



EXTENDED DETERRENCE IN DOUBT?

POSSIBLE GERMAN FUTURES: 2021

David R. Dorondo, Western Carolina University

STRATCOM Academic Alliance

dorondo@email.wcu.edu 828.227.3908

Russia has demonstrated its willingness to use force to alter the map of Europe and impose its will on its neighbors, backed by implicit and explicit nuclear first-use threats.

U.S. Nuclear Posture Review 2018

Elections are occasionally the citizen's revenge and the paper ballot his dagger.

*Unsubstantiated attribution to David Lloyd George
(1863 – 1945)*

A RATIONALE FOR HISTORICAL CONTEXT WHILE AVOIDING HISTORICAL DETERMINISM...

The Cold War and Russia's new aggressiveness.
"History must inform our thinking and decisions
regarding deterrence." ROK MG Jung Woong
Lee, STRATCOM Deterrence Symposium 2018

Germany and other non-nuclear NATO members
since the 1950s have had a vested interest in
avoiding a nuclear 'decoupling' from the U.S.
absent European strategic autonomy.

U.S./NATO must therefore still deter and assure in
all domains, despite the flap over the 2018
Nuclear Posture Review (re: a possible nuclear
response to cyber-war and/or hypersonic NNWs)

A MINOR CAVEAT: FOR THE CURRENT PURPOSE, NUCLEAR SHARING IS CONSIDERED TO BE EXTENDED DETERRENCE

U.S. pledges its own CONUS and forward-deployed (and controlled) nuclear forces for an ally's defense...

- Extended Deterrence

U.S. provides nuclear weapons to non-nuclear allies for mutually agreed upon employment *in extremis*...

- Nuclear Sharing

GERMAN NUCLEAR SHARING ON THE GROUND...



GERMAN NUCLEAR SHARING IN THE AIR PAST AND PRESENT...



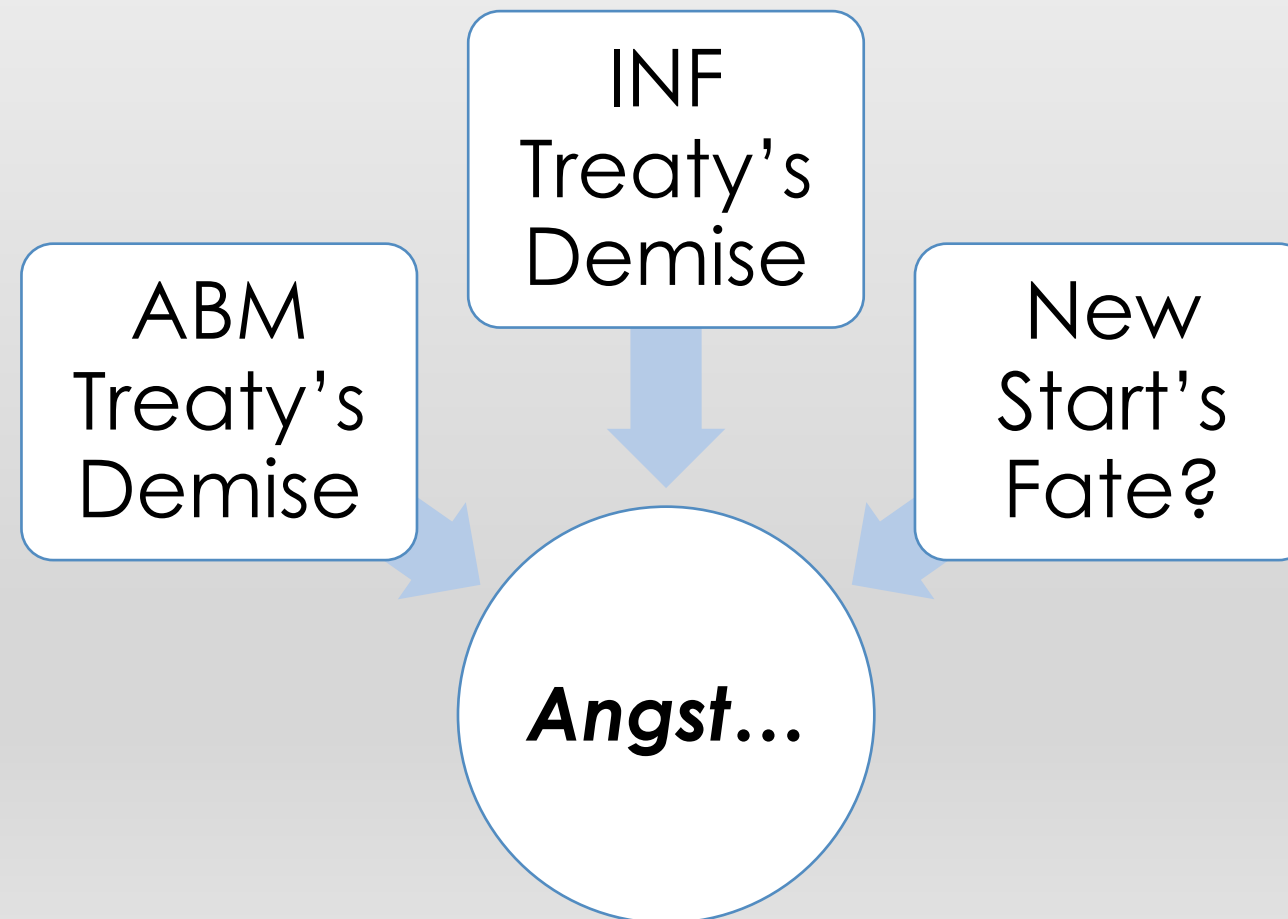
GERMAN NUCLEAR SHARING IN THE AIR, NEAR FUTURE AND CA. 2030+...??



