

Beyond 70 Years of Armed Peace - Korea Peace Now!

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And perhaps the great day will come when a people, distinguished by wars and victories and by the highest development of a military order and intelligence, and accustomed to make the heaviest sacrifices of these things, will exclaim of its own free will, 'We break the sword,' and will smash its entire military establishment down to its lowest foundations. Rendering oneself unarmed when one had been the best-armed, out of a height of feeling—that it is the means to real peace, which must always rest upon a peace of mind; whereas the so-called armed peace, as it now exists in all countries, is the absence of peace of mind.

– Friedrich Nietzsche

Korea Peace Now! Women Mobilizing to End the Korean War is a transnational campaign led by four women's peace organizations calling for the formal end to the Korean War with a peace agreement. These four organizations – Women Cross DMZ, Nobel Women's Initiative, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Korean Women's Movement for Peace – are focused on changing policy in the United States, at the United Nations, and key countries, including Canada and South Korea. Women Cross DMZ is leading efforts in the United States and the key organization leading the U.S.-based Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN). As a regional coordinator for one of the eleven regional chapters of the KPNGN, I will examine the way the campaign actualizes, in theory and in practice, a feminist approach to its peace work in the United States. This paper seeks to present the KPNGN as a critical part of the growing peace agenda mobilizing to shape U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea. The paper will identify the practices and tactics of Korea Peace Now! which, I argue, places the movement in the tradition of feminist peace movements. My analysis draws on the intellectual framework developed in Feminist Security Studies (FSS) and Feminist Transitional Justice (FTJ). I argue that feminist peacebuilding is meaningful and important in the context of imagining a recuperative future on the Korean Peninsula.

Keywords: Korea Peace Treaty, Feminist Security, Demilitarization, United States, North Korea

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Introduction: Enmity, Armistice, and Missing History of Women

On April 27, 2018, North and South Korea promised to bring a “watershed moment” for the Korean peace process and pledged to work towards a “permanent and solid peace regime.”¹ This year marks the 70th Anniversary of the Korean War, and peace activists, veterans, Korean Americans, South Korean lawmakers, amongst others, are calling for a U.S. peace treaty with North Korea to formally end the war.² This call demands a radical vision to end seventy years of a Cold War security paradigm of militarization and nuclearization towards peace-building and genuine security. What cannot be left out from this Korea peace process, a national and international effort, is the political organizing and coordination accomplished by women peace activists. I will introduce a recently emerging transnational feminist peace movement for Korea peace, a women-led global campaign to end the Korean War and its U.S.-based grassroots network, Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN). I argue that we need to first contextualize the Korean armistice agreement signed in 1953 from a gendered perspective and link the absence of Korean women in the armistice negotiations with the ongoing gendered impacts of the armistice regime. This speculative need for Korean women in the armistice negotiations, followed by the empirical data that reveals a wide gender gap in all levels of decision-making in global peace processes, advances this essay’s overarching argument on why we need to heed feminist peacebuilding to end the Korean War.

The essay will examine the way the KPN campaign actualizes, in

1 Inter-Korean Summit 2018, “Panmunjeom Declaration,” *The Korea Times*, April 27, 2018, <http://koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2018/04/731_248077.html> (date accessed June 10, 2020).

2 Da-Min Jung, “Resolution sought to declare end of Korean War,” *The Korea Times*, June, 15, 2020, <https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2020/06/113_291222.html> (date accessed June 15, 2020); See also Joint Statement of 102 peace activists, <<https://www.forum-asia.org/?p=23897>> (date accessed June 10, 2020); See Veteran For Peace’s Korea Peace Campaign, <<https://www.veteransforpeace.org/our-work/vfp-national-projects/korea-peace-campaign>> (date accessed June 10, 2020).

