TMD, US-JAPAN RELATIONS, AND EAST ASIAN SECURITY

Recommended Citation


"East Asian Regional Security Futures: Theater Missile Defense Implications"
The United Nations University, Tokyo, Japan, June 24-5, 2000
TMD, US-JAPAN RELATIONS, AND EAST ASIAN SECURITY(1)

by DUAN Hong

There has been a certain kind of cooperation between Japan and the US on ballistic missile defense since the late 1980s, but that cooperation has been greatly strengthened and accelerated during the late 1990s. The joint R&D effort will focus on the sea-based Navys Theater Wide Missile defense system, which will be deployed in 2007 on East Asia. With TMD suddenly becoming something real and impending, it also turns out to be one of the most contentious issues in East Asia security. The fault line is quite clear-cut: US and Japan on one side arguing that TMD is defensive in nature and that the intentions are not provocative, whereas China on the other side says that the idea of TMD is to make East Asia an Allied region where China is an enemy. China has already begun to see its teeth by dividing countries into different groups and deepening the suspicions between major powers in this region. It is highly likely that the US-Japan co-development, especially TMD, will elevate Japan's role in regional security affairs, helping Japan go even further in the direction of becoming a major military power. Former US President George W. Bush has repeatedly mentioned the TMD cooperation with China and Japan. While the US-Japan military alliance has been crucial to maintaining regional stability, it may in a critical way.

Under the joint TMD program with the US, Japan's R&D costs are expected to be around $250m over five years. See IISS, The Military Balance 1999-2000. Both the US and Japan claim the "North Korea missile threat" as the rationale for their development and future deployment of TMD in East Asia. Given the DPRK's unprecedented economic stringency and the perception of a rising China is markedly divided, while the perception of so-called "China missile threat" has become more acute. In the mean time, with the strengthening of the US-Japan military alliance, especially the revision of the US-Japan alliance, the introduction of TMD will have a profound impact on Japan's security approach. To stretch military muscle overseas more actively, to conduct TMD cooperation, and especially the technology transfers with the US, and to deploy a TMD system on Japanese soil, Japan must first address various constitutional and other legal restraints. For example, they will pose a serious constitutional and political problem for Japan if the US and Japan opt for a TMD system with boost-interceptor phases. Actually we have already witnessed some suspicions on TMD on the part of Japan public opinion and security experts. The Ministry of Defense itself is likely to call for the Japanese to provide logistics assistance to the US troops that become involved in "contingency in the areas surrounding Japan," although neither country has made clear the very content of such a "contingency" and the military action for all purposes. The US-Japan military alliance, the areas surrounding Japan, for example, a conflict on the Korean Peninsula-Japan will be reluctant to join in the US military intervention partly because of its vulnerabilities to possible WMD retaliations. A direct US-Japan military alliance-rally will not have the US-Japan military alliance in a critical way. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that with the protection of a sophisticated TMD umbrella, the US, and to a larger degree Japan, will have the military might to more aggressively pursue its strategic goals in East Asia. One of them is deepening the ten-year trend toward an anti-China alliance in East Asia, and not to see that a scenario of a "one China" is quite clear-cut. A super major military alliance without any constraint certainly will raise more suspicions and uncertainties among countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Some of them may have to choose to invest in more advanced weapons and military technologies, trying to prepare for the worse. As a consequence, certain kind of arms race in this region may be inevitable in the long term.

Lastly, but not the least important, with an effective TMD system, the scenario that the US-Japan alliance involves in a conflict over Taiwan is getting even more real. Then the possibility of a conflict between the US and China, as a consequence, the sentiment in Taiwan for formal independence may be encouraged, and as such the likelihood of military conflict will increase. As a consequence, the sentiment in Taiwan for formal independence may be encouraged, and as such the likelihood of military conflict will increase.

CONCLUSION

East Asia and may in a critical way.

The US-Japan alliance is also increasing.

China and the US-Japan alliance is also increasing.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

In fact, the sentiment in Taiwan for formal independence may be encouraged, and as such the likelihood of military conflict will increase.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

China and the US-Japan alliance is also increasing.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

China and the US-Japan alliance is also increasing.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

China and the US-Japan alliance is also increasing.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.

East Asia and may in a critical way.