AMBIVALENCE ABOUT, AND OPPOSITION TO, REARMAMENT / NUCLEAR SHARING IN GERMANY IS NOTHING NEW...

- Unease over any German rearmament (and not only in western Germany), ca. 1947 – 1949...
- Domestic and international confusion over Bonn's contribution to the abortive EDC after the founding of the FRG, 1949 – 1954...
- NATO accession, establishment of the Bundeswehr, and musings about a German nuclear capability not universally welcomed in the FRG (and, of course, not in the GDR or the Warsaw Pact), 1955 and thereafter...
- Student unrest from ca. 1968 contributed to the anti-nuclear (both power-generation and weapons) movement from ca. 1970. The Green Party is founded in 1980, in part specifically as an anti-nuclear party...
- Massive popular opposition to NATO's 'Two Track' deployment of Pershing II in the 1980s (aided and abetted by GDR and Soviet propaganda)...

CURRENT FEAR OF A RENEWED, UNCONTROLLED ARMS RACE AS A POLITICAL FACTOR SINCE THE END OF THE COLD WAR... PRESUMABLY TO BE EXACERBATED BY RUSSIAN DISINFORMATION IN 2021...



FURTHER DOMESTIC WILD CARDS LIKELY TO BE TARGETED BY DISINFORMATION...

