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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

REMARKS TO TROOPS

SPANGDAHLEM AIR BASE

SPANGDAHLEM, GERMANY

MAY 5, 1999
Good afternoon and Guten Tag. In the last few weeks, since the beginning of Operation Allied Force, I have been to Norfolk Naval Base in Virginia and Barksdale Air Force Base in Louisiana.
Today I am proud to come to Spangdahlem [SPANG (rhymes with twang) dah-lem] – to pay tribute to a base on the front lines of freedom for nearly fifty years – and to thank the brave Americans and Germans here for the future you are building for us.

I've heard a lot about Spang (rhymes with twang), and it's great to finally meet the men and women of Team Eifel. The 52nd Air Expeditionary Wing is a crucial part of our force in Europe. There are so many to thank: the “Stingers” and “Hawks” flying Wild Weasels [F-16CJs]. The “Panthers” flying Warthogs [A-10s]. The crews of the Flying Knights (F-117s).
The "NATO Tigers" who were flying F-15s here not long ago. And the hundreds of base operations and support personnel who are working day after day, night after night to make sure things keep running right. We ask a lot – and you never let us down.
For decades, the men and women of Spang trained for
the "big one," the clash of powers in the Cold War.

But since the Cold War ended, you have been busy
with the challenges of a new era: training with new
allies, planning for new missions, and helping people in
need – like the earthquake victims in Turkey whom
the 52nd Civil Engineer Squadron assisted last
summer. A few years ago, an crew from Spang's
squadrons helped to end the cruel war in Bosnia.

Earlier this year, some of you in the 22nd Fighter
Squadron flew support for Operation Northern Watch
over Iraq. Now we are again trying to build peace in a
part of the world that needs our help.
Since the conflict in Kosovo started, we have been depending on you more than ever, and that has meant hardship and hard work. Many of your loved ones are flying Spang’s A-10s right now out of Italy. Thirteen F-117 Stealth fighters and their crews are here from Holloman AFB in New Mexico, a long way from their families. Night after night, crews fly out to Serbia – punching through enemy defenses, putting ordnance on target, and returning home across half a continent to debrief, rest, and do it again. That takes courage, It also takes a level of skill and support that we must never take for granted. Refueling in mid-air.
Evading anti-aircraft fire. Pinpointing targets.

Seeking to avoid civilian casualties. Coordinating with crews from other nations. Rescuing a downed pilot, as one of your squadrons did. And since the flights go out at night, that means a lot of anxious hours for the base personnel, and for loved ones, coping with the quiet agony of waiting for an aircraft to return.

All of you have sacrificed to be here. All of America is grateful. Not just to the superb men and women in uniform in this audience—but to your families and friends throughout the Eifel region.
One thing I’ve tried to make sure the American people understand since I became President is just how dangerous your jobs are, even when you are not directly engaged in combat. Just yesterday, we lost two brave Americans in a helicopter training accident in Albania. Today, we grieve with their families.
Over the years, thousands of Americans have grown up around this community – gone to school here – maybe even joined the armed forces because it’s part of a family tradition. You are far from our shores – but you are close to our hearts today and every day. I also want to thank the German people, who are our allies in this cause and who do so much to make all of you feel at home.

I just came from an operations briefing and a tour of the magnificent aircraft you fly from this base. Anyone who comes here has to feel a little humbled.
But it is also elevating to see so many young men and women ready to help others secure the rights and dignity Americans cherish. The fighting in Kosovo is not about acquiring territory or dominating others. It is about something very basic—creating the kind of world where an entire group of innocent people are not singled out for expulsion and destruction because of their ethnic and religious heritage.
Look around you. The fighting force assembled here is not weaker because we do not all look alike, or practice the same religion. Our differences strengthen us. We are respected everywhere because we come from everywher. Differences and acknowledge that what unites us more powerful than we respect them. Differences and acknowledge that what unites us more powerful than we respect them. Look at the alliance in which you are serving, We are nineteen democratic nations and 780 million people, tied together by respect for humanity’s rights and richness, building a Europe that has a chance to be, for the first time in its history, undivided, peaceful and free.
Look at what is happening in Kosovo. It is an affront to everything we stand for and an obstacle to everything we are trying to build. Two months ago, there were 1.8 million ethnic Albanians living there. Nearly 1.5 million have been forced from their homes, their villages burned, their women raped, their men often separated from their families and killed. It is equivalent to the entire population of Nebraska (1.6 million) kicked out of house and home without warning at gunpoint. It is the culmination of a ten year campaign by Mr. Milosevic to exploit ethnic hatred to preserve his personal power.
We cannot turn away from this kind of evil, not when it is happening on NATO's doorstep; not when we have the power to reverse it and repudiate it.

