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The Canon Institute for Global Studies  
Foreign Affairs and National Security Group

The 22nd PAC Policy Simulation:  
Collapse of North Korea and Japan's Stance  
Summary Report and Assessment

## 1. Summary

On March 26-27, 2016, the Canon Institute for Global Studies (CIGS) held the 22nd PAC Policy Simulation: "Collapse of North Korea: What would Japan do?" This simulation was conducted with consideration for Given increasing lack of transparency and uncertainty in domestic political situation in North Korea, the theme of the simulation was defined to explore foreign affairs/national security challenges for Japan as well as the international community by setting a scenario of the collapse of North Korea that was triggered by the confusion in its domestic politics in the early part of 2020.

Think tanks and other organizations both inside and outside Japan have conducted similar simulations regarding the North Korean Collapse scenario. However, there is yet to be a policy simulation giving comprehensive consideration to the recent evolution in the development of North Korea's nuclear and missiles capabilities as well as conventional military forces, expansion of the regional influence of China and the change in Sino-North Korean relationship, the US security strategy with respect to the Korean Peninsula, US-Republic of Korea/Japan-US alliance, etc., premised on the new regime (Kim Jong-un's regime) and its lack of transparency in the status of its capacity to governance of late. Thus, it is meaningful that the CIGS began to tackle this challenge ahead of its peers.

Approximately 40 people, including active bureaucrats, researchers, businessmen, journalists, etc., participated in this two-day simulation, from which numerous lessons and issues were extracted/identified. The simulation involved the role-playing of the following teams and players: the Japanese government consisting of the Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, National Security Secretariat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Defense; the US government consisting of the Executive Office of the President, National Security Council, Department of State, and Department of Defense; the Republic of Korean government consisting of the Office of the President, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of National Defense; the Chinese government consisting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, People's Liberation Army, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Russian Federation consisting of the Presidential Executive Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, also dual-hatted as internet users and entities molding/shaping public opinion over the internet; and the media (Japanese and international) dual hatted as international organizations.

Further, as the new attempt for this policy simulation, CIGS collaborated with with LINE Corporation and used "LINE," a messaging platform, to promote/facilitate information distribution (text, image, video), communication, and information sharing by each team. Almost all players carried a tablet device to facilitate information acquisition and distribution at all times, which allowed them to grasp the progression of the simulation in real-time.

## 2. Setting the scene for the scenario (premised to be February 2021) \* Refer to attachment, "Situation of each country."

- Following the success of the 4th nuclear test by North Korea in January 2016, pressure on North Korea from the international community further strengthened/tightened. In February 2016, the UN Security Council passed a new resolution for sanctions against North Korea. The affirmative vote by China for this resolution further exacerbated the Sino-North

Korean relationship.

- Amidst continuing economic sanctions, the North Korean domestic economy stagnates and becomes exhausted, with resulted in delays in the distribution of the rations even to the military and political elites. In order to continue its “byungjin line” (dual/parallel policy) of development of nuclear capability and economic reconstruction, North Korea has begun to pursue to earn foreign currency through full-scale nuclear technology and missile proliferation to third party countries, and claims that the “economic sanctions by the US , etc., are the chief/main cause of economic hardship.”
- Under these circumstances, large-scale drought hits the eastern part of North Korea in 2018. Deaths from famine exceed 500,000 people. UNHCR declares a Great Famine equaling that of 1995-97 and announces that the North Korean domestic refugee figure exceeds 2 million.
- In North Korea, in addition to food shortage, political funds which have supported the lavish lifestyles of party and military leaders, and military resources for military development dry up. This heightens dissatisfaction with Kim Jong-un, who lacks charisma and leadership, not only among the general population but also among the party/military leadership. The military and party leaders dissatisfied with the Kim Jong-un regime are purged one after another on pretenses of corruption or treason against the regime. This triggers the rise in the number of defectors among high-ranking officers in the party and military to Beijing and the Republic of Korea.
- The nationalist hard-liners, who are the faction in power within the North Korean military leadership, advocate for the continuation of hard line policies from the time of Kim Jong-il. In opposition, the North Korea’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Korean Workers Party’s international division, Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, and others, concerned with the increase in pressure from members of the international community such as the US, propose that the only way to keep the party/military loyal through replenishing the political funds is to shift to a Chinese-model reform and opening-up policy. However, Kim Jong-un prioritizes maintaining his regime and makes the decision that the continuation of the hard-liner policy is necessary for securing the loyalty of the military, rejecting the proposed policy shift.

