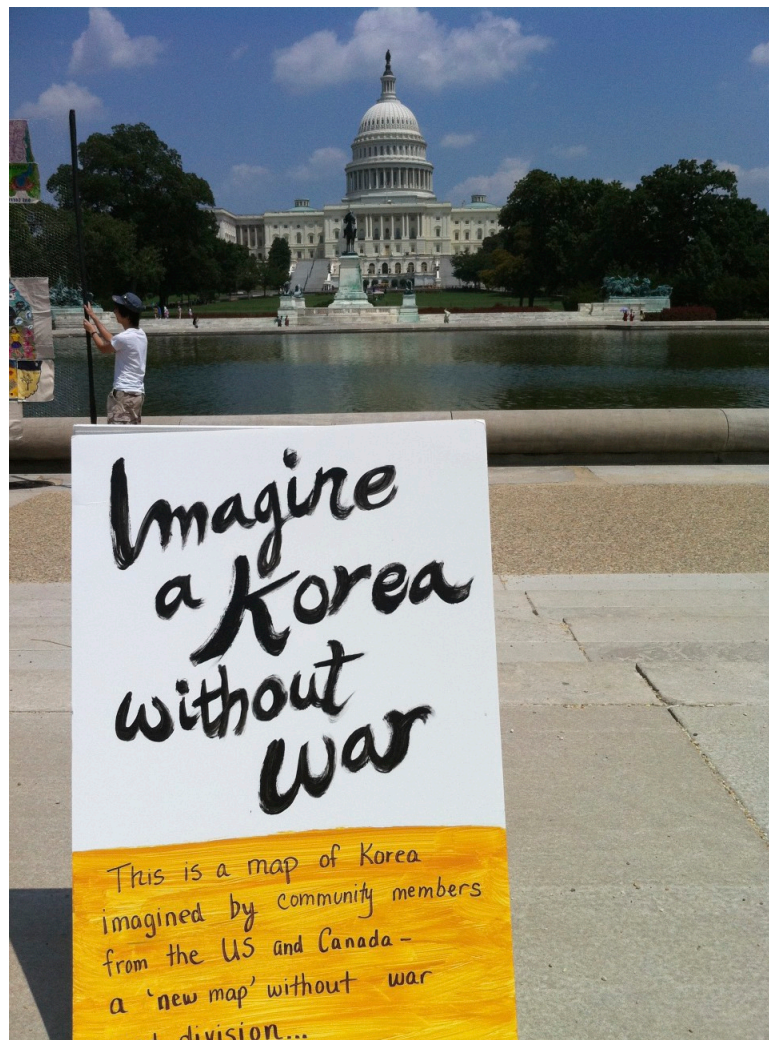

A ROADMAP TO PEACE IN KOREA

Twelve Steps That Can Change the World
Moving from Reaction to Relationship

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Remarks to the April 2012 Peace and Reunification Conference
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“Peace is the common aspiration of humanity, and only when peace is ensured can the people create an independent new life.” President Kim Il Sung Juche 80 (1991)

“When nations and peoples allow themselves to be defined by their differences, the gulf between them widens. When we fail to pursue peace, then it stays forever beyond our grasp.” President Barack Obama in Prague (2009)

The world has changed dramatically since the Armistice Agreement of 1953, but in terms of the relationship between the United States and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK) it's as if time has stood still. A small “zone” became *demilitarized*, while the rest of Korea became a military fortress and endless cold war battleground. In the U.S. the Korean War is often called the “Forgotten War,” but in reality it has become the “forgotten peace.” Despite both countries speaking about the need for peace, it has remained elusive to this day. What stands in the way? How must the relationship between the United States and the DPRK change to lead a world toward a new tomorrow? Can we create a new roadmap to peace?

Scientist and peace advocate Albert Einstein confirmed that our failure to achieve peace demonstrates “that strong psychological factors are at work which paralyze these efforts.” For those of us who advocate for peace in Korea we have experienced this paralyzed peace process for nearly 60 years and the contributing factors are many. A waning superpower with ‘power over’ issues and a falling economic prowess. The psyche of a divided nation scarred by a string of tears flowing from a war of unspeakable horror and the broken hearts of millions of separated families. Add to this mix a rabid militarism that robs all our countries of the resources necessary to deal with food shortages, homelessness or expanded healthcare and you begin to understand how peace could get lost along the way.