Mr. Milosevic miscalculated when he started this conflict. He thought our alliance would lack cohesion. He thought our people would lose patience. He thought our multi-ethnic democracies were weak in comparison to his single-minded despotism. He was wrong.
NATO has never been more united. Our objectives are clear and firm: The Kosovars must be able to go home, with security and self-government. For that to happen, Milosevic must withdraw his troops and permit an international force, with NATO at its core, to keep the peace and protect all of Kosovo’s people, Albanians and Serbs alike. It’s a simple choice. If he pursues this campaign and intensifies it can accept these simple conditions and cut his losses, in an unrelenting way until these or lose his grip on Kosovo. Either way, the result will objectives are met be the same. The Kosovars will go back.
The gentle hills of the Eifel region and the Mosel valley are peaceful today, thanks to fifty years of alliance and commitment. But we must not forget that this was a landscape of violence for thousands of years, from the time Trier (sounds like “here”) served as a Roman capital just south of here. For two millennia, Europeans fought each other in this contested terrain. Now war is unthinkable here and in most of Europe. I look forward to a day, not long from now, when Southeastern Europe is stable, rights are respected, and the men and women of Spang are honored for their part in turning a dream of peace into a working reality.
Spangdahlem Air Base was built in the aftermath of the Second World War, at the dawn of the Cold War. One of our greatest victories is that the war we feared then never happened. Now planes are flying into combat for the first time from Spang – not to fight back an invasion, but to protect the future Europe has worked so hard to build. You are continuing the fight against fear, meeting new challenges the same way our parents did – with determination, skill and fortitude.
On the eve of D-Day, the Supreme Allied Commander, Dwight Eisenhower said, "the eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you." His words are no less true today. Every time an aircraft leaves here, the hopes and prayers of free people everywhere sit in the cockpit, guiding it there and back.

Thank you – all of you – for your work and sacrifice to make Noble Anvil and Allied Force a success. Thank you for providing hope to a defenseless people. Thank you for teaching the world that might and right make a formidable combination.
Thank you for helping us start the new century with a clear sign that the lessons of the old one will never be forgotten.

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decides between the individuals, great or small, who come before him. Doubtless many other matters will be taken up at The Hague; but it seems to me that this of a general arbitration treaty is perhaps the most important.

Again wishing you all good fortune in your work.

63. "INTERNATIONAL PEACE"

Roosevelt's mediation of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 earned him the Nobel Peace Prize, and on May 5, 1910, partly at the instance of Andrew Carnegie, he addressed the Nobel Committee. His address faithfully expressed his long-held views on both the limitations and possibilities of the peace movement, though it overemphasized the latter, presumably in deference to the sensitivities of his audience.

It is with peculiar pleasure that I stand here to-day to express the deep appreciation I feel of the high honor conferred upon me by the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize. The gold medal which formed part of the prize I shall always keep, and I shall hand it on to my children as a precious heirloom. The sum of money provided as part of the prize by the wise generosity of the illustrious founder of this world-famous prize system I did not, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, feel at liberty to keep. I think it eminently just and proper that in most cases the recipient of the prize should keep for his own use the prize in its entirety. But in this case, while I did not act officially as President of the United States, it was nevertheless only because I was President that I was enabled to act at all, and I felt that the money must be considered as having been given me in trust for the United States. I therefore used it as a nucleus for a foundation to forward the cause of industrial peace as being well within the general purpose of your committee; for in our complex industrial civilization of to-day the peace of righteousness and justice, the only kind of peace worth having, is at least as necessary in the industrial world as it is among nations. There is at least as much need to curb the cruel greed and arrogance of part of the world of capital, to curb the cruel greed and violence of part of the world of labor, as to check a cruel and unhealthy militarism in international relationships.

