

**“Shaping the Future,”  
Coalition Agreement  
between CDU, CSU and  
SPD” of Nov. 27, 2013,  
Legislative Session 18. (CDU is  
Christian Democratic Union; CDU is  
Christian Socialist Union; and SPD is  
Socialist Party Germany)**

“Together with our NATO partners, at the Chicago Summit we set ourselves the goal of creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons and by then reducing the role of nuclear weapons. As long as nuclear weapons play a role as a deterrent in NATO's strategic concept, Germany has an interest in participating in strategic discussions and planning processes. The Federal Government will work towards starting negotiations on verifiable, complete disarmament in the sub-strategic area between the US and Russia, and will actively support the respective steps of both partners. Successful disarmament talks create the conditions for the withdrawal of the tactical nuclear weapons stationed in Germany and Europe. [Emphasis added]

here:

<https://www.welt.de/politik/article122306476/Das-ist-der-Koalitionsvertrag-im-Wortlaut.html> i hope it will help you ...

**June 2005:** in Arms Control Association's *Arms Control Today*, "...German and Belgian politicians are calling on NATO to work toward the withdrawal of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in Europe."

**DECEMBER 4, 2009,** Former Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and other ministers called for withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Europe. Joined by a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, a former Minister of Defense, and a former Minister of Justice, writing in *NRC Handelsblad*, the call followed Dutch, Belgian and Norwegian support of Germany's initiative for

withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Germany



Friday, 4 December 2009

**Former Dutch Prime Minister Lubbers Calls for  
Withdrawal of US Nukes from Europe**

Following the example of Sam Nunn, William Perry, Geroge Schulz and Henry Kissinger, a group of leading Dutch politicians has called in the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* for the Netherlands to actively work for a nuclear weapon-free world, and in particular, the revision of NATO's Strategic Concept to include the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from NATO. Led by former Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, the group wrote that:

*As a member of NATO the Netherlands should make itself heard in the upcoming revision of its Strategic Concept. We have gratefully benefited from the nuclear protection of the United States. Now we must show ourselves a strong ally by supporting Obama's goal of achieving a world without nuclear weapons according to the faithful implementation of Article VI of the NPT.\*

*Given the clear indications the United States takes nuclear disarmament very seriously and that the original objective of deterrence has lost its validity, we need to ensure that neither the United States nor the other Nato allies wait for each other. The Netherlands should play an active role, so that the revision of the Strategic Concept will lead to the withdrawal of American nuclear weapons from the territories of non-nuclear weapon states.*

The signature of Lubbers on this piece is especially significant, since he worked hard in the teeth of fierce opposition in the 1980s to force the deployment of US nuclear cruise missiles to the Netherlands. There were reports in the Dutch media last year that Lubbers had told the Dutch anti-nuclear group, IKV, that the US nuclear weapons deployed at Volkel air base in the Netherlands were obsolete and should be removed. Now, Lubbers has publicly called for their withdrawal.

Lubbers was joined by Max van der Stoel, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Hans van Mierlo, a former Minister of Defense and of Foreign Affairs; and Frits Korthals Altes, a former Minister of Justice.

Their piece in *NRC Handelsblad* comes after the Dutch government gave its support to the German government's initiative to have NATO affect just such a

withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Germany, a move also supported publicly by Belgium and Norway.

## 22 “pointless” US nuclear bombs at Dutch airbase

**A Dutch airbase houses 22 tactical nuclear bombs belonging to the United States as part of a Cold War military arsenal described by the country's former Prime Minister as "absolutely pointless".**



**RUUD LUBBERS, the former Dutch Christian Democrat Prime Minister, has broken a taboo of European politics by confirming the presence of American weapons in the bunkers of the Volkel air base. Photo: GETTY IMAGES**

Bruno Waterfield By Bruno Waterfield, Brussels / The Telegraph / 10 Jun 2013

Ruud Lubbers, the former Dutch Christian Democrat Prime Minister from 1982 to 1994, has broken a taboo of European politics by confirming the presence of American weapons in the bunkers of the Volkel air base.

