A Wesleyan Witness to the Two Koreas and their Postcolonial Dilemmas in the Northeastern Asia

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[Introduction]

John Wesley's evangelical spirit and social holiness have taken the Methodist movement from the 18th century to its global witness in the 21st century where we face the pos-colonial predicaments of unprecedented economic inequalities, global-militarization, and fascist nationalism. While Wesley's view of the world as his parish was definitely a powerful spark of his own evangelistic outreach to those marginalized throngs in Bristol when he first preached at an outdoor public square with George Whitefield, his vision has been gradually globalized with the British colonial presence in many countries. American Methodism expanded in the 19th century along with with the expanding global connections of the United States' political economic power. The Methodist movement has been grown into 74 million global Methodists influenced by John Wesley's global evangelism in one way or the other. While we claim we are a global church, we need to examine what that really means as we face these postcolonial predicaments which pose a challenge to the purpose of the church: to make disciples of Jesus Christ for the transformation of the world. In particular, as we look into the Korean Peninsula and its geopolitical complexities, how can we Christians be witness to those postcolonial predicaments as we continue to fulfill the mission of the church -- to be disciples of Jesus Christ for the transformation of the world --as we practice John Wesley's evangelistic spirit, "the world is my parish"

The 1992-2017 nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula is an example of the 19th to 21st century cauldron of the geopolitical complexity in the colonial and postcolonial situation in Northeast Asia. The recent peace talks and summits amongst the United States, North Korea, South Korea, and China (eventually including Japan and Russia) in 2018 as diplomatic efforts to stabilize the Northeast Asian region have clarified that nuclear threats to the Korean Peninsula, the USA and Japan have become a critical challenges. This aftermath of the militarized and nuclearized Cold War between the U.S., China, and the Soviet Union, distorts the integrity of a global society and constantly threatens justice and peace in the global community. This geopolitically complicated inter-Korean conflict which has tragically divided Korea, known as the "country of morning calm," should be seen as a global responsibility deeply rooted in the colonial intervention of the West. It requires us to comprehend the situation through the lens of postcolonial critiques to clearly know what is really happening and to witness God's transforming work through Wesley's global vision in the midst of political tensions. To this end I will explore the following critical questions: What are the root causes of the crisis? Why was Korea divided at the end of the World War II? Why does the U.S. refuse to sign a peace treaty after 65 years or armistice? Why does North Korea develop nuclear weapons? Can the decolonized Koreans speak for themselves in the postcolonial condition? How do Korean Christians respond to the crisis and the postcolonial dilemma for "the transformation of the world"?

Peace will never be fulfilled unless we have the capacity to tell history accurately from the perspective of the peoples on the margin. Therefore, in order to understand the crisis on the Korean Peninsula, we cannot lose sight of the role and responsibility of the US and It's strategic global-militarization during the Cold War. In fact, Martin Luther King, Jr. reminds us of why the U.S. has been the source of many conflicts around the world: "We must rapidly begin the shift from a

thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered" ("Beyond Vietnam," 1967). Dr. King clearly insists that racism, materialism, and militarism are the root causes of all evils that are committed by colonial powers. This is unfortunately America's politico-economic ideology that has been transmitted to the world. I want to point out that North Korea's nuclear crisis is created by a complicated mixture of America' global-militarization, postcolonial economic exploitation, and deeply-rooted American exceptionalism. These are concepts systemically developed through "sanctioned ignorances" executed by the colonial/post-colonial powers. So my hope is that a critical analysis on the U.S.'s involvement in Korea's modern history will lead us to find a way to bring a long-awaited peace to the Korean Peninsula and its surrounding areas. In the midst of moral ambiguity, cultural plurality, and political conundrums, courageous witnesses for peace and justice from the people on the margins will transform the history of Korea as well as that of the global community.

[A Postcolonial Critique]

Since the late 20th Century colonial powers have continued to perpetuate postcolonial oppression through a systemic misrepresentation of those indigenous cultures and their identities. The phrase, "sanctioned ignorance," was coined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, a leading postcolonial scholar, to explain how the oppressive colonial powers that strategically damaged those colonized cultures and histories and gradually dismantled indigenous peoples' humanity. Edward Said's book called, "Orientalism" is another explanation of the legitimization of Western ignorance in which indigenous cultures have been distorted, underestimated, and misinterpreted as inferior and "uncivilized". Jacque Derrida, the main voice of the post-structuralistic movement and the Algerian postcolonial resistance, also insists that globalization is a dominant process of *globalatinization* (*mondia-latin-ization*) where Latin (Western) languages and cultures are dominant all over the globe. They are cultures considered superior to the cultures of the rest of the world, especially non-western cultures that have been forced to use the Western literary classics, school curricula, religions, science, and so on. That presumptuous superiority sanctions the colonial structure of oppressive ignorance.[1] Spivak insists that "it is correctly suggested that the sophisticated vocabulary of much contemporary historiography successfully shields this cognitive failure and that this success-in-failure, this sanctioned ignorance, is inseparable from colonial domination."[2] It is the sanctioned ignorance in which the colonial West oppressively transplants their seemingly superior European-American cultures in a foreign land because their colonial oppression and cultural supremacy have been justified by the systemically sanctioned ignorance on the colonized but indigenous cultures. Unlike the oppressive ignorance and epistemological violence on those indigenous cultures, every human being and every culture around the globe have their unique values that should be recognized and respected equally.

In particular, the sanctioned ignorance of the colonial/postcolonial powers in the U.S. history has been morphed to reinforcing American exceptionalism. as its neo-colonial imperialism

[1] Jacque Derrida, "Faith and Knowledge: The Two Sources of 'Religion' at the Limit of Reason Alone" in Gil Anidjar, ed., *Acts of Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[2] G.C. Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography" in Guha, R. & Spivak, G.C. eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1085), p. 6.

without colonies after the end of World War II. The U.S imperialism after WW II has been seen as different from the imperialism of European powers. It has been named with "informal," "accidental," "defensive," or "involuntary."[3] Historically, from it's founding, the U.S. institutionalized its colonial policies such as it's Native People's Removal policy, slave plantation policy, and policies to resettle defeated populations. At the turn of the 20th century, the U.S. expanded its colonial interests to other countries. During the Cold War era, the U.S. engaged in its global dominance with "newly decolonized countries," including the countries of the Korean Peninsula.[4] Then Donald Pease rightly described that at the end of the Cold War the U.S. now shifted its focus to the global war on terror by propagating the "clash of civilizations" which is a new ideological contruct to legitimize the American Empire without recognized colonies.[5] Pease also outlines the era of globalization after the Cold War, as follows: [6]

> Following the termination of the cold war in 1989, U.S. presidents and legislators have introduced four separate compacts with U.S. citizens—President George Herbert Walker Bush's "New World Order," President William Jefferson Clinton's "New Covenant with America,"[7] Newt Gingrich's "Contract with America,"[8] and President George W. Bush's "Homeland Security State"—to replace the cold war settlement. These legislators either inaugurated or consolidated their compacts as a response to traumatic events—the Persian Gulf War, the conflagration of the Branch Davidian Compound in Waco, the destruction of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001—where a radical discontinuity distinguished between what came before these catastrophes happened and what would follow in their wake.

