

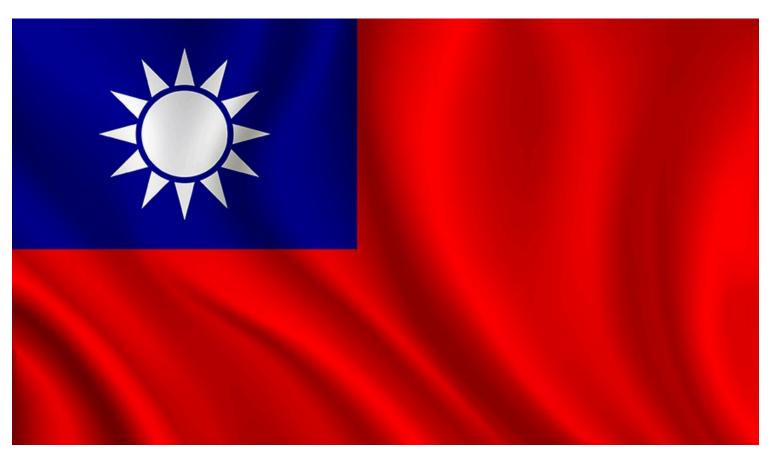
INTERNATIONAL

JUST IN: Lack of U.S. Participation in Taiwan Military Exercise a Concern, Experts Say

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By Sabina Lum

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Taiwan's largest military exercise recently launched its biggest iteration yet, but it still lacks crucial U.S. participation, experts said.

The 41st annual exercise, called Han Kuang, began July 9 and kicked off 10 days of live fire drills incorporating some 22,000 reservists, making it one of the longest and largest in Taiwan's history.

The exercise, a simulated response to Chinese aggression, has a different theme every year. This year's is a 2027 scenario where a gray zone activity elevates into a military conflict, said Riley Walters, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.

The gray zone theme reflects the ever-evolving threat of Chinese provocation in the region, Walters said during a panel hosted by the Hudson Institute July 11. "Taiwan, Philippines, Japan — many of these countries today are currently facing the threat of Chinese non-military action against their territories, whether it's through their coast guard or maritime militia."

Bryan Clark, senior fellow and director of the Center for Defense Concepts and Technology at the Hudson Institute, said grading Han Kuang's success means "looking to see if there's really an effort to deal with the ramp-up to conflict — are they doing a realistic effort to deal with the likely escalation of presence and the escalation of activity pre-invasion?"

However, part of its success could also hinge on U.S. participation, which is lacking, the panel discussed. The United States' absence from Han Kuang not only limits its effectiveness, but also incurs heavy costs in the event of an actual invasion scenario, they said.

Mark Montgomery, senior fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, noted that the exercise is not

bilateral.

"As a result, it's not developing the bilateral skills that are absolutely necessary," he said. "If we went to war, the Taiwanese and American forces would be de-conflicted at best, instead of the next level of coordinated or integrated or unified."

Support from the United States during an invasion would likely include a combination of an inundation of uncrewed systems on the battlefield, known as Project Hellscape, and long-range fires coming from U.S. bombers or submarines to take out amphibious ships, both of which would help drive down potential casualties, Clark explained.

"A lot of analysis shows that if you can coordinate that correctly, the long-range fires and the Hellscape work ... enough to keep China from succeeding in that first invasion attempt. But if it's a mess because it's not well coordinated, then China might just be able to get enough troops ashore to succeed," he added.

The absence of these crucial rehearsals could mean a return to a "world where we have strike fighters flying over the very contested airspace over Taiwan in an effort to try to stop the invasion," Clark said. "We lose a lot of pilots, we probably lose carriers, we lose destroyers in the process. Being able to do the fight in a way that manages casualties is going to require us to exercise with the Taiwanese — and that's a part of the calculus that hasn't really clicked on the U.S. side."

Brent Sadler, a senior research fellow at the Heritage Foundation, attributed the inconsistency in U.S.-Taiwan policy, despite apparent bipartisan support for Taiwan's defense, to domestic considerations. "Each politician has got their own constituent to think about," he said, and there's "not enough political sentiment at the constituent level to really drive this."

This year's Han Kuang exercise has the potential to make American participation in future years more likely, Sadler said. The exercise has "morphed to take on a regional messaging as well, and an important one here to Americans: that Taiwan's people are willing to stand up and defend themselves if they are attacked by mainland China," he said. This would help counter what Sadler called a "very caustic, unhelpful narrative" that the Taiwanese people are not willing to defend themselves, "and that's why we shouldn't spend any money."

While the experts agreed that Han Kuang is shaping up to be a success, the benefits of bilateral training against a Chinese invasion remain unrealized.

"We can only do that if we start to do these exercises together, and build the command and control and communications interoperability between the two countries," Clark said.

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