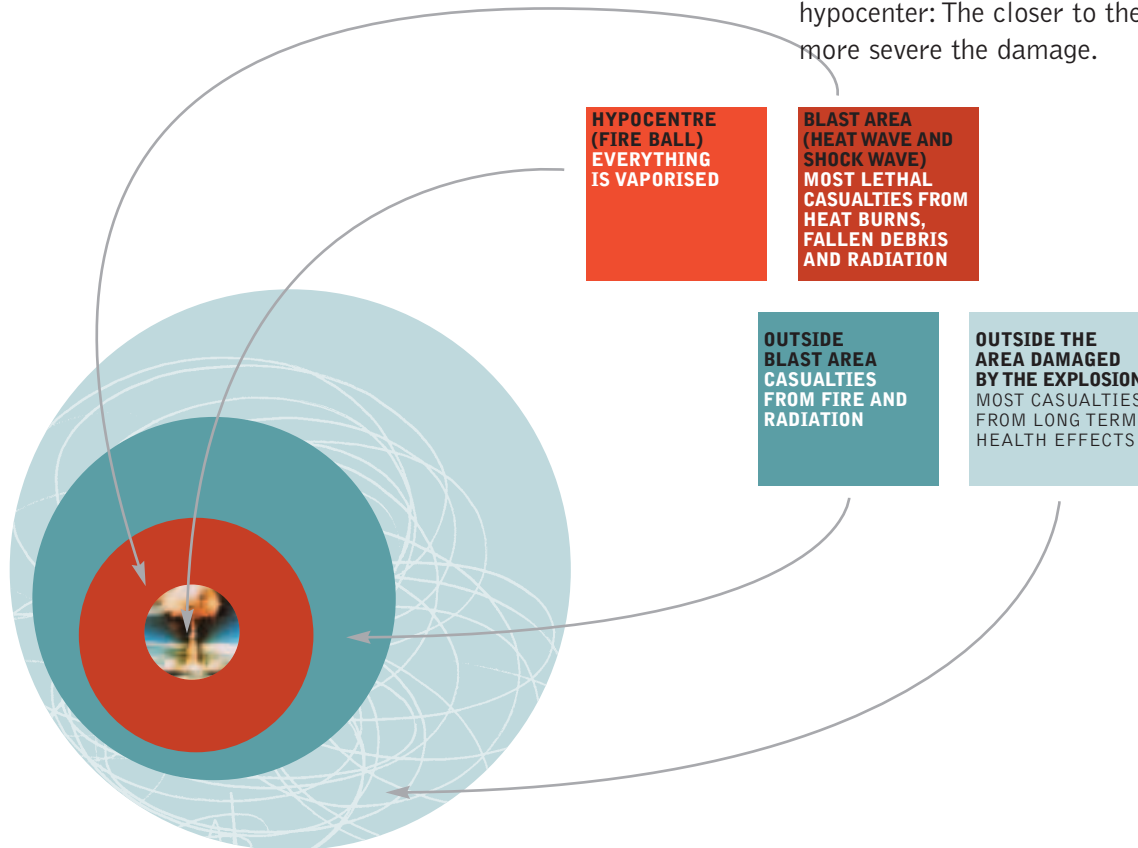
### The impact of one NATO weapon *continued*

Here we give an indication of the consequences that using one of these weapons could have.

US/NATO nuclear weapons are gravity bombs, like the ones used in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with potential yields in the same range to more than 10 times more powerful.

Therefore the impacts of the bombs dropped on Japan, provide a useful although conservative indication of the physical and medical impacts if even one of the NATO B-61 nuclear weapons was used.<sup>17</sup>

The explosion of a nuclear bomb over a populated city will release intense heat, high winds and nuclear fallout. The degree of damage depends upon the distance from the centre of the bomb blast, called the hypocentre: The closer to the hypocentre, the more severe the damage.





At the hypocentre, everything would be immediately vaporised by the high temperatures. In Hiroshima, ceramic tiles within 600 metres of ground zero melted.

Outward from the hypocentre most casualties involve heat burns, injuries from the flying debris of buildings collapsed by the shock wave and acute exposure to high radiation.

Most of the people within about 1 km of ground zero at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who were not killed by the effects of blast and/or burns, died of radiation sickness. Acute radiation effects extended for 4 months after the bombing. The characteristic radiation-sickness symptoms included haemorrhaging, diarrhoea, loss of hair, lesions in the back of the mouth, decay and ulceration of the gum, bleeding under the skin, vomiting, nausea, fever and malaise.