Furthermore, the U.S. became one of the most controversial "empires" WW after II in the postcolonial global community, which has been presenting an American version of "Global-militarization." As Charmer Johnson said in his book, *The Sorrow of Empire*, "As militarism, the arrogance of power, and the euphemisms required to justify imperialism inevitably conflict with America's democratic structure of government and distort its culture and basic values, I fear that we will lose our country."

While we are deeply concerned about the nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula, Noam Chomsky would ask the following question: "Who is really a rogue state on a global scale that ironically tends to aggressively police and covertly militarize the global community against those unintended rogue states, such as "the axis of evil" of Iran, Iraq, North Korea, and other untamed

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[3] Donald E. Pease, "US Imperialism: Global Dominance without Colonies."

[4] Ibid.

[5] Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1996).

[6] Donald E. Pease, *New American Exceptionalism* (Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 154.

[7] Bill Clinton, "The New Covenant: Responsibility and Rebuilding the American Community" (Speech) (October 23, 1991). Georgetown University.

[8] Jeffrey Gayner, "The Contract with America: Implementing New Ideas in the U.S." (October 12, 1995). The Heritage Foundation.

regimes, such as Syria, Libya, Sudan, Somalia, Indochina, Yemen, Cuba, Venezuela, and so on? (*my words*)"

Therefore, in order to understand the North and South Korea and their postcolonial dilemmas, we have to go back to 1945, to the dawn of the Cold War to understand the U.S.'s military occupation and its enormous economic benefits as the root causes of the crisis on the Korean Peninsula. My pessimistic sentiment on this topic comes from this following statement: the history from the past might repeat again in the present moment,George Santayana's famous saying, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."[9] We are witness to a haunted history unfortunately repeating itself, even though we hear the outcries of the oppressed around the world due to the systemic "sanctioned ignorance" of American Exceptionalism. My optimism and hope for a just and peaceful world, however, is that an authentic story-telling, a rigorous historical remembrance, and a prophetic voice for justice and peace will trickle up; a transforming power from the bottom of our society that will change our history. This is how courageous witnesses from a minority Christian group in the 1970s in Korea can show us a path to transform the global community today. I will explain further on this later in this paper.

[Two Koreas and Their Postcolonial Predicaments]

After the sixth successful nuclear and hydrogen bomb tests and the intercontinental missile tests in November, 2017, the North Korea leader, Kim Jung Un expressed his interest in the NK's participation in the Pyungchang Winter Olympics, and a peace summit with the South Korean President and even the U.S. President. That created a seismic change in Northeast Asian relations for a glimpse of a long-awaited peaceful movement on the Korean Peninsula. Since then, Moon Jae In, President of South Korea (Republic of Korea) and Kim Jung Un, Leader of North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) have had two summits: one at the Freedom House in the south side of Panmunjom on April 27, 2018, and the other at the Peace House in the north side on May 26. This was the first time that a North Korean leader stepped on South Korean soil since the Korean War, and this was also the first time Moon went to the north side of the DMZ. They have already initiated conversations about possibly having regular summit meetings between the two sovereign governments. A week before the summit on March 27, Kim Jung Un was invited to meet with Xi Jinping, President of China. China has been a longtime ally of North Korea since the 1930s. They both agreed on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and to its peace and security in Northeast Asia. Donald Trump, President of the U.S., unprecedentedly agreed to meet with Kim Jung Un on June 12, in Singapore, even though he did not know how to proceed with peace talks with Kim. However, although both of them have different expectations (The US requires "Complete, Irreversible, Verifiable Denuclearization (CIVD)", and NK seeks "complete, verifiable, and irreversible nonaggression pacts and a peace treaty), the summit itself is one of the greatest achievements for both governments contributing towards world peace in the 21st century. Furthermore, during the week of April 2, 2018, Lee Young Ho, Secretary of Foreign Affair in North Korea went to Russia to improve relations. Vladimir Putin has invited Kim Jung Un to Russia for a summit sometime soon. Even Japan, a linchpin in Northeast Asian diplomatic relations, wanted to meet with the North Korea leader. While Abe Shinzo and his Japanese government do not want to be bypassed, the high level of animosity between North Korea and Japan since WW II has not

[9] George Santayana, *The Life of Reason: Reason in Common Sense*, (New York: Scribner's, 1905), p. 284.

been resolved. This is indicative of the complexity of the geopolitical situation brewing on the Korean Peninsula, a cauldron of hegemony, since the rise of Japan and the US as superpowers in the late 19th century.

The nuclear crisis, however, will not be resolved, unless the U.S. and North Korea really come to an agreement with ending the war, signing a peace treaty, and implementing the a mutual denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. It requires a diplomatic cooperation and multilateral dialogue amongst all the surrounding countries, including the U.S., China, Russia, Japan and the two Koreas. However, the U.S. has become notorious as an unreliable diplomatic partner; historically unpredictable, duplicitous, known for betrayal and general lawlessness. The bottom line is that we cannot afford another war on the Korean Peninsula. Even a preemptive war or a, so called, "bloody nose strike" cannot bring security, stability, or peace to the region. While the U.S. and its hawkish government are still considering a preemptive war against North Korea, it should be noted that both Korean leaders have agreed on three leading principles for the summit in April 27:

1. Denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula (not only the disarmament of North Korea but also the nonproliferation of the South Korean nuclear status under the U.S. nuclear umbrella)
2. A Peace Treaty for safety and security for the DPRK regime (ending the war)
3. Normalization of U.S.-DPRK bilateral ties and economic development

We have to acknowledge that North Korea has a developed, full-fledged nuclear arsenal and advanced ICBMs (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile). It is most likely that they already have 20-60 nuclear weapons. Since North Korea has arguably completed their nuclear and missile program in November, 2017, when they successfully tested an ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile), the Hwasung-15, an ICBM missile that supposedly can reach the entire continental United States continent, and they successfully conducted their sixth nuclear weapon test, with a hydrogen bomb, North Korea would like to be recognized as a nuclear power by the world community. However, the United States and other surrounding powers may not be ready to endorse North Korea's nuclear status and capacity yet. In his 2018 New Year address, Kim Jung Un made clear that he had control over his country's nuclear button. Since then we have seen simutaneously both Kim Jung Un's reaching out to the world stage, and Moon Jae In's progressive leadership which brought the U.S. and NK to the peace table. Denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula cannot be done unless we begin to recognize North Korea as a nuclear power as well as a sovereign country, because a condescending attitude from the U.S. and other powers is not conducive to developing diplomatic relations based on trust and respect.

