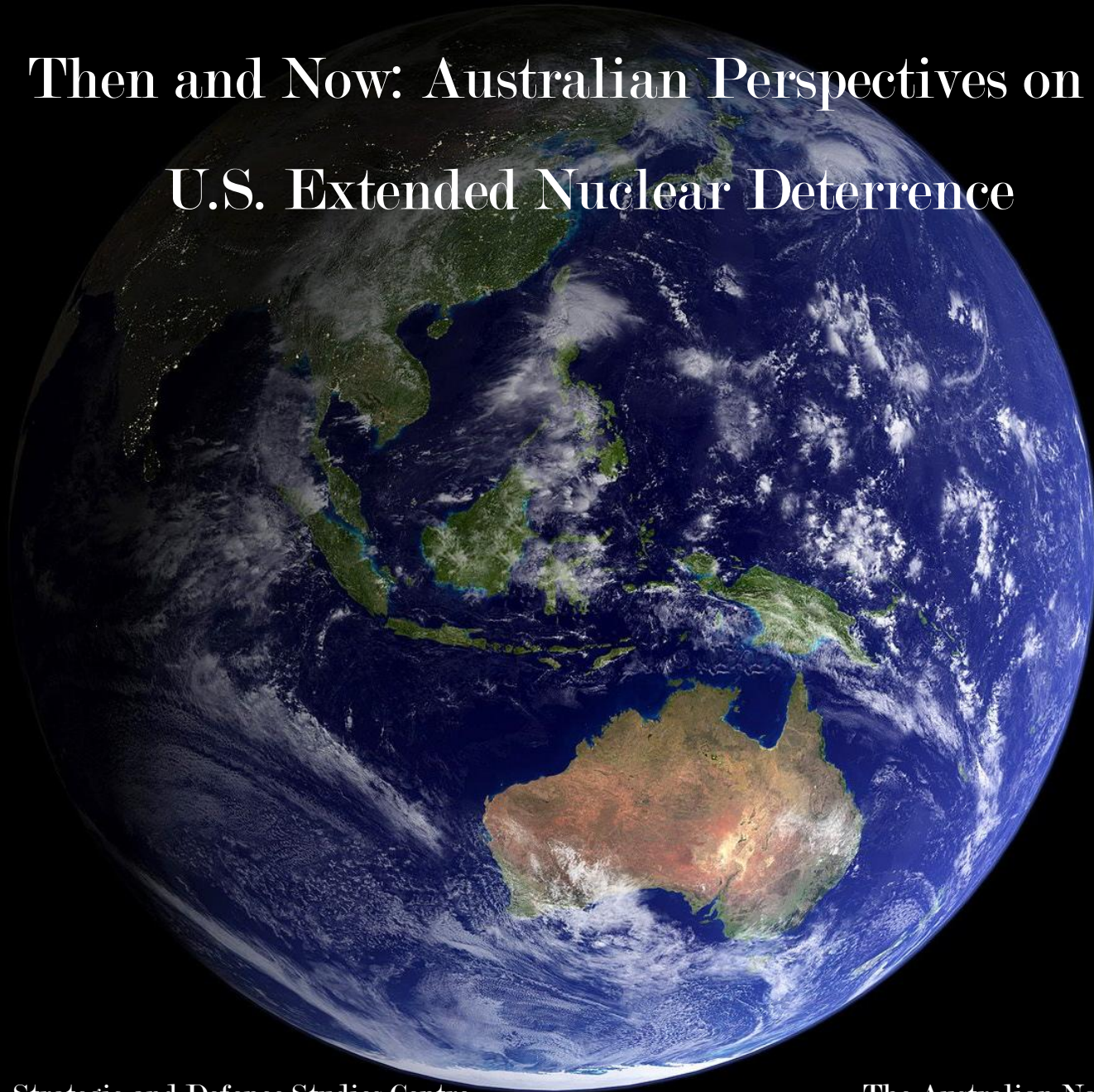


Then and Now: Australian Perspectives on U.S. Extended Nuclear Deterrence



Arguments/Delicious Takeaway:

- ♪ Since the 1950s, Australian thinking about Nuclear weapons and strategy has been largely shaped by U.S. END
- ♪ A set of geopolitical circumstances have made that guarantee relatively credible
- ♪ At least 3 schools of thought in Australia about nuclear weapons strategy and U.S. END:

Menzians (value END),

Gortonians (don't believe in END),

Disarmers (don't value nuclear weapons period)

- ♪ Menzians have been dominant throughout most of Australia's nuclear history
- ♪ This due to a set of circumstances in Australia's strategic environment that correlate roughly with the period of relative 'nuclear order'
- ♪ Changes in geopolitical circumstances and nuclear order might see changes a shift towards more 'Gortonian' thinking



Concept: What is END?

