Will South Korea and Japan develop nuclear weapons because of North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons?

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"Now, when your weapons are dulled, your ardor damped, your strength exhausted and your treasure spent, other chieftains will spring up to take advantage of your extremity. Then no man, however wise, will be able to avert the consequences that must ensue."

-Sun Tzu-The Art of War

### I. INTRODUCTION:

North Korea has been a communist country since 1948 and was first led by the dictator Kim II Sung and now currently by his son Kim Jong II. North Korea is a "communist dictatorship, behaves like a communist state, enforces totalitarian controls at home with total disregard for human rights, prone to belligerence in its conduct of foreign policy, and shows little respect for the rules of international behavior...(Dujarric 2001, 468)." North Korea has the world's fifth largest army and has been proliferating and testing nuclear weapons for several years without the approval of the United Nations. South Korea, Japan, and the United States are very concerned about North Korea's development of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction.

North Korea's nuclear weapon problems started with the 1993 North Korean Nuclear Crisis when North Korea threatened South Korea, Japan, and the United States; 1995 submarine incident; 1998 ballistic missile launch over Japan; suspected underground activity at Kumchangri; 2002 nuclear weapons manufacturing and removing nuclear inspectors from its country and withdrawing from the Nuclear Proliferation Program; fired three anti-ship missiles into the Sea of Japan; and threatened to demonstrate their nuclear weapons and export them to other countries (Ayson et al 2003). North Korea's 2002 violation of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty was the basis for the 2003 Six Party Talks which included North Korea, United States, South Korea, Japan, China, and Russia. However, North Korea violated the Six Party Talks Agreement by continuing proliferating nuclear weapons. North Korea may have enough plutonium for six nuclear weapons and possesses defensive nuclear weapons and intends to

increase their arsenal and detonated approximately a one kiloton nuclear weapon for testing purposes in October 2006 (Nikitin 2007). In July 2009, North Korea test fired seven missiles towards Japan in order to send a warning message to the United States that North Korea will continue to conduct nuclear weapons testing (New York Times 2009).

North Korea's economy has been in an economic depression for many years. A large portion of North Korea's Gross National Product is allocated towards its military. Hundreds of thousands of North Korean citizens are either refugees or displaced persons in their own country, while "millions have died of starvation and disease (Scobell 2005, p. v)." North Korea's military possesses approximately one million personnel, 600 scud missiles, hundreds of medium range ballistic missiles, and chemical and biological weapons (Ayson et al 2003, p. 271). However, the North Korean military is outdated, obsolete, and deteriorating, to include having low morale.

North Korea's leader Kim Jong II has exhibited aggressive and violent behavior towards other countries. Kim Jong II is said to have planned the 1983 Rangoon and the 1987 South Korean Airlines bombings (Mullins 2001). Kim Jong II is an unstable person who possesses six personality disorders and is control of a large army and nuclear weapons. Kim Jong II's personality disorders are in rank order; sadistic, paranoid, antisocial, narcissistic, schizoid, and Schizotypal (Coolidge and Segal 2009). These are the same disorders Adolf Hitler and Saddam Hussein possessed (Coolidge and Segal 2009). Kim Jong II's disorders and defense mechanisms most likely affect his decision making abilities. Kim Jong II was educated in China and Sun Tzu's military strategy and philosophy (Mullins 2001). Sun Tzu's military strategy is to "know your enemy and yourself; avoid all passive and inflexible methods; preserve your own forces; annihilate your enemy; emphasize constant movement; act secretly, change and deception; war

is situational; carefully consider the existing circumstance; excellent intelligence is crucial; the nature of war is ceaseless change; look to the enemies weakness; leaders must be cool headed, brave, and wise (Mullins 2001, p. 185)." Kim Jong II would like to reunite North and South Korea on peaceful terms into one country with two states (Mullins 2001). However, is Kim Jong II acting deceptively and secretly as he was taught in Sun Tzu's military strategy regarding a peaceful reunification? Regardless, North Korea's idea of reuniting with South Korea is a concern for South Korea, Japan, and the United States because the three democratic countries have had a disparaging historical past with North Korea.

North Korea appears to be developing nuclear weapons to defend itself from invaders and as a bargaining chip. If North Korea has the ability to destroy Seoul, attack Japan and United States bases in Japan and South Korea, it will continue to have the ability to negotiate internationally (Dujarric 2001). North Korean nuclear weapons are seen as a deterrent to war for North Korea and the United States (Lee 2007). DIA Director Maples stated North Korea is attempting to improve its nuclear weapons program to defend itself against nations that are technically advanced militarily (Geo-Strategy Direct 2009). Analysts suggest North Korea tested their nuclear weapons to negotiate bilateral talks with the United States and to improve the country's defense for a possible attack from the United States (Chanlett-Avery and Squassoni 2006).

Sun Tzu's Art of War proverb "Now, when your weapons are dulled, your ardor damped, your strength exhausted and your treasure spent, other chieftains will spring up to take advantage of your extremity. Then no man, however wise, will be able to avert the consequences that must ensue. " This verse describes North Korea's current state; poorly trained and equipped army and economically poor. Because Kim Jong II and most likely his top military

advisor's are indoctrinated with Sun Tzu's military principles, they most likely believe the only way to prevent other countries ("chieftains") from attacking North Korea is to possess nuclear weapons and to show the world they are not afraid to use them. North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons is prompting other Asian countries in developing defensive weapons to include nuclear weapons. North Korea's continued violation of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty is inducing Asian countries to arm themselves with nuclear weapons as a self defense against North Korea (Kwon 2006). If the United States and China is unable to persuade North Korea from developing it nuclear weapons arsenal, military confrontation or a nuclear arms race may develop (Wu 2006).

How will Asian countries respond to North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons? More specifically, will South Korea and Japan develop nuclear weapons because of North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons? It is important to study this case because a nuclear arms race and possibly a nuclear war in Asia will affect the United States militarily and economically. The United States Army presence in South Korea has been on the decline since the 1990s. If the United States separates itself and its nuclear defense from East Asia, Kim Jong II would most likely forcefully retake South Korea (Lee 2007). South Korea and Japan rely on the United States military and its nuclear defenses in the region for defense against North Korean aggression. If the United States removes it military and nuclear defenses, South Korea and Japan would need to develop their own nuclear defenses to continue to deter possible North Korean attack. In order to predict if South Korea and Japan will develop nuclear weapons because of North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons, a literature review must be conducted to determine if there is any indication both country would so do.

#### II. LITERATURE REVIEW:

### **Mullins 2001:**

Kim Jong II and his military advisors were indoctrinated into the military strategy and philosophy of China's Sun Tzu and this indoctrination has influenced the way they think strategically (Mullins 2001, p. 182). Historically, Asian military strategy is the use of indirect attacks. Kim Jong II's former mentor Hwang Jang Yap stated "North Korean preparation for war exceeds our imagination (Mullins 2001, p. 189)." North Korean Analysts located in Seoul infer Kim Jong II is willing to attack and take South Korea if he feels North Korea's communist regime is threatened (Mullins 2001, p. 190). Kim Jong II continued to allocated at least 25% of North Korea's Gross National Product even though the country's economic conditions were bleak. North Korea started its economic decline in the late 1960s partly because the government shifted resources for developing the economy and to developing the military and attempting to shift its agricultural workforce into industrial jobs without the required knowledge and training (Mullins 2001, p. 191-92). China, South Korea, Japan, and the United Nations have been giving North Korea tons of grain for its starving population. North Korea's failing infrastructure could cause the regime to fall by military coupe or civil war.

Kim Jong II's primary goal is to reunite North and South Korea, which he created a "10 point policy" to unify both countries as one country with two states (Mullins 2001, p. 198). Kim Jung II stated a peace treaty between the United States and his country is imperative and a nonaggression agreement with North and South Korea should be implemented. However, North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. North Korea believes nuclear weapons are a deterrent from being attacked by South Korea and the United States and will not give up these weapons and are willing to use them because they believe South Korea and the

United States will use nuclear weapons against them (Mullins 2001, p. 204). Japan and China are concerned about the North Korea's development of nuclear weapons and long range ballistic missiles. South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan does not proliferate Weapons of Mass Destruction because they rely on the United States nuclear and conventional weapons located in the region (Mullins 2001, p. 212). The study is eight years old and several North Korean nuclear testing and military events have occurred since the study. The study sheds light on North Korea's political relationships with the United States, South Korea, Japan, and China and explains Kim Jong Il's ascent to leading North Korea, his decisions, and how he leads his country.

## Manyin and Nikitin 2006:

The United States has given North Korea \$1.2 billion in food and energy assistance since 1995, but stopped providing North Korea aid in 2006 (Manyin and Nikitin 2006). After the 2007 Six Party Talks over North Korea's nuclear weapons, the United States started assisting North Korea with energy assistance. The Six Party Talks included the United States, Japan, China, South Korea, Russia, and North Korea. The 2007 Six Party Talks agreement stated North Korea would be provided oil in return for dismantling its nuclear facilities. However, North Korea did not keep its part of the agreement and announced a space launch in April 2009. Phase II of the Six Party Talks incorporates the dismantling of North Korea's nuclear weapons, which the United States would provide \$575 million in funding. In 2008, the United States gave North Korea millions of tons of food, but the food aid was suspended when North Korea failed to keep their part of the agreement to include economic reforms and corrupted food distribution. In turn, North Korea closed the United States lead non-government organization located in its country. This article is a congressional report detailing United States food and oil assistance to North Korea, to include funding for North Korea's nuclear disarmament. This article shows North

Korea has a propensity for violating formal international agreements, especially with countries which have been giving aid to its country.

# Dujarric 2001:

North Korea is a "communist dictatorship, behaves like a communist state, enforces totalitarian controls at home with total disregard for human rights, prone to belligerence in its conduct of foreign policy, and shows little respect for the rules of international behavior...(Dujarric 2001, p. 468)." Nations need to understand North Korea views politics as war and places no value in international relations or its' own people (Dujarric 2001, p. 469). North Korea is the weakest nation in its region which consists of South Korea and Japan. South Korea and Japan are the major national actors tied to North Korea. South Korea is the primary national actor linked to North Korea because of its close proximity, is vulnerable to North Korea's nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction. A North and South reunification would strain South Korea's infrastructure. South Korea has two primary objectives; "avoid war and prevent a sudden collapse of the North, which would result in immediate pressures for unification (Dujarric 2001, p. 472). South Korea is also attempting to persuade North Korea to rid itself of the communist ideology and become a democratic country. However, North Korea is entrenched in the communist belief since the 1940s and foreign investor interest in North Korea is not appealing. Japan ruled the Korean peninsula from 1905 until 1945 after defeating Russia. Japan still has a stake in Korea because a war in Korea would spill over into Japan (Dujarric 2001, p. 473).

North Korea possesses ballistic missiles with nuclear, chemical, and biological warheads that can reach the entire Japanese nation (Dujarric 2001, p. 473). South Korea and Japan is improving their relationship through the South Korean leadership and the Japanese and South

Korea civilian and military officials. Japan wants continued United States presence in the region because the United States would deter a unified Korea from attacking Japan. North Korea has threatened Japan several times by test firing ballistic missile directly at Japan. Japan's primary goal is to have diplomatic relations with North Korea and to support South Korea's Sunshine policy. Japan's purpose to having good relations with North and South Korea is to prevent a possible reprisal from a unified Korea if North and South Korea reunite (Dujarric 2001, p. 475).

