U.S. Nuclear Weapons In Europe

Hans M. Kristensen Director, Nuclear Information Project Federation of American Scientists Phone: 202-454-4695 Email: hkristensen@fas.org

Briefing to Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Washington, D.C. November 1, 2019

Outline



Current Posture

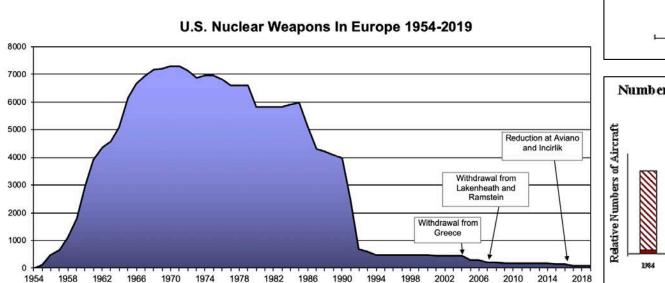
Mission And Arguments

Recent Operations

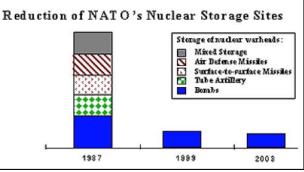
FAS FEDERATION OF AME

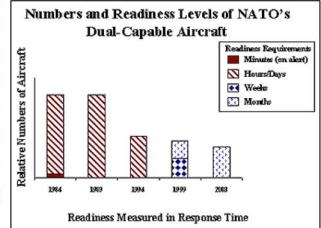
Deployment History

98 percent reduction of US nuclear weapons in Europe since peak of 7,300 in 1971; ~150 weapons remain (possibly only 100) Withdrawal of 12 of 13 weapon systems since 1971 All army, marine corps, navy weapons scrapped Storage sites reduced to six bases in five countries Readiness of remaining aircraft reduced from minutes to months



Nuclear Systems Deployed in Europe 1971 1981 1987 1991 1999 2003 Mine х Nike Hercules S AM x x Honest John SSM х х Lance SS M х Sergeant SSM х Pershing IA х x Pershing II GLCM 155mm Howitzer х x х 8-inch Howitzer х х х Walleye ASM ASW Depth Bombs DCA Bombs х х х Total Systems 11 0 1 5





Hans M. Kristensen, Federation of American Scientists, 2019 Slide 3

Current Deployment

Six bases in five countries have nuclear weapons today

150 weapons remain (possibly only 100)

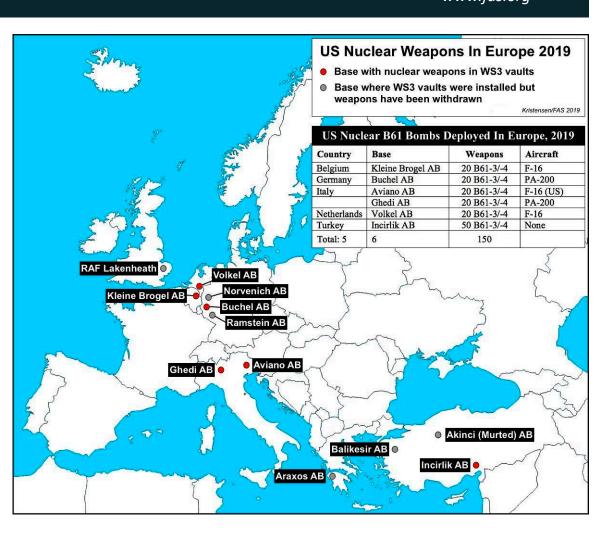
All stored in underground vaults (WS3) inside shelters

Six other bases have empty vaults

Weapons are B61-3/4 gravity bombs

Yields: 0.3 kt – 170 kt (B61-3) 0.3 kt – 50 kt (B61-4)