### 3. Transition of policy simulation

#### (1) Four phases and point of examination

1st phase: CNN reports “coup d’état in North Korea.”

- On February 8, 2020, CNN (US) reports a suspected “coup d’état in North Korea.” Mass/Large-scale troop movements are observed in Pyongyang and military districts in the outskirts, with many tanks deployed within the city of Pyongyang. Furthermore, the whereabouts of the supreme leader Kim Jong-un are unknown. Korean Central Television cancels its regular programming and is broadcasting on repeat the recorded footage in praise of the Kim Il-sung, the first chairman.
- At this point, the US, Japan, and Republic of Korea have not obtained any solid information. A gag order has been issued in China regarding any news of North Korea, and information regarding North Korea disappears from TV, newspaper, and the internet.

**Point** : How much accurate information can be collected with regard to political movements within North Korea? If it is true that a coup d’état occurred in North Korea, how can that situation be simulated and policy options examined?

Around the same time, large-scale blackouts occur in major Japanese cities including Tokyo.

2nd phase: “News of Special Grave Significance”: news of the new administration/Kim Jong-un’s whereabouts are still unknown

- Korean Central Television (North Korea’s state-owned broadcaster) comes out with “News of Special Grave Significance” that First Secretary Kim Jong-un, due to sudden illness, has resigned from all of his positions. Announced simultaneously is that Ri Yong-ho (former Chief of the General Staff) and Jang Jong-nam (former Minister of People’s Armed Forces) are appointed acting General Secretary of the Party and Chief of the General Staff, respectively.
- The Republic of Korea government is highly suspicious of the announcements made by North Korea and concludes that there is a high possibility that a de facto coup d’état has taken place. US Armed Forces in Korea and ROK forces begin considering activating OPLAN5029 (joint military operation plan in case of North Korean emergency) in anticipation that situation would worsen.
- China loosens its restraint on domestic reporting and announces the official statement from North Korea as it has been reported. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in China announces that it is “cautiously observing developments within North Korea,” but the view that this is “highly unusual way of regime change” have spread among Chinese experts on North Korea. Western media introduces an analysis that the Chinese government abandoned Kim Jong-un’s administration and supported this change in regime.

**Point** : How to analyze/examine North Korea’s announcement suggesting a regime change? Pursuant to the 1st phase, to what extent can policy options be examined? How to respond to the fact that both the US and Republic of Korea are considering military option?

3rd phase: The Republic of Korea’s patrol boats sunk at Northern Limit Line/insurrection in the northern military district of North Korea?

- Two patrol boats of the Republic of Korea’s navy are destroyed and sunk by what appears to be a torpedo attack by a North Korean submarine near the military demarcation line on the Yellow Sea. Over 200 crew members are missing. Further, skirmishes between navy vessels of both countries are occurring sporadically, raising military tension in the Korean Peninsula.
- The US website “38 North,” dedicated to analyzing events in North Korea, comes out with an analysis stating that the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th army corps of the Korean People’s Army in the military districts near the border with China have left the command of the Korean People’s Army and are now taking independent action, gathering in Yongbyon nuclear related facilities, northwestern Sohae Satellite Launching Station, Tonghae Satellite Launching Station, etc. The possibility is now high that the only forces from the Korean People’s Army responding to the new leadership are the units deployed in the outskirts of Pyongyang and near the border with the Republic of Korea.
- The Wall Street Journal (US) reports movement of large forces of the People’s Liberation Army (China) near the border with North Korea and that some are already deployed inside North Korea. There has not been an official announcement from the Chinese government, but a professor from the PLA National Defense University stated on TV that “deployment of the People’s Liberation Army, to secure the Chinese border and prevent the flood of refugees, is a correct and necessary measure.”

**Point** : What to make of the limited military conflicts between the North and South Korea? How to analyze the internal division of the Korean People’s Army? How to interpret the situation in which China deploys the People’s Liberation Army near the China-North Korean border and crosses the North Korean border?

4th phase: Nuclear explosion in the atmosphere near eastern part of North Korea/major battles taking place among Korean People's Army

- CNN (US) reports a large nuclear explosion near Punggye-ri in the eastern part of North Korea, suggesting an atmospheric nuclear test.
- Battle is heating up within North Korea between Korean People's Army forces in support of the new regime on one hand, and forces in opposition to it on the other. The corps in the north/northeastern region clearly expressed their support for Kim Jong-un and are expanding military activity. Combat is spreading from the northern region to the east/central regions.
- The Chinese government is instituting restriction on entry to the Sino-North Korean border "for public safety reason" and ordered all press, domestic and international, as well as foreigners to leave this area at once.
- Foreigners in the Republic of Korea are leaving the country in waves, and there is a mass of foreigners trying to get to the various foreign embassies Seoul, as well as Incheon International Airport and Gimpo International Airport.