theory and in practice, a feminist approach to its peace work in the United States. Consequently, I argue that the KPNGN is a critical part of the growing peace agenda mobilizing to shape U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea. The final section of the essay will expand on the two feminist schools of thought that I predominantly draw from, Feminist Security Studies (FSS) and Feminist Transitional Justice (FTJ). I examine how women's inclusion into the Korea peace process not only advances the international feminist aspirations for gender equality and women's rights embodied in the United Nations Security Council's resolution on Women, Peace, and Security (UNSCR 1325), but also, against the backdrop of 75 years of division and 70 years of the Korean War, feminist peace-building offers an opportunity to create political space for civil society and Korean women peace activists to translate historical trauma into politically meaningful legal claims.³ As a result, the essay's arguments draw on FSS and FTJ's critique of traditional or *negative security*, where the military is understood as the primary tool for security, and situate their theoretical engagements within a growing U.S.-based peace action challenging the legacies of colonial, imperial, (hetero)patriarchal, and racialized violence.⁴ I conclude the essay by arguing that a theoretical synthesis of these two feminist schools of thought can be a starting point in framing a feminist agenda for genuine security and healing justice on the Korean Peninsula.

The inclusion of Korean women in the peace process, including a peace agreement, is fundamentally a feminist issue because it not only seeks to guarantee gender equality and women's rights but also, foregrounds the importance of linking gender with questions of historical trauma, genuine security, recuperative justice and healing. Women's leadership and participation are also critical for democratization of power

3 United Nations, Security Council, "Women and peace and security," October 9, 2019 (S/2019/800) (date accessed April 1, 2020).

4 See: About Face: Veterans Against the War (aboutfaceveterans.org), Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (ggjalliance.org), Dissenters (wearedissenters.org), Palestinian Youth Movement (pymusa.com), MADRE (madre.org), MoveOn (front.moveon.org), Win Without War (winwithoutwar.org), War Resisters League (warresisters.org), Veterans for Peace (veteransforpeace.org), amongst others.

given that out of the total 1,187 peace agreements signed in the aftermath of the Cold War, only 19% of the peace agreements referred to women and 5% referred to gender-based violence.⁵ As a result, feminists from many different historical and geographic contexts have translated historical trauma into legal claims in order to draft a blueprint for a society that values basic principles, such as consent over contract, bottom-up empowerment over top-down socio-economic distribution, or meaningful recuperation over political reconciliation.

Given the long history of enmity between North Korea and the United States, which goes as far back as the division of the Korean Peninsula in 1945, U.S.'s role in extending the Korean War needs to be re-conceptualized from a transitional feminist perspective, which foregrounds the historical role of militarism and sexual violence against women in Asia-Pacific, including Korean women.⁶ Consequently, the U.S. government's double disavowal of its responsibility towards Korean women impacted by the Korean War in Korea, which served American security interests in the region, and to the diaspora of the Korean women in the United States who encounter racism, white supremacy, and heteropatriarchy from the lingering orientalism surrounding the war results in what anthropologist Veena Das claims as "the past that is not mastered and hence comes to haunt the living."⁷ This occurs, she argues, when the social fabric of everyday life maintains violence that has not been adequately named and addressed. The disavowal of enmity has long-term repercussions with different names and loci of enunciation from Korea to the United States: the armistice regime, the division-system, or the anti-communist system.⁸ Feminist

5 "Women's Participation in Peace Processes," *Council on Foreign Relations*, <<https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/>> (date accessed June 15, 2020).

6 Katherine H.S. Moon, "Military Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia," *The Asia-Pacific Journal-Japan Focus*, vol. 7, no. 6 (2009), <<https://apjpf.org/-Katharine-H.S.-Moon/3019/article.html>> (date accessed June 17, 2020).

7 Veena Das, *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), p. 219.

8 For concept "division-system," see Paik Nak-Chung, "The Division System in

peace, therefore, not only envisions formal ends to wars, but also seeks to end ongoing structural violence and instigate meaningful social change.⁹

Ahn-Kim Jeong-Ae, a member of the Presidential Truth Commissions on Deaths in the Military in South Korea and organizer in Women Making Peace, reflects that “from the division of Korea and the Korean War to the present state of perpetual warfare, countless women have become casualties and victims of war, militarism, and patriarchy: as war widows, as refugees from North Korea often separated from their families, as survivors of mass executions before and after the war, as sex workers around US military bases, and as women scattered in the Korean diaspora.”¹⁰ Consequently, one could ask, could the armistice agreement in 1953 have led to a different outcome had it involved Korean women, or had it suggested their future inclusion in the peace process? Or, referred specifically to gender violence? Could it have prevented the fate of one million Korean women in South Korea becoming subscribed to the U.S. camp towns to sell their sexual labor to the U.S. military for their and their

Crisis: Essays on Contemporary Korea” (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011). For concept “anti-communist system,” see 김동춘 et al. “반공의시대 한국과 독일, 냉전의정치,” (돌베개: 2015) (English translation: Kim Dong-Choon et al, Anti-communism in Korea and Germany: the Politics of the Cold War).