In the long-term, radioactive fallout can occur downwind of any nuclear explosion. The radioactive fallout is then inhaled and ingested by people or taken into the body through contaminated food and water. In Hiroshima, "black rain" (rain with fallout) fell to the northwest of ground zero. The black rain was sticky, and people at that time thought that oil had been dropped. A black spotty pattern remained wherever a raindrop struck.

The long-term effects of radiation include a variety of cancers, especially lymphomas and thyroid cancer, as well as malformations of children born to mothers exposed to radiation. The incidence of leukaemia among survivors has been found to be proportional to the dose of radiation exposure. Furthermore, the younger a person was when exposed, the higher the leukaemia risk. The peak of leukaemia onset was about 7 to 8 years after exposure.<sup>18</sup>

In Hiroshima eighty thousand of it's roughly one quarter of a million populations died immediately. By the end of 1945 a further sixty thousand are estimated to have died. People are still dying today from the after affects of this nuclear attack.



**According to the city of Hiroshima, as of August 6, 2004, the cumulative death toll of atomic-bomb victims was 237,062. There are about 270,000 hibakusha, "bomb affected people," still living in Japan.**

## SECURING OUR SAFETY, ENSURING OUR SURVIVAL

WHY US NATO NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS IN EUROPE MUST GO

### Time for change

When confronted with the reality of US nuclear weapons on the soil of European NATO countries, European public opinion solidly calls for the removal of these weapons. This stated preference is echoed by international calls for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

However NATO suffers from a “*democracy deficit*”. The deployment and maintenance of US nuclear weapons has taken place without consultation with, or the consent of, citizens affected by the presence of these weapons. Throughout the history of NATO citizens in Europe and throughout the world have discovered and invented creative ways of informing themselves about nuclear dangers and expressing their opposition to the underlying policies (see Annex 1). The opinion of the public continues today to call for the removal of the remaining weapons. According to a May 2005 poll, a large majority of Germans (76%) from across the political spectrum want US nuclear weapons removed from Germany.

Recent examples of prevailing political opinion also show the increasing attention to this issue in Europe and include statements by NPT member states during the 2005 review conference,<sup>22</sup> parliamentary briefings (in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands) by the Natural Resources Defence Council

(NRDC) about NATO nuclear weapons in Europe. A unanimous Belgian Senate resolution, a Belgian House of Representatives resolution,<sup>23</sup> and a proposed German parliamentary resolution<sup>24</sup> all recently called for the removal of US nuclear weapons.

In January 2006, the German parliamentary group Die Linken presented a resolution<sup>25</sup> calling for the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Germany. Die Linken also sent the government a list of 28 questions about the status of nuclear weapons in Germany.<sup>26</sup>

In a 2005 Op-ed Belgian parliamentarian Dirk Van der Maelen, clearly rejected US nuclear weapons and policy. Their continued deployment undercuts European efforts towards global non-proliferation, such as French, German and British efforts to prevent Iran from taking steps towards nuclear weapons capability. “*Europe must set the example and begin to remove nuclear weapons from the European continent.*”<sup>27</sup>

European governments of NATO countries have a direct role in shaping NATO policy, and they can change this policy. Clearly the decision to remove US nuclear weapons from European soil will have to come from Europeans themselves.

# SECURING OUR SAFETY, ENSURING OUR SURVIVAL

WHY US NATO NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS IN EUROPE MUST GO

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**MINSK, BELARUS MIKHAIL AND VLADIMIR, (16) ARE TWIN BROTHERS. MIKHAIL WAS BORN WITH HYDROCEPHALUS, AND VLADIMIR WERE BORN WITH LEARNING DISABILITIES. THEIR FATHER AND MOTHER WORKED IN THE MOST HEAVILY IRRADIATED AREAS AFTER THE CHERNOBYL DISASTER. © ROBERT KNOTH**









**SECURING  
OUR SAFETY,  
ENSURING  
OUR SURVIVAL**

WHY US NATO NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS IN EUROPE MUST GO