In the last several months, North and South Koreas have begun a series of peace dialogues and relaunched a hotline between them. North Korea joined the 2018 Pyungchang Winter Olympic in South Korea to demonstrate that the peoples of the two Koreas were sisters and brothers with one ethnic identity, longing for reunification and the development of peaceful relations. While the Trump government replaced National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster with John Bolton, a hawk who has promoted warmongering and bellicose language against North Korea, Iran, and Iraq, Kim Jung Un in March 2018 secretly visited President Xi Jinping to bring China back to the peace talk. Despite differing calculations regarding complex relations in the region, China is engaging once again as a critical voice in the midst of the U.S.'s containment policy. Russia is already welcoming a

peace talk amongst the powers around the Korean Peninsular seeing it as a way to promote their own economic benefits (e.g., building an intercontinental railroad from Russia and the two Koreas), but they also want to be involved in the multilateral peace talk. Japan, however, closely tied to the U.S.'s military and economic interests, has historically been a stumbling block to peace talks and *détente* between the two Koreas.

[A Historical Outline of the U.S. Military Intervention]

No matter who may be sitting at the peace talk table, there is no doubt that the U.S. is the most powerful voice to moving the process forward. But we also have to remember that the U.S. is both the superpower which is the root cause of the military tensions in the region. So it is critical to understand how the U.S has been involved in the complex situation of Northeast Asia and how it divides the Korean peninsula and contains the area around it. Historically there are four major stages in the U.S. intervention on the Korean Peninsula since the late 19th Century.

1) In 1882 while Korea was not prepared to establish diplomatic relations with foreign countries, they were forced to sign an unequal trade agreement with the U.S. where the U.S. was granted most favored nation status with unlimited commerce and territorial access (*Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation*) in exchange for the promise of the Korean security from Japan. But the promise was never kept, and it created a template for interventions from other western countries (Germany, Russia, England, France, etc.).[10] The colonization of Korea in the late 19th century was forced upon it. The colonial powers of the time, the US, Japan and European countries, reaped economic, military and political benefits through its contacts with Korea.

2) In 1905, the U.S. agreed, in a secret diplomatic memorandum called "the Taft-Katzura Agreement" with Japan, in which the U.S. to recognize Japan's control over Korea in exchange for Japan's recognition of the U.S.'s control over the Philippines.[11] During the process of ending the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Japan and Russia both agreed in the Portsmouth Treaty (mediated by Theodore Roosevelt, President of the U.S. for which he won the Nobel Peace Prize) to evacuate Manchuria and return its sovereignty to China. Japan was allowed to lease from China the Liaodong Peninsula and the Russian rail system, in addition to occupying the southern half of Sakhalin from Russia. By solidifying the U.S. and Japan's diplomatic and strategic relations in those exchanges in this secret agreement, both Japan and the U.S. could expand their influence and control over the Korean Peninsula.

3) At the end of the Japanese Occupation in Korea on August 15, 1945 (the end of the WW II), the U.S. established its military intervention and military government in Korea which lasted from 1945 to 1948 in the postcolonial-decolonized Korea, During this period the US strategically wanted to continued the Japanese colonial system using Japanese collaborators to stabilize, as they saw it, premeditated political turmoil in Korea, instead of the independent government he Korean people and their leaders were longing for. According to Bruce Cummings, a leading revisionist historian of East Asia from the University of Chicago, the U.S. strategically prepared for the occupation of Korea after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. that particularly justified the U.S.'s official entry into the World War.[12]

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[10] James Bradley, *The Imperial Cruise*, pp. 195-199.

[11] Ibid., pp. 311-314.

[12] Bruce Cummings, *Korea's Place in the Sun,* p. 186-188.

During the U.S. military government period on the Korean peninsula (1945-1948), the U.S. and the Soviet Union formally agreed to divide Korea at the 38th Parallel at the Postsdam Conference (1945). While Russia and China supported pro-communist Korean leaders in the northern region, the U.S. military government supported pro-American and pro-Japanese collaborators through the puppet regime of Rhee Syngman in the Southern region. For example, the U.S. military government in 1948 supported the South's anticommunist and pro-Japanese and pro-American baseless propaganda that Jeju Island's uprising against pro-Japanese police officers' violence against civilians was strategically organized by a communist group in the South. Because of their fear of the speculated communist dominance in the South, the Korean para-military force endorsed by the US military government ended up killing 30,000 people and destroying 95% of houses and buildings on the island two times bigger than the Seoul area. Moon Jae In, President of South Korea in his 2018 speech at the 70th anniversary of the Jeju 4.3 incident, finally promised to reveal the true history of the events of the incident history in 1948 seventy years later. He stated the forgotten history of the Jeju incident should be revealed in the future as a testament to actions by the U.S. military government's which contributed to the physical division of a sovereign country in conjunction with the ideological schism of the Cold War. The ideology of colonial capitalism confronting that of communism.

4) The Korea War which occurred at the dawn of the Cold War (1950-1953), called by Bruce Cummings, a forgotten war, was one of the most tragic genocides in our modern history at the dawn of the Cold War. During the war the U.S. bombed the entire Korean Peninsula for 3 years. Almost 4 million lives were killed, and 20% of the Korean population was sacrificed, and 10 million families are still separated between the North and the South. Every city and village and all major, vital infrastructure components were destroyed. It left Korea as one of the poorest countries in the world. Michel Chossudovsky, Professor of Economics at the University of Ottawa, said that, "The Korean War had set the stage for subsequent US military interventions. It was an initial phase of a post-World War II 'Military Roadmap' of US led wars, special operations, *coups d'etat*, covert operations, US sponsored insurgences and regime change spanning over of more than half a century. The project of global warfare [since the Truman Doctrine] has been carried out in all major regions of the world, through the US military's geographic command structure, not to mention the CIA's covert operations geared toward toppling sovereign governments."[13]

Here is another example of US intervention. It is the story of my personal experience of the 1980 U.S. military intervention in the 1980 the City of Kwangju. That intervention disrupted the growing democratization and human rights movements initiated by many college students who were passionate for peace, justice, and freedom of speech. It is evidence of the haunted spirit of the Korean War that is still hovering over the Korean Peninsula. I grew up in Kwangju in the Southern Jolla Province, South Korea. Kwangju is South Korea's fourth largest city populated by 1.5 million people. In May, 1980, when I was 10 years old, there was a huge uprising for democratization in Kwangju where high school and college students, factory workers, street vendors, housewives, grandmothers, and businessmen organized and actively participated to push for their country's democracy. It was a peaceful demonstration of tens of thousands of civilians against the illegitimate military dictatorship of General Chun Doo Hwan, who was being supported by the U.S. government until the military forces were deployed to stop the peaceful protest with

[13] Michel Chossudovsky, "America's War Against the People of Korea: The Historical Record of US War Crimes," in *Global Research* (September 13, 2013).

massive gun fire against those civilians who went out to the main street. When the military forces came to Kwangju, and occupied the capitol of South Cholla Province, every communication lines had already been shut down all around the city, with all the roads were blocked for at least two weeks prior to the massacre. Kwangju was completely isolated from the rest of South Korea and the rest of the world by these military forces.