For delivery by US F-15E/-16 and NATO F-16, PA-200



www.fas.org

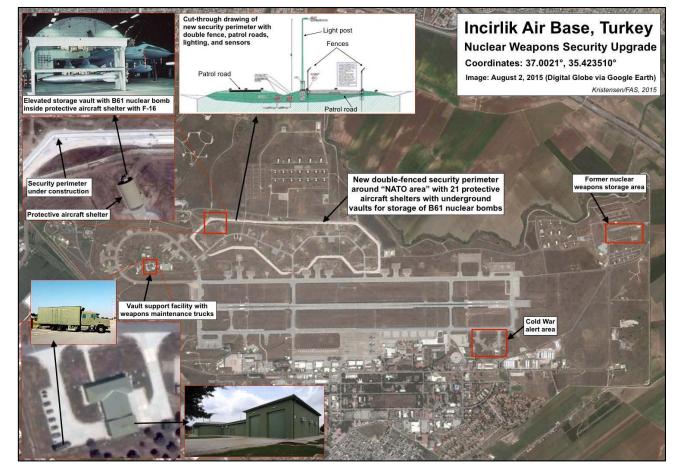
Site Modernization

Upgrade underway of WS3 system at seven (six active) bases in Europe

Security and infrastructure upgrades completed at Aviano and Incirlik in 2014-2015

Incirlik only 68 miles from border with war-torn Syria; Inside Turkey with armed terrorist attacks

Smaller upgrades underway at other bases



FAS FEDERATION OF A



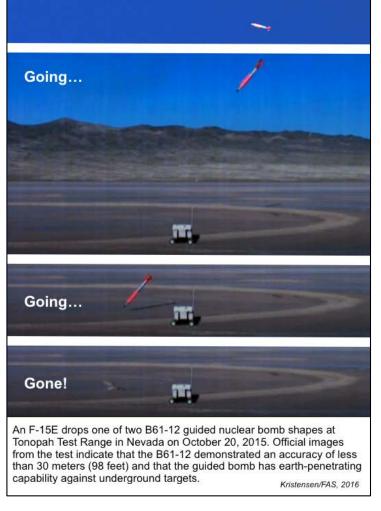
B61-12: Also a nuclear bunker buster?

Weapons Modernization

- Modification of B61 bomb from "dumb" bomb to guided, standoff B61-12 with guided tail kit assembly that increases targeting accuracy and efficiency: one type can cover all bomb missions (tactical as well as strategic)*
- B61-12 integration on B-2, B-21, F-15E, F-16, F-35A, Tornado
- B61-12 First Production Unit in 2021; stockpiling from 2024
- B61-12 cost: more than a decade worth of European Reassurance Initiatives
- The B61-12 will replace B61-3, (B61-4), B61-7, (B61-10), B83
- * Note: New digital aircraft (B-2, B-21, F-15E, F-35A) will be able to use tail kit for guided employment; older analog aircraft (Tornado, F-16) will use ballistic employment.

"The Air Force tail kit will provide the B61-12 with a measure of improved accuracy to give the same military capability as the higher yield bombs it replaces."

Brian McKeon, OSD, July 28, 2016 (emphasis added)



Nuclear Structure

"NATO is a nuclear alliance..."

Correction: NATO as an institution does not own any nuclear weapons. It is an alliance of mostly non-nuclear weapon states as well as three nuclear-weapon states that under certain circumstances will use their own nuclear weapons to defend member countries against attack.