### Chanlett and Nikitin 2008:

A strong consensus indicates Japan will not pursue nuclear weapons in the short and medium future. After World War II, Japan and the United States agreed to the "anti-nuclear weapons policy" of 1952 "Mutual Security Assistance Pact" and the 1960 "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty." These two policies gives the United States the right to base their military in Japan in exchange for the United States to protect the security of Japan which includes the United States "nuclear umbrella" (Chanlett and Nikitin 2008, p. 2). Japan's domestic law of 1955 "Atomic Energy Basic Law" only allows nuclear activities for "peaceful purposes." Japan's 1967 "Three Non-Nuclear Principles" prevents Japan from possessing, producing, and allowing nuclear weapons to be in Japan. Japan ratified the 1976 "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)" which made Japan a "non-nuclear weapons state." Japan has been a determined NPT supporter because the country was the victim of two atomic attacks; Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

China and North Korea nuclear developments have challenged Japan's stance on proliferation of nuclear weapons. Japan secretly studied the effects of developing a nuclear arsenal when China tested a nuclear weapon in 1964 and when the "1994 North Korean nuclear crisis occurred." North Korea's ballistic missile tests in 1998 and 2006 also prompted Japanese

officials to debate on proliferating nuclear weapons. The United States presence in the Pacific was instituted because of the Soviet threat. Because the cold war and the Soviet regime have ended, the United States presence in the region has Japanese officials believing their county is more vulnerable to attack from North Korea and China. Japan sees the real danger is China because of China's nuclear weapons and military modernization. Some analysts indicate if Japan possessed nuclear weapons this would induce South Korea, China, Taiwan, India, and Pakistan to develop or increase their nuclear arsenal, but would create stabilization in the region just like the Cold War. Japanese analysts believe a unified Korea with a nuclear weapon arsenal is more of a threat than North Korea and its nuclear arsenal, partly because Koreans are still angry with Japan's abusive occupation of the Korean peninsula. A unified Korea would make Japan reconsider its nuclear stance (Chanlett and Nikitin 2008, p. 12). Japan's proliferation of nuclear weapons could be problematic in their relationship with the United States. Japan's conservative approach to security has changed by publicly advocating nuclear weapons, deploying their military to the Middle East. Defense Agency is now a Ministry, and co-developing a missile defense with the United States. This is a qualitative report intended for the United States The data was collection from professional journals, books, and newspapers. Congress.

#### Arabia 2000 2009:

In July 2009, Japan and the United States agreed to continue to have periodic talks regarding the United States providing Japan's security with nuclear weapons. The agreement validates the United States commitment in protecting Japan from nuclear attack from North Korea. In May 2009, North Korea's nuclear testing made Japan very concerned for its safety, which lead to the July agreement between Japan and the United States. The Six Party Talks have ceased since December 2008 because Pyongyang's nuclear activities cannot be verified. Japan

and United States officials agreed to review the United States presence in Japan. Japan's strong stance against nuclear weapons is contradictory to it request to be defended by United States nuclear weapons. This reference is a newspaper article and is only reporting the events between Japan and the United States.

## **Background Notes on Countries of the World: South Korea 2008:**

The United States agreed to defend South Korea by signing the 1953 US-ROK Mutual Defense Treaty. The United States military presence includes numerous army and air force installations in South Korea. The United States and South Korea formed the "Combined Forces Command" (CFC) in 1978. The United States reduced its military personnel by 12,500 in 2008. However, the United States committed \$11 billion to the CFC to improve military facilities and defense capabilities. South Korea is a major United States trading partner and is major trade and investment opportunity for the United States. In February 2006, the United States and South Korea signed the "US-ROK Free Trade Agreement." This reference is an information article which collected data from newspapers and government sources.

## East-Asia-Intel Reports 2008:

In October 2008, the United States promised to provide South Korea military and nuclear support in case North Korea attacks South Korea. This promise was the result of the "Security Consultative Meeting" between the United States and South Korea. "The United States Defense Secretary Robert Gates assured South Korean Defense Minister Lee Sang-Hee of firm United States commitment and immediate support toward South Korea, including continuation of the extended deterrence offered by the United States nuclear umbrella, consistent with the ROK-US Mutual Defense Treaty (East-Asia-Intel Reports 2008, p. 10)." United States military support would be "690,000 troops, 160 naval vessels, and more than 2,000 warplanes." The United

States re-commitment came after North Korea tested ballistics missiles off the coast of the Korean peninsula and conducted an exercise near the Chinese border with a fighter aircraft. The United States, South Korea, and China are holding a "trilateral security dialogue." This reference is a newspaper article and is only reporting the events between South Korea and the United States.

### Arabia 2000 2009:

In June 2009, the United States reaffirmed it will provide South Korea with a "United States nuclear umbrella" as a continued deterrence against North Korean attack. The reaffirmation came after North Korea's underground nuclear detonation the previous month. The commitment came from United States President Barack Obama who met with South Korean President Lee Myung Bak in Seoul for the first ever summit meeting to reaffirm the United States commitment to protect South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella." This reference is a newspaper article and is only reporting the events between South Korea and the United States.

### Kwon 2006:

North Korea's nuclear weapons program is a threat to Asia and the United States (Kwon 2006). A survey was conducted in Hawaii regarding American public opinion in North Korea's nuclear weapons program (Kwon 2006). The survey concluded most Americans believe North Korea is developing nuclear weapons to "enhance their national prestige and for self defense purposes (Kwon 2006, p. 61)." The CIA claims North Korean nuclear weapons can reach Alaska and Hawaii (Kwon 2006). North Korea's nuclear weapon test in October 2006 occurred while being a participant in the Six Party Talks. The United Nations Security Council imposed sanctions on North Korea and demanded North Korea to participate in the Six Party Talks. North Korea's continued violation of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty is inducing Asian

countries to arm themselves with nuclear weapons as a self defense against North Korea. The article used quantitative research methods to test the hypothesis. The survey questionnaire used a five point scale. There were 505 participants in the survey, which was about four percent of the Hawaiian population. The research did not provide a large enough sample of the entire United States population to exhibit a 95% confidence level.

## **Atson and Taylor 2003:**

The United States will not initiate an attack on North Korea because United States is currently funding two war fronts in Afghanistan and Iraq; the conflict may involve weapons of mass destruction to include nuclear and chemical weapons and North Korea deliberately attacking Japan and destroying Seoul; the conflict may hinder economic trade with the United States and Asian countries such as China; and the Bush Administration is inclined to use diplomatic reasoning as the primary strategy in denuclearizing North Korea (Atson and Taylor 2003). North Korea has threatened the Korean peninsula, Japan, and the United States with the 1993 North Korean Nuclear Crisis; 1996 submarine incident; 1998 ballistic missile launch over Japan; suspected underground activity at Kumchangri; 2002 nuclear weapons manufacturing and removing nuclear inspectors from its country and withdrawing from the Nuclear Proliferation Program; fired three anti-ship missiles into the Sea of Japan; and threatened to demonstrate their nuclear weapons and export them to other countries (Ayson and Taylor 2003, p. 268). The United States military is unrivaled regarding "strength, training, technology, innovation, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (Ayson and Taylor 2003, p. 271)."

The United States military overcame the Yugoslavian military, Taliban, and the Iraq military within months after the conflicts began. North Korea's military possesses approximately one million personnel, 600 scud missiles, hundreds of medium range ballistic

missiles, and chemical and biological weapons (Ayson and Taylor 2003, p. 271). However, the North Korea military is outdated, obsolete, and deteriorating, to include having a low moral. There are views Kim Jong II is developing nuclear weapons to use as a deterrence against threat and aggression from the United States and to use as a negotiating tool. China and Russia's relationship with North Korea has weakened and has strengthened with South Korea and the United States since the end of the Cold War (Ayson and Taylor 2003). This article appears to come from qualitative research with data taken from news articles, books, and journals. This article attempts to explain why North Korea wants to develop nuclear weapons and how it is affecting the region.

#### Lee 2007:

North Korea possesses a small tactical nuclear weapons inventory, possibly only seven (Lee 2007, p. 438). These tactical weapons would only instill limited damage on United States installations in South Korea. The United States possesses a large capable defensive nuclear weapons system which has the capability of ending Kim Jong II's government (Lee 2007). North Korean nuclear weapons are seen as a deterrent for South Korea and the United States, but they increase the threat of a pre-emptive attack for both sides (Lee 2007). If the United States separates itself and its nuclear defense from East Asia, Kim Jong II would most likely forcefully retake South Korea (Lee 2007). North Korea's nuclear weapons will not force South Korea or Japan to proliferate nuclear weapons to defend themselves in the immediate future because of the United States superior defensive nuclear weapons capabilities in the region that protects both countries; Japan has jointly developed a missile defense system with the United States to fend off North Korean nuclear missiles; South Korea is pursing an independent missile defense system; Japan's strong stance against proliferating nuclear weapons; and South Korea and Japan believe

diplomacy is still a possibility in disarming North Korea (Lee 2007, p. 442-43). North Korean nuclear attack in major populated and economic areas in South Korea and Japan would devastate both countries financial stability (Lee 2007, p. 446). This study appears to be a qualitative analysis with data collected from news articles, journals, and books. The study failed to show a comparison table of North Korean and United States nuclear weapons arsenal and capabilities, army logistics and strength, and Gross National Product. The comparison would have revealed North Korea does not have the financial ability to sustain a short term war and does have the military strength to defeat the United States. North Korea must be aware of their weakness and may be relying on China as an armed ally.

### III. ACTORS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS:

### North Korea:

North Korea's official name is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and it is a homogeneous communist state lead by a dictator named Kim Jong II. North Korea became independent from Japan on August 15, 1945 and became a communist state on September 9, 1948. Its legal system comes from the Prussian law system, communist theory, with Japanese influence. North Korea does not have a United States diplomatic representative. The country possessed a closed and poor economy. North Korea's economic infrastructure is in despair because the government shifted a large amount of its resources to fund its military. North Korea's population has been experiencing countrywide starvation since the 1990s. Most of the food comes from South Korea and China. The United States gave North Korea 500,000 tons of food in 2008. North Korea's 2008 Gross National Product was approximately \$40 billions, \$1,800.00 per capita. South Korea and China are North Korea's primary export partners. North Korea's military consists of an "army, air force, navy, ground forces, and civil security force (CIA World Factbook North Korea)."

In 1905, Japan took the entire Korean peninsula from Russia during the Russo-Japanese War. After World War II, the Soviets took control of the northern half of the Korean peninsula. North Korea failed to retake South Korea during the Korean War (1950-1953). After the war, North Korean founder Kim II Song was North Korea's first leader. North Korea (DPRK) "demonized the US as the ultimate threat to its social system through state-funded propaganda, and molded political, economic, and military policies around the core ideological objective of eventual unification of Korea under Pyongyang's control (CIA World Factbook North Korea)." Kim Jong II became North Korea's leader after his father Kim II Song died in 1994. North

Korea started receiving international aid to feed its citizens during the 1990s. North Korea also has a history of proliferating weapons of mass destruction to include nuclear devices and missile development.