In order to achieve an *age of peace*, like the *age of science*, it requires a change in our consciousness. We need not live in the past and perpetuate this state of war, but use it as our teacher toward a new way of relating and thinking. We are never too old to learn and it should be the same with our nations. So with this historic week in commemoration of the birth and life of President Kim Il Sung, it’s an important time to reflect on the lessons from these more than 60 years of conflict.

When I worked in South Africa with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission an elderly woman was asked about her courage and her capacity to forgive. They wanted to know the source of her strength. She smiled and first said “those who fell before me as heroes give me my strength.” That is true. We all draw strength from our leaders or our comrades who have stood up against oppression, domination and injustice. But then she leaned in and shook everyone in the hall saying “I think we each must decide who we are and who we will be tomorrow.”

The conflict in Korea provides this same opportunity to examine what we value, what we share and who we can be as nations and as a planet? As President Kim Il Sung said so wisely “Peace is humanity’s common aspiration.” We are beings of unlimited potential and we have the power and creativity to break through this paralyzed state of war and conflict. But we have to be willing to let go of much that has defined our relationships for decades.

I was once at a talk by a buddhist monk who had stood up against a great imperialist force. When someone asked him “Why didn’t you fight back?” he answered with a gentle smile, “Well, war is obsolete, you know. ” Then, after a few moments, his face more grave, he said, “Of course the mind can rationalize fighting back...but the heart would never understand. Then you would be divided in yourself, the heart and the mind, and the war would be inside you.”

We all carry this war in every cell of our bodies as, like any medical condition left untreated, it has been allowed to fester and grow. In South Africa they chose not to continue the “trauma of a nation” nor label people as purely victims and perpetrators. As President Mandela said “that the chains of the oppressed wrapped equally around the oppressor as well.” It’s time to cleanse the war out of us all.

Here are my twelve steps to accomplish a true and lasting peace.

Step # 1 - Talk without Preconditions: Dialogue with Deep Listening

After much of Europe lay in ashes at the end of World War II British Prime Minister Winston Churchill reflected that “It’s better to talk, talk, talk, than to fight, fight, fight.” When we not only talk but take the time to deeply listen it establishes trust. People let go of their defenses and begin to believe they each can be part of the solution. Authentic communication, as

opposed to posturing and threats also builds trust and leads to cooperation. The higher the trust level the less we give into fear and aggression and together can find common ground.

Bi-lateral talks are necessary for the United States and the DPRK to resolve their state of war and find peace. The U.S. controls more than 700,000 ROK/U.S. wartime troops and still occupy the South with more than 80 bases and posts. By formalizing relations and committing to dialogue to achieve demilitarization we can lead the way to further peace discussions between the DPRK and Japan, and finally regular peace and reunification talks with South Korea.

Recent bi-lateral talks were encouraging but now are jeopardized as a result of the DPRK long standing plan to launch a satellite into space this week. Over the past two years talks broke down because of military skirmishes in disputed waters. Such issues should not end talking but demonstrate why more dialogue and understanding is necessary. The U.S. should not, like an angry child, stop talks simply because they are not getting what they want, or as a form of punishment. In such a scenario both sides lose. Obama's reference to not reward "bad behavior" is reminiscent of a parent scolding their child and is particularly offensive and provocative to a nation like the DPRK that prides its independence and being the "masters of their own destiny."

This is where learning to listen becomes essential. Knowing that the April Centenary is of key importance to the DPRK, the U.S. could have found a way to observe and even respect a one time launch of a satellite, even if they believe the launch provides the DPRK with data about their missile capability. The U.S. cannot on one hand spend the months of February through April running provocative war exercises and tests of aircraft carriers, fighter planes and other military hardware along the border of the DPRK and then condemn the launch of one missile into space for peaceful purposes. This hypocrisy is noted by the DPRK and contributes to

the credibility problem that has disintegrated trust over the years. If we are to call upon the DPRK to not engage in military preparedness the U.S. must take the high road and do the same.