9 “Feminist peace is related to three perspectives; peace as the absence of every type of structural violence; peace and security for all, and peace premised on the universal integration of a gender perspectives as well as the equal participation at all levels and in all peace building processes.[...] Feminist peace as the absence of structural violence is a long time goal that takes time to achieve in conflict and post conflict settings. *Structural* violence, as defined by Johan Galtung, refers to a form of violence where social structures or institutions may harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs. It also includes institutionalised forms of violence such as nationalism, racism and sexism. In many countries, we see these forms of structural violence where corruption and historical inequalities based on gender and ethnicity right from the state formation, prevent citizens from accessing quality social services and the high levels of unemployment.” See for full text: <<https://africanfeminism.com/what-feminist-peace-means-in-changing-contexts-of-conflicts/>> (date accessed June 15, 2020).

10 JeongAe Ahn-Kim, “Women Making Peace in Korea: The DMZ Ecofeminist Farm Project,” *Social Justice*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2019), pp. 79-90.

families' economic survival?¹¹ Could it have preempted a political economy built on a hundred thousand Korean military brides being married off to G.I.s after the Korean War?¹² Might it have challenged South Korea's post-war transnational adoption industry where more than 180,000 Korean children were sold to the United States and Europe?¹³ Although the concept of women's inclusion in peace processes may have been a radical notion in the 1950s, it provides some perspective and insight into how a peace agreement that is ultimately signed between the United States and North Korea might be transformed.

There are still unnamed trauma(s) resulting from the aftermath of the Korean War, in addition to two different divisions of the Korean Peninsula in 1945 and 1953, which had taken place without the consultation and consent of everyday Korean people, let alone Korean women, who had no decision-making power in the armistice negotiations. Despite U.S. claims of inaugurating a liberal democracy in post-war South Korea, the armistice negotiations signed between U.S., North Korea, and China, failed to include even a slightest reference to participatory democracy. In a Nobel Women Initiative's interview, Heejin Hong, a South Korean feminist peace activist, observed that "under the reality of a Korea that is divided in to North and South, women in South Korea feel that threat to their safety in their daily lives."¹⁴ She adds that Korean feminists today have yet to connect the issue of women's rights with peace, and her organization, Korean

11 Tim Shorrock, "Welcome to the Monkey House: Confronting the ugly legacy of military prostitution in South Korea," *The New Republic*, December 2, 2019, <<https://newrepublic.com/article/155707/united-states-military-prostitution-south-korea-monkey-house>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

12 Grace M. Cho, *Haunting of the Korean Diaspora* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), p. 140.

13 Hosu Kim, "The Biopolitics of Transnational Adoption in South Korea: Preemption and the Governance of Single Birthmothers," *Body & Society*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2015), p. 59.

14 "Meet HeeJin Hong, South Korea," *Nobel Women's Initiative*, <<https://nobelwomensinitiative.org/meet-heejin-hong-south-korea/>> (date accessed May 25, 2020).

Women's Movement for Peace, is addressing this gap by re-framing a peaceful end to the Korean War as a feminist issue.¹⁵ Furthermore, speculating on the need for Korean women's involvement in the armistice agreement is bolstered by indisputable historical evidence of Korean women's political participation during the 1945 and 1953 division. According to historian Suzy Kim, just before the cease-fire in 1953, the Women's International Delegate Federation organized a World Congress of Women, bringing global attention to the Korean War and the situation of women from countries recently liberated from imperial and colonial rule.¹⁶ At that time, the Women's Congress had produced two documents, one of which was the 'Declaration of Rights of Women.'¹⁷ However, even before the Korean War, North Korea's state policy in 1946 advocated a radical social program for guaranteeing women's rights. Accordingly, Kim notes:

The Law of Equal Rights for Men and Women was passed in July to liberate women from the 'triple subordination' of family, society, and politics. It nullified all previous Korean and Japanese laws regarding women, provided women with equal rights to political participation, economic and educational opportunities, and freedom of choice in marriage and divorce, outlawing polygamy and the sale of women as wives and concubines.¹⁸