Holland's most prominent international statesman poured scorn on the atomic weapons capability that dates back to the height of Nato's Cold War with the Soviet Union and that will revive calls for US nuclear bombs to be removed from European soil.

"I would never have thought those silly things would still be there in 2013. I think they are an absolutely pointless part of a tradition in military thinking," he told, *De Tijd Vliegt* or *Time Flies*, a National Geographic television documentary.

A spokesman for the Royal Dutch Air Force refused to confirm the revelation made by Mr Lubbers and told the Dutch broadcaster NOS that these issues "are never spoken of". "He, as former prime minister, knows that well," he said.

Dutch officials told the *Telegraaf* newspaper that the weapons are B61 thermonuclear bombs, the primary weapon in America's post-Cold War "Enduring Stockpile" and a device that packs a punch up four times as powerful as the bombs used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The B61 is designed for delivery by high-speed aircraft, an 11-foot, 770lb weapon with a streamlined casing capable of withstanding supersonic flight speeds and the while the bombs are not dismantled they are not thought to be kept in immediate operational readiness.

Nuclear weapons are said to have been stored at the Volkel base since the early 1960s and the Cuban missile crisis that marked the height of the Cold War.

**US diplomatic files, leaked by Wikileaks three years ago, had mentioned atomic weapons in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Turkey amid a 2010 debate over the future of the arsenal following a call from Guido Westerwelle, the German foreign minister, for the nuclear weapons on his country's soil to be removed.**

"A withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Germany and perhaps from Belgium and the Netherlands could make it very difficult for Turkey to maintain its own stockpile," the leaked US diplomatic cable said.

Turkey, which is thought to house 90 US atomic weapons at its Incirlik air base, on the northern Mediterranean coast, regards the nuclear umbrella as a key part of its Nato membership on the alliance's Eastern border with Iran.

At a 2010 summit in Lisbon, Nato decided that any change in the status of its nuclear weapons arsenal would have to be made unanimously among all 28 allies, effectively giving Turkey a veto.

The revelation and criticism from Mr Lubbers could reignite the European nuclear issue as Dutch opposition politicians, on both the left and right, demand that the weapons are removed.

Frans Timmermans, the Dutch foreign minister will face questions on the issue in the Dutch parliament on Tuesday and reminds that he, as a Labour opposition MP in 2005, called for the weapons to be removed from Dutch soil.

Harry van Bommel, a Socialist MP, will call for the weapons to be scrapped. "The nuclear strategy of NATO has not changed since the Cold War," he said.

Raymond Knops, a Christian Democrat MP, took to Twitter to say: "Militarily obsolete, so get rid of them, I would say."

## Dutch nuclear weapons: the end of ambiguity

June 20, 2013 / By Susi Snyder and Wilbert van der Zeijden, IKV Pax Christi

Word is out, finally, on the American nuclear weapons in Holland. After decades of maintaining an Israeli style policy of ambiguity no less than three former Dutch ministers confirmed there are nuclear weapons in the Netherlands. Two former Prime Ministers- Ruud Lubbers (1982-1994) and Dries van Agt (1977- 1982), as well as former defence minister Bram Stemerding (1977) have on radio, and on television, confirmed that yes, nuclear weapons were stored at Volkel since at least the 1960s.

The government policy to keep this a public secret has limited advocacy attempts for decades. Hiding behind a questionable interpretation of NATO policy, consecutive governments have obstructed open debate on what has become the worst kept public secret of the Netherlands. Without transparency, no accountability. So parliamentary motions, statements, and official policy actions could never directly address the nuclear weapons stored at the Volkel air base. Instead, parliamentary motions have called for the removal of (tactical) nuclear weapons 'from Europe'.