**Point :** The Korean People's Army has split into pro-new regime and pro- Kim Jong-un factinos and intense battle is brewing. Under this circumstance, what does the nuclear explosion in the atmosphere that occurred in the eastern region signify/mean? How to treat the spreading battle between the forces of the Korean People's Army? How should the military intervention options of China, Republic of Korea, and US be drawn up?

(2) The government of each country's fundamental stance, policy making, and progress in negotiation.

[The US government]

- The US is an ally of the Republic of Korea, and not only does it have, based on the Mutual Defense Treaty between the US and the Republic of Korea, an obligation to defend the Republic of Korea, but it would also lead the ROK-US Combined Forces Command in case of emergency/contingency. The US team, although there is no change in the stance prioritizing US-ROK alliance, was rather passive/hesitant about large-scale military intervention by the US forces due the interpretation that the Korean Armistice Agreement of 1953 had not been breached.
- The US team prioritized two goals: preventing the escalation of conflict in the Korean Peninsula and nuclear non-proliferation. Pursuing these goals, it looked for policy coordination with China and Russia while pressing the Republic of Korea that faces provocation from North Korea to exercise self-restraint. However, once China began strengthening its military deployment to North Korea, negotiations between the US and China broke down as it has become apparent that significant differences in fundamental stance exist between the two countries.
- In the US, the policy decision within the administration vacillated between either exercise direct intervention (military intervention led by the US) or indirect intervention (prioritizing coordination with surrounding countries while assisting/supporting the Republic of Korea). Triggered by the military provocation against the Republic of Korea by North Korea during the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase, the topic of discussion became whether to support military retaliation and unification of the peninsula by the Republic of Korea's government. However, the US President's decision was to have the Republic of Korea restrain itself from advancing north.
- Upon intensification of the civil war in North Korea during the 4<sup>th</sup> phase, the US government moved its aircraft carrier task force to the area near the Korean Peninsula in search for options to exercise US-ROK/Japan-US military coordination. Yet, even in this

instance, a conservative stance was maintained with regard to large-scale military intervention, and nuclear-related facility suppression option using special forces was examined. However, in the end, China beat the US to the punch by executing quick policy decision and unit deployment.

[The Chinese government]

- China made it clear in the early stages its support of the regime change in North Korea. What lies behind this decision is China's strategic goal of maintaining the North Korean government as a buffer zone and establishing a pro-Chinese regime by building a favorable relationship with the new government. For China, it's important to ensure the legitimacy of the new regime in Pyongyang, and keep the military/social chaos along the Sino-North Korean border to a minimum.
- To accomplish these goals, the Chinese government negotiated quickly to recognize the new government in Pyongyang and at the same time deployed the People's Liberation Army en masse along the Sino-North Korean border. In order for these two actions to materialize, forces were deployed along said border through the "joint statement between China and the new administration of North Korea," in which (1) recognition of the government was promised and (2) justification was given under the premise of assisting North Korea based on military alliance between the China and the new administration of North Korea.
- Another concern for China was military intervention against North Korea by the US and the Republic of Korea. Therefore, to prevent military intervention, China moved quickly to come to the above policy decision and worked with Russia, in an effort to put an end to the internal conflict within North Korea, to hold a negotiation with the Kim Jong-un faction and a the Korean People's Army that support Kim. It explored to suppress revolt against the new government by allowing the result was the exile of Kim Jong-un to a third-party country (Kazakhstan)..

[The Republic of Korea's government]

- For the government of the Republic of Korea, the focus of the first half of the phases was to define the political change in North Korea as a "domestic issue." As long as the legitimacy of the new regime in North Korea could not be established, the Republic of Korea tried to validate its sovereignty over the whole Korean Peninsula. However, all related governments were in opposition to this, which forced the Republic of Korea's government to retract its stance on the "domestic issue" later on.
- The Republic of Korea's government leverage the vulnerability of the political system of North Korea to explore unification option led by the Republic of Korea while avoiding escalation into all-out war. However, the new regime in North Korea had already begun to negotiate with China, and localized armed attacks against the Republic of Korea and military hostilities within North Korea forced a major change to this unification scenario.
- The main concern of the Republic of Korea's government was severe harm to its domestic interests from military provocations of North Korea. Thus, as soon as the Korean People's Army of the Kim Jong-un faction seized nuclear facilities and missile launch stations within North Korea, the Republic of Korea started proposing preemptive strikes against North Korea to the US. However, the US did not stray from its cautious stance and did not go along with such requests.