The 1953 armistice agreement's promise of "peaceful settlement" has failed to secure basic Korean women's human rights, which are most vulnerable in times of war due to multiple intersecting crises of enforced migration, displacement from land, socio-economic displacement, political criminalization, poverty, and sexual exploitation. This is symptomatic of structural gender-blindness and sexism in both national and international contexts, resulting in the underenforcement of

15 *Ibid.*

16 Suzy Kim, "The Origins of Cold War Feminism During the Korean War," *Gender & History*, vol. 31 no. 2 (2019), p. 460.

17 Suzy Kim, p. 460.

18 Suzy Kim, *Everyday Life in the North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), pp. 18-39.

women's rights beyond the battlefield.¹⁹ A feminist methodology, therefore, problematizes the androcentrism in order to draw out bolder aspirations for social change invoked in the calls for global disarmament and peace. Gendering our analysis allows us to visualize and study another kind of war at the level of society that perpetuates violence against women, especially those coming from marginalized backgrounds. This is meaningful for not only recovering different meanings of war and division but reclaiming genuine security and healing justice for Korean women and women peace activists.

Korea Peace Now! A Transnational Feminist Campaign for Peace on Korea

Korea Peace Now! Women Mobilizing to End the Korean War is a global campaign that was launched by four women's peace organizations in March 2019, urgently calling for a formal end to the Korean War with a U.S. peace agreement with North Korea.²⁰ These four organizations – Women Cross DMZ, Nobel Women's Initiative, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Korean Women's Movement for Peace – are focused on changing policy in the United States, at the United Nations, and in key countries, including Canada and South Korea. Women Cross DMZ is leading efforts in the United States and the key organization leading the U.S.-based Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN). As a transnational feminist movement, Korea Peace Now!, draws on intersectional feminism as a basis for its theory and practice.²¹ The campaign emerged out of a pressing need for

19 *Council on Foreign Relations*, "Women's Participation in Peace Processes," <<https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

20 See Women Making Peace, Women Cross DMZ (womencrossdmz.org), WILPF (women's international league for peace and freedom) (wilpf.org), and Nobel Women's Initiative (nobelwomeninitiative.org).

21 Intersectional feminism predominantly draws on the Kimberley Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality in order to more effectively and consciously organize

both a unified political base and voice that brought together international and national grassroots coalitions to challenge the United States' unending war with North Korea.²² The South Korean Candlelight Revolution between 2016-2017 set the stage for tremendously favorable conditions for the Inter-Korean peace process, one of its successes being President Moon Jae-In's election into office. Alongside a growing peace agenda in South Korea mobilizing for a peace regime, President Moon and his pro-peace platform led to the subsequent Panmunjom and Pyongyang Declaration for tangible demilitarization.²³ However, the Inter-Korean peace process has been thwarted by the stalled US-DPRK talks in 2019, and the recent escalation of tensions between U.S. and China threaten to undermine the grassroots agenda advocating for U.S. peace with North Korea.²⁴

As an emerging voice on Korea Peace and the relatively recent feminist peace movement, Korea Peace Now! feminist leadership calls

and mobilize across diverse historical struggles across race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and class. As in the tradition of critical race theory and its challenge of the elite legal institutions and policies that are 'colorblind' and 'gender-neutral,' KPN's deploys intersectionality to challenge the structures of white supremacy and gender-blindness in U.S. foreign policy on North Korea.

22 The KPN campaign has identified five major goals for the year 2020 and beyond: Peace-building process including a formal ending of the Korean War, a Korea Peace Treaty, and normalized relations; women's leadership and gender-based analysis (government & civil society) in peace processes; tangible de-militarization: denuclearization, landmines, reduction of bases/troops; lift sanctions against North Korea, especially those impacting humanitarian conditions; redefine security from national security based on war and militarism to a feminist understanding of security centered on basic human needs and ecological sustainability (koreapeacenow.org).