When we take the time to know someone else the best way is to “take a walk in their shoes” - a saying that means see things from the other person’s point of view. This form of *empathetic listening* is also essential for international relations. If the U.S. would stop and listen, they would know how important it is philosophically for the people of the DPRK to solve its problems on its own, brave all difficulties and hardships and be masters of their own destiny. It is not necessary that the U.S. adopt the Juche philosophy of the DPRK, but it is essential to understand its importance to them. The paralysis of peace is maintained by attempting to dictate the conduct of a nation from afar when we refuse to even formally recognize them as a country. Respect must run both ways.

When we approach dialogue with an open mind we can achieve things beyond our wildest imagination or at least outside our entrenched thinking. Writer Frances Moore Lappe says that as we see “through the eyes of others it exposes key information - assumptions, prejudices, values and needs all essential to finding solutions. It can deepen our understanding of problems, often offering more solutions.” Thus, conflict can become a creative force.

The fact that we disagree does not mean that we should not talk or draw lines in the sand. When conflict is ignored or allowed to fester it most often blows up or creates destructive divides in relationship. The world we all want, one that is safe, peaceful and respectful is possible if we focus on the solutions, engage in our best listening and not be dragged into the

hype and sensationalism of the conflict. Any conflict is simply an opportunity for something greater.

President Obama has said on several occasions that it is essential to talk to those even with whom we may have profound differences. In Prague in 2009 he told the world that:

The pursuit of peace and calm and cooperation among nations is the work of both leaders and peoples in the 21st century...When nations and peoples allow themselves to be defined by their differences, the gulf between them widens. When we fail to pursue peace, then it stays forever beyond our grasp.

In the book *The Immortal Juche* the author writes ‘The Juche idea...brings one’s creativity into full play, and enables all people desirous of an independent life to live happily in union and cooperation.’ One of America’s Founding Fathers Thomas Jefferson said “Cooperation is a state of mind. There is little hope of real progress until we make this discovery and act upon this knowledge.” To “cooperate” does not mean agree on every facet of the relationship, but the U.S. must “Act” to expand its consciousness about peace and relationships and be willing to engage unconditionally. Showing up is a clear precondition to cooperation. Understanding that for the DPRK and the soldiers in Korea the war has never ended, that trust has long been broken and learning what is important to the DPRK is a first key step. As Physicist Albert Einstein said “Peace can never be achieved by force. It can only come through understanding.”

Step # 2 - Acknowledge our Common Ground and Shared Concerns

Vaclav Havel, the late President and Poet in the Czech Republic, once gave a speech to the U.S. Congress and said that if we are to survive as a civilization: “We have no alternative but to shift the ray of our attention from that which separates us to that which unites us.... The salvation of this human world lies nowhere else than in the human heart.” Too often we focus on what divides us and we miss the chance to move closer to peace and more unity.

Like many of you I am a parent and now, much to my surprise and delight, a grandfather. When I speak of this it goes straight to the heart. Whether you are Korean or American it’s all the same - this love of family, our dreams of a kinder, safer and happier world. We raise our children with some of the same values: Truthfulness, fairness, responsibility and respect for life. We must bring these same values to the negotiating table, regardless of our political viewpoints.

We are all humans and as Adrienne Rich once said “We all go to sleep at night dreaming of a common language.” But its not about just talking or dreaming. It will take action and experiencing a new reality. President Obama raised the bar last moth in Seoul when he called on Pyongyang “to have the courage to pursue peace.” "Here in Korea,” he said, “I want to speak directly to the leadership in Pyongyang. The United States has no hostile intent toward your country. We are committed to peace."

All countries share a desire for peace. Yet to legitimately call for “ the courage to pursue peace,” my government must gaze into the mirror and have the courage itself to demonstrate a lack of hostility and walk their talk of peace. If both nations are committed to peace then war exercises and missile launches should simultaneously be suspended and real dialogue begun.