When the Korean War broke out in 1950, Wartime Operational Control had already been transferred from Japan to the U.N. and to the U.S. military government. After the armistice at the end of the active fighting of the Korean War, the ROK-US CFC (Combined Forces Command) agreement placed ROK military forces under the US Command. During the time of the Kwangju democratization movement, the Chun Doo Hwan military regime ordered the DEFCON Level 3 (Defense Condition; the same level as the attacks of September 11, 2001) to deploy the military troops necessary, with the strategic endorsement of the U.S., to take back control of the streets from the peaceful demonstrators in Kwangju. In other words, due to the Combined Forces Command structure, Chun could not have deployed those military troops without the US Command involvement. Being urged on Cold War and anti-communistic rhetoric, the special forces troops fired at civilians first. This provoked the protestors to arm themselves in defense. The Chun government issued propaganda saying that North Korean communist military forces had infiltrated Kwangju taking over the whole city. So the ROK-US CFC declared war on civilians, their own brothers and sisters. Later the government officially declared that 165 civilians were killed but really close to 3,000 people went missing.

The Kwangju Massacre became a turning point where more and more South Koreans began to realize that the U.S. military presence in the Korean Peninsula was disturbing their peace in order to foster national and international security for the benefit of the U.S. We must may have to ask ourselves why the U.S. military still resides in South Korea and has the Wartime Operational Control over a sovereign country, and constantly intervening or instigating South Korean political struggles and strategically dividing Koreans with a highly contentious ideological chasm (e.g., demonizing communism and supplanting democracy with plutocratic capitalism). This is the key question to ask in order to understand the current nuclear crisis in the Korean Peninsula. Bruce Cummings insists in his book, *The Korean War: A History*, that the Korean War has transformed the U.S. into a worldwide empire forever. He further explains why the U.S. military stays on the Korean Peninsula, as follows:

> The Korean conflict was the occasion for transforming the United States into a very different country than it had ever been before: one with hundreds of permanent military bases abroad, a large standing army and a permanent national security state at home … [the Korean War], however, had an enormous refractory effect back upon the United States. It didn't brand a generation, and it may be forgotten or unknown to the general public, but it was the occasion for transforming the United States into a country that the founding fathers would barely recognize. The Korean War was fought for mutually unknown and incommensurable (if not incomprehensible) goals by the two most important sides, North Korea and the United States. The North Koreans attacked the South because of fear that Japan's industrial economy and its former position in Korea were being revived by recent changes in American policy, because native Koreans in the South who had long collaborated with Japanese colonizers were the Korean midwives of this strategy (and now would finally get what they deserved), and because the North's position relative to the

> South would likely weaken over time. Kim Il Sung weighed the possibility that the United States might intervene in defense of the South, but probably downplayed its significance because he felt he had gotten joint backing for his invasion from both Stalin and Mao. What he could not have known was that his invasion solved a number of critical problems for the Truman administration, and did wonders in building the American Cold War position on a world scale.[14]

Using the ideological tension between North and South Korea and refusing to sign a peace treaty, the U.S. legitimizes their military presence and investments which brings enormous economic benefits. The U.S., however, must recognize the true desire of Koreans from North and South at the end of WW II to become a unified nation. Koreans had already established a provisional independent government of Korea in China during the time of the Japanese occupation working to build their own an independent sovereign country. The U.S., however, has maintained the Japanese influence upon the peninsula. In fact, the US, as the neo-colonial power without colonies, continued to intervene in South Korea's internal politics, to split the country, to install authoritarian puppet regimes in the south (Rhee Syngman, Park Chung Hee, Chun Doo Hwan, Roh Tae Woo, etc.) and to refuse to sign a peace treaty with the North Korea. All this in order to extend the US's national, military, industrial and commercial trade interests and to maintain control over a strategically-located Korean peninsula abutting Russia and China.

Since the U.S. military forces remain in South Korea, North Korea feels threatened by U.S.'s preemptive military operations. This is the primary reason over the last few decades that North Korea has developed nuclear weapons and missile capabilities. Since North Korea has watched what the U.S. policies have done to Saddam Hussein in Iraq and Muammar Gaddafi in Libya. They have come to believe that only nuclear weapons could deter a U.S. invasion. Is North Korea really a threat to the U.S. or *vice versa*? Since World War II North Korea has not invaded any country outside of crossing the 38th parallel during the Korean War. The US, however, has attacked at least 32 countries since WW II. Furthermore, North Korea has a defense budget of only $7.5 billion, in contrast to the US $1 Trillion defense budget. The US has been able to militarize the entire globe with 750 to 1,000 military bases on foreign soil. The US continues to conduct with South Korea and Japan war games practicing regime change, decapitation invasions and tactical nuclear attacks against North Korea. Trump's hawkish administration that has provided an ambivalent and unpredictable leadership weighing heavily on a preemptive strike or a preventive war strategy against NK. This policy is the most dangerous threat to the Korean people, especially considering the close proximity to the border of the capital city, Seoul with its population of 25 million people.

[Kim Jung Un's North Korea, China, and the Rest of the World]

After the first historic summit between the U.S. and North Korea, it was noted that Kim Jung-Un's leadership stood up for the economic needs of his people who were greatly struggling, living their lives in extreme poverty. The courage he demonstrated for disarmament and denuclearization talks has been motivated by his passion for economic and technological development in the North Korea. In other words, while Kim has promoted his country's solitary advancement of a nuclear weapons program, he also knows that his father and grandfather also

[14] Bruce Bummings, *The Korean War: A History*, p.207-8

endeavored to work on the denuclearization, for peace and security on the Korean Peninsula. He also clearly wants to improve NK's economic conditions as he fulfills the desires of his ancestors. Kim believes that China's economic model would be applicable to the North, as the North shares China's mixture of communistic one-party political rule, Confucianism, and free market systems. Furthermore, the enduring Confucian-based similarities between Kim's NK and Xi's China is a long-established Confucian social system and create value beyond mere communist ideology. This is a hybrid model of communism, Confucianism, and the free market system which is unique to these be developed in those organized and controlled countries.

Since 1972, China's development of its nuclear capabilities has become a benchmark for the North to gauge the progression of its own nuclear program. There is another aspect to be considered in relation to the China's nuclear history since 1972, which has been NK's benchmark. China developed the nuclear weapons capabilities in 1968 under the Lyndon Johnson administration. Using this nuclear capability as leverage, China successfully normalized their diplomatic relations with the US under the Richard Nixon in 1972. By keeping leveraging those two together (nuclear weapons capabilities and diplomatic relations, China has made huge leaps with regards to economic development in the last four decades since Deng Xiaoping's pragmatic reformation of the regime, combining a communist system with free market trade and production. In the same way, NK has now demonstrated its capacity for nuclear weapons to the U.S. and the rest of the world. Unlike China, however, Kim would rather give up the nuclear weapons program on order to bring more energy and economic development for the betterment of his people. well-being of the people. It is obvious that NK is seeking a national security as well as economic development. Ironically, it is without had it not been for harsh economic sanctions, the North that they would have been able to develop an economy much like the economy of China and South Korea. NK actually had been able to create a relatively strong economy up until the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s.