## **GREENPEACE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EUROPE**

- 1. The Governments of Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Turkey and the United Kingdom, should request the immediate withdrawal of the 480 remaining US/NATO nuclear weapons in Europe to the US for dismantlement. They are obsolete, dangerous, and a stumbling block to international disarmament.**
- 2. The North Atlantic Council should remove all explicit references to nuclear weapons from any NATO Mission, mandate, strategic concept or structure and all military equipment and infrastructure assigned to NATO should be rendered incapable of supporting any NATO nuclear mission.**
- 3. NATO member States should invite international observers from an appropriate United Nations body with the International Atomic Energy Agency to observe the withdrawal of US/NATO nuclear weapons, the destruction of nuclear weapons vaults in all aircraft shelters and regular inspections of those same sites to ensure that there is no return of this nuclear capability.**

## SECURING OUR SAFETY, ENSURING OUR SURVIVAL

WHY US NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE MUST GO

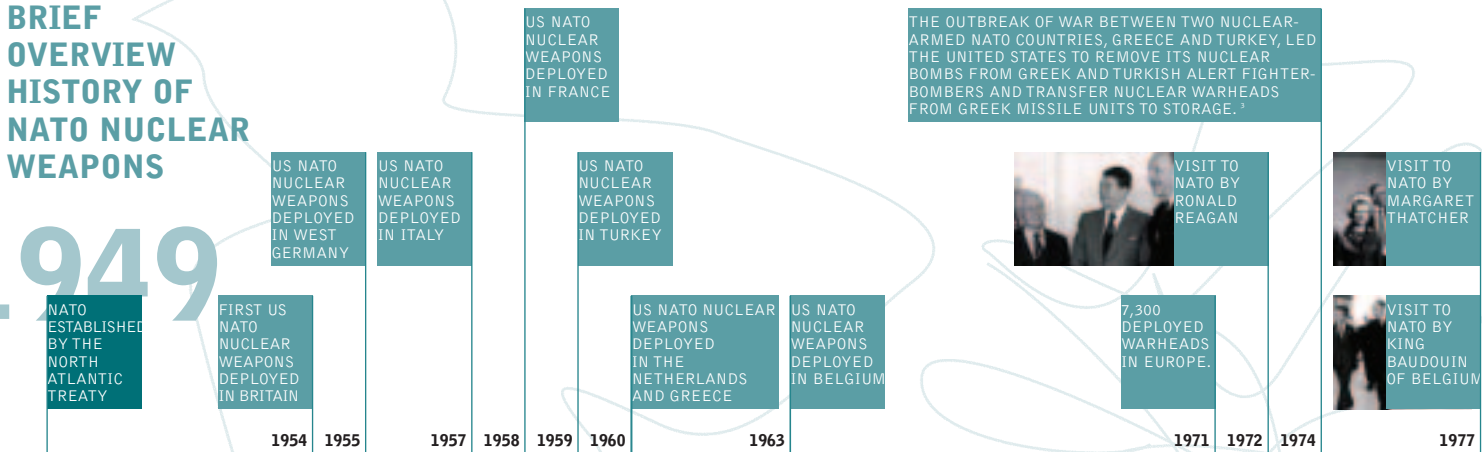
## BRIEF OVERVIEW HISTORY OF NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS

# 1949

## ANNEX 1 NATO and movement timeline

NUCLEAR HISTORY IS SHROUDED IN SECRECY, BUT FROM THE WORK OF INDEPENDENT ANALYSTS, DECLASSIFIED INFORMATION, AND INFERENCE, IT IS KNOWN THAT SINCE THE 1950S, THE US HAS ALSO DEPLOYED NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NON-NUCLEAR COMPONENTS<sup>1</sup> IN CANADA, GREENLAND, GUAM, ICELAND, JAPAN, MOROCCO, THE PHILIPPINES, REPUBLIC OF KOREA, SPAIN, AND TAIWAN.<sup>2</sup>

A MAJOR REVISION OF NATO NUCLEAR POSTURE IN EUROPE TOOK PLACE IN THE EARLY 1970S IN LARGE PART BECAUSE OF CONCERNS ABOUT PHYSICAL SECURITY AND AN OFFICIAL ASSESSMENT THAT THERE WAS AN EXCESSIVE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE. THESE SECURITY CONCERNS WERE HEIGHTENED BY A WAVE OF TERRORIST ATTACKS IN EUROPE. INSTEAD OF TAKING THE OPPORTUNITY TO ELIMINATE THE RISK BY ELIMINATING THE WEAPONS, EMPHASIS WAS PUT ON TIGHTENING SECURITY MEASURES AROUND THE REMAINING WEAPONS.<sup>3</sup>