We must ever bear in mind that the great end in view is righteousness, justice as between man and man, nation and nation, the chance to lead our lives on a somewhat higher level, with a broader spirit of brotherly good-will for one another. Peace is generally good in itself, but it is never the highest good unless it comes as the handmaid of righteousness; and it becomes a very evil thing if it serves merely as a mask for cowardice and sloth, or as an instrument to further the ends of despotism or anarchy. We despise and abhor the bully, the brawler, the oppressor, whether in private or public life; but we despise no less the coward and the voluptuary. No man is worth calling a man who will not fight rather than submit to infamy or see those that are dear to him suffer wrong. No nation deserves to exist if it permits itself to lose the stern and virile virtues; and this without regard to whether the loss is due to the growth of a heartless and all-absorbing commercialism, to prolonged indulgence in luxury and soft effortless ease, or to the deification of a warped and twisted sentimentality.

Moreover, and above all, let us remember that words count only when they give expression to deeds or are to be translated into them. The leaders of the Red Terror prattled of
peace while they steeped their hands in the blood of the inno-
cent; and many a tyrant has called it peace when he has
scourged honest protest into silence. Our words must be
judged by our deeds; and striving for a lofty ideal we must
use practical methods; and if we cannot attain all at one leap,
we must advance toward it step by step; reasonably content so
long as we do actually make some progress in the right direc-
tion.

Now, having freely admitted the limitations to our work,
and the qualifications to be borne in mind, I feel that I have
the right to have my words taken seriously when I point out
where, in my judgment, great advance can be made in the
cause of international peace. I speak as a practical man, and
whatever I now advocate I actually tried to do when I was
for the time being the head of a great nation, and keenly jeal-
ous of its honor and interest. I ask other nations to do only
what I should be glad to see my own nation do.

The advance can be made along several lines. First of all,
there can be treaties of arbitration. There are, of course, states
so backward that a civilized community ought not to enter
into an arbitration treaty with them, at least until we have
gone much farther than at present in securing some kind of
international police action. But all really civilized communities
should have effective arbitration treaties among themselves.
I believe that these treaties can cover almost all questions li-
able to arise between such nations, if they are drawn with the
explicit agreement that each contracting party will respect the
other's territory and its absolute sovereignty within that ter-
ritory, and the equally explicit agreement that (aside from the
very rare cases where the nation's honor is vitally concerned)
all other possible subjects of controversy will be submitted to
arbitration. Such a treaty would insure peace unless one party
deliberately violated it. Of course, as yet there is no adequate
safeguard against such deliberate violation, but the establish-
ment of a sufficient number of these treaties would go a long
way toward creating a world opinion which would finally find
expression in the provision of methods to forbid or punish any
such violation.