Extended deterrence means providing protection to an ally or security partner via comparable deterrent threats — threats of punishment and/or threats of denial, also known as threats of operational defeat.

Why is it difficult?

making the threat credible to the adversary

providing credible assurance to the protected country — both the government & the public

convincing domestic public opinion that extending such protection — taking risks to ensure the security of a distant country — is necessary & in the national interest

convincing the political elite of the security guarantor

sustaining national determination & willingness to employ military capabilities if deterrence efforts fail

What is a nuclear order?

‘nuclear order’ means a stable configuration of relationships among nuclear weapon states and recipients of extended nuclear deterrence commitments. Based on the two managed systems of deterrence and abstinence where nukes are used to prevent war and maintain stability in a controlled and rule-bound manner.

An Order in which countries agree to give up nukes according to NPT rules, in exchange for other benefits (William Walker). Norms exist against the possession and use of nukes

Nuclear Order is Characterized by:

- ♪ ‘Responsible’ Great powers wielding nuclear weapons
- ♪ limited number of NWSs
- ♪ relatively stable distribution of power – limited prospect of interstate conflict
- ♪ absence of direct military threats to Oz
- ♪ robust NPT and nonproliferation regime

For most of its history, Australia has lived in a relatively robust nuclear order.

Australia's experience with nuclear weapons: conflicted nuclear identity

- A key ally of the United States under the ANZUS Treaty (1951)
- a consumer of U.S. ENDS
- A possible nuclear proliferator (until the early 1970s we attempted to get the bomb)
- Since the 1960s we have hosted facilities (Pine Gap and Nurrungar) central to U.S. nuclear arsenal
- For over 20 years, the only major Western ally to hold formal membership in a nuclear-free zone

The Three Schools of thought:

Differ on a key set of themes:

- 1) What role do nuclear weapons play in international order?
- 2) Does Deterrence work?
- 3) What part does arms control play in managing nuclear weapons? And what contribution do nuclear weapons make in relation to Australia's specific strategic and defence needs?



Menzians

- Believe nuclear weapons can be a stabilizing force in international relations if wielded by responsible GPs
- Nuclear weapons and deterrence they provide = instruments that help hold global order in place, indirectly serving Australian interests
- Nukes considered primarily as instruments of strategic, rather than tactical design

Gortonians

- Nuclear weapons generate order in a direct and regional sense rather than in an abstract, global one
- Deterrence should be managed nationally, rather than by great powers
- Nukes serve Australian interests only if they are tied directly to Australian defence and security needs
- END is an oxymoron
- Australian nuclear capability is of considerable importance

Dismarmers

- Nukes are order destroyers
- Deterrence is a fallible and unnecessary condition in interstate relations
Nukes are a threat to humanity
- All such weapons should be abolished
- Nukes cannot serve Australian interests, regardless of who wields them

Role of the Visions

♪ All conceptions of different nuclear orders, and where and how U.S. END fits in

♪ Essentially, 3 different plans for Australia in different nuclear worlds:

Menzians: world of few, GP nuclear states – END remains credible

Gortonians: a more highly proliferated world – END is an oxymoron

Disarmers: a world that puts aside nuclear weapons – END = redundant

Alternative nuclear futures?

The dominance of the Menzian vision might gradually be coming to an end

Menzian vision is built on world of small number of NWSs, managed by responsible GPs

A changing nuclear landscape ?

- Asia now the centre of global strategic gravity
 - Geopolitical shifts towards and within Asia (rising powers, at the same time)
 - Nuclear proliferation, but also long-range weaponry, latent nuclear capabilities
 - More multipolar and asymmetric deterrence relationships
 - These elements overshadowed by enduring geopolitical rivalries
- These factors and others lead us increasingly away from the traditional nuclear order (where the Menzian vision is dominant) that has underpinned Australian thinking about U.S. END
- Asia-Pacific still in a period of geopolitical transition
 - We still don't know where Australia will fit (a world we have no experience of)
 - In this shifting Asian security environment, Australia rethinks its nuclear identity...