"American Exceptionalism" with its reckless globally-focused militarization legitimized their long-standing, harmful interventions and invasions in other sovereign countries. However, if we are to further For the world peace, however, we cannot afford another war on the Korean Peninsula anymore. Furthermore, the denuclearization process has to be applied to the U.S. and other western European countries. That is what it means by the "denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula." During the US-NK summit on June 12, 2018, Donald Trump and Kim Jung Un agreed upon a joint declaration titled the, "Joint Statement of President Donald J. Trump of the United States of America and Chairman Kim Jong-un of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the Singapore Summit." It can be summarized as follows:[15]

- The United States and the DPRK commit to establish new U.S.-DPRK relations in accordance with the desire of the peoples of the two countries for peace and prosperity.
- The United States and the DPRK will join their efforts to build a lasting and stable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.

[15] https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/joint-statement-president-donald-j-trump-united-states-america-chairman-kim-jong-un-democratic-peoples-republic-korea-singapore-summit/

- Reaffirming the April 27, 2018 Panmunjom Declaration[16], the DPRK commits to work towards the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.
- The United States and the DPRK commit to recovering POW/MIA remains including the immediate repatriation of those already identified.

Unlike the Framed Agreement that both the U.S. and NK could not comply with, the new Singapore agreement has to be implemented based on the two-track treaty of processes; complete denuclearization (CVID) and permanent regime security guarantees (CVIG). If both the U.S. and NK can fulfill the process to bring about the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, they can lay the foundation for a peace treaty and normalization of a diplomatic relations.

Furthermore, I believe that the two Koreas can be peacefully united as one nation, as they agree to meet together as often as possible without any foreign interventions under the Moon Jae In administration and Kim Jung Un's leadership. Although reunification will take more trusting, strategic and honest conversations by both leaders and being respectful of their 65 year-long division, they have to develop more cultural exchanges and businesses capabilities, so the two different systems, communism and democracy will be able to work for the people of North Korea and South Korea. Moon and Kim's leaderships will be critical in initiating and driving the talks with those surrounding powers as well. With China and Russia are welcoming a peace talk process, I hope and pray that the U.S. and Japan do not ruin the long-awaited spring of peace on the Korean Peninsula. Early in April, 2018, a team of musicians from South Korea were inspired by the welcoming responses from Pyeongyang, North Korea, when they were performing together with a group of musicians from the North. They both acknowledged that they were one nation and that they were sisters and brothers, singing together "Our dream is to become one nation again."

[Korean Christian Solidarity: "More Than Witnesses"]

At this point I think we should ask ourselves, as global Christians, how can we respond to global challenges like the nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula? As a global church, we have a global responsibility for one another who come from different cultures and countries, and share their own multilayered identities. John Wesley's prophetic statement, "I look upon the world as my parish" resonates not only as an evangelical proclamation that the gospel of Christ should be spread throughout the world through the works of our hands and feet, but also as the political dream of a global church where the expansion of Christianity can be justified and promoted beyond national boundaries and cultural differences in so far as we are called to be peace-makers for the global community in the 21st century. Wesley was challenging the systematic violence (i.e., institutionalized ignorance) within the Church of England that did not fulfill the ministry of Jesus Christ for those on the margins of society, such as prisoners, widows, children, people in extreme poverty, foreigners (refugees and immigrants), and slaves. He lived a life of social holiness through works of mercy, as well as a life of personal holiness through works of piety, when he and his brother Charles lead the Oxford Holy Club at Christ's Church. Wesley, however, probably did not fully understand the implications for colonial and post-colonial interventions that are alluded to in his statement: "the world is my parish." If we don't have a good grasp of what it means to be a world community and a global church that are highly interwoven with each other, whatever we do

[16] See the attached appendix 1.

for the common good will most likely harm other peoples' lives, and their identities, and their vitality. To see the world as "my parish," we, the Christian community, have to speak a historical truth for the people (*minjung; the oppressed*) on the margins about what is happening in those colonized, and decolonized, and recolonized regions as well as in our local communities. That makes "my parish" open and vulnerable to the rest of the hurting and broken world prior to the proclamation of the world as "my parish." Then we may be able to say first, "my parish is part of or belonging to the whole world, as I look upon the world as my parish." That is being a Christian witness to the world and for the people on the margin. Therefore, the dialectical tension between the world and "my parish" or between "global" and "local" has to be carefully mobilized to cultivate the seeds of a genuine global church with global responsibility and solidarity for the marginalized beyond our own borders.

If we apply the process of being a Christian witness to the postcolonial context of the Korean Peninsula, we may see two major liberation movements for solidarity with the people in Korea, that were transformative for the people (*minjung*) politically, economically, and spiritually. One is an indigenous liberation theology, *minjung* theology, which developed as a theological response to the 1970s military dictatorship, U.S. military intervention as the oppressive power as well as to the rising labor movements and human rights movements. Minjung theology was able to bring the suffering of the world to our attention, that the people were unjustly oppressed, and that they were fearlessly seeking justice and peace and liberation from the oppressive conditions. In 1975, James Cone describes, in conjunction with his Black liberation theology, that "minjung theology is Korean theology." Cone continues to elaborate what minjung theology as Korean means, as follows:[17]

> Minjung theology of South Korea is one of the most creative theologies emerging from the political strugglers of Third World peoples. With roots stretching back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it emerged as a fully developed theological voice in the 1970s. On the one hand, minjung theology is an example of what Korean Christians in particular and Asians generally are doing to liberate themselves from the stifling effects of European theology. But on the other hand, minjung theology is more than a rejection of European theology; it is an affirmation of Korean culture and history as the context in which Koreans must do theology. Korean theologians begin with the particularity of their own situation as defined by poor people's attempt to overcome their suffering. They make no universal claims, and thus do not attempt to speak for Christians everywhere. Minjung theology is *Korean* theology; it is a theology that is accountable to the liberating history and culture of poor people in Korea.

As Black theology was born in the context of the civil rights and black power movement, it has to be a "theology of black people who were struggling to make sense of the gospel in their fight for freedom."[18] Minjung theology has to be a theology of Korean people who are politically oppressed, economically exploited, and culturally alienated in the Korean context. Minjung theologians were theologically witnessing the *Han (suffering; aching in the heart)* of the oppressed

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[17] James H. Cones, "Preface," in *Minjung Theology, ed. The Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conferences of Asia,* p. X.
[18] Ibid., p. xiii.

in Korea and living together with them for self-determination and empowerment - to be the subjects of history.

In conjunction with the minjung theological liberation movement in 1970s, I would like to introduce to you "the Monday Night Group"(MNG) which was organized by a small number of ecumenical missionaries and journalists (many of them were United Methodists) to South Korea from foreign countries, mainly the U.S., Australia, Canada, and Germany, who were willing to take a risk to live out the principle of peace and justice in the very moment of injustice and violence while confronting the serious postcolonial dilemma that South Korea was supposed to be an independent country, but was still under the U.S. Military Command-Wartime Operational Command. While a group of Korean theologians raised up their prophetic voices against the domination of the western influence in religion, culture, the economy, and politics, and against the military dictatorship mainly created and endorsed by the U.S., saying that the *minjung*, the oppressed, were "Jesus the messiah," who was the liberator and now they are the subject of history bringing a revolutionary transformation to Korean society, the Monday Night Group was an organically grown group of foreign missionaries and journalists and other community organizers who were witnessing the unjust violence of the South Korean government and the neocolonial illegitimate military intervention of the western countries (mainly the U.S.) on the Korean Peninsula.