Kim Jong II reportedly runs North Korea's nuclear program. Reports indicate 3,000 scientists work in the nuclear program who studied the technology in the Soviet Union and China. "Most of North Korea's plutonium based nuclear installations are located at Yongbyon, 60 miles from Pyongyang (Niksch 2006, p. 7)." North Korea started an atomic reactor in 1987 that annually produced six kilogram of plutonium. United States intelligence believes North Korea shutdown this reactor for 70 days in 1989, to turn the fuel rods into plutonium for making nuclear weapons. In 1994, North Korea shutdown the reactor again to turn 8,000 fuel rods into plutonium, which is enough to make four to six nuclear weapons. North Korea has shut down the reactor several times after 1994. In 1998, North Korea developed a missile that could reach South Korea, Japan, Guam, Alaska, and the Northern Marianas. In 2000, North Korean missiles could reach Hawaii and the United States west coast.

In 1985, North Korea signed the "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)." In 1991, North and South Korea agreed to "not possess nuclear weapons, not to possess plutonium reprocessing or uranium enrichment facilities, and to negotiate a mutual nuclear inspection system (Niksch 2006, p. 12)" In 1992, North Korea signed the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) agreement. Late 1992, IAEA inspectors found more plutonium than North Korea reported and requested two inspections at a concealed site in Yongbyon. North Korea refused and threatened to withdraw from the NPT. This led to the United States-North Korea 1994 Agreed Framework. The agreement provided North Korea "nuclear, energy, economic, and diplomatic benefits" if North Korea halted its nuclear program.

North Korea's perception regarding nuclear weapons is to possess these weapons as a deterrent and as a defense against foreign threats and to use the weapons as a political bargaining tool. North Korea's large dilapidated army together with the country's poor economic situation will not allow their military to sustain or win a war. There are views Kim Jong II is developing nuclear weapons to use as a deterrence against threat and aggression from the United States and to use as a negotiating tool (Ayson and Taylor 2003, p. 271). Kim Jong II's primary goal is to reunite North and South Korea, which he created a "10 point policy" to unify both countries as one country with two states (Mullins 2001, p. 198). Kim Jung II stated a peace treaty between the United States and his country is imperative and a nonaggression agreement with North and South Korea should be implemented. However, North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. North Korea believes nuclear weapons are a deterrent from being attacked by South Korea and the United States and will not give up these weapons and is willing to use them because they believe South Korea and the United States will use nuclear weapons against them (Mullins 2001, p. 204).

#### **South Korea:**

South Korea's official name is the Republic of Korea (ROK). South Korea became an independent state after World War II. The United States helped South Korea fight against the North Koreans during the Korean War (1950 to 1953). The Korean War ended when North and South Korea signed the armistice in 1953, which created the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel Demilitarized Zone. South Korea is a democratic country with a legal system comprising of European civil laws, United States laws, and classical Chinese philosophy (CIA World Factbook South Korea). The South Korean President is Lee Myung-bak. The country has diplomatic relations with the United States. South Korea's military consists of an army, navy, marines, and air force.

The United States and South Korea have been military allies since the Korean War. The United States and South Korean military alliance is being restructured to include removing and relocating United States military personnel from South Korea and shutdown the unified command and establish separate US and ROK commands (Niksch 2008, p. 1). South Korea signed the "1954 Mutual Defense Treaty" with the United States. The treaty requires the United States to defend South Korea from aggression and South Korea must grant the United States to base their military in South Korea. The unified command was establish to serve as a deterrent to North Korea. Since 1991, the unified command has focused it defenses against North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons. The United States and South Korea are also economic allies. The United States and South Korea signed a "Free Trade Agreement" in 2007 and trade approximately \$80 billion a year. South Korea is a member of the Six Party Talks and has been giving food aid to North Korea.

South Korean President Kim Dae-jung created the "Sunshine Policy" to seek "reconciliation, cooperation, and the establishment of peace with North Korea (Niksch 2008, p. 13). The principles behind the policy are "economic and humanitarian aid to North Korea, the promotion of economic relations with North Korea." This policy has enabled families who have been separated since the Korean split, to have reunions. The policy has also opened up North Korea to South Korean businesses such as tourism and manufacturing with Hyundai. Hyundai has opened a mountain tour at Mount Kumgang, North Korea. There have been over one million South Korean tourists who have visited the mountain tour. Roads and railways have connected North and South Korea, with the first train crossing the DMZ in 2007. Lastly, Hyundai set up a manufacturing plant in Kaesong, North Korea and is employing over 24,000 North Koreans. The South Korean President stated he wanted to institute the "3000 Policy" to help North

Koreans raise their annual earnings and continue the Mount Kumgang and Kaesong projects, but he will base his decisions on the progress North Koreans are making with the nuclear issue, among other economic factors. The South Korean President also stated future economic support of North Korea will be linked to North Korea's nuclear proliferation and has communicated for a "complete dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear programs and weapons (Niksch 2008, p. 15).

On March 28, 2008, the South Korean Joint Chief of Staff Chairman stated "the South Korean military had contingencies for a strike against North Korean nuclear installations, if the South Korean government concluded that North Korea was in the process of launching nuclear weapons against South Korea (Niksch 2008, p. 15)." The South Korean Unification Minister stated Kaesong industrial area may not continue until North Korea rescinds it nuclear program. The South Korean President stated if North Korea does not dismantle their nuclear program, he will advocate against North Korea's human rights violations, North Korea kidnapping South Korean fisherman, and North Korea still imprisoning South Korean soldiers from the Korea War. North Korea reacted to these statements by deporting South Korean officials from the Kaesong industrial area, test fired missiles into the Yellow Sea, and threatened South Korea.

South Korea's perception of North Korea possessing nuclear weapons appears to be a great concern because South Korea knows North Korea's primary goal is to reunify the north with the south into one country and will use the weapons to accomplish the task. North Korea has proven to the world they have been developing nuclear and weapons of mass destruction since the early 1990s and has detonated nuclear devices and test fired ballistic missiles numerous times. North Korea has violated the Non-Nuclear Proliferation Treaty, Six Party Talks, and the 1994 Agreed Talks since the 1990s. South Korea appears to perceive North Korea as an aggressive country that could inflict grave damage to its country, citizens, infrastructure, and

economy. However, South Korea also sees the north as its brother because they are the same race with the same culture, tradition, and families. South Korea wants North Korea to prosper and has been trying to help the north using the "Sunshine Policy" and the programs in Kaesong and Mount Kumgang. South Korea understands in order to reunify with North Korea, North Korea needs to be economically stable, to include its infrastructure, but South Korea wants to remain a democratic country if reunified, which appears to be a major barrier to the reunification.

## Japan:

Japan is a democratic country with a parliamentary government and a constitutional monarchy. Japan's legal system is modeled after the German law system, with United States influence. Japan is mostly a homogeneous society. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Japan became a power in Asia. Japan defeated Russia and China in the early 1900s and was able to colonize the Korean peninsula after the Japan-Russia War. Japan subsequently occupied Taiwan and Manchuria. In 1941, Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor which forced the United States to enter World War II. After Japan was defeated by the United States and signed the peace treaty, Japan became a strong ally with the United States and has become a worldwide economic power. Japan's military consists of a ground defense, navy, and an air force.

China and North Korea nuclear developments have challenged Japan's stance on proliferation of nuclear weapons. Japan secretly studied the effects of developing a nuclear arsenal when China tested a nuclear weapon in 1964 and when the "1994 North Korean nuclear crisis occurred." North Korea's ballistic missile tests in 1998 and 2006 also prompted Japanese officials to debate on proliferating nuclear weapons. The United States presence in the Pacific was instituted because of the Soviet threat. Because the cold war and the Soviet regime has ended, the United States presence in the region has Japan official believing their county is more

vulnerable to attack from North Korea and China. Japan sees the real danger is China because of China's nuclear weapons and military modernization. Some analysts indicate if Japan possessed nuclear weapons this would induce South Korea, China, Taiwan, India, and Pakistan to develop or increase their nuclear arsenal, but would create stabilization in the region just like the Cold War. Japanese analysts believe a unified Korea with a nuclear weapon arsenal is more of a threat than North Korea and its nuclear arsenal, partly because Koreans are still angry with Japan's abusive occupation of the Korean peninsula. A unified Korea would make Japan reconsider its nuclear stance (Chanlett and Nikitin 2008, p. 12). Japan's proliferation of nuclear weapons could be problematic in their relationship with the United States. Japan's conservative approach to security has changed by publicly advocating nuclear weapons, deploying their military to the Middle East. Defense Agency is now a Ministry, and co-developing a missile defense with the United States.

Japan does not have sufficient natural resources and must rely on imports, which explains why Japan is the world's third largest consumer of nuclear energy. Electricity from nuclear energy makes up 35% of the total electricity in Japan. Japan is hoping to create nuclear reactors with a "closed fuel cycle." This will enable Japan to reprocess their own "spent fuel" instead of paying other countries. The byproduct of nuclear reactors is plutonium, the material to make nuclear weapons. As of 2008, Japan has 5.9 million tons of plutonium in their country and 37.9 million tons storage outside their country. Japan's plutonium inventory can make approximately 1,000 nuclear weapons. Japan does not currently have the capacity to make nuclear weapons because the country does not have the expertise to do so. However, Japan possesses extensive nuclear technology and is co-developing a defense missile program with the United States.

A strong consensus indicates Japan will not pursue nuclear weapons in the short and

medium future. Japan and the United States agreed to the "anti-nuclear weapons policy" 1952 "Mutual Security Assistance Pact" and the 1960 "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty." These two policies gives the United States the right to base their military in Japan in exchange for the United States to protect the security of Japan which includes the United States "nuclear umbrella" (Chanlett and Nikitin 2008, p. 2). Japan's domestic law of 1955 "Atomic Energy Basic Law" only allows nuclear activities for "peaceful purposes." Japan's 1967 "Three Non-Nuclear Principles" prevents Japan from possessing, producing, and allowing nuclear weapons to be in Japan. Japan ratified the 1976 "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)" which made Japan a "non-nuclear weapons state." Japan has been a determined NPT supporter because the country was the victim of two atomic attacks; Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Japan's perception of North Korea possessing nuclear weapons is of great concern, especially because North Korea has several times test fired missiles towards Japan, to include the firing in 2009. Japan's history of occupying the Korean peninsula has not helped diplomatic efforts with North Korea. Japan committed numerous human rights abuses during their occupation of the Korean peninsula. Koreans still exhibit emotions and memories of the abuse which fuel anger and resentment toward Japan.