CONSPIRACY THEORIES

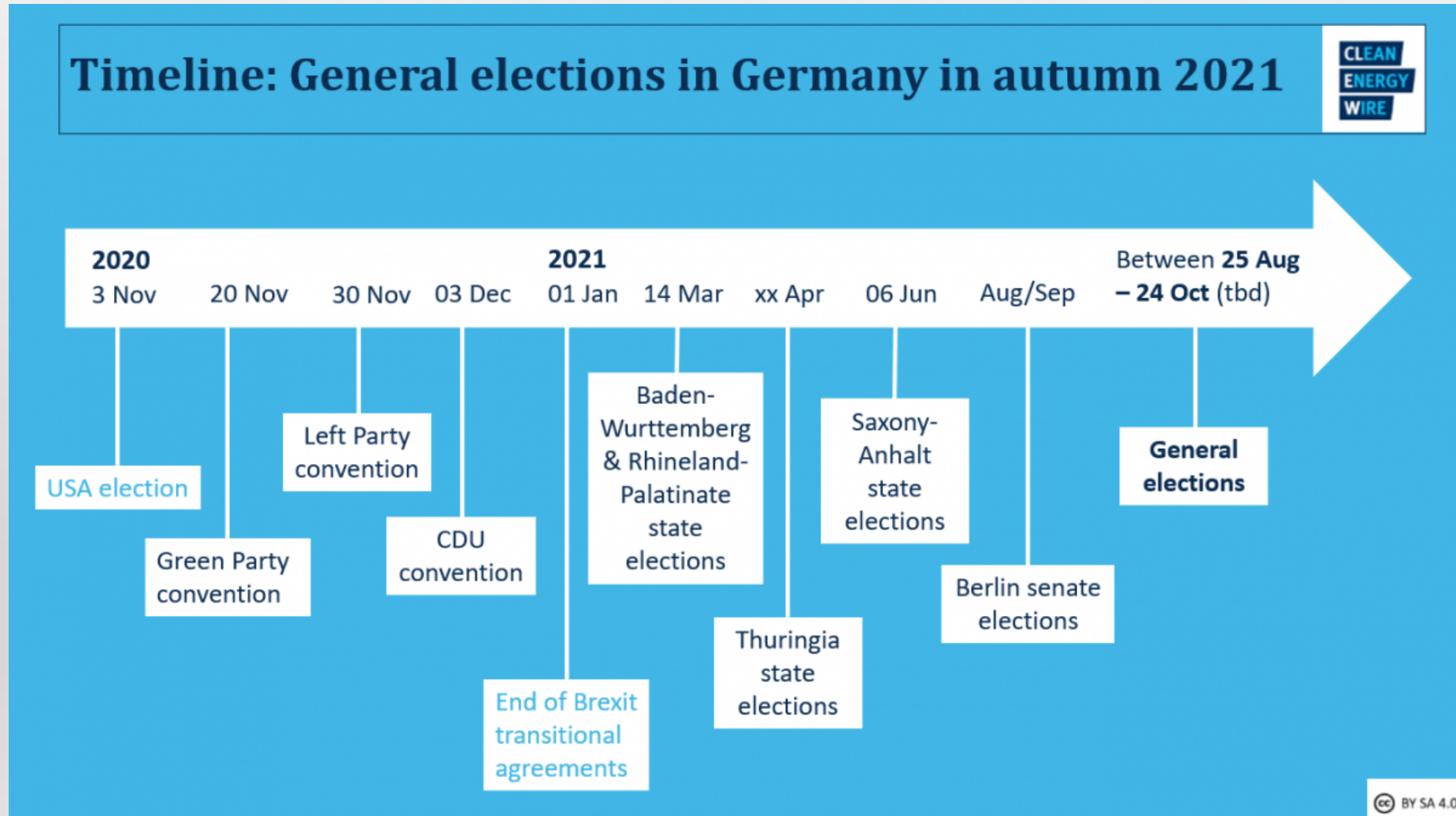


CORONAVIRUS'S EFFECTS



GERMAN ELECTORAL CYCLE FOR 2021

SOURCE: [HTTPS://WWW.CLEANENERGYWIRE.ORG/FACTSHEETS/BTW21-MILESTONES-FACTS-GERMANYS-PACKED-ELECTION-YEAR](https://www.cleanenergywire.org/factsheets/btw21-milestones-facts-germanys-packed-election-year) (NB: THE BUNDESWAHLEITER DOES NOT CURRENTLY INDICATE THE THURINGIAN STATE ELECTION'S DATE; [HTTPS://WWW.BUNDESWAHLEITER.DE/EN/SERVICE/WAHLTERMINE.HTML](https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/en/service/wahltermine.html))