A predominantly non-nuclear alliance:

- Non-nuclear (NPT) members: 26 (90%)
- Nuclear weapon members: 3
- Nuclear Sharing members: 5 (4?)
- SNOWCAT members: 7

Nearly half (14) do not have a nuclearrelated role (other than participating in NPG)

		Country	Nuclear State	Nuclear Sharing	SNOW CAT*	NPG	Nuclear Policy
		Albania				х	х
FAS	FEDERAT	Belgium		х		х	х
		Bulgaria				х	х
		Canada				х	х
		Croatia				х	Х
clear Structure		Czech Rep.			Х	х	Х
		Denmark			х	х	Х
		Estonia				х	х
		France	Х				Х
O is a nuclear alliance"		Germany		Х		х	Х
ection: NATO as an institution does wn any nuclear weapons. It is an ce of mostly non-nuclear weapon s as well as three nuclear-weapon s that under certain circumstances se their own nuclear weapons to nd member countries against attack.		Greece			Х	х	Х
		Hungary			Х	Х	Х
		Iceland				Х	Х
		Italy		х		х	Х
		Latvia				х	Х
		Lithuania				x	Х
		Luxembourg				х	Х
		Montenegro				Х	Х
		Netherlands		х		х	Х
		Norway			Х	х	Х
dominantly non-nuclear alliance: on-nuclear (NPT) members: 26 (90%) uclear weapon members: 3 uclear Sharing members: 5 (4?) NOWCAT members: 7		Poland			Х	х	Х
		Portugal				x	Х
		Romania			Х	х	Х
		Slovakia				х	Х
		Slovenia				х	Х
		Spain				х	Х
		Turkey		(x)		Х	Х
y half (14) do not have a nuclear- d role (other than participating in NPG)		United Kingdom	Х			Х	Х
		United States	X			X	X
		Total	3	5	7	28	29
		* SNOWCAT: Support of Nuclear Operations With Conventional Air Tactics (previously Support of Nuclear Operations With Conventional Attacks)					

Hans M. Kristensen, Federation of American Scientists, 2019 Slide 7

www.fas.org

Nuclear Structure

NATO countries with nuclear weapons forces and/or roles*

NATO Member	Nuclear Role	Nuclear Posture			
United States	Primary guarantor of ultimate security guarantee. Heads SACEUR. Has traditionally lead/dominated NATO nuclear mission/discussion. Also has nuclear support role in Pacific.	Stockpile of 3,800 nuclear warheads for delivery by Quadrad of long- range bombers, ICBMs, SLBMs, and dual-capable fighter-bombers. Some 150 gravity bombs deployed in Europe at six bases in five countries. Provides nuclear bombs to nuclear sharing members. Supports UK posture (missiles, technology, know-how) and to lesser extent France.			
United Kingdom	Has "independent" nuclear force that backs up US role. Previously identified "sub-strategic" support of NATO.	Stockpile of 200 nuclear warheads for delivery by SLBMs.			
France	No official role. Nuclear forces not integrated into NATO command structure. Does not participate in NPG.	Stockpile of 300 nuclear warheads for delivery by SLBMs and fighter- bombers.			
Belgium	Nuclear strike role as part of nuclear sharing arrangement.	Stockpile of 20 US bombs for delivery by Belgian F-16s.			
Germany	Nuclear strike role as part of nuclear sharing arrangement.	Stockpile of 20 US bombs for delivery by German Tornados.			
Italy	Nuclear strike role as part of nuclear sharing arrangement.	Stockpile of 20 US bombs for delivery by Italian Tornados.			
Netherlands	Nuclear strike role as part of nuclear sharing arrangement.	Stockpile of 20 US bombs for delivery by Dutch F-16s.			
Turkey	Possibly still part of nuclear sharing arrangement.	Previous stockpile of 40 US bombs for Turkish aircraft withdrawn.			

* Another seven countries participate in SNOWCAT (Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Romania)

www.fas.org

Nuclear Policy

Important nuclear language changes in NATO policy documents 1999-2016:

Strategic Concept 1999

"The supreme guarantee of the security of the Allies is provided by the **strategic** nuclear forces of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States; the independent nuclear forces of the United Kingdom and France, which have a deterrent role of their own, contribute to the overall deterrence and security of the Allies."