### **United States:**

The United States' perspective of North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons is related to economics, politics, and military defense. The United States has been a strong ally militarily with South Korea and Japan for several decades and has developed a strong political and economical relationship with both countries. The United States wants to become a strong economic presence in Asia. North Korea's aggression is dampening trade and political relations in the region. North Korea has the nuclear weapon capability to disrupt South Korea and Japan's

infrastructure. The United States has renewed its commitment to defend South Korea and Japan with its nuclear umbrella and military force. In order for the region to continue trade and commerce under democratic governance, the region must remain stable and free from communist dictatorship. The United States is currently using diplomatic tactics in North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons. The United States is a member of the Six Party Talks and has agreed to help North Korea dismantle their nuclear weapons in exchange for oil.

### IV. RESEARCH DESIGN:

## **Lockwood Analytical Method for Prediction (LAMP):**

This study will use the Lockwood Analytical Method for Prediction (LAMP) for predictive analysis. LAMP is a qualitative research method which uses "pairwise comparison" to analyze the relative probability of alternative futures. The LAMP assumes future possible outcomes results from "free will." The LAMP method allows an analysis for each prediction based on the national actor's perspective. LAMP incorporates twelve steps in the process. The steps are (Lockwood and O'Brien Lockwood 1993, p. 27-28):

- (1) "Determine the issue for which you are trying to predict the most likely future."
- (2) "Specify the national actors involved."
- (3) "Perform a in-depth study of how each national actor perceives the issue in question."
- (4) "Specify all possible courses of action for each actor."
- (5) "Determine the major scenarios within which you will compare the alternative futures."
- (6) "Calculate the total number of permutations of possible alternative futures for each scenario."
- (7) "Perform a pairwise comparison of all the alternative futures to determine their relative probability."
- (8) "Rank the alternative futures for each scenario from the highest relative probability to the lowest based on the number of votes received."
- (9) "Assuming that each future occurs, analyze each alternative future in terms of its consequences for the issue in question."
- (10) "State the potential of a given alternative future to transpose into another alternative future."
- (11) "Determine the focal events that must occur in our present in order to bring about a given alternative future."
- (12) "Develop indicators for the focal events."

The LAMP method incorporates the identification of national actors who are stakeholders in the predictive analysis. Historical research is conducted to include current events for each national actor and any history between each national actor. This allows the study to analyze each national actor perception to the subject being predicted. Because the LAMP method incorporates the literature review and the perceptions of the national actors, major scenarios can be developed and compared with several alternative futures. This allows the researcher to analyze many

scenarios (hypotheses) and alternative futures instead of focusing on one possible scenario. The LAMP method's general formula to calculate the possible alternative futures for each scenario is " $\mathbf{X}^{\mathbf{y}} = \mathbf{Z}$ ." The letter "X" equals the number of alternative futures for each national actor and the letter "y" equals the number of national actors. The letter "Z" equals the sum of alternative futures the study will analyze and compare. The LAMP method analyzes the alternative futures using a "pairwise comparison" to rank each alternative future "relative probability" using the following formula: " $\mathbf{X} = (\mathbf{n} - \mathbf{1}) + (\mathbf{n} - \mathbf{2}) + (\mathbf{n} - \mathbf{3}) + \dots + (\mathbf{n} - \mathbf{n})$ ." The letter "X" equals to the number of "pairwise comparisons." The letter "n" equals to the number of alternative futures analyzed. Each alternative future is voted on during the "pairwise comparison."

The "pairwise comparisons" are qualitative in nature and is based on the literature review and the perceptions of the national actors. The alternative futures are then ranked after the votes are tallied. After the alternative futures have been ranked, the major alternative futures (highest ranking) for each scenario are to be analyzed. During the analysis of the alternative futures, the likelihood of a "transposition" of one alternative future affecting another alternative future is examined. After the analysis of the alternative futures, "focal points" which must occur in order for an alternative future to be realized, will also be examined. The alternative futures with the least "focal points" are the most likely futures to occur because less incidents or events are needed to change the future. After the "focal points" have been identified, the last step in the LAMP method is to develop a list of "indicators" for each "focal point." The development of indicators is the traditional intelligence technique called "Indication and Warning." Indicators are actions (behavior, laws, incidents, etc) that suggests a "focal point" has or is about to occur. The LAMP method allows researchers to come back to their original conclusions to conduct another "pairwise comparison" after "focal points" have been realized or new information has

been found.

The LAMP method was used for this study because it would be too costly and time consuming and possibly impossible for this researcher to conduct a quantitative analysis method or even a mixed research method because these methods require data collection from political and military experts from national actors. These methods collect data from questionnaires and focus groups. In order for the findings to be valid and reliable, the population sample must be at least a 95% confidence level.

The study was able to collect enough qualitative research to predict the most likely alternative future(s) and information for each national actor. The research was collected from the American Military University Online Library and the CIA World Factbook website. The research included the United States Congressional Research Service Reports, Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, Journal of International Affairs, Comparative Strategy, East-Asia Intel Reports, Non-Proliferation Review, Korean Journal of Defense Analysis, Australian Journal of International Affairs, East Asia: An International Quarterly, New York Times, Arabia 2000, Background Notes of Countries of the World, and Geo-Strategy Direct.

The limitation of the LAMP Method is the method cannot analyze a large number of actors and alternative futures, it does not use quantitative analysis during the "pairwise comparison," and does not allow ambiguity during the "pairwise comparison" (Lockwood and O'Brien Lockwood 1993, p. 91-92). The LAMP method can analyze a large number of actors and alternative futures if software existed to handle the enormous information. However, this study did not have access to such software. The LAMP method is a structured analytical tool which helps lessen the occurrence of mental fallacies which can corrupt research and ultimately,

classify conclusions as invalid and unreliable. The LAMP method institutes the analysis of numerous scenarios and alternative futures instead of focusing on one or two possible outcomes. The seven mental fallacies that greatly affect our ability to analyze are emotions, mental shortcuts, patterns, biases, need for explanations, focusing, and clinging to untrue beliefs (Jones 1998, p. 13-44). The researcher was aware of the mental fallacies during the study and attempted to reduce any bias or mindset by not disregarding any research, scenario, or alternative future without reviewing the literature review or national actor perspective.

#### V. CASE FINDINGS:

## Possible Courses of Action for each National Actor:

The four national actors in this study are North Korea, South Korea, Japan, and the United States. North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons directly affects future military decisions for South Korea, Japan, and the United States. A research analysis was conducted to estimate each national actor's perception of North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons. The following are three possible course of action this study analyzed for South Korea, Japan, and the United States with regards to North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons.

- 1. Develop nuclear weapons in the region. In order to maintain the balance of power in the region and to deter North Korea from using nuclear weapons, South Korea and Japan will develop defensive short to medium range nuclear ballistic missiles and use them to target strategic points in North Korea.
- 2. Use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle their nuclear weapons program. The three national actors will use diplomatic efforts such as economic aid and development of trade, commerce, and infrastructure to help North Korea recover from its poor economy. An improvement in North Korea's national economy will help the government realize the need for nuclear weapons is unwarranted. The significant increase in North Korea's Gross National Product (GNP) will fund its financial and economic investments and improve its conventional military.
- 3. The continuance of the "nuclear umbrella" provided by the United States. South Korea and Japan will continue to allow the United States to defend both countries from North Korea. The agreement states the United States will use its nuclear weapons and conventional military to defend both countries for the right to base the United States military in both countries.

## **Major Scenarios:**

The possible courses of action for South Korea, Japan, and the United States are determined by North Korea's possible courses of action. North Korea's possible courses of action are called scenarios. The following are two courses of actions (scenarios) North Korea can make regarding proliferation of nuclear weapons.

- 1. Continue proliferating nuclear weapons. North Korea will continue to develop ballistic missiles to house nuclear warheads and increase their nuclear arsenal. This scenario will force South Korea and Japan to consider developing nuclear weapons, as well as other Asian countries in the region. Japan is already co-developing a defense missile program with the United States as a deterrent to North Korea. However, the "nuclear umbrella" provided by the United States will delay any nuclear weapons development by South Korea and Japan.
- 2. Dismantle the nuclear weapons program. North Korea will dismantle their nuclear weapons program and allowing IAEA Inspectors to supervisor the process. This will bring stability and a more peaceful environment to the region. Diplomatic relationships between North Korea and the three national actors will improve and as will North Korea's economy.

#### **Possible Alternative Futures:**

The LAMP method's equation to determine the number of alternative futures is  $X^y=Z$ . The letter "X" is equal to number of courses of action for each national actor. The letter "y" equals to the number of national actors. The letter "Z" equals to the total alternative futures. For this study there are three courses of action for each national actor and three national actors. The total alternative futures for this study is  $27 (3^3=27)$  for each of the two North Korean scenarios. The total alternative futures that were analyzed for this study was 54 (27+27). North Korea was not included in the calculation because this country is being accounted for in the scenarios.

## **Pairwise Comparison:**

For each scenario there was a "pairwise comparison" for each of the possible 27 alternative futures. There were 351 votes for each scenario. The equation used to determine the total number of votes is "X=(n-1)+(n-2)+(n-3)+.....+(n-n)." The equation is 351=(27-1)+(26-1)+(25-1)+(24-1)+(23-1)+(22-1)+(21-1)+(20-1).....+(2-1). A table was created for each scenario and its possible alternative futures. The following acronyms are used to identify the national actor's three courses of actions: DNW for develop nuclear weapons in the region; UDS for use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle their nuclear weapons program; and CNU for the continuance of the "nuclear umbrella" provided by the United States. The following acronyms are used to identify North Korea's two scenarios: PN for continue to proliferate nuclear weapons and DN for dismantle the nuclear weapons program. The following two tables reveal the voting results and the ranking of the alternative futures for each scenario.

Scenario 1: Continue to Proliferate Nuclear Weapons (PN)						
Possible Future #	South Korea	Japan	<b>United States</b>	Votes		
19	CNU	CNU	UDS	25		
16	UDS	CNU	CNU	25		
27	CNU	UDS	CNU	24		
15	UDS	UDS	CNU	24		
9	CNU	CNU	CNU	22		
18	UDS	CNU	UDS	20		
17	CNU	UDS	UDS	20		
8	UDS	UDS	UDS	18		
6	UDS	DNW	UDS	15		
26	DNW	CNU	DNW	14		
24	CNU	DNW	UDS	14		
11	CNU	DNW	DNW	12		
10	CNU	CNU	DNW	12		
4	UDS	DNW	DNW	12		
3	DNW	UDS	UDS	12		
13	CNU	DNW	CNU	11		
21	DNW	CNU	UDS	10		
7	UDS	UDS	DNW	10		
2	DNW	DNW	UDS	10		
5	DNW	UDS	DNW	9		
25	CNU	UDS	DNW	7		
22	UDS	CNU	DNW	7		
12	DNW	CNU	CNU	7		
23	UDS	DNW	CNU	6		
20	DNW	UDS	CNU	5		
14	DNW	DNW	CNU	0		
1	DNW	DNW	DNW	0		

- 1. DNW=Develop nuclear weapons in the region
- 2. UDS=Use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle their nuclear weapons.3. CNU=Continuance of the "nuclear umbrella" provided by the United States.