Step #3 - Exchange Art, Sports and Culture

When we share music, as in the New York Philharmonic's visit to the DPRK, or sports, such as the golf tournament in the North that brought South Korean women golfers to play in the Pyongyang Open, we remember our humanity. We can share laughter, healthy competition and playfulness. We remember that we are all human beings with challenges, obstacles and dreams. We must increase the cultural exchanges and never let them become a victim to politics. These cultural exchanges have the power to heal and remind us of our common humanity.

A group in Atlanta USA has been seeking visas for the North Korea's National Symphony Orchestra to visit and tour the U.S. for 18 days, but the State Department just recently said "Decisions regarding North Korean visits to the U.S. are made in the context of the overall relationship," making the trip less likely, as if it's a gift to allow the musicians to come and entertain us. This is not the 1960's and the Cold War. People must speak up and tell their leaders that such attitudes lead to war not to building the peace. A great movie that moves me to tears is called *Playing for Change: Peace Through Music* where musicians from all over the world play together. When we remember of common humanity through cultural exchanges it can strike a chord much deeper.

Step # 4 - Demonstrate Respect: Establish Formal Diplomatic Relations

How do we have discussions about troop levels, nuclear weapons, missile launches, human rights or other concerns if we don't have relationship or enough respect to say you are an independent nation. The DPRK does not live in isolation with the governments of the world, having diplomatic relations with 161 countries. The DPRK has full diplomatic relations with

Canada to the north of the U.S. and with Mexico to its south. Yet those who refuse to have relations with the DPRK, such as the U.S., Japan and South Korea, are those who have never escaped the war-mentality or dealt with the past pains of the 20th century.

The United States has relations with China, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Burma, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Libya, Syria, Somalia, Turkmenistan, and the Sudan. These countries are culturally different, have different priorities, economic systems and in some cases regimes that are oppressing its people. Establishing formal diplomatic ties builds relationship and gives a country a formal avenue to resolve issues. It is not a negotiating term but should be a unilateral step taken by the U.S. to demonstrate respect and provide regular dialogue. Thus if there had been peaceful relations between the U.S. and the DPRK and two journalists happened to stumble across a border as happened a few years ago, it would be treated as an immigration issue rather than some suspicious war-time activity. Why in the 21st century are we having to do our diplomatic business through the Swiss embassy rather than having our own U.S. Ambassador on the ground to assist in matters and build trust and a relationship on a regular basis.

Step # 5 - Transcend Hostility

Too long we have allowed anger to dictate the DPRK/ROK/U.S. relationship. Even as things begin to thaw there is often an “incident” that leads to reprisals, threats and aggression. As with any conflict there can be a cycle of hostility until both parties find a way to transcend it. Martin Luther King Jr. said “Violence begets violence...and its aftermath is tragic bitterness.” Certainly with unspeakable violence and loss of life in the Korean War, much bitterness has been spawned. We must find a way out of the hostility or it will keep being replicated.

One way to shift the approach to the relationship and be less reactive is to utilize in international relations the *path of nonresistance* or what the Buddhists call wu wei. This ancient principle holds true today that when nations' choose to step back and not react to threats, war exercises, missile launches etc, then they disengage from the cycle of hostility. Aggressive actions, sanctions, military exercises, threats to turn cities into 'seas of fire,' all bind us to more aggression. When a country chooses not to respond, it provides an opportunity for the hostile cycle to wind down.

The only real way to fully escape the cycle of hostility is to take positive actions and build relations. We can lead by our example. Too much force or pressure will always backfire. Leaders who push are blocking progress, not moving it along. Transcending hostility creates an atmosphere conducive to peace and can be the unilateral choice of any nation. Such a nation becomes a model for the world.

Step # 6 - Release Enemy Images and Demonization - Moving Beyond Good vs Evil

When George Bush uttered the infamous line about the "axis of evil" as he invaded Iraq while threatening the DPRK and Iran, I was embarrassed for my country. It was not that such rhetoric had not been used before, after all President Ronald Reagan often called the Soviet Union the "Evil Empire." But the Soviets and the U.S. worked tirelessly through bi-lateral negotiations to move from enemies to adversaries and eventually rivals or at times even partners. But this time the U.S. with its invasion of Iraq followed up its name-calling with an illegal war and the Bush administration's efforts to crusade "the West above against the rest" was born.