MNG created a domestic and international network to inform the outside world about "what they are seeing and hearing directly from the Koreans in the movement, especially from the Korean Christians."[19] At meetings they discussed "what issues to cover and assigned someone to write the Fact Sheet" and distributed them to the broader world.[20] Their topics during the meeting were "Urban Industrial Mission, Changes to the Constitution, Arrested Dissidents, Student Demonstrations, Korea-Japan Relations, the 'People's Revolutionary Party," the Death Penalty for Korean Youth, the Emergency Decrees, Imprisoned Poet Kim Chiha, Galilee Church, U.S.-Korea Relations, the Plight of the Korean Factory Workers, the Detention of Christian Young People," and on and on.[21] Jim Stentzel, the editor of the book, *More Than Witnesses,* describes that "Group members often were surrounded by opponents, hounded by critics, and trailed by government agents, but they never felt abandoned by their friends at home (the Korean Christians) or allies abroad (on the mission boards and in the Korea solidarity groups)."[22] But they fearlessly stood up in solidarity with Korean friends (leaders of the liberation movement) to speak out against evil. Stentzel himself as a member of the Foreign Correspondents Club in Japan and a member of MNG recalled that "By the mid-1970s the Monday Night Group had become a key international conduit" for telling the true story of what was happening in Korea such as "political prisoners lists, torture reports, and pro-democracy declarations" to be "smuggled out of Korea, hand-carried to the international community."[23] MNG could not only strategically organized a community of resistance and solidarity with Korean people, but also courageously communicated what they witnessed throughout the world speaking for those who were fighting for democratization, justice, peace, and human rights. Their prophetic courage, to tell a historical truth and to speak for the subaltern

[19] Jim Stentzel, ed., *More Than Witnesses*, p. 130.
[20] Ibid., p. 130.
[21] Ibid., p. 131.
[22] Ibid., p. 24.
[23] Ibid., p. 20.

whom they were called to serve, helped the progress of the process of democratization in South Korea in the 1970s and beyond.

As Stentzel said, "Democracy, once achieved, is never locked in place. It must be defended and fought for continuously. One key is never forgetting those who sacrificed their lives and their livelihoods for today's democratic freedom."[24] He is right. Democracy, freedom and peace must be "defended and fought for continuously." In 2016, 24 millions of South Koreans went out to the streets lite by candles and cried out for the impeachment of the corrupted President, Park Keunhye, daughter of the military dictator, Park Jung Hee. Soon after she was impeached, Lee Myungbak, her predecessor, was also imprisoned for his own corruption, abuse of his power and fraud. A huge wave of South Koreans who made the candlelight revolution happen, giving birth to the Moon Jae In government who has now been able to conduct peace talks with North Korea, the U.S., China, Russia, and Japan. The power of the "Candlelight Revolution" for justice and peace is one of the most unforgettable witnesses from the grassroots and from the people (minjung) on the margin that transforming the Korean Peninsula and its geopolitical situation. This witness will drive away the haunting ghosts of colonial power, militarism, and materialism on the Korean Peninsula and beyond.

[Concluding Remarks]

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have A Dream" speech reminds us that his American dream is not an American fantasy of the neoliberal and neocolonial American exceptionalism that has been militarizing the globe, and commodifying and confiscating resources abroad, and systemically discriminating against the whole world for the benefit of an "America First," policy, but rather it is a dream for peace and justice making at a global scale, beyond borders, for the sake of our true humanity. The concept of race is a modern invention to promote the European/American fantasy of cultural supremacy. Global-militarization is another example of the American fantasy of policing the world. The current neo-liberal free market plutocracy is a form of an irresponsible "American exceptionalism" and "American capitalism"which damages human dignity, and national vitality, and cultural identities around the globe. We cannot accept these harmful and divisive ideologies any longer. If we stop them boldly here and now, we may be able to bring peace and justice on earth and on the Korean Peninsula in the near future. In other words, a true transformation comes from our own genuine self-knowledge of who we are as citizens of the global community.

The Two Koreas are still dealing with the postcolonial conundrum that while both North Korea and South Korea have just began peace talks in early 2018 through their own efforts they have to work with the U.S., China, Russia, and even Japan. They are the very countries who are the root cause of the Korean conflict. in one way or the other. The Neocolonial intervention from those powers will never end the conflict between the two Koreas, unless the inter-Korean self-determination and mutual trust are internationally recognized and strategically developed for the sake of the shared future of the Korean Peninsula. In the midst of this harsh reality, a group of people who were willing to take a risk their lives for others have built solidarity for the oppressed and for the poor. That transformed the Korean society politically, economically, and spiritually. As minjung theology is a theological witness to the people in Korea who are deeply suffering and wounded, the solidarity of the Monday Night Group revealed that real truth in reality to the global community. Because of their respectful courageous responses to the unjust actions of the South

[24] Ibid., pp. 37-38.

Korean government and U.S. colonialist behavior, democratization has progressed and become more mature and economic development has been achieved. Peace and peaceful reunification will be fulfilled. But it does not stop in the Korean Peninsula. Peace will never be achieved, unless we continue to strive for justice for beyond all borders. In fact, the courageous witnesses to social holiness for justice and peace have made a reality that "my parish" or "Christianity" is unashamedly a part of the global community.

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Appendix 1:

Panmunjom Declaration (April 27, 2018)

During this momentous period of historical transformation on the Korean Peninsula, reflecting the enduring aspiration of the Korean people for peace, prosperity and reunification, President Moon Jae-in of the Republic of Korea and Chairman Kim Jong-un of the State Affairs Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held an Inter-Korean Summit Meeting at the 'Peace House' at Panmunjom on April 27, 2018.

The two leaders solemnly declared before the 80 million Korean people and the whole world that there will be no more war on the Korean Peninsula and thus a new era of peace has begun.

The two leaders, sharing the firm commitment to bring a swift end to the Cold War relic of longstanding division and confrontation, to boldly approach a new era of national reconciliation, peace and prosperity, and to improve and cultivate inter-Korean relations in a more active manner, declared at this historic site of Panmunjom as follows:

1. South and North Korea will reconnect the blood relations of the people and bring forward the future of co-prosperity and reunification led by Koreans by facilitating comprehensive and groundbreaking advancement in inter-Korean relations. Improving and cultivating inter-Korean relations is the prevalent desire of the whole nation and the urgent calling of the times that cannot be held back any further.