Scenario 2: Dismantle the nuclear weapons program (DN).						
Possible Future #	South Korea	Japan	<b>United States</b>	Votes		
19	CNU	CNU	UDS	26		
15	UDS	UDS	CNU	25		
18	UDS	CNU	UDS	24		
17	CNU	UDS	UDS	23		
16	UDS	CNU	CNU	22		
27	CNU	UDS	CNU	21		
8	UDS	UDS	UDS	20		
20	DNW	UDS	CNU	20		
9	CNU	CNU	CNU	19		
3	DNW	UDS	UDS	15		
10	CNU	CNU	DNW	14		
12	DNW	CNU	CNU	14		
22	UDS	CNU	DNW	14		
7	UDS	UDS	DNW	12		
25	CNU	UDS	DNW	12		
21	DNW	CNU	UDS	11		
6	UDS	DNW	UDS	9		
2	DNW	DNW	UDS	8		
24	CNU	DNW	UDS	8		
26	DNW	CNU	DNW	7		
4	UDS	DNW	DNW	6		
11	CNU	DNW	DNW	6		
23	UDS	DNW	CNU	6		
13	CNU	DNW	CNU	5		
5	DNW	UDS	DNW	3		
14	DNW	DNW	CNU	1		
1	DNW	DNW	DNW	0		
			Total	351		

- 1. DNW=Develop nuclear weapons in the region.
- 2. UDS=Use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle their nuclear weapons.
- 3. CNU=Continuance of the "nuclear umbrella" provided by the United States.

A review of both tables reveals alternative future 19 was ranked number one for both scenarios. Alternative future 19 is the United States will use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle their nuclear weapons, while South Korea and Japan will continue to be defended by the "nuclear umbrella" provided by the United States. Alternative futures 15 and 16 were also ranked in the top five for both scenarios. The top five ranked alternative futures in both scenarios did not include developing nuclear weapons as a course of action.

## **Alternative Future Analysis for each Scenario:**

# Scenario 1: Continue proliferating nuclear weapons:

North Korea will continue to develop and test ballistic missiles to house nuclear warheads and increase their nuclear arsenal. North Korea will increase its nuclear arsenal and will continue to make plutonium. North Korea will continue to violate the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and prevent the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from inspecting its nuclear facilities. South Korea and Japan will consider developing nuclear weapons, as well as other Asian countries in the region. Japan will co-develop a defense missile program with the United States as a deterrent to North Korea and re-consider their stance against nuclear weapons. Japan's nuclear technology is advanced and has the ability to produce nuclear weapons in the near future. South Korea has changed the United States-ROK Unified Command into two separate commands. However, the "nuclear umbrella" provided by the United States will delay any nuclear weapons development by South Korea and Japan. The "nuclear umbrella" is financed by the United States, which saves South Korea and Japan a large amount of money in nuclear weapons development.

The analysis of Scenario 1, which North Korea will continue proliferating nuclear weapons resulted in five possible alternative futures which scored more than 20 votes. The alternative futures were numbers 19, 16, 27, 15, and 9. Alternative futures 19 and 16 both received 25 votes, alternative futures 27 and 15 both received 24 votes, and alternative future 9 received 22 votes. All of the top five alternative futures did not include developing nuclear weapons as a course of action. This study described and analyzed the top five ranked alternative futures for Scenario 1. The analysis was conducted to uncover the consequences and likelihood of the possible alternative futures.

## Alternative Future 19:

This alternative future is South Korea and Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continues to use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program. The "nuclear umbrella" will deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. The umbrella has been in place since 1954 for South Korea and 1960 for Japan. The "nuclear umbrella" will be financed by the United States, which saves South Korea and Japan a large amount of money in nuclear weapons development. South Korea and Japan will continue to be members of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Japan will reconsider their anti-nuclear weapons domestic laws. North Korea will refuse to develop a diplomatic relationship with Japan because of the human rights violations Japan committed during its occupation of the Korean peninsula.

North Korea will not trust the United States because they believe the United States is planning to attack and occupy their country. North Korea will perceive the proliferation of nuclear weapons by South Korea and Japan, as an act of aggression and will cause North Korea to break-off diplomatic relations with the United States because of the United States alliance with South Korea and Japan. The proliferation of nuclear weapons by South Korea and Japan will also aggravate China and other Asian countries in the region, not to mention the United Nations and the United States. South Korea and Japan will continue to use the "nuclear umbrella" and will keep diplomatic relations strong with the United States and regional countries.

North Korea's continued proliferation of nuclear weapons and test firing missiles have exhausted diplomatic relations with the Six Party Talks nations, most particularly with South Korea, Japan, and the United States. Because diplomatic relations failed, Japan and the United

States developed and mobilized Japan's missile defense system. South Korea will also develop and mobilize their missile defense system. North Korea will consider the missile defense system as an act of aggression and will threaten South Korea and Japan with missile firings together with threatening propaganda. North Korea will terminate South Korea's "Sunshine Policy" and deport all South Korean economic and business experts from the country. North Korea will stop South Korean tourists from entering the country to prevent the possibility of South Korean spies from entering the country. North Korea's perception that the United States wants to attack and take over its country, will be realized. North Korea will take steps to close of their society and mobilize their military to counter South Korea and Japan's missile defense system. North Korea will step up the nuclear weapons program and allocate more GNP towards defense.

The United Nations will impose more economic sanctions on North Korea because of North Korea's increased nuclear weapons production and aggressive acts such as test firing missiles towards South Korea and Japan. The region's political climate will become hostile because of North Korea's heightened military readiness and aggressive behavior. This will cause North Korea's import and export revenue with South Korea, Japan, and other countries to decline, which will hamper North Korea's already poor economy. The Untied States will increase their military presence in South Korea and Japan by increasing ground troops, fighter aircraft, tanks, and missiles to deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. North Korea will attempt to involve China as a military ally. Historically, China fought alongside North Korea during the Korean War. China will not mobilize troops into North Korea, but will increase their readiness because of the tension in the region. The United States will increase diplomatic talks with China to prevent China from entering possible hostilities and to ask China to assist with diplomatic talks with North Korea.

## Alternative Future 16:

This alternative future is South Korea using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program, Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continue to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella." The "nuclear umbrella" will deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. The umbrella has been in place since 1954 for South Korea and 1960 for Japan. The "nuclear umbrella" will be financed by the United States, which saves South Korea and Japan a large amount of money in nuclear weapons development. South Korea and Japan will continue to be members of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. South Korea will continue the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing. The "Sunshine Policy" established North Korea's mountain tour at Mount Kumgang, Hyundai manufacturing plant in Kaesong which employees 24,000 North Koreans, and a railway that crosses the DMZ. South Korea will implement an economic plan to help North Korea. The plan is called the "3000 Policy." South Korea stated the policy and future economic aid to North Korea will depend on North Korea's decision on dismantling their nuclear weapons. North Korea will continue to refuse to develop a diplomatic relationship with Japan because of the human rights violations Japan committed during its occupation of the Korean peninsula.

North Korea will not trust the United States because they believe the United States is planning to attack and occupy their country and North Korea believes the United States does not respect their country. South Korea is most likely the country to help encourage North Korea to dismantle their nuclear weapons program because both countries see each other as brothers. Both countries possess the same race, culture, tradition, language, and families which is useful

for diplomatic relations and trust. Both countries want to unify depending on terms. South Korea would unify if it remains a democratic country and if North Korea dismantles it nuclear weapons program. South Korea believes North Korea must be strong economically in order for the unification to take place. The United States will take a second seat to the diplomatic process and take the role of providing financial aid for the dismantling of North Korea's nuclear weapons program once North Korea agrees to shut down the program.

South Korea is the key to this future. South Korea will take the lead in diplomatic relations and will increase its diplomatic efforts with North Korea by using economic aid. South Korea will continue the "Sunshine Policy" and implement the "3000 Policy" to help North Korea develop their economic infrastructure. North Korea will see an improvement in their economy, GNP, and their citizen's quality of life. The installation of business and commerce will open North Korea borders for future visitors and investors. North Korea will remain a communist government, but will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy, similar to China. North Korea is aware diplomatic relations with China will decline if they change to a democratic society. This would be North Korea's dilemma because South Korea has stated they would reunite with North Korea if North Korea was economically viable and a democratic country. This is also North Korea's ultimate goal. Because North Korea's GNP is improved, North Korea will be able to upgrade its defense into a modern force and will not see a need to develop nuclear weapons. North Korea will reinitiate the Six Party Talks Agreement to either remove their nuclear weapons or keep a limited amount they have in inventory.

## Alternative Future 27:

This alternative future is South Korea will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," Japan will use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to

dismantled its nuclear weapons program, while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella." The "nuclear umbrella" will be used to deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. The umbrella has been in place since 1954 for South Korea and 1960 for Japan. The "nuclear umbrella" will be financed by the United States, which saves South Korea and Japan a large amount of money in nuclear weapons development. South Korea and Japan will continue to be members of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Japan will reconsider their anti-nuclear weapons domestic laws. South Korea will continue to establish the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing. The "Sunshine Policy" helped establish North Korea's mountain tour at Mount Kumgang, Hyundai manufacturing plant in Kaesong which employees 24,000 North Koreans, and a railway that crosses the DMZ. South Korea will consider implementing an economic plan called the "3000 Policy." South Korea stated the policy and future economic aid to North Korea will depend on North Korea's decision on dismantling their nuclear weapons.

Japan will attempt to develop a diplomatic strategy to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. The history between North Korea and Japan is poor. Japan committed many human rights abuses while occupying the Korean peninsula from 1905 to 1945. North Korea and South Korea are still angry to this day. Japan has apologized to South Korea and has diplomatic relations with South Korea. However, North Korea has refused to communicate with Japan. Japan's inability to establish a diplomatic relationship with North Korea makes this alternative future questionable.

Japan is the critical factor for this alternative future to occur. This is an important factor because North Korea understands Japan and South Korea are allies. In order for this future to

occur, Japan and South Korea must have good relations with North Korea. Japan will need to set aside their emotions in order to establish a relationship with North Korea. Japan will need to publicly offer an official policy to North Korea and pay reparations for its human rights abuses it committed during its occupancy of the Korean Peninsula. North Korea would also have to make a public apology to Japan for kidnapping Japanese citizens and return the kidnapped victims. Once these apologies occur and reparations paid, diplomatic relations will be established. Not only will South Korea provide economic aid to North Korea, Japan will provide economic expertise to stimulate North Korea's economy. North Korea will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy; open its borders to visitors and investors; and will see the need for nuclear weapons as unsupported because increased revenues will allow North Korea to modernize its military.

North Korea will remain a communist government, but will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy, similar to China. North Korea is aware diplomatic relations with China will decline if they change to a democratic society. This would be North Korea's dilemma because South Korea has stated they would reunite with North Korea if North Korea was economically viable and a democratic country. This is also North Korea's ultimate goal. Because North Korea's GNP is improved, North Korea will be able to upgrade its defense into a modern force and will not see a need to develop nuclear weapons. North Korea will reinitiate the Six Party Talks Agreement to either remove their nuclear weapons or keep a limited amount they have in inventory.