"NATO will maintain, at the minimum level consistent with the prevailing security environment, adequate **sub-strategic** forces based in Europe which will provide an essential link with strategic nuclear forces, reinforcing the transatlantic link. These will consist of **dual capable aircraft and a small number of United Kingdom Trident warheads.**"

"require widespread participation by European Allies involved in collective defense planning in nuclear roles, in peacetime basing of nuclear forces on their territory and in command, control and consultation arrangements." Strategic Concept 2010/DDPR 2012

"The supreme guarantee of the security of the Allies is provided by the **strategic** nuclear forces of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States; the independent strategic nuclear forces of the United Kingdom and France, which have a deterrent role of their own, contribute to the overall deterrence and security of the Allies."

"NAC will task the appropriate committees to develop concepts for how to ensure the broadest possible participation of Allies concerned in their nuclear sharing arrangements, **including in case NATO were to decide to reduce its reliance on non-strategic nuclear weapons based in Europe**."

"the Alliance's nuclear force posture currently

meets the criteria for an effective deterrence

Warsaw Summit Communiqué 2016

"The strategic forces of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States, are the supreme guarantee of the security of the Allies. The independent strategic nuclear forces of the United Kingdom and France have a deterrent role of their own and contribute to the overall security of the Alliance."

"NATO's nuclear deterrence posture also relies, in part, on United States' **nuclear weapons forward-deployed in Europe** and on capabilities and infrastructure provided by Allies concerned."

"That requires sustained leadership focus and institutional excellence for the nuclear deterrence mission and **planning guidance aligned with 21**st **century requirements**. The Alliance will ensure the broadest possible participation of Allies concerned in their agreed nuclear burden-sharing arrangements."

2014 Wales Summit identified Russia as military adversary; 2016 Warsaw Summit reinvigorated nuclear planning.

and defense posture."

www.fas.org

Trump Administration Effects

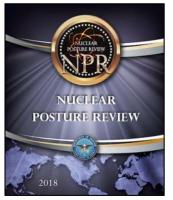
Entered office with "pay up NATO" message

Has alienated European allies and created doubts about US intensions and security commitment

Has published National Security Strategy and Nuclear Posture Review that embrace "great power competition" and strengthens nuclear role

Has withdrawn from INF in conflict with US policy documents and statements and despite NATO preference to stay to pressure Russia

Has created doubts about extension of New START treaty



NPR: Nuclear weapons in Europe are really important but actually not credible. Therefore we need new low-yield Trident and SLCM to stand up to Russian tactical nuclear weapons



Arguments

For deployment

- US nuclear weapons in Europe are important symbols of US security commitments
- Deployment complicates Russian planning
- Nuclear sharing arrangement demonstrates burden-sharing of risks and benefits
- Withdrawing weapons would make it politically difficult to re-deployment them if needed
- Nuclear sharing arrangement gives allies unique influence on US nuclear policy
- Deployment is important because Russia is increasing reliance on its tactical nuclear weapons

Doubtful

- US security commitments are served by strategic forces and conventional deployments
- Russian planning is looks at complete posture
- Most NATO allies are not in burden-sharing arrangement and already share risks + benefits
- If deployment is not politically viable, then it it not beneficial or sustainable
- There is no evidence nuclear-sharing countries
 have more influence on US nuclear policy
- Russian nuclear strategy is influenced by broader US and NATO security posture and policies

www.fas.org

Increased Operations

Since 2014, STRATCOM has integrated bombers more prominently into EUCOM planning

Activation of standing war plan for Europe for first time since Cold War

Increased deployments to Europe

Revival of Cold War-style long-range strike exercises

In 2019 five-aircraft B-52 formation over Norway (right bottom) and three-aircraft B-52 formation over Baltic

Deployment of nuclear-capable fighters to east NATO on exercises (no nukes)

Occasional port visits by SSBNs to UK

Recent Global Thunder STRATCOM exercise focused on Russia scenario

Mixing nuclear and conventional







www.fas.org

QUESTIONS?

Hans M. Kristensen, Federation of American Scientists, 2019 | Slide 13