DISARMAMENT GROUPS IN THE NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM AND WEST GERMANY EXISTING DISARMAMENT MOVEMENT EXPERIENCED HUGE GROWTH AND INCREASED SUPPORT AS AWARENESS OF AND RESISTANCE TO THE WEAPONS IN EUROPE GREW. NEW GROUPS AND CAMPAIGNS EMERGED IN WEST GERMANY, NORWAY AND DENMARK.<sup>4</sup>



IN THE UK GREENHAM COMMON, PEACE CAMP WAS FOUNDED. THOUSANDS OF WOMEN LIVED OR STAYED FOR A TIME AT GREENHAM COMMON<sup>5</sup>.

© REDWINE

550,000 PEOPLE IN THE LARGEST DEMONSTRATION AT THAT TIME IN DUTCH HISTORY REJECTING NATO'S PLANS TO DEPLOY CRUISE MISSILES IN THE COUNTRY.<sup>6</sup>

200,000 IN LARGEST DEMONSTRATION IN BELGIAN HISTORY AT THIS TIME- THIS WAS DOUBLED TWO YEARS LATER

500,000 DEMONSTRATED IN ITALY AGAINST NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEPLOYMENT IN ROME.<sup>7</sup>

300,000 IN LARGEST DEMONSTRATION IN WEST GERMAN HISTORY AT THIS TIME.<sup>8</sup>

5 MILLION SIGNED THE KREFELD APPEAL IN WEST GERMANY, A CRITIQUE OF NATO MISSILE DEPLOYMENT.<sup>9</sup>

THE BIGGEST DEMONSTRATION ON EARTH -NEW YORK, ONE MILLION PEOPLE GATHERED TO PROTEST NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE WORK DONE IN EUROPE HAD HEIGHTENED AWARENESS AROUND THIS ISSUE.

GREENPEACE BANNERED THE CANADIAN EMBASSY IN PROTEST OF THEIR AGREEMENT TO ALLOW TESTING OF THE CRUISE MAPPING AND GUIDANCE SYSTEMS IN REMOTE AREA FLY-OVERS.

"WE COLLECTED MORE THAN A MILLION SIGNATURES. ... EUROPEANS SUDDENLY REALIZED THEY WERE TARGETS. IT WAS THE US FRONT LINE. ... I THINK EVERYONE SUSPECTED THERE WERE NUCLEAR WEAPONS HERE, BUT THAT THEY WERE EXPOSED TO BEING THE FIRST TARGETS WITH ANY CONFLICT WITH THE SOVIET UNION - THAT IS WHAT GOT PEOPLE WORKED UP." EDITH BALLANTYNE, WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

"...IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, ... THERE WERE MASSIVE PROTESTS IN SEVERAL CITIES THAT OCTOBER DAY AND A HUMAN CHAIN THAT STRETCHED NINETY KILOMETERS FROM STUTTGART TO NEU-ULM, WHERE THE PERSHING MISSILES WERE TO BE BASED." CATHERINE FOSTER, WOMEN FOR ALL SEASONS: THE STORY OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA PRESS, 1989)

## NATO SUFFERS FROM A "DEMOCRACY DEFICIT". THE DEPLOYMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITHOUT CONSENT OF PEOPLE IN EUROPE AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD HAVE DISCOVERED AND INVENTED CREATIVE WAYS OF INFORMING THEMSELVES ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

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WITH THE END OF THE COLD WAR, NATO'S FUNDAMENTAL AND ORIGINAL REASON FOR EXISTING – THE SOVIET THREAT – DISAPPEARED. THIS WAS A KEY OPPORTUNITY FOR EUROPEAN DECISION MAKERS TO ELIMINATE US NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE.

FROM 1991 ONWARDS THE NPG THEN DECIDED ON FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN AIR-DELIVERED WEAPONS, RESULTING IN 80-85% CUTS OVER THE COMING YEARS.<sup>8</sup>

**2006**, AN OPPORTUNITY: AS NATO BEGINS A REVIEW PROCESS OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES, EUROPEAN LEADERS CAN USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REMOVE THESE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM NATO'S ARMOURY AND FROM EUROPE.