## <u>Alternative Future 15:</u>

This alternative future is South Korea and Japan using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program, while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella. The "nuclear umbrella" will deter

North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. The umbrella has been in place since 1954 for South Korea and 1960 for Japan. The "nuclear umbrella" will be financed by the United States, which saves South Korea and Japan a large amount of money in nuclear weapons development. South Korea and Japan will continue to be members of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Japan will reconsider anti-nuclear weapons domestic laws. South Korea will use the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing. South Korea will use the economic plan called the "3000 Policy." South Korea stated the policy and future economic aid to North Korea will depend on North Korea's decision on dismantling their nuclear weapons.

Japan's will need to establish a diplomatic relationship with North Korea before trying to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. The history between North Korea and Japan is poor. Japan committed many human rights abuses while occupying the Korean peninsula from 1905 to 1945. North Korea and South Korea are still angry to this day. Japan has apologized to South Korea and has diplomatic relations with South Korea. However, North Korea has refused to communicate with Japan. North Korea would only communicate with South Korea because South Korea has been providing economic stimulus to North Korea and South Korea is seen as trusting because both countries come from the same race, culture, tradition, language, and history.

Japan is the critical factor for this alternative future to occur. This is an important factor because North Korea understands Japan and South Korea are allies. In order for this future to occur, Japan and South Korea must have good relations with North Korea. Japan will need to set aside their emotions in order to establish a relationship with North Korea. Japan will need to publicly offer an official policy to North Korea and pay reparations for its human rights abuses it

committed during its occupancy of the Korean Peninsula. North Korea would also have to make a public apology to Japan for kidnapping Japanese citizens and return the kidnapped victims. Once these apologies occur and reparations paid, diplomatic relations will be established. Not only will South Korea provide economic aid to North Korea, Japan will provide economic expertise to stimulate North Korea's economy. North Korea will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy; open its borders to visitors and investors; and will see the need for nuclear weapons as unsupported because increased revenues will allow North Korea to modernize its military.

North Korea will remain a communist government, but will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy, similar to China. North Korea is aware diplomatic relations with China will decline if they change to a democratic society. This would be North Korea's dilemma because South Korea has stated they would reunite with North Korea if North Korea was economically viable and a democratic country. This is also North Korea's ultimate goal. Because North Korea's GNP is improved, North Korea will be able to upgrade its defense into a modern force and will not see a need to develop nuclear weapons. North Korea will reinitiate the Six Party Talks Agreement to either remove their nuclear weapons or keep a limited amount they have in inventory.

## Alternative Future 9:

This alternative future is South Korea and Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella. As stated in the previous four alternative futures, the "nuclear umbrella" will deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. The umbrella has been in place since 1954 for South Korea and 1960 for Japan. The "nuclear umbrella" will be financed by the United States, which saves South Korea and Japan a large amount of money in

nuclear weapons development. South Korea and Japan will continue to be members of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Japan will reconsider anti-nuclear weapons domestic laws. This alternative future dictates none of the national actors will use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. This non-action will provoke North Korea into being more aggressive because North Korea will perceive the non-communication as a sign of a future preemptive strike or a convention attack by the United States and South Korea. North Korea will increase its nuclear arsenal and move more troops to the DMZ. North Korea will also take the non-communication as disrespect.

Because diplomatic relations failed, Japan and the United States developed and mobilized Japan's missile defense system. South Korea will also develop and mobilize their missile defense system. North Korea will consider the missile defense system as an act of aggression and will threaten South Korea and Japan with missile firings together with threatening propaganda. North Korea will terminate South Korea's "Sunshine Policy" and deport all South Korean economic and business experts from the country. North Korea will stop South Korean tourists from entering the country to prevent the possibility of South Korean spies from entering the country. North Korea's perception that the United States wants to attack and take over its country, will be realized. North Korea will take steps to close of their society and mobilize their military to counter South Korea and Japan's missile defense system. North Korea will step up the nuclear weapons program and allocate more GNP towards defense.

The United Nations will impose more economic sanctions on North Korea because of North Korea's increased nuclear weapons production and aggressive acts such as test firing missiles towards South Korea and Japan. The region's political climate will become hostile because of North Korea's heightened military readiness and aggressive behavior. This will cause

North Korea's import and export revenue with South Korea, Japan, and other countries to decline, which will hamper North Korea's already poor economy. The Untied States will increase their military presence in South Korea and Japan by increasing ground troops, fighter aircraft, tanks, and missiles to deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. North Korea will attempt to involve China as a military ally. Historically, China fought alongside North Korea during the Korean War. China will not mobilize troops into North Korea, but will increase their readiness because of the tension in the region. The United States will increase diplomatic talks with China to prevent China from entering possible hostilities and to ask China to assist with diplomatic talks with North Korea.

## **Scenario 2: Dismantle the nuclear weapons program:**

North Korea will dismantle their nuclear weapons program and allow United Nation Inspectors to supervisor the process. This will bring stability and a more peaceful environment to the region. Diplomatic relationships between North Korea and the three national actors will improve and North Korea's economy. Currently, South Korea has been assisting North Korea economically through the "Sunshine Policy." South Korea helped North Korea open a tourist spot at Mount Kumgang, Hyundai manufacturing plant in Kaesong which employees 24,000 North Koreans, and a railway that crosses the DMZ. South Korea will implement an economic plan called the "3000 Policy." South Korea has publicly stated the "3000 Policy" and further economic aid will only be instituted when North Korea dismantles its nuclear weapons program. North Korea reacted negatively to the disarming demands by deporting South Korean workers from the industrial area and firing missiles into the Yellow Sea. North Korea has already experienced a positive economic effect because the mountain tour has brought in millions of South Korea tourists and income for 24,000 North Koreans working in the Kaesong industrial

area. The revenue from these businesses can be used by the North Korea government to invest in the countries infrastructure. Because of the positive economic effect from the "Sunshine Policy," North Korea will want South Korea to institute the "3000 Policy" economic aid, which will raise annual earnings in North Korea. North Korean leaders may pass on "3000 Policy" because of the nuclear weapons stipulation. However, improved economic opportunities will relax their position. Instituting capitalistic enterprises into North Korea will likely cause its citizens to question the communist ideology and may bring about debate and demonstrations. North Korea may remain a communist country, but allow capitalistic enterprises to flourish, as China has been doing for several years.

The analysis of Scenario 2, which North Korea dismantles their nuclear weapons resulted in five possible alternative futures which scored more than 21 votes. The alternative futures were numbers 19, 15, 18, 17, and 16. Alternative future 19 received 26 votes, alternative future 15 received 25 votes, alternative future 18 received 24 votes, alternative future 17 received 23 votes, and alternative future 16 received 22 votes. All of the top five alternative futures did not include developing nuclear weapons as a course of action. This study described and analyzed the top five ranked alternative futures for Scenario 2. The analysis was conducted to uncover the consequences and likelihood of the possible alternative futures. The analyses for alternative futures 19, 15, and 16 for scenario two is similar to scenario one, with some variances.

## Alternative Future 19:

This alternative future is South Korea and Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continues to use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program. The "nuclear umbrella" will deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. The "nuclear umbrella" will be

financed by the United States, which saves South Korea and Japan a large amount of money in nuclear weapons development. South Korea and Japan will continue to be members of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. South Korea and Japan's will continue to use the "nuclear umbrella" to keep diplomatic relations strong with the United States and regional countries, lessen the likelihood of North Korea from using its nuclear weapons, and allowing the United States to continue working the diplomatic lines.

Continuing to use the "nuclear umbrella" is a choice South Korea and Japan will make as a safeguard against North Korea changes its decision to dismantle their nuclear arsenal. The United States would agree to the continuance of the "nuclear umbrella." The United States will involve South Korea into its diplomatic strategy to help North Korea dismantle their nuclear weapons program and invite the rest of the Six Party Talks countries to develop a financial plan to stimulate the North Korean economy. The United States will allow South Korea to be the primary diplomatic leader because South and North Korea are very familiar with each other and South Korea has already developed and has instituted economic plans in North Korea.

South Korea will continue the "Sunshine Policy" and implement the "3000 Policy" to help North Korea develop their economic infrastructure. North Korea will see an improvement in their economy, GNP, and their citizen's quality of life. The installation of business and commerce will open North Korea borders for future visitors and investors. North Korea will remain a communist government, but will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy, similar to China. North Korea is aware diplomatic relations with China will decline if they change to a democratic society. This would be North Korea's dilemma because South Korea has stated they would reunite with North Korea if North Korea was economically viable and a democratic country. This is also North Korea's ultimate goal. Because North Korea's GNP is improved,

North Korea will be able to upgrade its defense into a modern force and will not see a need to develop nuclear weapons. North Korea will reinitiate the Six Party Talks Agreement to destroy their nuclear weapons and discontinue the nuclear weapons program.

## Alternative Future 15:

This alternative future is South Korea and Japan using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program, while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella. As stated in Alternative Future 19, the "nuclear umbrella" will deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. The umbrella has been in place since 1954 for South Korea and 1960 for Japan. The "nuclear umbrella" will be financed by the United States, which saves South Korea and Japan a large amount of money in nuclear weapons development. South Korea and Japan continue to be members of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. South Korea will continue the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing. South Korea will implement an economic plan called the "3000 Policy." South Korea stated the policy and future economic aid to North Korea will depend on North Korea's decision on dismantling their nuclear weapons. Japan will need to establish a diplomatic relationship with North Korea before trying to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. The history between North Korea and Japan is poor. Japan committed many human rights abuses while occupying the Korean peninsula from 1905 to 1945. North Korea and South Korea are still angry to this day. Japan has apologized to South Korea and has diplomatic relations with South Korea. However, North Korea has refused to communicate with Japan. North Korea would only communicate with South Korea because South Korea has been providing economic stimulus to North Korea and South Korea is seen as trusting because both countries come from

the same race, culture, tradition, language, and history. Japan will take the first step by paying reparations and making a formal apology to North Korea in order to start a diplomatic relationship with North Korea. Japan will apologize to North Korea and compensate North Korea for all the damages it inflicted on North Korea and its citizens during the occupation. North Korea will return Japanese citizens it kidnapped from Japan and also apologize to Japan for these kidnappings. Japan's new relationship with North Korea will allow Japan to be included in South Korea's diplomatic strategy.

The United States will continue the "nuclear umbrella" to defend South Korea and Japan as a safeguard against North Korea changing its decision to dismantle their nuclear weapons program. South Korea will take the lead in diplomatic relations with North Korea because both countries are very familiar with each other and South Korea has already developed and has instituted economic plans in North Korea. The United States will also take a secondary role in the diplomatic plans, but will be highly involved with the strategic development. The United States will finance a large portion of North Korea's nuclear weapons disarmament, just as it was agreed on in Phase II of the Six Party Talks.

South Korea will continue the "Sunshine Policy" and implement the "3000 Policy" to help North Korea develop their economic infrastructure. North Korea will see an improvement in their economy, GNP, and their citizen's quality of life. The installation of business and commerce will open North Korea borders for future visitors and investors. North Korea will remain a communist government, but will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy, similar to China. North Korea is aware diplomatic relations with China will decline if they change to a democratic society. This would be North Korea's dilemma because South Korea has stated they would reunite with North Korea if North Korea was economically viable and a democratic

country. This is also North Korea's ultimate goal. Because North Korea's GNP is improved, North Korea will be able to upgrade its defense into a modern force and will not see a need to develop nuclear weapons. North Korea will reinitiate the Six Party Talks Agreement to destroy their nuclear weapons and discontinue the nuclear weapons program.