This was most pronounced during budget discussions in December 2012, when Christian democrat spokesperson Omtzigt proposed a motion to make the removal of US weapons from the Netherlands a 'hard goal' for the government. Foreign Minister Timmermans explained that he would not be able to implement a policy directive from parliament on something that is not officially recognised and successfully urged Omtzigt to modify the motion, to read "from Europe" instead "from the Netherlands".

Every action has its reaction, the nuclear disclosures coming out of the three former statesmen is no different. The Attorney General's Office announced it will investigate whether the statements made are in violation of Article 272 of the Dutch Penal Code which states specifically that former government functionaries are

forbidden to share state secrets. An actual indictment would seem to be the surest way to draw more attention to the statements. More likely, the 'investigation' is meant as a polite warning to others to think twice about copying the actions of Lubbers, van Agt and Stemerding.

This high-level confirmation of nuclear weapons in the Netherlands adds considerably to the pressure on the Dutch government to talk less and do more for a nuclear weapons free world. The current national disarmament priority- a fissile materials treaty would not make the slightest difference to the nuclear weapons stored in the Netherlands. The Dutch government needs to start acting on the very clear and direct Parliamentary motions calling for the removal of nuclear weapons to be a hard policy goal. Once the Dutch dare to take that small step, it opens the door to a larger and less hypocritical role for the Dutch in efforts to ban these weapons- delegitimizing them, and thereby forcing changes in national security policies or military alliance doctrines.

The current wave of attention for the Volkel bombs is a victory for Dutch campaigners who have worked relentlessly since the 1980's to have these weapons removed on the way towards creating a nuclear weapons free world. A popular Dutch slogan in the 1980s said "Kernwapens de wereld uit, om te beginnen uit Nederland", or: "Eradicate nuclear weapons, start with the Netherlands". Today, the campaign to get rid of the last nuclear weapons is alive as ever: Here's a couple of examples: 30 singers performing an anti-nuclear opera in front of the Parliament; students organising a 'nuclear pub-quiz' in the Hague; three research reports in one year encouraging financial institutions to divest from nuclear weapons producers.

The public and political attention for the subject warrants that the Dutch government holds true to its values as a democratic society that discusses important issues transparently. The removal of those 'silly bombs', as Ruud Lubbers called them will allow the Dutch to follow the wish of over 80% of its population and call for negotiations on a treaty banning nuclear weapons- outlawing the only weapon of mass destruction not yet globally prohibited.

## US nuclear bombs 'based in Netherlands' - ex-Dutch PM Lubbers / BBC June 10, 2013

Some 22 US nuclear weapons are stored on Dutch territory, says former Dutch Prime Minister Ruud

Lubbers. Ruud Lubbers was Dutch prime minister from 1982 to 1994

Mr Lubbers, a centre-right prime minister from 1982-94, said they were stored underground in strong-rooms at the Volkel air base in Brabant. He made the revelation in a documentary for National Geographic - saying: "I would never have thought those silly things would still be there in 2013."

The presence of nuclear weapons on Dutch soil has long been rumoured.

### 'Pointless'

However, Mr Lubbers is believed to be the most senior person to confirm their existence.

## **Analysis by Jonathan Marcus, BBC diplomatic correspondent**

The location of the remaining US tactical nuclear bombs in Europe is one of the worst kept secrets in Nato. There are estimated to be somewhere between 160 and 200 B61 bombs at air bases in Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey. These weapons are intended for use by aircraft from the host country's air force.

This is the remnant of a US stockpile that at the height of the Cold War in the early 1970s included some 7,300 US warheads. It is not entirely clear what military role these weapons now perform. Russia retains a considerably larger arsenal of tactical or short-range nuclear warheads.

But there has been little recent effort to negotiate further reductions. The US plans to re-manufacture the existing variants of the B61 bombs into a newer version - the B61-12 - which will be more accurate. The Dutch and the Italians plan to replace their current nuclear capable F-16 jets with the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, but Germany has no plans to replace its nuclear-capable Tornado jets when they leave service.