23 Inter-Korean Summit 2018, "Panmunjeom Declaration," *The Korea Times*, April 27, 2018, <http://koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2018/04/731_248077.html> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

24 Christine Ahn and Catherine Killough, "Why North Korea and America Need Reconciliation—Not Endless Kim Jong-Un Death Rumors," *National Interest*, April 27, 2020, <<https://nationalinterest.org/blog/korea-watch/why-north-korea-and-america-need-reconciliation%E2%80%94not-endless-kim-jong-un-death>> (date accessed April 27, 2020).

for women's inclusion in the Korea peace process often referring to UNSC Resolution 1325 (WPS), which mandates that women must be given "full, equal, and meaningful participation" in all stages of a peace process because it leads to longer-lasting and durable peace.²⁵ The WPS agenda emerged out of a critical need for governments and international organizations to respond to unending gender and sexual violence in the 21st century, in addition to addressing the inadequate understanding of violence in so-called 'post-war' and 'post-colonial' states. KPN advances various grassroots perspectives to make space for imagining the 'human' costs to the unresolved war and seeks to humanize the North Korean people. The aim is to develop a wider and non-discriminate audience that is absent in most media content produced on North Korea.²⁶ This is critical given North Korea is the only U.S. foreign policy issue that has bipartisan support for a hostile posture.²⁷

The campaign centers the perspectives and experiences of women most impacted by the unresolved war, such as North Korean women

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ On October 17, 2019, Data for Progress released a report on an online survey of 1,009 self-identified voters, "Voters Want to See a Progressive Overhaul of American Foreign Policy." The report gaged registered voters' overall perception of what are key national security issues, both military and non-military. 29% of the respondents strongly supported a peace agreement with North Korea and 38% responded "somewhat" for supporting the peace agreement. On the other hand, 44% strongly supported the "no first use" of nuclear weapons policy and 22% responded "somewhat" for supporting a constrained nuclear weapons policy. In both cases, one-sixth of the respondents answered, "Don't Know." While the survey is not extensively on voter perception on North Korea, it contributes to further thinking on how North Korea compare to other countries deemed a threat to U.S. national security, under what circumstances voters are willing to take a more hawkish stance on North Korea, and the root causes of voter indecision on North Korea. Greater use of these surveys can potentially clarify what kinds of educational agendas are required for the current American public.

²⁷ According to a 2018 survey conducted by Pew Research Center, "Partisans are in agreement in their sentiments toward North Korea; nearly identical shares of Republicans (62%) and Democrats (61%) express very cold feelings toward North Korea."

heavily impacted by economic sanctions. In October 2019, KPN commissioned an independent report on the gendered impacts of economic sanctions on North Korean Women.²⁸ The report was presented in New York and Geneva at the United Nations, and subsequently received a lot of media coverage for addressing how sanctions have “unintended humanitarian consequences” in North Korea.²⁹ Women Cross DMZ’s strategic work behind the scenes, alongside KPN’s national mobilizing, organizing, and advocacy, resulted in an important testimony from John C. Rood, the U.S. Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.³⁰ In response to Rep. Khanna’s questioning during a committee hearing, he stated that the “armistice was not intended to survive decade after decade” and voiced that the Department of Defense sees a long-term peace agreement with North Korea as “beneficial” to U.S. national security and long-term interests.³¹

According to Christine Ahn, the executive director of Women Cross DMZ, the campaign has also been able to shift the conversation on a critical issue that has been a key obstacle to advancing peace with North Korea: human rights. In the *Report of Special Rapporteur to the 43rd session of*

28 Passage selected from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar “Celebrating Women’s Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing,” held on May 22, 2020.

29 See: Zack Budryk, “Nearly 4,000 civilian deaths in North Korea tied to sanctions: report,” *The Hill*, October, 30, 2019, <<https://thehill.com/policy/international/asia-pacific/468146-nearly-4000-civilian-deaths-in-north-korea-tied-to-sanctions-report>>(date accessed April 27, 2020); Courtney McBride, “North Korea Sanctions Contribute to Deaths of Innocent Civilians, Report Says,” *The Wall Street Journal*, October 30, 2019, <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/north-korea-sanctions-contribute-to-deaths-of-innocent-civilians-report-says-11572414898>> (date accessed April 27, 2020).