Yet it's not so simple, as the famous Russian author Alexander Solzhenitsyn said, there is no purely good or evil - as it "runs through the heart of everyone and who is willing to destroy a piece of their own heart?" All countries struggle with their inner conflicts, threats from outside or within, fear of terrorism or attacks. Former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. John Bolton was fond of pointing to a book called "The End of North Korea" when asked about his policy toward the DPRK. He would be condemning and insulting toward the DPRK and its leaders, while in return Pyongyang would call him "human scum and a bloodsucker." Such name calling and demonizing did little except aggravate and isolate the two sides further. Labeling each other is another childish approach to international affairs that is counter-productive and offensive. Even children on the playground are taught that sharing is better than bullying. Our leaders must stop resorting to name-calling and insulting rhetoric that too often is either inaccurate, or at best an over simplification. We all have our ghosts and demons but they do not have to define us.

Step #7 Moving from Reaction to Relationship

My Korean-American friends who have been working for peace for decades seem surprised at my efforts, and always ask why I am doing this work. Anglos who have gotten involved often have adopted Korean Children, married a Korean spouse or lived in Korea. I explain to them my view of the importance peace on the Korean Peninsula holds for world peace. "My country divided Korea," I say "and it's our responsibility to be part of its reunification." But in the end it's mostly about the South African principle of ubuntu that I learned about in my work against apartheid - *that we are human as a result of our relations with others*. We are connected as part of the human race and like the world after the September 11th

attacks were standing with America, I believe that in the end ‘We’re all Korean.’ This symbol of separation, like many others, must be broken for us to be whole again.

Nationalism, racism, sexism and classism all arise when we fail to see we are all connected. It does not mean that we don’t preserve our uniqueness, culture or economic systems, but that we can honor our diversity and reduce the tension that arises when a relationship is based upon oppression or domination. Peace is not the opposite of war, or simply a treaty obligation. It is a state of being and how we relate to one another. Without good relationships, it’s quite challenging to have peace. Harmony means seeking peace and living a life without enmity. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu once told me “What I do to you I do to myself. Our humanity is all about relationship.”

Step # 8 - Changing to a Language of Peace

We all too often see war and the military as something glamorous and heroic. Military bands, high stepping soldiers or a battalion raising a flag often bring tears to many. We talk of our weapons as a marvelous accomplishment or achievement in human ingenuity, instead of that its end product is to kill and maim living beings. During the War in Iraq our government touted our “Smart” bombs. Our language is often detached from reality.

But it’s time to stop sugar coating violence and the machinery of war. There is nothing “smart “ about a bomb and nuclear weapons will not make us stronger or greater. Only peace can do that. Robert Oppenheimer, the developer of the atomic bomb said after its use that “If atomic bombs are to be added as new weapons to the arsenals of a warring world, or to the arsenals of

the nations preparing for war, then the time will come when mankind will curse the names of Los Alamos and Hiroshima. The people of this world must unite or they will perish.”

It was once said that “ We live in language the way fish live in water: we use it constantly but not consciously.” We rarely stop to think about how it affects the world around us. We can begin to bring more peace to our world and the people we come in contact with by ridding ourselves of the “war language.” In politics we can say that he “attacked my position,” in love it can be called the “battle of the sexes” or we are even “doing battle” with the flu. As lawyers our cases are courtroom battles with our goal too often to “chop up” the other side. To bring our institutions and governments along to peace we must adopt the language of peace in not only our dealings between nations, but in our everyday life.

Marshall Rosenberg, the founder of a movement called Non-Violent Communication (NVC) says “We can create a world within ourselves that will support and sustain an outer world of peace.” This is our task as human beings in this lifetime. It’s not easy to overnight change all our violent language or thoughts that divides us into *us vs them*. We have grown addicted to having the “enemy.” Breaking this habit requires us to listen past the language to the underlying feelings and needs of the other nation. The language and our hearts soften when we are heard and respected. What we discover then can surprise us.

Step #9 - Forgiving the Past and Moving Forward

Dullah Omar, the late Minister of Justice in South Africa, used to tell us that it is necessary to “forgive but not forget.” We cannot change that the U.S. divided Korea, that massacres happened, that carpet bombing of the DPRK and civilians was illegal and immoral, or

that decisions made during a lingering state of war would have in hindsight, been made differently. But true peacemaking negotiations can create an atmosphere for moving forward.