The "poorly kept secret" of the existence of nuclear weapons in concrete vaults emerged in 2010 in the classified US documents published by Wikileaks, reported NRC Handelsblad newspaper.

It was mentioned in a report on a conversation involving US Ambassador to Berlin Philip Murphy, US diplomat Phil Gordon and German Chancellor Angela Merkel's national security adviser, Christoph Heusgen. In November 2010, then-Foreign Minister Uri Rosenthal

declined to give any explanation to the Dutch parliament.

A spokesman for the Royal Dutch Air Force was quoted by Dutch broadcaster NOS on Monday as saying these issues "are never spoken of". "[Mr Lubbers], as former prime minister, knows that well," he added. Mr Lubbers said in the documentary that he first heard about the existence of the bombs when he was working for the air force at Volkel in 1963.

A colonel asked him how the bombs' existence could be kept secret, and Mr Lubbers advised him to give each nuclear weapon part a number so they would not attract attention, he said. "And that's what happened", he added. In October 1983, while Mr Lubbers' was prime minister, more than 500,000 protesters demonstrated in The Hague against the placement of US nuclear-armed Cruise missiles in the Netherlands.

## **Berlin Takes On Washington: German Foreign Minister Pushes for NATO Nuclear Drawdown**

**German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle has been vocal in his demands that the US remove its nuclear weapons from German soil. Now he is calling for NATO to discuss the issue at an upcoming meeting, despite outspoken American opposition to his proposal.**

*By Ralf Neukirch Der Spiegel, February 25, 2010 11:00 AM Print Feedback*

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/berlin-takes-on-washington-german-foreign-minister-pushes-for-nato-nuclear-drawdown-a-680174.html>

German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle looks set to spark new tension in trans-Atlantic relations with the latest move in his ongoing campaign to get the US to withdraw nuclear weapons currently stationed in Germany.

Westerwelle and his counterparts from the Benelux countries and Norway have drafted a letter to NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen in which they call for the alliance to discuss how it can get closer to its goal of a world without nuclear weapons at an upcoming NATO conference. The letter, which has been obtained by SPIEGEL, is due to be sent in the next few days.

The meeting, which will be held in the Estonian capital Tallin in April, is an opportunity to talk in detail about the issue of nuclear weapons, the letter says. For months, Westerwelle has been calling for the removal of remaining US medium-range nuclear missiles from Germany. There are an estimated 20 American nuclear weapons in Germany, from a total of around 200 in Europe.

After heated debate, the goal of removing American nukes from German soil was formalized in the agreement signed by Westerwelle's Free Democrats and Chancellor Merkels's conservatives when they formed their new government last autumn. "We will advocate within the (NATO) Alliance and with our American allies the removal of the remaining nuclear weapons from Germany," the document reads.

Nevertheless, security experts from within Merkel's Christian Democrats have accused Westerwelle of using the issue to score domestic political points. The idea of removing American nuclear weapons from Germany is a popular one with voters -- and with Westerwelle's FDP haemorrhaging public support, the foreign minister could use some positive headlines.

### **US Warns Europe**

In the US, however, there is little enthusiasm for Westerwelle's proposal. In a keynote speech on NATO in Washington on Monday, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton warned Europeans against questioning the value of the nuclear deterrent. "This dangerous world still requires deterrence and we know there's a debate going on in Europe and even among some of our leading member nations about, well, what does that mean," she said, without mentioning Germany by name. "We would hope that there is no precipitous move made that would undermine the deterrence capability."

Former NATO Secretary General George Robertson has been less diplomatic in his criticism of the German position. "For Germany to want to remain under the nuclear umbrella while exporting to others the obligation of maintaining it, is irresponsible," Robertson wrote in a

recent report, entitled "Germany Opens Pandora's Box." Robertson also criticized Westerwelle's demand in a recent interview with SPIEGEL, calling it "simply dangerous."