30 “Peace Agreement with North Korea is in US Interest Says US Under Secretary of Defense for Policy,” *Women Cross DMZ*, < <https://www.womencrossdmz.org/peace-agreement-with-north-korea-is-in-us-interest-says-u-s-under-secretary-of-defense-for-policy/>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

31 United States, House Armed Services Committee, “Full Committee Hearing: ‘Security Update on the Korean Peninsula’,” by John C. Rood, <<https://armedservices.house.gov/2020/1/full-committee-hearing-security-update-on-the-korean-peninsula>> (date accessed April 27, 2020).

the Human Rights Council, Tomas Ojea Quintana, the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, called for a Korea peace agreement irrespective of denuclearization.³² Christine Ahn states that this is a major breakthrough in the recognition of the relationship between human rights, sanctions, and peace — a connection that was outlined in the KPN report on the impacts of sanctions in North Korea, which was delivered to Ojea Quintana. The pursuit of a peace agreement regardless of denuclearization is critical, she highlights, because “the U.S. leadership is singularly focused on forcing North Korea to unilaterally denuclearize as a necessary basis for peace talks. [Instead the U.S.] needs to establish peace first to create the necessary conditions for denuclearization.”³³

A feminist analysis of U.S. foreign policy on North Korea remains integral to introducing the ‘human’ and gendered costs of the Korean War, in addition to moving beyond the field of moral claims established by denuclearization and humans’ rights debates in the United States and United Nations. As I will later elaborate, the military and humanitarian discourses on security can mutually reinforce one another in practice (and politics), rather than produce a genuine alternative to the existing security paradigm.

The Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN) and Feminist Organizing

The grassroots network for Korea Peace Now! (KPNGN) was launched in the United States alongside the global campaign in 2019 and since then, the Korea Peace Now! has launched eleven regional chapters

32 United Nations, Human Rights Council, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea,” February 25, 2020. A/HRC/43/58.

33 Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar “Celebrating Women’s Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing” held on May 22, 2020.

in major cities.³⁴ These cities include Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Denver, Honolulu, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco Bay Area, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. The transnational campaign is organized and led by Korean American, South Korean, North American and European women from the four feminist peace organizations. Alongside in the United States is the Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN), which is predominantly organized and led by Korean American women. According to Elizabeth Beavers, who is leading the KPN advocacy efforts in Washington, D.C., the U.S.-based KPN is divided into a D.C. policy team and a field organizing team led by Hyun Lee, the national organizer for KPNGN.³⁵ These two teams work closely together to put pressure on Washington to sign a peace agreement with North Korea.³⁶

Hyun Lee organizes at the grassroots level and coordinates amongst KPNGN's eleven regional teams, in addition to collaborating with other Korea peace grassroots networks and anti-war peace movements in the United States. KPNGN is a multi-generational coalition of peace activists, humanitarian aid workers, veterans, academics, and Korean adoptees and diaspora, engaged in federal and international advocacy and public education on the ongoing impacts of the Korean War. In a recent Women Cross DMZ webinar celebrating the 5th anniversary of the DMZ Crossing, the national organizer stated: "Our two main organizing goals have been to: 1) change the thinking in Washington from a sole obsession with denuclearization to understanding the historical root cause of the conflict and the need to end the Korean War and 2) organize a broad grassroots base—primarily Korean Americans but also anti-war and peace activists and other allies." As a result, the Korean American members of KPNGN bring an important historical context to the feminist peace movement by

34 "Annual Reports," *Women Cross DMZ*, <<https://www.womencrossdmz.org/tag/annual-reports/>> (date accessed April 18, 2020).

35 Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar "Celebrating Women's Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing" held on May 22, 2020.

36 *Ibid.*

voicing their personal stakes in ending the seventy-year war. The KPNGN builds from bottom-up a women-led grassroots political base capable of re-shaping U.S. foreign policy on North Korea. While its grassroots membership cuts across all genders, including gender nonconforming individuals, it is a largely women-led effort.