We can all honor the dead and acknowledge the pain to the families left behind. We can say we regret the lose of innocent human life and want to take steps to see that it does not happen again. Philmer Bluehouse, the former Director of the Native American Navajo Peacemaker Courts, told me once that “The ceremony of peacemaking is like setting the table with food. It’s also about getting all the bad stuff put on the table. Hate, stereotyping etc so we can discard it and join the humanity circle. Pick the good, get rid of the bad.”

This is something that has never been done between our nations. Forgotten promises exist on all sides in times of war. Whether it was the Clinton administration’s admission that they never intended to follow through on their promises in the *Agreed Framework* because they thought the regime would collapse, or promises by the DPRK to eschew nuclear weapon production, these issues are complex and involve a myriad of motives. There are no simple answers to difficult questions. It is never black and white, but we spend endless wasted hours trying to squeeze a complex story into an *us vs them* or the *good and evil* scenario.

When peace calls it is not the time to finger point but to rebuild trust. If we stay in the past it can eat us alive. The Navajo Peacemaker Court Director taught me: “When you keep bringing up an issue and keep blaming someone else for your problems or keep reminding about the holocaust etc, then you keep repeating it over and over and it continues to create problems.” As a Native American he speaks with conviction and authority as his people were victims of America’s thirst for power and domination, saying “We are all on this same ship. We’ve all had

atrocities but we have to move forward. The incident can become a reference point, give us knowledge and help us see that it does not happen again.” He challenges warring factions to come into their wisdom and maturity adding “ Can we get beyond that kid part of us - where we yell back and forth at each other ‘No you did worse to me...no you did.’”

Forgiving means accepting that it’s time to move on. I challenge us all to move forward.

Step # 10 - Reaching for a Higher Level

Creating a New Paradigm in International Relations

American writer Bertrand Russell once wrote “What is demanded is a change in our imaginative picture of the world.” There are millions of Americans who want peace and who seek our government to change its policies toward the rest of the world. On the planet half the world’s population lacks the basic necessities of food, shelter education and health care. With 2.7 billion people living on less than \$2 a day, 1.1 billion lacking drinking water and over 800 million hungry, we can ill afford to continue the culture of war that sucks dry our resources and our souls.

This fragile and too-often painful state of the world is not what any caring person would wish for others. By being stuck in old conflicts we miss out on the chance to collaborate on a more healthy planet. Norman Cousins once wrote in 1987 during the height of the cold war that if the United States and the Soviet Union could “shift their gaze from each other to the need to make the planet safe and fit for human habitation, they may promote their own security even as they advance the common security.” This universal responsibility is a form of compassion that

creates a “national security” far more durable and strong than one protected through a barrel of a gun or a nuclear arsenal.

Instead of teaching our citizens to mistrust or hate we can help them rediscover a higher purpose to their lives and relationships. But to do so requires releasing a very old and entrenched story that has defined our generation. We may not know how the relationship between our nations will look or all of the perimeters, but we know that the madness must stop and that something is not working. Sitting Bull, a famous Native American Chief, said “Now we put our minds together to see what kind of world we can leave for our children...we are going to put our minds together for peace.”

Brave peacemakers over the years have called out to our higher selves. Albert Einstein said "Any intelligent fool can make things bigger, more complex, and more violent. It takes a touch of genius -- and a lot of courage -- to move in the opposite direction." Building peace and relationship requires redefining our notion of power and the role of militarism in international relations. “The real voyage of discovery consists” as Marcel Prout wrote “not in finding new lands but in seeing with new eyes.” This new perspective redefines our relationship to power.

Power with means finding the leverage to meet your needs and accomplish your goals in partnership with others, not by dominating or outsmarting them. We all have an equal right to happiness and not to suffer. When a nation acts from “power over” it seeks to play judge and jury without hearing the other side. It feels it can punish another independent nation for “bad” behavior.” Nothing is served by blaming, shaming or hating people in an effort to achieve our objectives or make them more like us. True leadership has a harder job to do than just choosing

sides in a battle of *us vs them*. It must bring sides together. Change will occur when we accept each other's right to live freely, peacefully and get our needs met. But as Harvard Professor Rosabeth Kanter said "Change is always a threat when it is done **to** people. But it is an opportunity when it is done **by** people."

