

China tensions may spur anti-ship missile development

Former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, recognized in the United States as an authority on security in the Asia-Pacific region, contributed the following essay to *The Yomiuri Shimbun* in collaboration with Zack Cooper, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. In it, they pose the question of whether Japan needs a military technology deal like the so-called AUKUS agreement among Australia, Britain and the United States. They also propose joint development of surface-to-ship missiles by Japan and the United States. The essay emphasizes the need for the two allies to strengthen their countermeasures against China's military expansion.

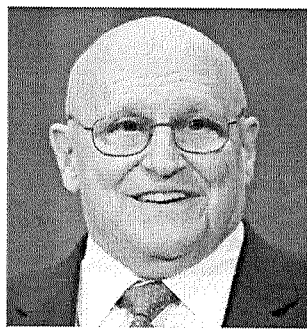
By Richard Armitage and Zack Cooper
Special to The Yomiuri Shimbun

The time has come for Tokyo and Washington to advance a new military technology initiative: codeveloping ground-launched anti-ship cruise missiles.

Facing mounting pressure from China, the Australian government recently struck its own military technology deal with the United States and Britain. The so-called AUKUS agreement focused on a capability badly needed by Australia: nuclear-powered submarines. Some in Japan have expressed a desire to have a similar deal.

But Japan has different requirements. The Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force already fields highly capable domestically produced submarines. And Japan's maritime operating locations are much closer to its own ports than Australia's operating locations are to its ports, which minimizes the need for nuclear-powered submarines. Moreover, Japan has a much more challenging domestic debate about nuclear power.

So Japanese nuclear-powered submarines are neither strategically necessary nor politically feasible. But Tokyo and Washington still need to cooperate on defense technology because they have not responded rapidly enough to China's military modernization. Beijing now fields the world's largest navy. Tensions in the East China Sea, South China Sea, and Taiwan Strait are rising. Yet, the al-



Above: Former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage; Left: Zack Cooper, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

liance still appears to be struggling to respond.

What military capabilities does Japan need the most? One critical requirement is the ability to see and, if necessary, strike Chinese naval targets. In the event of a conflict in the East China Sea (or indeed the Taiwan Strait), a top priority for Japan and the United States would be tracking and neutralizing China's surface fleet. The ability to do so effectively is not only essential to effective warfighting, but also to deterring a conflict in the first place.

Japanese and American satellites, aircraft and ships can conduct some of these missions, but all are highly vulnerable to Chinese interference. Early in a conflict, Beijing might seek to disrupt systems in space while also striking airfields and aircraft on the ground. The same is true of surface ships, which would be at risk from China's large inventory of anti-ship missiles. Thus, it would be unwise to rely too heavily on airborne assets and naval platforms for naval strike roles.

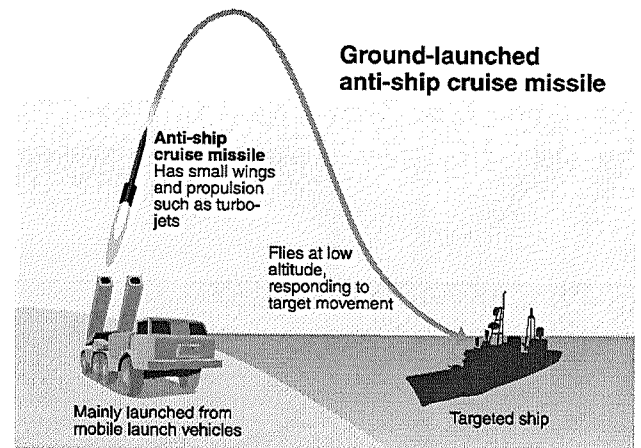
Ground-based systems have several inherent advantages. Most importantly, they are cheaper and can therefore be fielded in larger numbers. This not only means that they can strike more targets, but also that China would have a difficult time finding their ground launchers. And since these launchers are mobile and can be hidden in tunnels or ground clutter, they are hard to pinpoint.

With this in mind, both Japan and the United States have been investing in ground-based missiles. Tokyo has developed surface to ship missile batteries, but they could benefit from enhanced interoperability with U.S. sensors. Similarly, Washington is developing a range of ground-based strike systems, but has limited locations in the Pacific to base its launchers. The allies have already shown that they can codevelop advanced missiles like SM-3 Block IIA, but at the moment there is no follow-on codevelopment program.

