

Missile Defense

~ from Japan's Point of View ~

MATSUI Kazuo MD

Japanese Physicians Against Nuclear War

Email:kmatsui@doc-net.or.jp

==== *Japanese Peace Constitution* ====

INTRODUCTION

We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution. Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people, the powers of which are exercised by the representatives of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people. This is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded. We reject and revoke all constitutions, laws ordinances, and rescripts in conflict herewith.

We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.

We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations.

We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honor to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources

CHAPTER II: RENUNCIATION OF WAR

Article 9:

- 1) Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.
- 2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized

Acronyms

ABL: Air Bone Laser

BM: Ballistic Missile

CD: Conference of Disarmament

LEAP: Light weight Exo-Atmospheric Projectile

MD: Missile Defense

MIRV: Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicle

MTCR: Missile Technology Control Regime

NTWD: Navy Theater Wide Defense system (one category of TMD)

PAC-3: Patriot Advanced Capability

R&D: Research and Development

SBWD: Sea-based Wide Defense

SDI: Strategic Defense Initiative

SM-3: Standard Missile 3

TMD: Theater Missile Defense

VLS: Vertical Launch System

(1) The Three Principles on Arms Export of JAPAN

GOJ does not permit to export any weapons to the countries as follow.

The Communist Block

The country which the United Nations is prohibiting to export weapons

The country which is under or in danger of international conflict

This Three Principles on Arms Export itself does not prohibit exporting weapons to other countries except the countries as mentioned above.

(2) The United View of the Cabinet on Arms Export

The United View of the Cabinet concerning to the mentioned-above Three Principles on Arms Export was announced by Prime Minister Miki on 27 February 1976 at the House of the Representatives. The contents of the announcement were as follow.

Japan as the peace nation has dealt carefully with the export of weapons to avoid the progress of the international conflicts, and from now on Japan will deal with the export of weapons according to the following policy and does not accelerate to export weapons.

GOJ will not permit to export weapons to the countries described in the Three Principles on Arms Export.

To other countries GOJ will refrain from exporting weapons related to the spirit of the Constitution and the Exchange Law.

The machineries and facilities of producing weapons is treated as same as weapons.

(3) The Diet Resolution on Arms Export Ban

The Resolution on Arms Export that was adopted at the House of Representatives on 20 March 1981, and at the House of Councilors on 31 March 1981 were as following.

“On the concept of the Japanese Constitution as the Peace Nation, Japan has dealt with the Arms Export to other country carefully, but it has occurred a regrettable case that they violated this policy. Therefore GOJ should take appropriate measures to accomplish the policy.”

Missile Defense

=== from Japan's Point of View ===

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Missile Defense

from Japan's Point of View

- Geopolitical features of North Asia
- BM inventories in the region
- Why Japan wants MD
 - Responses of neighboring states
- Hurdles for deployment
 - How to stop it

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Geopolitical Features

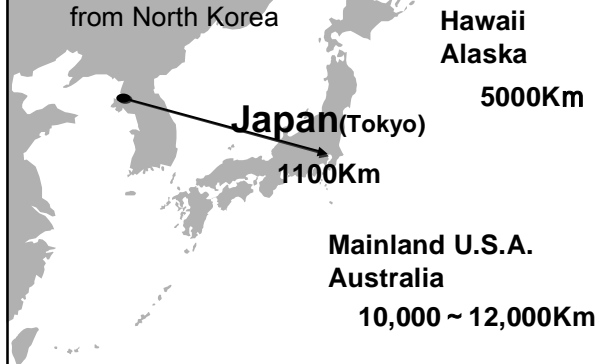
A lot of Tension in the Area

- North Korea's Nuclear Development
- South and North Korea
- Japan and North Korea
 Historical issues, Kidnap case
- China and Taiwan
- Japan and China
 Yasukuni Shrine issue, Territorial issues
- Others