[The Russian government]

- The Russian government saw the chaos in the Korean Peninsula as an opportunity for its northeastern Asia strategy and engaged actively. In particular, Russia, while maintaining a strong line of communication with the Kim Jong-un faction that was ousted during this political change, aimed to make itself a stakeholder that can dial up or down the level of conflict. The background of this course of action was the policy decision in which, under all-out military intervention, be it military suppression by the US or China or military confrontation between US and China, would not be favorable to Russian interests.



- Russia hosted a Sino-Russia meeting in a third-party country (Tashkent, Uzbekistan) in which, through policy decisions by China and Russia, a coordination policy was established wherein China would support the new regime and Russia would provide the escape route for the former regime (Kim Jong-un faction). Russia also had an ulterior motive of strengthening its influence with regard to the new regime by leveraging its influence towards the Kim Jong-un faction.
- Although China and Russia agreed on the point of preventing military confrontation in the Korean Peninsula and preventing US intervention, the two aimed to contain military deployment of the other in the Korean Peninsula.

[The Japanese government]

- The role of the Japanese government in the overall North Korean Collapse scenario was very limited compared to the US, China, the Republic of Korea, and the Russian government. The Japanese government lost sight of the big picture while trying to coordinate detailed agendas from response to cyber-attack and blackouts during the early phase, coordinating the problem of abductees and response to events in the East China Sea during the middle phase, and coordinating backup support for the US intervention scenario in the later stages.
- The Japanese government could not reach a consensus with regard to its stance on the coup d'état in North Korea and the new regime. The US prioritized the national security threat instead of recognizing the new government, and the Republic of Korea's government bringing out the "domestic issue" argument further brought confusion to the Japanese government.
- Japan's worst-case scenario was carelessness in the management of nuclear weapons, missiles, and nuclear-related materials in North Korea, leading to nuclear weapons being used against Japan. However, when it came to the stage where actual military intervention by the US was being considered, even with the new peace and security legislation, Japan was slow in making its move. Further, there were concerns of retaliation against Japan in case of US intervention, which added further delay to Japan's policy decision.

[The North Korean government (game controller)]

- In this simulation, the game controller assumed the role of the North Korean government and, while observing the policy decisions and progress in negotiations of each player, moved the events along.
- The game started with a coup d'état by the anti-establishment faction (the faction close to the late Jang Sung-taek) dissatisfied with the regime under Kim Jong-un, confining Kim Jong-un within Pyongyang (though he subsequently escaped to the northern region), and announcing a regime change.
- The fundamental stance of the new regime was to restore its intimate relationship with China, which necessitated obtaining early recognition from China and advertising the legitimacy of the regime to the international community. However, at the same time, it was necessary to eliminate excessive influence from China in order to prevent becoming a puppet regime. However, the unexpected size of the revolt brought about a de facto civil war, and China seemed like the only one capable of suppressing the revolt by the Kim Jong-un faction and the Korean People's Army.
- The weakness of the new regime was its inability to bring both the Korean People's Army and the nuclear facilities/missile facilities under its full control. Therefore, it was difficult to independently resist intervention by foreign powers. The sinking of the Republic of Korea's patrol boats was a short-term tool to control the former, the Korean People's Army, but the latter required intervention by the Chinese, and as a result, application of the Sino-North Korean military alliance clause had to be approved. In reality, this was a big compromise to North Korea in exercising its sovereignty.

### (3) Examination of “strategic goal/military operation” against North Korean situation

In this simulation, each team (the US, China, the Republic of Korea, Japan, and Russia) was obliged/required to draft a plan (OPLAN) regarding intervention on the Korean Peninsula in the 4<sup>th</sup> phase. The strategic goals and plan of operation of each country are as follows:

#### [The US government]

**Strategic goal:** Prevention of military escalation in the Korean Peninsula.

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Defense of the US and its allies.

Support of the new regime of North Korea in the end.

**Military operation:**

- 1) Non-combatant Evacuation Operation (NEO): Dispatch landing craft and transport aircraft.
- 2) Missile defense: Deployment of US-Japan-ROK combined missile defense assets.
- 3) Control of nuclear facilities: US to suppress nuclear facilities in Yongbyon and Russia to suppress the eastern facilities through special operations.
- 4) Preparation for air raid: Secure air control in areas of operation in advance of dispatching special operations command.