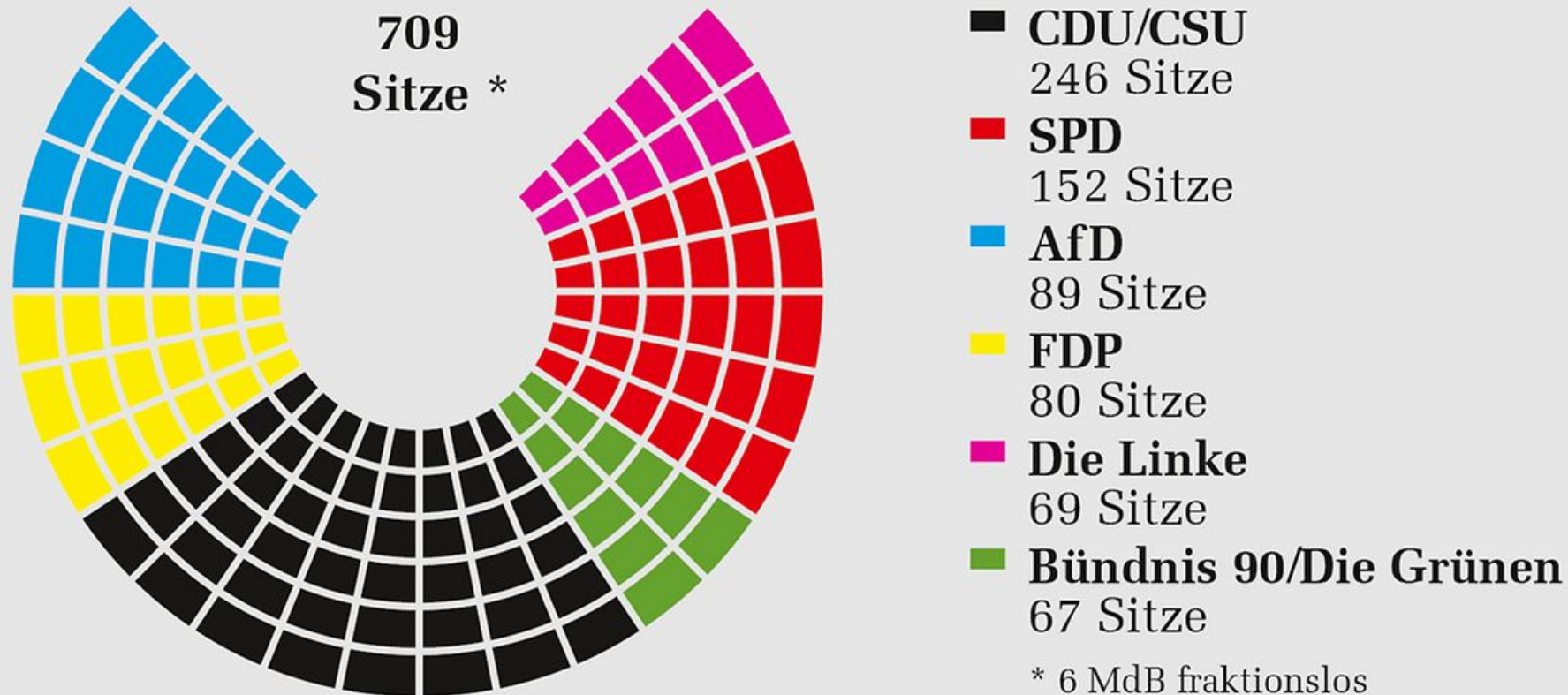


COMPOSITION OF THE BUNDESTAG AS OF JANUARY 2020

SOURCE: DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG

Sitzverteilung im 19. Deutschen Bundestag

Stand: Januar 2020



ARE THERE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES TODAY?? (NOT COUNTING GREY RHINOS AND BLACK SWANS...)

U.S.

- COVID-19
- The U.S. election and the potential for disruption to electoral IOT leading to prolonged post-election uncertainty and/or civil unrest.
- Breaking down of general foreign- and defense-policy consensus and post-2020 disenchantment w/ Germany and Europe.
- The growing Indo-Pacific/NE Asia challenges demanding policy-makers' time and attention.
- China in Europe.