(1) South and North Korea affirmed the principle of determining the destiny of the Korean nation on their own accord and agreed to bring forth the watershed moment for the improvement of inter-Korean relations by fully implementing all existing agreements and declarations adopted between the two sides thus far.
(2) South and North Korea agreed to hold dialogue and negotiations in various fields including at high level, and to take practical measures for the implementation of the agreements reached at the inter-Korean summit.
(3) South and North Korea agreed to establish a joint liaison office with resident representatives of both sides in the Gaeseong region in order to facilitate close consultation between the authorities as well as smooth exchanges and cooperation between the peoples.
(4) South and North Korea agreed to encourage more active cooperation, exchanges, visits and

contacts at all levels in order to rejuvenate the sense of national reconciliation and unity. Between South and North, the two sides will encourage the atmosphere of amity and cooperation by actively staging various joint events on the dates that hold special meaning for both South and North Korea, such as June 15 Declaration, in which participants from all levels, including central and local governments, parliaments, political parties, and civil organizations, will be involved. On the international front, the two sides agreed to demonstrate their collective wisdom, talents, and solidarity by jointly participating in international sports events such as the 2018 Asian Games.
(5) South and North Korea agreed to endeavor to swiftly resolve the humanitarian issues that resulted from the division of the nation, and to convene the Inter-Korean Red Cross Meeting to discuss and solve various issues including the reunion of separated families. In this vein, South and North Korea agreed to proceed with reunion programs for the separated families on the occasion of the National Liberation Day of August 15 this year.
(6) South and North Korea agreed to actively implement the projects previously agreed in the October 4 Declaration, in order to promote balanced economic growth and co-prosperity of the nation. As a first step, the two sides agreed to adopt practical steps towards the connection and modernization of the railways and roads on the eastern transportation corridor such as Gyeongui and Sinuiju for their utilization in the future.

2. South and North Korea will make joint efforts to alleviate the acute military tension and practically eliminate the danger of war on the Korean Peninsula. Alleviating the military tension and eliminating the danger of war is a highly significant challenge directly linked to the fate of the Korean people and also a vital task in guaranteeing their peaceful and stable lives.

(1) South and North Korea agreed to completely cease all hostile acts against each other in every domain, including land, air and sea, that are the source of military tension and conflict. In this vein, the two sides agreed to transform the DMZ into a peace zone in a genuine sense by ceasing as of May 1 this year all hostile acts and eliminating their means, including broadcasting through loudspeakers and distribution of leaflets, in the areas along the Military Demarcation Line between North and South Korea.
(2) South and North Korea agreed to devise a practical scheme to turn the areas around the Northern Limit Line in the West Sea into a maritime peace zone in order to prevent accidental military clashes and guarantee safe fishing activities.
(3) South and North Korea agreed to take various military measures to ensure active mutual cooperation, exchanges, visits and contacts. The two sides agreed to hold frequent meetings between military authorities, including the Defense Ministers Meeting, in order to immediately discuss and solve military issues that arise between them. In this regard, the two sides agreed to first convene military talks at the rank of general in May.

3. South and North Korea will actively cooperate to establish a permanent and solid peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. Bringing an end to the current unnatural state of Korean Armistice Agreement and establishing a robust peace regime on the Korean Peninsula is a historical mission that must not be delayed any further.

(1) South and North Korea reaffirmed the Non-Aggression Agreement that precludes the use of force in any form against each other, and agreed to strictly adhere to this Agreement.

(2) South and North Korea agreed to carry out disarmament in a phased manner, as military tension is alleviated and substantial progress is made in military confidence-building.
(3) During this year that marks the 65th anniversary of the Korean Armistice Agreement, South and North Korea agreed to actively pursue trilateral meetings involving the two Koreas and the United States, or quadrilateral meetings involving the two Koreas, the United States and China with a view to declaring an end to the Korean War, turning the Korean Armistice Agreement into a peace treaty, and establishing a permanent and solid peace regime.
(4) South and North Korea confirmed the common goal of realizing, through complete denuclearization, a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula. South and North Korea shared the view that the voluntary measures being initiated by North Korea are very meaningful and crucial for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and agreed to carry out their respective roles and responsibilities in this regard. South and North Korea agreed to actively seek the support and cooperation of the international community for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.
The two leaders agreed, through regular meetings and direct telephone conversations, to hold frequent and candid discussions on issues vital to the nation, to strengthen mutual trust and to jointly endeavor to strengthen the positive momentum towards continuous advancement of inter-Korean relations as well as peace, prosperity and reunification of the Korean Peninsula.

In this context, President Moon Jae-in agreed to visit Pyongyang this fall.

April 27, 2018
Done in Panmunjom
(signed) Moon Jae-in, President, The Republic of Korea
(signed) Kim Jong-un, Chairman, State Affairs Commission, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Appendix 2: June 15th North-South Joint Declaration

In accordance with the noble will of the entire people who yearn for the peaceful reunification of the nation, President Kim Dae-jung of the Republic of Korea and Supreme Leader Kim Jong-il of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held a historic meeting and summit talks in Pyongyang from June 13 to 15, 2000.
The leaders of the South and the North, recognizing that the meeting and the summit talks were of great significance in promoting mutual understanding, developing South–North relations and realizing peaceful reunification, declared as follows:

1 The South and the North have agreed to resolve the question of reunification independently and through the joint efforts of the Korean people, who are the masters of the country.

2 For the achievement of reunification, we have agreed that there is a common element in the South's concept of a confederation and the North's formula for a loose form of federation. The South and the North agreed to promote reunification in that direction.

3 The South and the North have agreed to promptly resolve humanitarian issues such as exchange visits by separated family members and relatives on the occasion of the August 15

National Liberation Day and the question of unswerving Communists serving prison sentences in the South.

4 The South and the North have agreed to consolidate mutual trust by promoting balanced development of the national economy through economic cooperation and by stimulating cooperation and exchanges in civic, cultural, sports, health, environmental and all other fields.

5 The South and the North have agreed to hold a dialogue between relevant authorities in the near future to implement the above agreements expeditiously.

President Kim Dae-jung cordially invited National Defence Commission Chairman Kim Jong-il to visit Seoul, and Chairman Kim Jong-il will visit Seoul at an appropriate time.

(signed) Kim Dae-jung, President, The Republic of Korea
(signed) Kim Jong-il, Chairman, Supreme Leader, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Appendix 3: Declaration on the Advancement of South-North Korean Relations, Peace and Prosperity

In accordance with the agreement between President Roh Moo-hyun of the Republic of Korea and Chairman Kim Jong Il of the National Defense Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, President Roh visited Pyongyang from October 2-4, 2007.

During the visit, there were historic meetings and discussions.

At the meetings and talks, the two sides have reaffirmed the spirit of the June 15 Joint Declaration and had frank discussions on various issues related to realizing the advancement of South-North relations, peace on the Korean Peninsula, common prosperity of the Korean people and unification of Korea.

Expressing confidence that they can forge a new era of national prosperity and unification on their own initiative if they combine their will and capabilities, the two sides declare as follows, in order to expand and advance South-North relations based on the June 15 Joint Declaration:

1. The South and the North shall uphold and endeavor actively to realize the June 15 Declaration.

The South and the North have agreed to resolve the issue of unification on their own initiative and according to the spirit of "by-the-Korean-people-themselves."