It would be a major change for the United States to move from the militarism and a *power over* model to a new role of engagement and a shared planetary stewardship. The United States has over 28,000 troops in Korea in more than 80 posts and bases in a country no larger than the state of Indiana . Around the world we maintain more than 800 military bases. The challenge for the U.S. is to not only declare our commitment to peace, but to transform itself from most powerful military to the most caring, respectful and humanitarian country on the planet. Korea provides the perfect template to begin a new direction wherein we lead with both our head and our heart.

There are amazing humanitarian projects around the world by the U.S. Government, but it is quickly overshadowed as a door is kicked down in an Afghanistan village or a drone attack kills children. We have thousands of nuclear weapons but what has it brought us? Surely not peace. Who can truly trust and build relationship with the guy holding the big stick behind his back or who uses food as a weapon of war or politics in violation of international norms and laws. Sanctions damage the people of a country, often the most needy, more than impacting governments. The near 50 year embargo of Cuba by the United States or the decade long U.S. sanctions against Iraq before the war either led to war or divided families and increased hostility.

The Songun ‘Military first’ policy of the DPRK so routinely questioned by the U.S., is a natural outgrowth of the threats it has faced to hold onto its independence. As a result people are taught to fight, defend themselves and are told they are under attack. Years of such an approach will have its toll on the hearts of any nation. Yet, it’s an understandable response when the U.S. maintains its own arsenal of troops in the South, runs military exercises each year simulating an invasion or had for decades more than 800 nuclear weapons in South Korea pointing north. As late as 2002 the U.S. Nuclear Posture Review of the Bush administration wrote that the DPRK was a “target for nuclear preemption.” Would “military first” make sense under such circumstances?

In the United States we are deep into a major recession that has resulted from fighting two wars and spending more than a trillion dollars on the military and wars. We fail to acknowledge that we also take on a ‘military first’ policy, as the majority of all tax dollars go to the U.S. military, at the expense of feeding the poor, rebuilding crumbling schools or ending homelessness, unemployment or costly medical care. In January 2012 President Obama’s announced the shifting of more military resources to Asia, despite facing such stark realities at home, something that will only cause the DPRK and other Asian countries to increase their military spending. The cycle and circle keeps spinning until we have the courage to seek peace.

If this scenario of an arms race, massive increases in defense spending and a rise in hostility and divisiveness sounds all too familiar, it’s because we have seen it time and time again. We need a new approach. Both the DPRK and the U.S. can benefit from “New Thinking” (what the Koreans call Sae-roun kwan-jom), which calls for scrapping outmoded habits and mentalities and putting all efforts into the reconstruction of their nations. A “Strong

and Prosperous Nation” (kang-song tae-guk), or world can only come from peace, formal relations and demilitarization. It’s time to think anew and act accordingly. Like Thomas Paine said during the American Revolution in 1776, it’s an opportunity “to start the world over again.” .

Step #11 Bring the Troops Home and Convert the DMZ

Around the United States we have been closing military bases while abroad we have been spending billions of dollars in places like Korea. A peaceful Korean peninsula will allow the U.S. to bring its troops home. The Armistice Agreement signed in 1953 by the United States promised that negotiations would take place so that all foreign troops would leave Korea. The Chinese left in 1958 and the Soviets years before. The U.S. has never left. "The American military presence in South Korea is a primary factor in making the Korean revolution complicated, difficult and long-protracted in nature," declared Kim Il-Sung, back in 1966. The same complications hold true throughout the world, but the conflict in Korea can now help repaint the picture. I believe in my heart that its resolution is a key component of making this broader change possible as it can lead by example and create an atmosphere for a broader worldwide demilitarization.