Secondly, there is the farther development of the Hague
Tribunal, of the work of the conferences and courts at The
Hague. It has been well said that the first Hague Conference
framed a Magna Charta for the nations; it set before us an ideal
which has already to some extent been realized, and toward
the full realization of which we can all steadily strive. The
second Conference made further progress; the third should do
yet more. Meanwhile the American Government has more than
once tentatively suggested methods for completing the Court
of Arbitral Justice, constituted at the second Hague Confer-
ence, and for rendering it effective. It is earnestly to be hoped
that the various governments of Europe, working with those of
America and of Asia, shall set themselves seriously to the task
of devising some method which shall accomplish this result. If
I may venture the suggestion, it would be well for the states-
men of the world in planning for the erection of this world
court, to study what has been done in the United States by the
Supreme Court. I cannot help thinking that the Constitution
of the United States, notably in the establishment of the Su-
preme Court and in the methods adopted for securing peace
and good relations among and between the different States,
offers certain valuable analogies to what should be striven for
in order to secure, through The Hague courts and conferences,
a species of world federation for international peace and jus-
tice. There are, of course, fundamental differences between
what the United States Constitution does and what we should
even attempt at this time to secure at The Hague; but the
methods adopted in the American Constitution to prevent hos-
tilities between the States, and to secure the supremacy of the
Federal Court in certain classes of cases, are well worth the
study of those who seek at The Hague to obtain the same
results on a world scale.
In the third place, something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially vital armaments, by international agreement. No one power could or should act by itself: for it is eminently undesirable, from the standpoint of the peace of righteousness, that a power which really does believe in peace should place itself at the mercy of some rival which may at bottom have no such belief and no intention of acting on it. But, granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments. An agreement merely to limit the size of ships would have been very useful a few years ago, and would still be of use; but the agreement should go much further.

Finally, it would be a master stroke if those great powers honestly bent on peace would form a League of Peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others. The supreme difficulty in connection with developing the peace work of The Hague arises from the lack of any executive power, of any police power, to enforce the decrees of the court. In any community of any size the authority of the courts rests upon actual or potential force; on the existence of a police, or on the knowledge that the able-bodied men of the country are both ready and willing to see that the decrees of judicial and legislative bodies are put into effect. In new and wild communities where there is violence, an honest man must protect himself; and until other means of securing his safety are devised, it is both foolish and wicked to persuade him to surrender his arms while the men who are dangerous to the community retain theirs. He should not renounce the right to protect himself by his own efforts until the community is so organized that it can effectively relieve the individual of the duty of putting down violence. So it is with nations. Each nation must keep well prepared to defend itself until the establishment of some form of international police power, competent and willing to prevent violence as between nations. As things are now, such power to command peace throughout the world could best be assured by some combination between those great nations which sincerely desire peace and have no thought themselves of committing aggressions. The combination might at first be only to secure peace within certain definite limits and certain definite conditions; but the ruler or statesman who should bring about such a combination would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of all mankind.

World War I

64. THE UNITED STATES' STAKE IN THE WAR

After a brief period of indecision following the outbreak of World War I in the summer of 1914, Roosevelt concluded that a German victory would be inimical to American interests. This conclusion was strengthened by his aversion to the rape of Belgium and, later, by the destruction of the Lusitania and the violation of American "rights" on the high seas. Here Roosevelt calmly sets forth his position to the Harvard psychologist, Hugo Münsterberg, who was already emerging as one of the nation's leading German apologists:

Oyster Bay, October 3, 1914

My dear Professor Münsterberg: I have received your very interesting book and it impresses me very much. But, my dear

Clinton lands in Germany
Visits with released POWs

By CORY LANCASTER

SANGDAMMEN AB, Germany, May 5 -- On the fourth day of the air campaign against Yugoslavian President Clinton arrived in Germany, to much fanfare Wednesday, thanking the troops for their service and announcing the first stop of his two-day visit.

The president was greeted by a crowd of 10,000 people and family members wearing small American flags at Sthagdamm region Air Base, Clinton's last stop in Germany on the base, where he met with three U.S. soldiers recently freed after 12 days in captivity, according.

Clinton met briefly with several pilots and crew members before leaving the base for a visit to the 17th Air Expeditionary Wing, which is in charge of the campaign's air operations.

President Clinton speaks to the large crowd at Sstagdamm region Air Base.
anything else to say on behalf of your fellow Americans, we thank you for your service and your sacrifice," Clinton said afterward. He then greeted the assembled airmen and returned to his aircraft-hangar and filled three stands of bleachers.

"I know this is hard. I know too many of these pilots are flying long hours. I know the stress and anxiety of yours must have incurred," Clinton said.