#### [The Chinese government]

**Strategic goal:** Maintaining the independence of North Korea as a buffer zone.

Establishing stable rule by the new government and pro-Chinese regime.

Recognition of the new government and act according to the Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty.

**Military operation:**

- 1) North Korean stability operation
  - a) Flanking/air raids against the rebel army (8<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> corps).
  - b) Security assistance to the capital/important facility.
  - c) Deploy navy vessel in international waters in the Yellow Sea and submarines in Sea of Japan
  - d) Assistance to North Korean government with weapons, fuel, etc.
- 2) Nuclear/missile program stability operation
  - a) Secure nuclear/missile facilities within North Korea using special forces, etc.
  - b) Consequence management in the aftermath of nuclear explosion within North Korea.
- 3) Prevent intervention by both US/ROK forces
  - a) Deployment of military forces (deployment of aircraft carriers in East China Sea/increasing ground troop presence near Sino-North Korean border).
  - b) Prevent deployment of US/ROK troops in North Korea (confusion through cyber-attacks).

[The Republic of Korea's government]

Strategic goal: Protection of the citizens and critical infrastructure of the Republic of Korea.

Attack on key facilities of North Korea by US/ROK forces.

Recognition of the new regime in the end.

Military operation: 1) Attack on Yongbyon nuclear facilities: Attack by US or ROK forces.  
2) Attack on Tonghae and its surrounding (9th corps/Kim Jong-un faction).

[The Japanese government]

Strategic goal: Protection of Japanese citizens residing in the Republic of Korea.

Defense of Japanese territories.

Strengthening of Japan-US alliance.

Military operation: 1) Dispatch transport aircraft of the self-defense force (unarmed) with agreement from the ROK government.  
2) Request assistance in transporting Japanese citizens from the governments of China, Russia, and the US.  
3) Deploy missile defense.  
4) Strengthen monitoring and surveillance.  
5) Take health measures for citizens with regard to atmospheric nuclear testing by North Korea.  
6) Perform attacks on "origins of attack" if there is a sign of ballistic missiles being launched from North Korea.  
7) Dispatch Maritime Self-Defense Force vessels on international waters in anticipation of US attacks against North Korea.  
8) Upon attacks on US vessels, "situation that can threaten Japan's national existence" will be recognized and right to collective self-defense is exercised.

[The Russian government]

Strategic goal: Nonproliferation of conflict: doubly contain northern advancement of US/ROK joint forces and southern advancement of China.

Prevent armed resolution to conflict: maintain nuclear nonproliferation and prevent escalation.

Protect citizens and domestic environment, and prevent influx of refugees.

Military operation: 1) Rescue Russians residing in the Republic of Korea.  
Dispatch hospital ships/cruisers from the Pacific Fleet.  
Charter 10 private passenger ships to transport Russians/Japanese.  
2) Deploy Russian troops along Russia-North Korean border.  
Strengthen border security along Russia-North Korean border (17 km) and its surrounding Sino-North Korean border (100 km).  
Border security forces will be in charge, but a single army infantry division will be deployed near 10 km point in the rear.  
3) Measures against refugees from North Korea.  
Strengthen port entry management and deploy quarantine at the Port of Zarubino where refugees might enter through sea.



#### (4) North Korean Collapse scenario: Result of the simulation

The game controller took into account the above “strategic goals/military operations” in respect to the North Korea situation, closely examined their details, and produced/reached the following conclusions:

- The strategic goals, military operations, and action plans of the Chinese government are the most superior, and its goals will be mostly met. The People’s Liberation Army invaded North Korea across the Sino-North Korean border and succeeded in suppressing/controlling the nuclear-related facilities in Yongbyon. Further, upon advancing into the northern/northeastern region, battle ensued against the 8th-11th corps where victory was achieved in a short period.
- Russia, according to a secret agreement with China in which Russia will control the east and China will control the west, deployed Russian troops in the eastern region of North Korea. At the same time, a negotiation took place with the Kim Jong-un faction under a separate “Sino-Russia joint statement,” wherein promise was made to safely send Kim Jong-un to a third country in exile, thereby minimizing the resistance from the rebel army. Further, both China and Russia simultaneously promised to withdraw troops upon bringing stability to North Korea.
- The Republic of Korea had a thread of hope riding on the resolution of the UN Security Council and intervention by the UN troops, but the solidarity between China and Russia, which are both permanent members of the Security Council, and lack of leadership exhibited by the US made it highly unlikely that the UN would intervene.
- While the Chinese troops continued to suppress key regions in the north and northeast of North Korea, the topic of discussion within the UN Security Council shifted to ending the conflict and managing its aftermath. The Security Council agreed, with specifics to be worked out among related countries in a separate meeting among the stakeholder countries, on the following: (1) Conclude combat as early as possible; (2) make best efforts to establish a stable regime in North Korea; (3) on the premise that recognition will be granted by the international community once a stable regime is in place, the People’s Liberation Army will submit a time schedule to withdraw within the year; and (4) observers will be placed in Pyongyang to monitor this process.