The Americans are concerned that countries like Turkey may consider obtaining their own nuclear weapons if US missiles were withdrawn from Europe. Washington also does not want to make reductions in its arsenal without reciprocal moves from the Russian side. However sources close to Westerwelle say that the American nuclear weapons in Germany do not fulfill any military or political function and are therefore superfluous.

## **Germany Is Chastised for Stance on Nuclear Arms**

By JUDY DEMPSEY, NY Times, FEB. 8, 2010  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/09/world/europe/09iht-germany.html>

BERLIN — The German government's effort to remove the remaining American nuclear weapons on its soil has been sharply criticized by a former leader of NATO, who said the move was driven more by populist sentiment than any long-term strategic goal.

In a report to be published Tuesday by the Center for European Reform, in London, George Robertson, who served as NATO secretary general from 1999 to 2004, says Germany cannot remove the missiles and still expect to enjoy the protection of U.S. nuclear forces. "For Germany to want to remain under the nuclear umbrella while exporting to others the obligation of maintaining it, is irresponsible," the report says.

It is highly unusual for a NATO country's government to announce that it wants to remove U.S. nuclear weapons from its soil. The 2,000 or so U.S. weapons that were based in Europe at the end of the Cold War had been reduced to around 200 by last year.

The report reflects concerns among European Union and NATO countries that Germany is adopting more unilateral policies while, as Europe's largest economy, it should be wielding its political influence by helping to direct the changing role of NATO and pushing for further expansion of the Union.

The German Foreign Ministry said it would not comment on the report until it was published. Chancellor Angela Merkel's coalition of conservatives and Free Democrats agreed four months ago to rid

Germany of the remaining American nuclear missiles, which number around 20, government officials said.

Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle, leader of the Free Democrats, had insisted that the withdrawal of the remaining nuclear weapons from Germany be included in the coalition agreement. It states that “we will, both in the Alliance and toward the American allies, pursue the withdrawal of the remaining nuclear weapons from Germany.”

At the Munich Security Conference last weekend, Mr. Westerwelle said the last remaining nuclear weapons in Germany were “a relic of the Cold War. They no longer serve a military purpose.” Previous German governments adopted much more discreet stances in their efforts to reduce the American nuclear arsenal.

If Berlin pursues this new stance, the Center for European Reform report argues, it will allow Germany to “have its cake and eat it.” Germany would be contributing to President Barack Obama’s quest for nuclear disarmament, the report says, but could still rely on the NATO countries that deploy the remaining 180 U.S. weapons — Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Turkey — to provide it with a security umbrella.

The report, “Germany Opens Pandora’s Box,” written by Mr. Robertson, Franklin Miller and Kori Schake, also suggests that some NATO members, particularly the Baltic States, could feel vulnerable without the nuclear protection of Germany.

A version of this article appears in print on February 9, 2010, in The International Herald Tribune.

**Nuclear weapons**

## **Germans press for removal of US nuclear weapons in Europe**

**Julian Borger, diplomatic editor / The Guardian / Fri 6 Nov 2009 / First published on Fri 6 Nov 2009**

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/nov/06/germany-removal-us-nuclear-weapons>

Pressure is growing within Nato for the removal of the remaining US nuclear weapons on European soil, and for a new doctrine for the alliance that would depend less on nuclear deterrence.

The initiative is being driven by the new German government coalition, which has called for the removal of American nuclear weapons on its territory as part of a Nato strategic rethink.

The German foreign minister, Guido Westerwelle, the driving force behind the new policy, raised the issue during talks in Washington today with the US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton.

Earlier this week, Westerwelle assured the Nato secretary general, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, that Germany would consult its allies on the removal of the estimated 20 nuclear weapons left on its soil.

The Germans have backing from the Belgians and Dutch. The new Norwegian government also called for a debate within Nato, as it revises its basic doctrine, known as the strategic concept, due to be completed in the first half of next year.