Despite his recent comments that might support a pause in bombing, Clinton gave no indication Wednesday he was willing to let up. "He said the air campaign will continue and that the military commander on the ground will be in charge," Clinton said.

"Kosovo is an affront to everything we stand for," Clinton said.

"If we want to be a country that is more democratic and multicultural then we will need to engage with our neighbors," Clinton said. "We can only succeed if others succeed."

"This is not a voting for or against a policy," Clinton said. "This is a decision for or against the future of our country."

"This is a moment in history when we can either stand up for freedom or turn our backs on it," Clinton said.

"This is a moment when we can either be a nation that is strong or a nation that is weak," Clinton said.

"This is a moment when we can either be a country that is respected or a country that is shamed," Clinton said.

"This is a moment when we can either be a nation that is free or a nation that is enslaved," Clinton said.

"This is a moment when we can either be a country that is alive or a country that is dead," Clinton said.

"This is a moment when we can either be a nation that is healthy or a nation that is sick," Clinton said.

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Ted, I can tell you a lot about what they do. Here’s a little background. For up to date stories, I refer you to the U.S. Air Forces, Europe web site at <www.usafe.af.mil>, which carries news of units, individuals and bases involved in the Kosovo action.

Here’s some background material:

Ramstein: Ramstein AB is the largest installation in the Kaiserslautern Military Community, the largest American community outside the United States. Over 43,000 Americans live and work in the vicinity of this industrial and marketing city, the third largest in the federal state of Rhine-land-Pfalz.

Ramstein is home to both a U.S. and NATO headquarters: the U.S. Air Forces, Europe, (USAFE) and Allied Air Forces Central Europe (AAFCE). General John Jumper, USAF, is both the CINCUSAFE and COMAAFCE. Airmen from Belgium, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK as well as the United States are assigned to Headquarters, Allied Air Forces Central Europe. The 86th Airlift Wing is the host unit at Ramstein, which has 2 C-130s squadrons, a mixed squadron of C-20s and C-21s for VIP airlift support, and an aeromedical evacuation squadron comprised of C-9 aircraft.

Ramstein is also the Air Force’s largest overseas cargo port. The 621st Air Mobility Support Group provides cargo, passenger and maintenance support for incoming and outgoing C-5, C-141, C-130 and C-17 aircraft. During normal operations the aerial port has 6 movements a day. The Kosovo crisis has shot this up to 20 movements a day representing close to 150STs handled daily. [The President will view loading of relief supplies with this unit at the Ramstein flight line.]

Outside the main gate of Ramstein is Einsiedlerhof Air Station, home of the European Command’s Warrior Preparation Center. Right now this is being used as the headquarters of JTF Shining Hope, commanded by Air Force Major General Bill Hinton. [The President will have supper with them on Wednesdays night].

In addition to the Air Force activities at Ramstein, Sembach, Einsiedlerhof and Kapaun Air Station, Kaiserslautern is home to a huge Army logistical complex. The 21st Theater Army Area Command is in Kaiserslautern commanded by Major General Chuck Mahan. He is responsible for all logistical support to the United States Army in Europe and also runs the forward support base for Bosnia at Taszar, Hungary. Finally, the Army’s regional medical center for Europe is located at nearby Landstuhl.

People and families from all these units should be recognized by the President in his remarks.

Spangdahlem: Spang, located 20 miles northeast of the old Roman city of Trier is the home of the 52nd Fighter Wing of U.S. Air Forces in Europe, comprised of a squadron of F16s and 2 squadrons of A-10s. Many of Spang’s A-10s are in Gioia del Colle, Italy flying in support of Operation Allied Force as part of the 81st Expeditionary Fighter Squadron. The A-10s originally deployed from Spang to Aviano in January and transitioned to Gioia del Colle on April 11, which they share with Italian and British squadrons. Spang’s population is normally 6000, with another 6700 family members, but this has been swelled by about 480 pilots and airmen supporting the F-117s that are flying from Spang to bomb targets in Serbia and Kosovo.