#### 4. Lessons from this policy simulation and policy implications

- Significant expansion of the role of China and the continuation of the division between North and South

Many of the past simulations with regard to the North Korean collapse seem to have resulted in the conclusions in which the Korean Peninsula would be unified through military operations led by US-ROK. However, the simulation this time reached the set of conclusions that are completely opposite to this conventional wisdom. China, even with the instability in North Korea, sought to maintain the new regime. Militarily, China prioritized preventing military intervention from the US and the Republic of Korea through quick deployment of troops to stabilize North Korea and dispatch of special forces to secure nuclear and missile facilities. The result was that instability of the North Korean regime did not necessarily bring about unification, but the division [of the Korean Peninsula] continued under the new regime.

- US military intervention was unexpectedly conservative/limited

The US-ROK troops, which compose the core of the UN forces in Korea, are supposed to act based on preset operation plans. If the armistice is broken, the US and ROK almost automatically will begin military activity. US troops in Japan are to act as rear support and the JSDF is expected to join that support effort. However, the settings in this situation was a civil war in North Korea and the US was forced to make a decision over whether to declare full-scale military intervention on its own accord. The result was that the US government hesitated to intervene militarily and it sought to stabilize the Korean Peninsula through

cooperation with China while supporting its ally, the Republic of Korea. This resulted in permitting intervention led by the Chinese government, which, fundamentally, does not compromise on its stance.

- Importance of prompt/timely policy decision-making

Information regarding the instability of the North Korean situation among Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the US got entangled, which created a discrepancy in recognition/understanding of what is strategically beneficial and of how to face this new regime in North Korea. However, the Chinese government, from the get go, set clear targets and priorities with regard to its North Korean policy and thus was able to make prompt policy decisions. As a result, China was able to wield significant influence in the post-stabilization political system in the Korean Peninsula.

- Securing the legitimacy of intervention in North Korea

While the US and the Republic of Korea cannot move as part of the UN force, China, as a response to the request from the new regime in North Korea, justified its troop deployment based on the Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty. On the other hand, the Security Council decision could not approve joint action by the UN Security Council for the early and mid-phase, due to entangled interests among the permanent members of the Security Council. The UN Security Council only began functioning during the stabilization phase after completion of major military missions.operations.

- Instability in the Korean Peninsula situation and the limited role for Japan?

In response to the political turmoil in North Korea, the majority of the time of the Japan team was spent on its own domestic problems, such as protection of Japanese citizens and the abduction issue, and the team could not come to the conclusion on what Japan's national interests are. Despite the new peace and security legislation, the discussion over the use of military force by the JSDF stalled, and Japan dragged its feet in making its first move. Furthermore, it is very difficult for Japan to make a move when the US is cautious in its response to the Korean Peninsula crisis like it was throughout this game. As a result, Japan was often “left out of the loop.”

- Policy implications for Japan

1. Policy priorities (short-term, mid-term, and long-term) must be clarified for events of instability in the regime in North Korea. Needless to say, in the short-term, (1) defense of Japan (missile defense), (2) assisting the leading role of the US in US-Japan alliance/US-ROK alliance (recognition of situation that can gravely impact Japan's security//situation that can threaten Japan's national existence), and (3) protection of the Japanese citizen are the most important policy goals.
2. Mid- to long-term, it's important also to clarify what is in Japan's interest (desirable scenarios/scenarios to be avoided) with regard to the course and end result of both “soft landing” (use of diplomatic means to maintain a new regime, or unify north and south) and “hard landing” (bringing stability through military intervention) in anticipation of regime instability in North Korea.
3. It is in Japan's interest for unification without armed conflict, such unification is led by the Republic of Korea, and the unified Korea will be inclined to maintain a friendly relationship with the US and Japan. Next best outcome is the unification of the Korean Peninsula through military operations led by the US and the Republic of Korea. Therefore, close policy consultation on Japan's involvement in the Korean Peninsula in various frameworks such as Japan-US, Japan-ROK, and Japan-US-ROK is extremely important. In particular, strengthening of the military-to-military relationship between Japan and the Republic of Korea that is yet to be realized (especially the signing of GSOMIA/ACSA) and common understanding and agreement over plans in respect to protection of Japanese citizens is indispensable/critical.
4. In both the soft and hard landing scenarios, China's political and military roles are exponentially bigger. The Japanese government must prepare for every possible scenario