This is, therefore, the moment to codevelop a ground-launched anti-ship missile. Strategically, it would turn the current competition with China on its head. For many years, Beijing has been able to focus on how to use its missile forces to sink American or Japanese ships. A large inventory of longer-range Japanese and American missiles would reverse this dynamic, forcing Beijing to consider its own expensive ships being held at risk by relatively cheap missiles. Financially, this would also be beneficial. One of the advantages that Japan

and the United States maintain is that they and many like-minded governments share similar military requirements for addressing China's military challenges. But this potential is worthless unless they cooperate to achieve the benefits of scale. Codeveloped military systems can drive down acquisition costs, which could also make them more attractive to other regional partners.

Codeveloping a ground-based missile would also send a clear signal to Beijing about Tokyo and Washington's seriousness on meeting its military challenge. It would demonstrate that China's pressure on its neighbors is backfiring, resulting in tightened alliances and more robust military responses. This political signal was an important component of the AUKUS deal, and



would likewise be notable for the Japan-U.S. alliance.

Prime Minister Fumio Kishida has talked about the need for Japan to spend more on defense and to develop strike capabilities. These are decisions for the Japanese people to make, but Washington should welcome Tokyo's

willingness to consider both defense spending increases and new defense capabilities. If Japanese leaders choose to move forward with these efforts, they should make naval strike systems a priority and work with American counterparts to codevelop anti-ship cruise missiles.

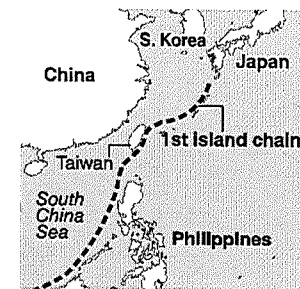
U.S. lags in medium-range missile capacity

By Hiroshi Tajima
Yomiuri Shimbun Correspondent

The United States lags far behind China in medium-range missile capabilities. This is because the U.S.-Russia Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, which came into force in 1988, banned the possession of ground-launched intermediate-range missiles for about 30 years until it expired in 2019.

Former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage and Zack Cooper, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, have encouraged Japan to play a role in making up for this deficiency.

The U.S. possesses a large number of Tomahawk and other cruise missiles, and has accumulated a wealth of relevant technology. And Japan has a proven track record in high-performance surface-to-ship missiles such as the Type 12 missile. Joint de-



velopment is expected to have a synergistic effect.

On the other hand, joint development generally requires a great deal of coordination between the two countries' companies. One drawback is that the development period tends to be longer than if one company were to manufacture missiles alone.

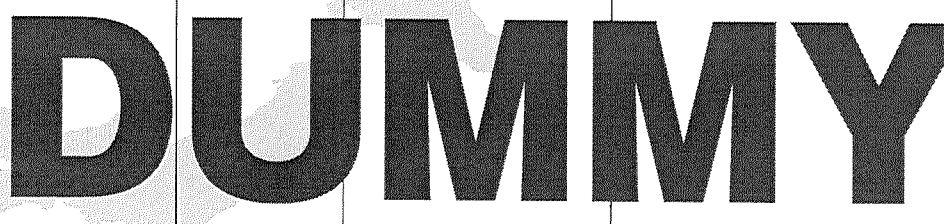
In the case of medium-range missiles, it is important to decide where to deploy them. The U.S. military is aiming to deploy the missiles along the "first island chain," which runs from Japan to the Philippines. This is because the U.S. is increasingly wary of a possible Chinese move against Taiwan, and improving missile capabilities around Taiwan and in the waters near Japan is an urgent issue.

However, a source involved in the Japan-U.S. relationship believes that it would be "difficult to gain the understanding of the Japanese public" for U.S. forces in Japan to deploy the missiles, and the plan has yet to take shape.

The U.S. military is hopeful that even if it turns out to be the Self-Defense Forces that deploy a future anti-ship cruise missile — one jointly developed by Japan and the U.S. and having excellent accuracy and a long range — it will improve deterrence against the Chinese Navy.

WEATHER

TODAY'S FORECAST				Possibility of Rain (%)		Yesterday's Temperature		TODAY'S FORECAST		TOMORROW'S FORECAST	
6 a.m.-noon	noon-6 p.m.	6 p.m.-midnight	low	high	low	high	low	high	low	high	
occasionally	later										
Tokyo											
Sapporo											
Sendai											
Niigata											
Nagoya											
Osaka											
Hiroshima											
Takamatsu											
Fukuoka											
Kagoshima											
Naha											



TODAY'S FORECAST		TOMORROW'S FORECAST	
Temperature low	high	Temperature low	high
Bangkok			
Beijing			
Hong Kong			
Honolulu			
London			
Los Angeles			
Manila			
Moscow			
New Delhi			
New York			
Paris			
Rio de Janeiro			
Rome			
Seoul			
Sydney			