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DISTANCE

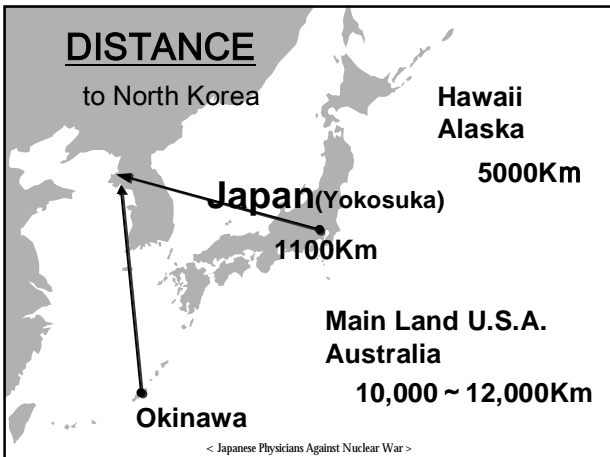
from North Korea



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DISTANCE

to North Korea



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BM inventories in the region

North Korea

System	Status	Range/Payload
Scud-B	Operational	300 km/1,000 kg
Scud-C variant	Operational	550 km/700 kg
Nodong-1	Operational	1,300 km/750 kg
Nodong-2	Development	1,500 km/770 kg
Taepo Dong-1	Test/Develop	2,000 km/1,000 kg
Taepo Dong-2	Development	5,000-6,000km/ 1,000 kg

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BM inventories in the region Japan

System	Status	Range
ASM-1	Operational	50 km
SSM	Operational	90 km
SAM(PAC)	Operational	100+ km
ASM-2	Operational	100 km
SSM-1	Operational	150+ km
SSM-1B	Operational	150 km

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Japan has no offensive missile, but.....

- **Commercial Rocket**
 - M-5: Solid propellant 12,000km range
 - J-1: Solid propellant 13,000km range easily convertible into military use (H-2: Fluid propellant)
- **U.S. Missiles in JAPAN**

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U.S. Missiles in JAPAN Tomahawk

- Ship to Surface Cruise Missile
- Range
1300km(non-nuclear), 2000km(nuclear)
- 6 Warships, homeport Yokosuka (near Tokyo), 546 VLS, mainly for Tomahawks with half ready to launch
- Usually stationed at Yokosuka

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Other Sea-based Missiles in JAPAN SM-2 & SM-3

- Range: SM-2:70km, SM-3:1300km
- SM-3 (to be deployed)
 - MD, SMD(NTWD)
 - Equipped in Aegis System, movable-possibly to go to Taiwan (Japan also has same capability)
 - Joint-R&D

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BM inventories in the region China

M-7 (CSS-8)	Operational	150 km/190 kg
DF-11 (CSS-X-7)	Operational	300 km/800 kg
DF-15 (CSS-6)	Operational	600 km/500 kg
DF-21A (CSS-5, Mod 2)	Operational	1,800 km/2,000 kg
DF-21 (CSS-5, Mod 1)	Operational	2,500 km/600 kg
DF-3A (CSS-2)	Operational	2,800 km/2,150 k
DF-4 (CSS-3)	Operational	5,500 km/2,200 kg
DF-31	Tested/Development	8,000 km/700 kg
DF-41	Program Cancelled?	12,000 km/800 kg
DF-5A (CSS-4)	Operational	13,000 km/3,200 kg
Julang 1 (SLBM)	Operational	1,000 km/600 kg
Julang 2 (SLBM)	Tested/Development	8,000 km/ 700 kg

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BM inventories in the region South Korea

ATACMS	Operational	165 km/560 kg
HK-1	Operational	180 km/500 kg
NHK-2	Operational	260 km/450 kg
ATACMS Block 1A	To Be Delivered 4/2004	300 km/560 kg

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BM inventories in the region Taiwan

System	Status	Range/Payload
Ching Feng	Operational	130 km/270 kg
Tien Chi	Development	300 km/500 kg

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Historical facts of MD (related to Japan)

- 1969 ABM
- 1972 ABM Treaty
- 1983 SDI
- 1993 Preliminary research and investigation
- 1998 North Korea's multi-staged ballistic missile test across Japan
- 1998 Joint technical research of NTWD
- 2002 US decides to deploy MD