## Alternative Future 18:

This alternative future is South Korea and the United States using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program, while Japan continues to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella." This alternative future is very similar to Alternative Future 15 and 16, in that South Korea takes the primary role in working with North Korea to develop diplomatic relations. South Korea decides not to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella" as a sign they trust North Korea. Japan will continue to be protected by the "nuclear umbrella" during the diplomatic stage. North Korea has refused to develop a diplomatic relationship with Japan because of the human rights violations Japan committed during its occupation of the Korean peninsula. Japan will take the first step by paying reparations and making a formal apology to North Korea in order to start a diplomatic relationship with North Korea. Japan will apologize to North Korea and compensate North Korea for all the damages it inflicted on North Korea and its citizens during the occupation. North Korea will return Japanese citizens it kidnapped from Japan and also apologize to Japan for these kidnappings. Japan's new relationship with North Korea will allow Japan to be included in South Korea's diplomatic strategy.

The United States will also take a secondary role in the diplomatic plans, but will be highly involved with the strategic development. The United States will finance a large portion of North Korea's nuclear weapons disarmament, just as it was agreed on in Phase II of the Six Party

Talks.

South Korea will continue the "Sunshine Policy" and implement the "3000 Policy" to help North Korea develop their economic infrastructure. North Korea will see an improvement in their economy, GNP, and their citizen's quality of life. The installation of business and commerce will open North Korea borders for future visitors and investors. North Korea will remain a communist government, but will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy, similar to China. North Korea is aware diplomatic relations with China will decline if they change to a democratic society. This would be North Korea's dilemma because South Korea has stated they would reunite with North Korea if North Korea was economically viable and a democratic country. This is also North Korea's ultimate goal. Because North Korea's GNP is improved, North Korea will be able to upgrade its defense into a modern force and will not see a need to develop nuclear weapons. North Korea will reinitiate the Six Party Talks Agreement to destroy their nuclear weapons and discontinue the nuclear weapons program. Once North Korea implements the dismantling of their nuclear weapons program and allows IAEA Inspectors to supervisor the process, South Korea will increase their economic aid to North Korea under the "Sunshine Policy" and initiate the "3000 Policy."

## Alternative Future 17:

This alternative future is South Korea continues to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella" and Japan and the United States will use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. South Korea will continue to use the "nuclear umbrella" as a safeguard in case North Korea changes its decision to dismantle their nuclear arsenal. The "nuclear umbrella" will deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. The umbrella has been in place since 1954 for South Korea and 1960 for Japan.

North Korea has refused to develop a diplomatic relationship with Japan because of the human rights violations Japan committed during its occupation of the Korean peninsula. Japan will take the first step by paying reparations and making a formal apology to North Korea in order to start a diplomatic relationship with North Korea. Japan will apologize to North Korea and compensate North Korea for all the damages it inflicted on North Korea and its citizens during the occupation. North Korea will return Japanese citizens it kidnapped from Japan and also apologize to Japan for these kidnappings. Japan's new relationship with North Korea will allow Japan to be included in the South Korean and United States' diplomatic strategy.

The United States will allow South Korea to take the lead in diplomatic relations with North Korea because both countries are very familiar with each other and South Korea has already developed and has instituted economic plans in North Korea. The United States will also take a secondary role in the diplomatic plans, but will be highly involved with the strategic development.

South Korea will continue the "Sunshine Policy" and implement the "3000 Policy" to help North Korea develop their economic infrastructure. North Korea will see an improvement in their economy, GNP, and their citizen's quality of life. The installation of business and commerce will open North Korea borders for future visitors and investors. North Korea will remain a communist government, but will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy, similar to China. North Korea is aware diplomatic relations with China will decline if they change to a democratic society. This would be North Korea's dilemma because South Korea has stated they would reunite with North Korea if North Korea was economically viable and a democratic country. This is also North Korea's ultimate goal. Because North Korea's GNP is improved, North Korea will be able to upgrade its defense into a modern force and will not see a need to

develop nuclear weapons.

North Korea will reinitiate the Six Party Talks Agreement to destroy their nuclear weapons and discontinue the nuclear weapons program. Once North Korea implements the dismantling of their nuclear weapons program and allows IAEA Inspectors to supervisor the process, South Korea will increase their economic aid to North Korea under the "Sunshine Policy" and initiate the "3000 Policy." The United States will finance a large portion of North Korea's nuclear weapons disarmament just as it was agreed on in Phase II of the Six Party Talks. Alternative Future 16:

This alternative future is South Korea using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program, Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella." The "nuclear umbrella" will deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. The umbrella has been in place since 1954 for South Korea and 1960 for Japan. The "nuclear umbrella" will financed by the United States, which saves South Korea and Japan a large amount of money in nuclear weapons development. South Korea and Japan will continue to be members of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. South Korea will continue the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing. South Korea will implement an economic plan called the "3000 Policy." South Korea stated the policy and future economic aid to North Korea will depend on North Korea's decision on dismantling their nuclear weapons.

Japan is the critical factor for this alternative future to occur. This is an important factor because North Korea understands Japan and South Korea are allies. In order for this future to occur, Japan and South Korea must have good relations with North Korea. Japan will take the

first step by paying reparations and making a formal apology to North Korea in order to start a diplomatic relationship with North Korea. Japan will apologize to North Korea and compensate North Korea for all the damages it inflicted on North Korea and its citizens during the occupation. North Korea will return Japanese citizens it kidnapped from Japan and also apologize to Japan for these kidnappings. Japan's new relationship with North Korea will allow Japan to be included in the South Korean and United States' diplomatic strategy.

North Korea will not trust the United States because they believe the United States is planning to attack and occupy their country and North Korea believes the United States does not respect their country. South Korea will take the lead role in developing diplomatic relations with North Korea by continuing the "Sunshine Policy" and implement the "3000 Policy" to help North Korea develop their economic infrastructure. North Korea will see an improvement in their economy, GNP, and their citizen's quality of life. The installation of business and commerce will open North Korea borders for future visitors and investors. North Korea will remain a communist government, but will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy, similar to China. North Korea is aware diplomatic relations with China will decline if they change to a democratic society. This would be North Korea's dilemma because South Korea has stated they would reunite with North Korea if North Korea was economically viable and a democratic country. This is also North Korea's ultimate goal. Because North Korea's GNP is improved, North Korea will be able to upgrade its defense into a modern force and will not see a need to develop nuclear weapons. North Korea will reinitiate the Six Party Talks Agreement to destroy their nuclear weapons and discontinue the nuclear weapons program.

# **Alternative Future Transpositions:**

Transposition changes the ranking of alternative futures when a national actor changes its perception and subsequently, its course of action (Lockwood and O'Brien Lockwood 1993). The transposition of one national actor may change the transposition of another national actor, which could create new courses of actions for all national actors. Once a transposition occurs, a reexamination of the "pairwise comparisons" must be conducted again to obtain new rankings for each scenario. The transposition creates a new course of action and will be included in each alternative future for each scenario.

Scenario One, North Korea will continue to develop and test ballistic missiles to house nuclear warheads and increase their nuclear arsenal is most likely the scenario transpositions would occurred among national actors to include North Korea possibly invading South Korea and attacking Japan. This study has identified the United States "nuclear umbrella" as the most important factor in the analyses of the alternative futures in each of the scenarios. The "nuclear umbrella" has been in existence since 1954 to defend South Korea and 1960 to defend Japan from North Korean aggression. The "nuclear umbrella" has deterred North Korea from using nuclear weapons against South Korea and Japan and continues to do so. The most important transposition is if the United States decides to discontinue the "nuclear umbrella" for South Korea and Japan. This course of action would cause South Korea and Japan to change their course of action to possibly develop nuclear weapons to defend themselves from North Korea. South Korea and Japan would then start acquiring nuclear weapon technology from other countries. The discontinuation of the "nuclear umbrella" will change South Korea and Japan's long time perception of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to proliferation of nuclear weapons as a need for survival. Japan currently is one of the world's foremost users of nuclear energy and

possesses advance nuclear technology. Experts say it would not take Japan very long to learn how to develop nuclear weapons. Some of Japan's leaders are already discussing the development of defensive nuclear weapons as a means to protect themselves from North Korea. The US-ROK Unified Command in South Korea is already making moves to split the command into two and the United States has already downsized its military strength in South Korea.

The discontinuation of the "nuclear umbrella" would also change North Korea's course of action. North Korea's perception of invading South Korea and attacking Japan would change from too dangerous to possible. One can argue the discontinuation of the "nuclear umbrella" would change North Korea's perception of the United States wanting to invade their country to the United States not wanting to invade their country. This could cause North Korea to stop further proliferation of nuclear weapons and aggressive behavior towards South Korea and Japan. If this study considered the United States discontinuing the "nuclear umbrella," the study would have incorporated a third scenario with the premise "The United States discontinues the "nuclear umbrella." In this scenario, it is quite possible the top five ranked alternative futures would have included South Korea and Japan developing nuclear weapons as a course of action.

### **Focal Events and their Indicator(s):**

The final steps in this study are focal events and their indicators. A focal event is an occurrence which causes an alternative future to likely occur. "A focal event is an occurrence of sufficient magnetite that it changes the relative probability of the universe of alternative futures. The most likely future would have the fewest focal events leading into it; would be the alternative future offering the line of least resistance. In fact, our present might so closely resemble that alternative future that no focal event need occur (Lockwood and O'Brien Lockwood 1993, p. 55-56)." Indicators are incidents, policies, laws, news, behavior, etc., which demonstrates a focal event "has occurred or is about to occur (Lockwood and O'Brien Lockwood 1993, p. 56)." This study analyzed focal events and their indicators to determine if the top five ranked alternative futures for each scenario is occurring or is about to occur. The analyses of the alternative futures with their respective scenarios reveal the focal events and their indicators are either the same or very similar to other alternative futures in the same scenario. Additionally, the focal events and their indicators for some alternative futures in one scenario are the same in the other scenario because some of the alternatives futures are ranked in the top five for both scenarios.

#### Scenario 1:

Focal events and their indicators are described below for the top five ranked alternative futures for Scenario 1; North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons.

Alternative Future 19, this alternative future is South Korea and Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continues to use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program.

Focal Event: The United States will use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - The United States is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - The United States is providing food and oil aid to North Korea.
  - The United States has offered to help finance the dismantling of North Korea's nuclear weapons.

Focal Event: The United States will continue to use the "nuclear umbrella."

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009.
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

Alternative Future 16, this alternative future is South Korea using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program, Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella."

Focal Event: South Korea will use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - South Korea has established the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing.
  - The "Sunshine Policy" helped establish North Korea's mountain tour at Mount Kumgang, Hyundai manufacturing plant in Kaesong which employees 24,000 North Koreans, and a railway that crosses the DMZ.
  - South Korea is considering the "3000 Policy" economic plan to help North Korea.
  - South Korea is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - South Korea is providing food aid to North Korea.

Focal Event: The United States continue to use the "nuclear umbrella.".