NATO ANNOUNCED THE UNILATERAL REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE BY MORE THAN ONE THIRD SINCE 1980 TO ABOUT 4000.<sup>9</sup>

UNTIL RECENTLY IT WAS THOUGHT THAT FEWER THAN 200 US-OWNED NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS REMAINED IN EUROPE, HOWEVER AN INDEPENDENT REPORT PUBLISHED BY THE NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL REVEALED THAT APPROXIMATELY 480 NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE STILL DEPLOYED AT AIR BASES IN BELGIUM, GERMANY, ITALY, THE NETHERLANDS, TURKEY, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.<sup>10</sup>

THE INTERMEDIATE NUCLEAR FORCES (INF) TREATY SIGNED BY THE US AND SOVIET UNION REQUIRED ELIMINATION OF ALL LAND-BASED INTERMEDIATE-RANGE AND SHORTER-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES. IN PARALLEL, NATO RETIRED OLDER WARHEADS.<sup>11</sup>

1999 STRATEGIC CONCEPT STATES THAT NATO WILL MAINTAIN A MIX OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS "FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE" IN ORDER TO "PROTECT PEACE AND TO PREVENT WAR OR ANY KIND OF COERCION".<sup>12</sup>

NATO DECISION TO DEPLOY CRUISE AND PERSHING II MISSILES IN WESTERN EUROPE

US REMOVED ALL BUT 1,400 AIR-DELIVERED NUCLEAR BOMBS IN SEVEN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.[13]




1ST CRUISE MISSILE DEPLOYMENT IN EUROPE




NATO'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON DC. NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL SUMMIT MEETING

ALL NATO IMAGES © NATO

1979 1981 1982 1983 1985 1987 1990 1991 1999 2000 2003 2004 2005 2006

 GREENPEACE BLOCKS THE NATO HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS DURING A DEFENCE MINISTERS' MEETING.  
© GP/GLEIZES

 MILLIONS JOINED DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE US LEAD WAR IN IRAQ  
© GP/LANGROCK

 GREENPEACE ACTIVISTS HUNG A MASSIVE BANNER FROM THE BOSPHORUS BRIDGE IN ISTANBUL TURKEY FOR ALL THE DELEGATES OF THE NATO SUMMIT TO SEE.  
© GP/ALI OZ

2004 IN TURKEY GREENPEACE COMMISSIONED POLL FOUND THAT ABOUT HALF OF OUR RESPONDENTS STATED "THEY DON'T SUPPORT AT ALL" HAVING NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN TURKEY TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR TURKEY AND OTHER NATO MEMBERS. 57% OF RESPONDENTS STATED THAT THEY WOULD SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT TO REQUEST NUCLEAR WEAPONS REMOVED.

 1000 ACTIVISTS CARRY OUT "CITIZEN'S WEAPONS INSPECTIONS" IN BELGIUM. THIS CITIZEN LEAD INITIATIVE TO PROTEST AGAINST NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY CARRYING OUT "CITIZENS INSPECTIONS" IN EUROPE HAS BEEN GROWING SINCE 1998.  
© GP/DE MILDY

3.75 MILLION SIGNED THE LARGEST PETITION IN DUTCH HISTORY REJECTING NATO'S PLANS TO DEPLOY CRUISE MISSILES IN THE COUNTRY.<sup>14</sup>

IN THE UK CND'S NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP RISES TO OVER 100,000 FROM 9,000 IN 1980.<sup>15</sup>

A GREENPEACE ACTION IN CANADA INCLUDED DEPLOYING A GIANT NET TO TRY AND CATCH A CRUISE MISSILE.

RADIO 1 IN THE NETHERLANDS OPINION POLL, SHOWED 60% OF DUTCH POPULATION WANTS NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS REMOVED.

DER SPIEGEL IN GERMANY OPINION POLL SHOWED THAT A LARGE MAJORITY OF THE GERMAN POPULATION WANTS NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITHDRAWN.

**CONSULTATION OR THE CONSENT OF CITIZENS AFFECTED BY THE PRESENCE OF THESE WEAPONS. HEAR DANGERS AND EXPRESSING THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE UNDERLYING POLICIES.**

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13 | Lawrence Wittner, Toward Nuclear Abolition: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, Volume 3: 1971 to the Present (Stanford University Press, 2003) p. 145.  
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**“NO!”**