regarding the role the Chinese government may play in case of instability in the situation on the Korean Peninsula. Furthermore, policy options should be drafted for the following situations: (1) in case the US, the Republic of Korea, and China all decide to intervene militarily; (2) in case of military intervention led by the Republic of Korea in which the US plays a supporting role; (3) in case of if both the US and the Republic of Korea balk at the idea of military intervention and China is the only one to intervene; and, (4) if none of the three intervene.

5. It is absolutely crucial that the Japanese government hold close policy consultations with the US, China, Republic of Korea, and Russia regarding the above matters.

#### Attachment: Situation of each country

##### ○North Korea

In North Korea, in December 2011, upon the death of Kim Jong-il, the General Secretary of the Workers Party's of Korea, his third son Kim Jong-un, the Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Workers' Party of Korea, assumed the post of the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army under the pretext of "last instructions" left by his father, General Secretary Kim. Kim Jong-un subsequently assumed the posts of the First Secretary and the Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Workers' Party of Korea at the Fourth Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea, and upon Kim Jong-un being appointed the Chairman of the First National Defense Commission at the 5th Session of the 12th Supreme People's Assembly, North Korea completed its power transfer/transition to the Kim Jong-un regime. Further, First Secretary Kim Jong-un appointed the Party Secretary Choe Ryong-hae, known to have been very close to Kim Jong-il, to the post of Director of the General Political Bureau, the position that controls the party organization within the military. Further, replacement of the Minister of the People's Armed Forces and Chief of the General Staff were carried out in succession, indicating his effort to gain control of the military, which is the priority in maintaining the regime.

Of the officers within the leadership, Choe Ryong-hae, the Director of the General Political Bureau, and Jang Sung-taek, the Vice Chairman of the National Defense Commission and a brother-in-law of General Secretary Kim, were frequently seen accompanying First Secretary Kim, and also, Kim Kyong-hui, Secretary for Organization of the Worker's Party of Korea, General Secretary Kim's sister and the wife of Vice Chairman Jang Sung-taek, was seen on important occasions, which suggested that they were providing assistance and serving as guardians to First Secretary Kim. This was seen as a sign that the regime under Kim Jong-un is not as secure as that under Kim Jong-il, requiring the backup of party organization through relatives/guardians such as Jang Sung-taek and Kim Kyong-hui, as well as the assistance of the party, military, and bureaucracy.

#### Strengthening of the dictatorial system and purging of officers

In the above manner, First Secretary Kim Jong-un, immediately after inheriting the regime, needed assistance, but he subsequently went on to purge military and party officers in a reign of terror. In December 2013, the execution of Jang Sung-taek, the husband of the younger sister of the late General Secretary Kim Jong-il and the de facto number 2 in North Korean leadership and North Korea's point of contact with China which effectively supports, shocked the world. Further, accompanying the downfall of Jang Sung-taek, most of the pro-Chinese officers within the political leadership in North Korea were purged. In February 2016, over 100 officers of the regime were executed, even including the Chief of the General Staff Ri Yong-gil, the top ranking official within the Korean People's Army and believed to be the confidant of First Secretary Kim Jong-un. The series of purges served to worsen ties with China. The execution of Jang Sung-taek, a high-ranking pro-Chinese member, and the Jang faction greatly increased distrust among the Chinese with respect to the Kim Jong-un regime. The execution of Jang

Sung-taek completely flushed China's North Korean policy, and the Kim Jong-un regime advertised, domestically and internationally, its stance of not being subservient to China. Further, on January 6, 2016, when North Korea carried out nuclear testing of what it claimed was a hydrogen bomb, China was not given advance notice.