The South and the North will work out ways to commemorate the June 15 anniversary of the announcement of the South-North Joint Declaration to reflect the common will to faithfully carry it out.

2. The South and the North have agreed to firmly transform inter-Korean relations into ties of mutual respect and trust, transcending the differences in ideology and systems.

The South and the North have agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of the other and agreed to resolve inter-Korean issues in the spirit of reconciliation, cooperation and reunification.

The South and the North have agreed to overhaul their respective legislative and institutional apparatuses in a bid to develop inter-Korean relations in a reunification- oriented direction.

The South and the North have agreed to proactively pursue dialogue and contacts in various areas, including the legislatures of the two Koreas, in order to resolve matters concerning the expansion and advancement of inter-Korean relations in a way that meets the aspirations of the entire Korean people.

3. The South and the North have agreed to closely work together to put an end to military hostilities, mitigate tensions and guarantee peace on the Korean Peninsula.

The South and the North have agreed not to antagonize each other, reduce military tension, and resolve issues in dispute through dialogue and negotiation.
The South and the North have agreed to oppose war on the Korean Peninsula and to adhere strictly to their obligation to nonaggression.
The South and the North have agreed to designate a joint fishing area in the West Sea to avoid accidental clashes. The South's Minister of Defense and the North's Minister of the People's Armed Forces have also agreed to hold talks in Pyongyang this November to discuss military confidence-building measures, including military guarantees covering the plans and various cooperative projects for making this joint fishing area into a peace area.
4. The South and the North both recognize the need to end the current armistice regime and build a permanent peace regime. The South and the North have also agreed to work together to advance the matter of having the leaders of the three or four parties directly concerned to convene on the Peninsula and declare an end to the war.
With regard to the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula, the South and the North have agreed to work together to implement smoothly the September 19, 2005 Joint Statement and the February 13, 2007 Agreement achieved at the Six-Party Talks.
5. The South and the North have agreed to facilitate, expand, and further develop inter- Korean economic cooperation projects on a continual basis for balanced economic development and co-prosperity on the Korean Peninsula in accordance with the principles of common interests, co-prosperity and mutual aid.
The South and the North reached an agreement on promoting economic cooperation, including investments, pushing forward with the building of infrastructure and the development of natural resources. Given the special nature of inter-Korean cooperative projects, the South and the North have agreed to grant preferential conditions and benefits to those projects.
The South and the North have agreed to create a "special peace and cooperation zone in the West Sea" encompassing Haeju and vicinity in a bid to proactively push ahead with the creation of a joint fishing zone and maritime peace zone, establishment of a special economic zone, utilization of Haeju harbor, passage of civilian vessels via direct routes in Haeju and the joint use of the Han River estuary.
The South and the North have agreed to complete the first-phase construction of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex at an early date and embark on the second-stage development project. The South and the North have agreed to open freight rail services between Munsan and Bongdong and promptly complete various institutional measures, including those related to passage, communication, and customs clearance procedures.
The South and the North have agreed to discuss repairs of the Gaeseong-Sinuiju railroad and the Gaeseong-Pyongyang expressway for their joint use.
The South and the North have agreed to establish cooperative complexes for shipbuilding in Anbyeon and Nampo, while continuing cooperative projects in various areas such as agriculture, health and medical services and environmental protection.
The South and the North have agreed to upgrade the status of the existing Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation Promotion Committee to a Joint Committee for Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation to be headed by deputy prime minister-level officials.
6. The South and the North have agreed to boost exchanges and cooperation in the social areas covering history, language, education, science and technology, culture and arts, and sports to highlight the long history and excellent culture of the Korean people.

The South and the North have agreed to carry out tours to Mt. Baekdu and open nonstop flight services between Seoul and Mt. Baekdu for this purpose.
The South and the North have agreed to send a joint cheering squad from both sides to the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. The squad will use the Gyeongui Railway Line for the first-ever joint Olympic cheering.
7. The South and the North have agreed to actively promote humanitarian cooperation projects.
The South and the North have agreed to expand reunion of separated family members and their relatives and promote exchanges of video messages.
To this end, the South and the North have agreed to station resident representatives from each side at the reunion center at Mt. Geumgang when it is completed and regularize reunions of separated family members and their relatives.
The South and the North have agreed to actively cooperate in case of emergencies, including natural disasters, according to the principles of fraternal love, humanitarianism and mutual assistance.
8. The South and the North have agreed to increase cooperation to promote the interests of the Korean people and the rights and interests of overseas Koreans on the international stage.
The South and the North have agreed to hold inter-Korean prime ministers' talks for the implementation of this Declaration and have agreed to hold the first round of meetings in November 2007 in Seoul.
The South and the North have agreed that their highest authorities will meet frequently for the advancement of relations between the two sides.

Oct. 4, 2007 Pyongyang

Roh Moo-hyun President Republic of Korea
Kim Jong Il Chairman, National Defense Commission Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Appendix 4: Joint Statement of President Donald J. Trump of the United States of America and Chairman Kim Jong Un of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the Singapore Summit (June 12, 2018)

President Donald J. Trump of the United States of America and Chairman Kim Jong Un of the State Affairs Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) held a first, historic summit in Singapore on June 12, 2018.
President Trump and Chairman Kim Jong Un conducted a comprehensive, in-depth, and sincere exchange of opinions on the issues related to the establishment of new U.S.–DPRK relations and the building of a lasting and robust peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. President Trump committed to provide security guarantees to the DPRK, and Chairman Kim Jong Un reaffirmed his firm and unwavering commitment to complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.
Convinced that the establishment of new U.S.–DPRK relations will contribute to the peace and prosperity of the Korean Peninsula and of the world, and recognizing that mutual confidence building can promote the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, President Trump and Chairman Kim Jong Un state the following:

1 The United States and the DPRK commit to establish new U.S.–DPRK relations in

accordance with the desire of the peoples of the two countries for peace and prosperity.

2 The United States and the DPRK will join their efforts to build a lasting and stable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.

3 Reaffirming the April 27, 2018 Panmunjom Declaration, the DPRK commits to work toward complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

4 The United States and the DPRK commit to recovering POW/MIA remains, including the immediate repatriation of those already identified.

Having acknowledged that the U.S.–DPRK summit—the first in history—was an epochal event of great significance in overcoming decades of tensions and hostilities between the two countries and for the opening up of a new future, President Trump and Chairman Kim Jong Un commit to implement the stipulations in this joint statement fully and expeditiously. The United States and the DPRK commit to hold follow-on negotiations, led by the U.S. Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, and a relevant high-level DPRK official, at the earliest possible date, to implement the outcomes of the U.S.–DPRK summit.

President Donald J. Trump of the United States of America and Chairman Kim Jong Un of the State Affairs Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have committed to cooperate for the development of new U.S.–DPRK relations and for the promotion of peace, prosperity, and security of the Korean Peninsula and of the world.

DONALD J. TRUMP
President of the United States of America

KIM JONG UN
Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

June 12, 2018
Sentosa Island
Singapore