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

Alternative Future 27, this alternative future is South Korea will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," Japan will use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program, while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella."

Focal Event: Japan will attempt to use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - Japan is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - Japan is providing food aid to North Korea.
  - North Korea has refused to communicate with Japan.
  - Japan has apologized to South Korea and has diplomatic relations with South Korea.

Focal Event: The United States will use the "nuclear umbrella."

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009.
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

Alternative Future 15, this alternative future is South Korea and Japan using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program, while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella."

Focal Event: South Korea will use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - South Korea has established the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing.
  - The "Sunshine Policy" helped establish North Korea's mountain tour at Mount Kumgang, Hyundai manufacturing plant in Kaesong which employees 24,000 North Koreans, and a railway that crosses the DMZ.
  - South Korea is considering the "3000 Policy" economic plan to help North Korea.
  - South Korea is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - South Korea is providing food aid to North Korea.

Focal Event: Japan will attempt to use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - Japan is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - Japan is providing food aid to North Korea.
  - North Korea has refused to communicate with Japan.
  - Japan has apologized to South Korea and has diplomatic relations with South Korea.

Focal Event: The United States will use the "nuclear umbrella."

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

Alternative Future 9, this alternative future is South Korea and Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella.

Focal Event: The United States will use the "nuclear umbrella."

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009.
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

#### Scenario 2:

Focal events and their indicators are described below for the top five ranked alternative futures for Scenario 2; North Korea dismantles their nuclear weapons program.

Alternative Future 19, this alternative future is South Korea and Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continues to use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program.

Focal Events: The United States will use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - The United States is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - The United States is providing food and oil aid to North Korea.
  - The United States has offered to help finance the dismantling of North Korea's nuclear weapons.

Focal Event: The United States will use the "nuclear umbrella."

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009.
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

Alternative Future 15, this alternative future is South Korea and Japan using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program, while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella."

Focal Event: South Korea will use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - South Korea has established the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its

economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing.

- The "Sunshine Policy" helped establish North Korea's mountain tour at Mount Kumgang, Hyundai manufacturing plant in Kaesong which employees 24,000 North Koreans, and a railway that crosses the DMZ.
- South Korea is considering the "3000 Policy" economic plan to help North Korea.
- South Korea is a member of the Six Party Talks.
- South Korea is providing food aid to North Korea.
- Focal Event: Japan will attempt to use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.
- Indicators:
  - Japan is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - Japan is providing food aid to North Korea.
  - North Korea has refused to communicate with Japan.
  - Japan committed many human rights abuses while occupying the Korean peninsula from 1905 to 1945.
  - Japan has apologized to South Korea and has diplomatic relations with South Korea.

Focal Event: The United States will use the "nuclear umbrella."

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009.
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

Alternative Future 18, this alternative future is South Korea and the United States using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantles its nuclear weapons program, while Japan continues to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella."

Focal Event: South Korea will use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - South Korea has established the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing.
  - The "Sunshine Policy" helped establish North Korea's mountain tour at Mount Kumgang, Hyundai manufacturing plant in Kaesong which employees 24,000 North Koreans, and a railway that crosses the DMZ.
  - South Korea is considering the "3000 Policy" economic plan to help North Korea.
  - South Korea is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - South Korea is providing food aid to North Korea.

Focal Event: The United States will use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - The United States is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - The United States is providing food and oil aid to North Korea.
  - The United States has offered to help finance the dismantling of North Korea's nuclear weapons.

Focal Event: The United States will use the "nuclear umbrella."

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009.
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

Alternative Future 17, this alternative future is South Korea continues to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella" and Japan and the United States will use diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program.

Focal Event: The United States will use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - The United States is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - The United States is providing food and oil aid to North Korea.
  - The United States has offered to help finance the dismantling of North Korea's nuclear weapons.

Focal Event: Japan will attempt to use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - Japan is a member of the Six Party Talks.
  - Japan is providing food aid to North Korea.
  - North Korea has refused to communicate with Japan.
  - Japan has apologized to South Korea and has diplomatic relations with South Korea.

Focal Event: The United States will use the "nuclear umbrella."

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009.
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

Alternative Future 16, this alternative future is South Korea using diplomatic strategies to encourage North Korea to dismantled its nuclear weapons program, Japan will continue to be protected by the United States "nuclear umbrella," while the United States continues to protect South Korea and Japan with its "nuclear umbrella."

Focal Event: South Korea will use diplomatic strategy with North Korea.

- Indicators:
  - South Korea has established the "Sunshine Policy" to help North Korea improve its economic infrastructure through tourism and manufacturing.
  - The "Sunshine Policy" helped establish North Korea's mountain tour at Mount

Kumgang, Hyundai manufacturing plant in Kaesong which employees 24,000 North Koreans, and a railway that crosses the DMZ.

- South Korea is considering the "3000 Policy" economic plan to help North Korea.
- South Korea is a member of the Six Party Talks.
- South Korea is providing food aid to North Korea.

Focal Event: The United States will use the "nuclear umbrella."

- Indicators:
  - The United States agrees to defend South Korea with the "nuclear umbrella" in June 2009.
  - The United States agrees to defend Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" in July 2009.

## VI. CONCLUSION:

The United States currently possesses a strong diplomatic and economic relationship with South Korea and Japan and is a major stakeholder in the Asian market. The United States, along with South Korea, and Japan want the Asian market to remain strong and viable and want to continue their democratic ideology in the region, which is why the United States will continue to remain a military force in the region even after the fall of the Soviet regime.

The study indicates, as long as the United States continues to provide the "nuclear umbrella" and conventional military forces for South Korea and Japan, North Korea will not attack South Korea or Japan. Therefore, South Korea and Japan will not acquire nuclear weapons because of North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons. South Korea and Japan have agreed to allow the United States to provide protection against North Korea since 1954 and 1960, respectively and continue to be defended by the United States. South Korea and Japan have been strong advocates against proliferation of nuclear weapons. South Korea and Japan have treaties with the United States agreeing to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Japan has domestic laws against proliferation nuclear weapons. If South Korea and Japan start proliferating nuclear weapons, North Korea would take these events as aggressive military action against their country and would increase the military tension between these countries, the United States, China, and other regional countries. Strategically, South Korea and Japan's proliferating nuclear weapons would be a mistake, especially if the United States is providing the "nuclear umbrella."

However, if North Korea's continues proliferation of nuclear weapons diplomatic relations with the Six Party Talks nations, most particularly with South Korea, Japan, and the United States will end. If diplomatic strategies fail, Japan and South Korea will develop missile

defense systems. North Korea will consider the missile defense system as an act of aggression and will threaten South Korea and Japan with missile firings together with threatening propaganda. North Korea will terminate South Korea's "Sunshine Policy" and deport all South Korean economic and business experts from the country. North Korea will stop South Korean tourists from entering the country to prevent the possibility of South Korean spies from entering the country. North Korea's perception that the United States wants to attack and take over its country, will be realized. North Korea will take steps to close of their society and mobilize their military to counter South Korea and Japan's missile defense system. North Korea will step up the nuclear weapons program and allocate more GNP towards defense. The United Nations will impose more economic sanctions on North Korea because of North Korea's increased nuclear weapons production and aggressive acts such as test firing missiles towards South Korea and Japan. The region's political climate will become hostile because of North Korea's heightened military readiness and aggressive behavior. This will cause North Korea's import and export revenue with South Korea, Japan, and other countries to decline, which will hamper North Korea's already poor economy. The Untied States will increase their military presence in South Korea and Japan by increasing ground troops, fighter aircraft, tanks, and missiles to deter North Korea from attacking South Korea and Japan. North Korea will attempt to involve China as a military ally. Historically, China fought alongside North Korea during the Korean War. China will not mobilize troops into North Korea, but will increase their readiness because of the tension in the region. The United States will increase diplomatic talks with China to prevent China from entering possible hostilities and to ask China to assist with diplomatic talks with North Korea.

For many years North Korea was completely closed off to the world. However, this has changed since South Korea instituted the "Sunshine Policy." North Korea has agreed to the

policy and has allowed South Korea to help them with their economic problems. South Korea has helped North Korea economically by establishing a mountain tourist resort at Mount Kumgang, Hyundai manufacturing plant in Kaesong which employees 24,000 North Koreans, and a railway that crosses the DMZ. South Korea stated if North Korea wants to continue to see their economy improve through the "Sunshine Policy" and implement the future "3000 Policy," North Korea must completely dismantle their nuclear weapons program. South Korea has stated they would re-unite with North Korea only if North Korea became a democratic country and if North Korea's economy was strong and viable.

South Korea should be the lead in the diplomatic process because they share the same race, language, history, culture, traditions, and family with North Korea. Because of South Korea's similarity with North Korea, North Korea is more apt to develop a diplomatic relationship first with South Korea. Japan is a critical factor in South Korea's diplomatic success with North Korea because North Korea understands Japan and South Korea are allies. In order for successful diplomacy, both Japan and South Korea must have good relations with North Korea. Japan will need to set aside their emotions in order to establish a relationship with North Korea. Japan will need to publicly offer an official policy to North Korea and pay reparations for its human rights abuses it committed during its occupancy of the Korean Peninsula. North Korea would also have to make a public apology to Japan for kidnapping Japanese citizens and return the kidnapped victims. Once these apologies occur and reparations paid, diplomatic relations will be established. Not only will South Korea provide economic aid to North Korea, Japan will provide economic expertise to stimulate North Korea's economy.

With South Korea's "Sunshine Policy" and implementation of the "3000 Policy" North Korea will see an improvement in their economy, GNP, and their citizen's quality of life. The

installation of business and commerce will open North Korea borders for future visitors and investors. North Korea will remain a communist government, but will incorporate a quasi capitalistic economy, similar to China. North Korea is aware diplomatic relations with China will decline if they change to a democratic society. This would be North Korea's dilemma because South Korea has stated they would reunite with North Korea if North Korea was economically viable and a democratic country. Reunification is North Korea's ultimate goal. Because North Korea's GNP is improved, North Korea will be able to upgrade its defense into a modern force and will not see a need to develop nuclear weapons. North Korea will then be more amicable to the Six Party Talks Agreement to destroy their nuclear weapons and discontinue the nuclear weapons program.

Lastly, Kim Jong II is a factor in North Korea's two scenarios described in this study. Kim Jong II was incorporated as part of North Korea as a national actor, not as an individual leader. Kim Jong II was described in the literature review as possessing six personality disorders, the same disorders as Adolf Hitler and Saddam Hussein. His aggressive and irrational behaviors have been well documented to include firing missiles towards Japan and the Yellow Sea as retaliation towards the United States and South Korea. The United States, South Korea, and Japan need to understand how to communicate with a leader who possesses personality disorders as part of their diplomatic strategy to help lessen Kim Jong II's trust and respect issues. Kim Jong II is well versed in Sun Tzu's military strategy. The verse that appears appropriate for Kim Jong II's reasons for developing nuclear weapons is the following.

"Now, when your weapons are dulled, your ardor damped, your strength exhausted and your treasure spent, other chieftains will spring up to take advantage of your extremity. Then no man, however wise, will be able to avert the consequences that must ensue."

-Sun Tzu-The Art of War

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