Des Browne, a former British defence minister now chairing a cross-party parliamentary group on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, argued: “These moves bring out into the open a topic which for too long has been discussed by diplomats and technocrats only. [It] makes possible a genuine debate between allies about the role of nuclear weapons in Nato strategy, as set out in the strategic concept which guides alliance generals.”

The current Nato concept, written in 1999, says: “Nuclear forces based in Europe and committed to Nato provide an essential political and military link between the European and the North American members of the alliance. The alliance will therefore maintain adequate nuclear forces in Europe.”

It is that clause that is now under scrutiny, in a push to downgrade the role of nuclear weapons in global security. In France two former prime ministers, Alain Juppe and Michel Rocard, as well as a retired general, signed a joint letter to Le Monde newspaper calling for “the structured elimination of nuclear weapons” and arguing that France should be prepared to negotiate on its own independent deterrent.

The letter was a challenge to President Nicolas Sarkozy, who has resisted the calls for eventual nuclear abolition led by Barack Obama and Gordon Brown.

There are an estimated 200 US weapons – mostly tactical – left in Europe, deployed in Turkey, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany.

Their future is also being debated within the Obama administration as it prepares a new "nuclear posture review" due early next year.

The president is reported to have personally intervened in the Pentagon's drafting of the review to ensure that it reflects the commitment he made in a speech in Prague in April, committing the US to the eventual goal of a world free of nuclear weapons.

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## Francis Boyle On Legal Status Of Nuclear Sharing

(sept 2018):

Also, keep in mind that a US General is always in command of NATO Forces, including as of now. And he Reports to the Pentagon. So much for "sharing." -- Fab.

Francis A. Boyle  
Law Building  
504 E. Pennsylvania Ave.  
Champaign IL 61820 USA  
217-333-7954 (phone)

From: Boyle, Francis A  
Sent: Sunday, September 09, 2018 10:17 AM  
To: JOHN LaFORGE  
Subject: RE: This is quite dated. Maybe you know this German expert Nassauer

If we were litigating all this in court against US objections, these finer points would have to be nailed down to refute these bogus US interpretations of the NPT. But under public international law you can rely upon the text of the treaty itself. And this expert agrees with my interpretation that according to the text of the treaty itself, articles 1 and 2, Nato nuclear sharing is in violation of the NPT. -- fab

Francis A. Boyle

From: Boyle, Francis A  
Sent: Sunday, September 09, 2018 10:10 AM  
To: JOHN LaFORGE  
Subject: RE: This is quite dated. Maybe you know this German expert Nassauer

The only research you could do if you want to nail this down definitively is to have a look at the US Instrument of Ratification of the NPT to see if any of these interpretations are in there. But right now I am up to my eyeballs in work having resumed classes here. You can look at the NPT and find out who is the Depositary of the Treaty. If it is the UN Secretary General, then you can find in the US Treaty Series the Instrument of Ratification we sent into him to see if these interpretations are in there. Then you need to check and see if he sent that out to everyone. // You could also check and see if when the US Senate gave its Advice and Consent to the NPT, did they include these interpretations in any fashion. Again, I am up to my eyeballs in work. But for the time being you can go with the text of the treaty itself. -- Fab.

Francis A. Boyle

From: Boyle, Francis A  
Sent: Sunday, September 09, 2018 9:57 AM  
To: 'JOHN LaFORGE'  
Subject: RE: This is quite dated. Maybe you know this German expert Nassauer

OK. Today is Sunday. I have a break in the action against Kavanaugh and a chance to look at this. Under public international law, what counts is the actual text of the treaty itself, not these legally bogus US "interpretations" of what the NPT Means. And this expert agrees with me that so-called NATO Nuclear Sharing Violates the NPT. Yeah, I knew Butch Fisher. He was a real SOB from DOS. He got the text of the treaty to make it appear that it does not apply in war-time. But the review conference did adopt language to the effect that it did apply in war time. So technically and arguably that amends the NPT to that effect. Hope this helps. -- Fab.

Francis A. Boyle