With an eye on China the beat of war drums in the region continues. On the farthest Southern tip of Korea lies Jeju Island, called the “The Island of Peace,” a giant naval base is being built on the coral reefs threatening a World Cultural Heritage site and a pristine ecosystem, let alone peace in Asia. Peace in Korea could halt this construction and make this ecological destruction and expanded militarism unnecessary. All the way to the North is the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), now filled with land mines and troops poised to fight - a place National Geographic magazine called “The most dangerous place on earth.” If peace came it could

become a park for peace, ecology, history and culture. It's unique eco-system can offer up to the world a prime example of what is possible when we choose the path of peace.

Step #12 - Stop Threatening War and Sign a Peace Treaty

We think of peace as something that governments negotiate, but it is a right not of nations to live in peace, but the right belonging to the people of the world. In 1984 the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 39/11 : *The Right of Peoples to Peace*. It placed a "sacred duty" on the U.S. and the DPRK to "eliminate the threat of war, particularly nuclear war, the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and requires the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means."

When the United States runs provocative war games, fails to recognize a nation's right to exist, occupies another country with tens of thousands of troops and takes no steps to work proactively to negotiate an end to a war, it is not complying with its legal constitutional duty to "remove the threats to the peace." It is time for the international community to invoke the founding notion of the UN Charter and apply pressure to the U.S. to actively work for peace and end its militarism in Korea and Asia.

An end to any war takes a peace agreement so that it is durable and long lasting. The Hague Convention with respect to the *Laws and Customs of War by Land* provides that an armistice only suspends military operations by mutual agreement between the belligerent parties. Any serious violation by one party gives the other the right of denunciation, justifying their immediate recommencement of hostilities. This is why a peace treaty is so necessary, something

the DPRK has repeatedly sought. It would also bring about a new stable and nuclear free peninsula as the DPRK has always said it would end its nuclear program and abandon nuclear weapons for peace and stability.

A Peace Agreement or treaty formally ending the war does not happen in a weekend meeting nor in the spotlight of six parties with divergent issues and needs. It takes time and effort. The Armistice Agreement in 1953 took 158 meetings spread over more than two years to reach an agreement. Both sides of Korea have stated their intent for peace and some form of federated reunification, have Unification ministers in their respective governments and know first hand the sad and tragic separation that still exists today. But the “will” to formalize the peace must also come from Washington - who continue to use the “threat” from the DPRK to justify its military presence in the region. In this regard it is incumbent upon the people of the United States to demand of their leaders their right to peace. To this end many of us in the National Campaign to End the Korean War and other organizations work to shift our government out of its deadly cycle of war, militarism and domination.

But the DPRK need not wait to take great steps for peace. Like in a game of tug-of-war where the two sides pull on a rope, if one lets go of their end of the rope the war ends. As it’s often said “it takes two” to dance the tango. It does not mean surrender or weakness to disengage from the war, but it actually takes great courage and strength to let go and stand your ground outside the struggle. It is the higher ground we all seek.

It is not an easy task for our countries. Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who has been to Pyongyang several times and calls for a peace treaty, says he would like to see America

become “a champion of peace” rather than relying on “belligerence or the injection of American troops in trouble spots around the world.” He points out that “it’s very easy to wage war,” but “very difficult to wage peace.” Like many of us he knows it will take a new direction and vision for America.

In *The Immortal Juche Idea* by Kim Chang Ha, the author concludes that “As long as people have no hope for the future, they cannot find the joy of resuscitation in spring even if the whole land is spread with flowers.” A peaceful North/South Korea, China and Japan can have a major impact on world peace and restore hope to our fractured planet. Our approach to peace in Korea can model a new way of relating and have a ripple effect on international relations around the world.

But its up to each country to not only get on the peace train but to drive it. It is an essential Juche principle that man plays a decisive role in transforming the world in a purposeful and conscious manner. It says we must replace what is outdated and reactionary with what is progressive and new. The late *DPRK leader* Kim Jong Il said that man cannot be truly free, have *chajusong*, until released from “the shackles of outdated ideas and culture.” This long standing conflict in Korea has been sustained by ‘outdated ideas’ of war, ideological separation and aggression. Together we can create a durable peace and reshape our world into something we all desire. In the words of William Jennings Bryan a late 19th century American Politician, “Destiny is not a matter of chance; it is a matter of choice; It is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved.”