○Japan

The Liberal Democratic Party and Komeito continued to maintain the ruling coalition. However, as a result of the slowdown in the economy since 2016, the two parties did not do well in the Upper and Lower House double election in July of the same year, and further lost its momentum in 2019. Currently, the ruling coalition hold 262 seats and the opposition parties hold 213 seats in the Lower House, while in the Upper House the two parties hold 125 seats to 117 seats held by the opposition, establishing a balance. Within the ruling coalition, dependency of the Liberal Democratic Party on the Komeito continues to increase while reliance for support on the former Japan Restoration Party members within the opposing "Democratic Restoration Party," which has steadily gained seats in the Diet after the merge of the Democratic Party of Japan and Japan Restoration Party, has been increasing. Prime Minister XX, the successor to the Abe Cabinet after 2018, has been called out for a series of improper remarks; the approval rating for the Cabinet continued falling until his resignation to take responsibility for the poor performance of the ruling party during the 2019 upper house election. Subsequently, Prime Minister YY became the first female prime minister, and while she captured headlines immediately after inauguration, her support declined due to the stagnating economy. The current approval rating for the cabinet is 34%. Meanwhile, the Democratic Restoration Party is also losing the public support due to its open inter-party conflict.

○Republic of Korea

The result of the presidential election in December 2017 was the inauguration of Roh Seong Jung of a very liberal "Democratic Progressive Party" in February of the following year. President Roh, while taking a strict humanitarian stance against North Korea for mistreating its citizens and prioritizing the ROK-US alliance, further delayed the restoration of operational control from the US forces in Korea; also, the president is looking to cooperate with China, which is the key to fuel and food supply to North Korea, under a foreign policy similar to that of Roh Moo-hyun administration, assuming the role of a "balancer." With regard to its relationship with Japan, the President was very opposed to the agreement regarding the so-called comfort woman issue, reached on December 28, 2015. "This is not the consensus of the citizens of the Republic of Korea," the President said, effectively annulling the agreement. Thus, the Japan-ROK relationship is not very good, and the finalization of the "General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA)" has been shelved.

○The US

Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton wins the 2016 Presidential Election; however, after what was called "Obama's third term," she loses the 2020 election to Republican Congressman Simon Leiden. The Leiden Administration was inaugurated in January of 2021, yet, other than the White House Chief of Staff (John Saunders, a Tea Party type), the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (Andrew Yankovich, a neo-con), the Secretary of State (Moses Brown, a moderate internationalist), Secretary of Defense (Susan Bailey, slightly neo-con and the first female Secretary of Defense in a Republican administration), key positions for foreign affairs/national security team remain yet to be nominated. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Kenneth Black is rumored to be retiring this summer, and Commander of the US Pacific Command Harry Cha, who has a Korean-American father and a Japanese-American mother, is said to be the frontrunner candidate. In Congress, the Republican party maintains a majority in the House, while the Democrats have kept a majority, albeit by a slight margin, in the Senate after the presidential election in 2016. The economy continues to grow at a slow but steady pace,

but the central concern in foreign affairs/national security policy continues to be the Middle East problem.

○China

The slowdown in its economy continues and the rate of economic growth has declined to around 4-4.5% per year. However, the regime under Xi Jinping is fundamentally stable and military spending, based on official figures, has continued to increase by 10%, reaching the defense budget that is 2.5 times larger than that of Japan. The FY2021 national defense budget published along with the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China was CNY 1.14 trillion (approximately ¥21.6 trillion). The People's Liberation Army Navy has stepped up its operation of aircraft carriers. The policy has shifted to eliminating US military influences from Asia; China continues to build facilities on the artificial island built on the South China Sea for the "purpose of protecting fishermen" despite protests by the US. Further, an air defense identification zone was established in 2016. Meanwhile, the biggest concern for domestic politics is the problem of minority ethnic groups along the border regions, and control has been tightened, justified as "measures against Islamic radicals," over regions where many Muslims reside such as the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Particular attention is directed also towards North Koreans residing in China in the area close to the border with North Korea and North Koreans who attempt to enter the country illegally with their help. The leadership is to be restructured at the National Congress of Communist Party of China in 2022, which is accompanied by fierce power struggle over the 6th generation leadership.

○Russia

Putin's regime retains control for an even more authoritarian political system. Meanwhile, investment into the development of the Siberian/Far East region is on the rise, and also cooperation with China, in an effort to compete against the US, seems to be the policy. Further, economic cooperation with North Korea is in progress in the Far East region, where development so far has been slow. The governments of the two countries adopted the "Protocol regarding Economic, Trade and Science and Technology cooperation" in 2015. This has paved the way for Russian support for modernization of industry/infrastructure in North Korea. Providing electricity to Northeastern region of North Korea is also being promoted, as North Korea continues to struggle with power shortage. Further, there are over 50,000 North Korean laborers in Russia, mainly around the coastal areas such as Vladivostok, engaged primarily in construction work, which is gaining attention as an important way in which North Korea obtains foreign currency.

○Others

In Taiwan, Tsai Ing-wen of the Democratic Progressive Party was reelected in the Taiwanese presidential election of 2020.