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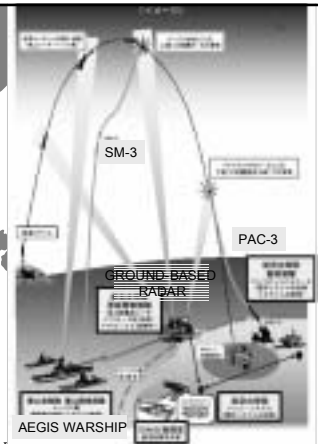
Japan & US Plan for MD Deployment (related to Japan)

- 2004 Sep. Deployment of MD in the Sea of Japan (US)
- 2005 Conduct Joint-Anti-Missile exercise
- 2007 Deployment of SM-3 & PAC-3 (Japan)

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Image of Japan's Missile Defense

*Already started
to deploy, but.....
still in R&D*



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PAC-3 Cover only 40km

*Where does Japan want to cover
with PAC-3 ?*

• : 40km in diameter

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Aegis Destroyer

Cost US\$1.1 billion



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Introduction of MD System

- SM-3
- PAC-3 and upgrade PAC-2
- Upgrade Aegis Warship
- Joint-R&D: for next stage
 Already spent \$140 million
- Total expenditure :
 Not less than \$6.5 billion

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Japanese justification for the introduction of MD

- Counter intimidation - WMD armed ballistic missiles as a means for political coercion
- Protect U.S. forces in Japan
- Possibility of accidental and unauthorized launches

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Japanese justification for the introduction of MD

- Conventionally armed ballistic missile
- Reduce surrounding countries' incentive to increase missiles
- Deepen mutual exchange of defense technologies between US and Japan

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Questions from Gov. side

They say "All are able to come over..."

- Spark arms race
- Destabilize U.S.-Russia, U.S.-China mutual deterrence
- Possibly used for defense of Taiwan
- Violate MTCR

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Response of surrounding states to Japan Missile Defense program

- China strongly opposes
- North Korea strongly opposes
- South Korea no comment
- Taiwan
- Other Asian Countries strongly opposes

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In order to introduce MD,
Japan has to get over allergy to war.

- Criticism from outside and inside Japan
- Peace Constitution, Article 9
 - Collective self-defense
- Ban on Arms Export policy
 - Nose cone

These are big hurdles !

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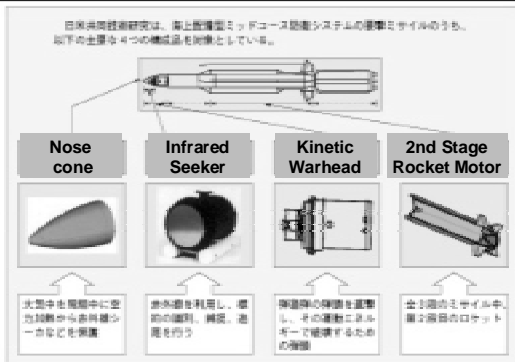
Peace Constitution, Article 9

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Collective Self-Defense, NO!

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Outline of Joint-R&D



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Ban on Arms Export policy

- As a country professing peace, arms exports prohibited
- Machinery as well as facilities producing weapons treated as weapons

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Is Japan really a peaceful nation ?

- Huge Military Budget
 - US\$42.6billion(FY2002)
 - 4th (4.4% of global total) largest military budget in the world
- Huge Military Industries
 - 10 Japanese corporations among world's top 100 arms producers
 - Share of total arms sales, 4.7%(4th) Mitsubishi Heavy Industry, 12th

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Is Japan really a peaceful nation ?

Defense Agency is considering...

- Commencing Joint-R&D of ABL
- Giving the SDF the capability to attack enemy bases and obtain light aircraft carrier.
- Acquiring Tomahawk with 2000km range

All violate Article 9!!

What is the worst case scenario ?

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Is Japan really a peaceful nation ?

Nippon Keidanren- Japanese Business Federation- calls for review of restrictions regarding arms exports as well as principle of the peaceful use of outer space.

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How to stop MD development

- Call for
 - Criticism from inside and outside Japan
- Defend
 - Peace Constitution, Article 9
 - Ban on Arms Export policy

We must not forget the lessons learned from history

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Destroy Missiles

***Not by
Missile Defense,***

***But by
Disarmament!***

***Work together
for peace***



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