GERMANY

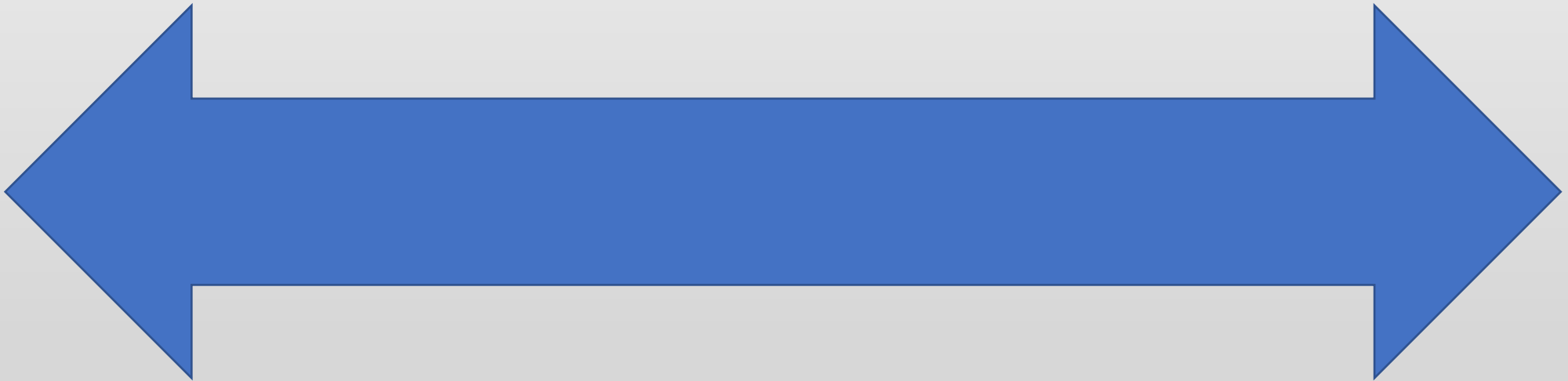
- COVID-19
- Chancellor Merkel states she will not be a candidate in 2021, and the CDU faces a potentially disruptive leadership fight.
- Will the CDU/CSU agree easily on a candidate for Chancellor?
- The Greens are serious contenders for national office, while the SPD and the Liberals are at historic lows.
- The AfD and Die Linke are currently unprecedentedly powerful opposition in the Bundestag (though internally riven).
- Serious disenchantment w/ the U.S. + China in Europe.

THE QUESTION RUNS BOTH WAYS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

WHO DOUBTS WHOM THE MORE...???

United States

Germany (and Europe?)



CONCLUSION

“Planning deterrence means thinking through the possible reasoning of an adversary and the way in which alternative courses of action might appear to him in advance. It also means doing this in his terms, and not in ours; and allowing for how he might think in future circumstances, not just in today’s. In essence we seek to ensure that, whatever military aggression or political bullying a future [Russian] leader might contemplate, he could not foresee any likely situation in which the West would be left with no realistic alternative....No safer system than deterrence is yet in view, and impatience would be a catastrophic guide in the search. To tear down the present structure, imperfect but effective, before a better one is firmly within our grasp would be an immensely dangerous and irresponsible act.”
Statement on the Defence Estimates 1981 (Cmnd. 8212-1, pp 13-14) See Quinlan, *Thinking About Nuclear Weapons* (2009/2013)

FOR FURTHER READING

Dorondo, David R. 'Extended Deterrence.' Future of Great Power Competition and Conflict – Quick Concept Series. August 2019. <https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/SMA-QC-Extended-Deterrence-final.pdf>

Dorondo, David R. 'The U.S. Army, the Nuclear Posture Review and Nuclear Deterrence: A European Historical Context.' AUSA Institute for Land Warfare Paper 124 / March 2019. <https://www.ausa.org/sites/default/files/publications/LWP-124-The-US-Army-the-Nuclear-Posture-Review-and-Nuclear-Deterrence-A-European-Historical-Context.pdf>

Frankel, Michael, *et al.* 'Nonstrategic Nuclear Weapons at an Inflection Point: National Security Perspective' (Baltimore: JHUP/APL, 2017)

Haftendorn, Helga. 'Germany's accession to NATO: 50 years on,' *NATO Review*. <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2005/issue2/english/history.html>

Kroenig, Matthew. *The Logic of American Nuclear Strategy: Why Nuclear Superiority Matters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Krüger, Dieter and Volker Bausch, eds. *Fulda Gap: Battlefield of the Cold War Alliances*. Trans. David R. Dorondo (New York: Lexington Books, 2018)

Quinlan, Michael. *Thinking About Nuclear Weapons: Principles, Problems, Prospects* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Roberts, Brad. *The Case for U.S. Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016)