During the Cold War, Air Bases at Sembach, Hahn, Bitburg, Ramstein and Spangdahlem held fighter wings under the command of the 17th Air Force providing defense counter air, offensive counter air, battlefield air interdiction and close air support for Allied Forces in Central Europe. Today, the 17th Air Force has been disbanded and the 52nd Fighter Wing is the only USAF fighter wing north of the Alps.

[Not much: hope this helps!]

A quick note about Ingelheim: a beautiful wine growing community, west of Mainz on the south bank of the Rhine. The people are very welcoming.
To,

Attached are the bullets I promised to you.

I've asked several people at JOLP what they would like to hear the Poles say. All echoed:
- Pride Poles + the American people have in what they are doing.
- Recognition of the sacrifice military personnel and their families are making for their country.

I understand you spoke with CDR Benz on some local sector. He is working on it and will send separately.

Brian

#155: NATO Tigers
2 F16 squadron Stingers + Hawk
A-10 squad F-16 Panthers
NORTHCOM finance contracting team B-1 competition
Red,

After our local planning meeting this AM, I spent the afternoon with the Operations Group folks. Here is what I have so far:

• Very sensitive: This is the first time aircraft (A/C) have departed Germany to drop bombs/short missiles since WWII. A lot of post-fixing by German elites. (Need State/NSC not on this to see if this should be mentioned.)

• Spang is the only site in Germany the U.S. is flying combat (F-16/17) from.

• This is 1st time combat parties have flown out of Spang.

• All parties out of Spang are U.S. only missions. No NATO cooperative strikes.

• Following units are stationed at Spang (i.e. families are here)

- 27th Fighter Squadron: F16 CJS's (Wild Weasel)
  * Until March were flying ONU missions from Incirlik (Sp) & conducting joint exercises w/ German in Sardinia.
  * Now flying missions ISO bombers from Spang.

- 23rd Fighter Squadron: F16 CJS's (Wild Weasel)
  * Deployed to Red Flag + Tindal in Jan.
  * Returned to Spang in mid Feb deployed to Aviano.
  * Still in Aviano with no return date known.

- 81st Fighter Squadron: A10
  * Only 22 A/C in Europe.
  * 18 deployed to Gioia del Colle (Sp?), Italy.

- Support Group: here I use & deploy with shore units.

- Logistics Group: Supply/Trans etc & deploy.


• Unit deployed to Spang (families in New Mexico (Tinker?))?

- 47th Fighter Squadron of 49th Fighter Wing:
  * Arrived 4/99
  * 8-10 A/C fly per night
  * Approx 300 people
• From Spang: 4,800 military assigned; 1200 TDY
  Approx 10,000 dependents

• First time in memory that combat missions are being flown from
  Home Base (Aviano as well). "Pilots step on their pedal, kiss mom-
  good-bye, and go fly a combat mission." Lots of stress on families.

• Spang won "Air Force Facility of the Year" in a DoD-wide competition.
  It shows, it's a great looking place - not just because they're
  preparing for Rotos. Long-term care is evident. We're holding an
  Earth Day event for school children today... life goes on even though
  they are heading into combat.

• For Bob: Bitburg AB is here and closed except for support
  facilities used by Spang (15 min drive).

• Spang has an excellent relationship w/ local German community.
  Mayor will be at Raptors speech, and should be recognized.

• Sorties are flying @ night, departing @ 2300 approx. It is really
  taxing ops & maintain personnel. LTC Joe Dickson, operations maintenance
  office, and my guide today, hasn't had a day off in over 5 weeks.

• I asked the Ops Group Deputy what they would like to hear
  Raptors say. Answer:
  - Proud of their professionalism
  - Can see that everyone is working hard to make it happen
  - Note pride in (Raptors) and American people are of their professionalism
    (and Brave). They are appreciated.

• A10 pilot here (Capt Bubba Cherry, no lie) who is a hero. Was EFSR
  on-scene COR for rescue of downed F15 pilot. Expect him to be guide
  for tour of ABs.

  Brian