Before the official launch of the campaign, Women Cross DMZ met with women members of the South Korean Parliament and U.S. Congress to discuss women's inclusion in the peace agreement process between North Korea and the United States, and to formalize U.S. commitments to a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.³⁷ One organizing tool that the KPN campaign has been using is House Resolution 152 (H.Res.152), the first congressional resolution calling for the formal end to the Korean War with a peace agreement that also calls for women's inclusion in the peace process, which the campaign worked closely with Rep. Ro Khanna (D-CA) who introduced it. Currently, there are 42 co-sponsors of H. Res.152. More recent successes of the effective coordination of the grassroots network with members of Congress are two additional peace-oriented resolutions on North Korea: The H.R. 6639 - No Unconstitutional War Against North Korea Act of 2020 and S.3908 -Enhancing North Korea Humanitarian Assistance Act, which has been formally introduced in the Senate by Senator Ed Markey (D-MA).³⁸ KPN has also joined other Korean American voices to advocate for S.3395 - Korean War Divided Families Reunification Act.³⁹ The Congressional legislations are the first peace-oriented legislations on North Korea ever to be introduced in the history of U.S. law and is considered a historic achievement for the Korea

37 Interview with Christine Ahn, Executive Director of Women DMZ, by author, April 2020.

38 See United States, 116th Congress, H.R. 6639, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/6639/cosponsors?r=2&s=1&searchResultViewType=expanded&KWICView=false>> (date accessed April 1, 2020). See also 116th Congress, S. 3908, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/3908/text>> (date accessed June 1, 2020).

39 See United States, 116th Congress, S. 3395, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/3395/cosponsors?searchResultViewType=expanded&KWICView=false>> (date accessed June 1, 2020).

peace movement.⁴⁰ Although Korean Americans constitute 1.7 million people living in the United States, the Korean women diaspora is playing a significant role in shifting U.S. foreign policy on North Korea away from an “America-first” and “American exceptionalism” stance towards an internationalist commitment to global justice and peace. As a result, they play a pivotal role in mobilizing a feminist peace agenda for demilitarizing and democratizing U.S. foreign policy and challenging U.S.’s ongoing role in the Korean War.

It is important to take advantage of the current moment, where there is a growing support for progressive U.S. foreign policy in Congress. This movement is best exemplified by the massive mobilization of youth and young voters that emerged out of the Bernie Sanders campaign, in addition to the historic achievement of four Congresswomen of color elected in the House of Representatives in 2018. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY) has advanced the idea of a “democratic socialist foreign policy” that signifies “less policy informed by frameworks of imperialism, colonialism, exploitation, and security state...more policy informed by decolonization, international labor rights, increased focus on economic opportunity for the poor, expanded indigenous rights and protections, and *very* important strong international agreements on climate change.”⁴¹ Representative Ilhan Omar (D-Minn), on the other hand, called on the need to “demilitarize” U.S. foreign policy, by increasing Congressional oversight on declarations of wars per War Powers Resolution and repealing the Authorization of the Use of Military Forces (AUMFs) immediately passed after 9/11.⁴²

40 Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar “Celebrating Women’s Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing” held on May 22, 2020.

41 John Gage, “AOC calls for ‘decolonization’ and ‘indigenous rights’ to be basis of US foreign policy,” *Washington Examiner*, February 8, 2020, <<https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/aoc-calls-for-decolonization-and-indigenous-rights-to-be-basis-of-us-foreign-policy>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

42 United States, Representative Ilhan Omar, “Foreign Policy,” <<https://omar.house.gov/issues/ForeignPolicy>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

These progressive changes in predominantly elite, white, and male-dominated institutions of power offer an opportunity for the Korea peace movement and open up political space for women of color to introduce an agenda for peace on the Korean Peninsula. The long-term goal of the Korea Peace Now! campaign is to redefine the national security paradigm that has defined U.S. foreign policy towards one that advances genuine human and ecological security.⁴³ This goal is in line with the overarching anti-war visions of transnational feminists advocating for a global paradigm shift in our collective conceptions of peace, security, and justice.⁴⁴ Arguably, U.S. foreign policy on North Korea is a feminist issue, and this perspective invites more opportunities for transnational grassroots solidarity (i.e. gendered impacts of sanctions on Iran, Venezuela, etc.) and intersectional analysis in light of this current domestic political climate. While US-DPRK talks and Inter-Korean relations have deteriorated in the past couple of months, a transnational feminist peace movement in coordination with a U.S.-based grassroots network offers a meaningful source of social and political change as a Korea peace agenda that has a unique emphasis on 'Women, Peace, and Security.' This is important given that it allows for feminist politics to be mainstreamed not only at the level of the international or amongst the political elites, but also at the grassroots level. The role of grassroots organizing is, what Jane McAlevey calls, "base expansion" that is "expanding either the political or

43 Interview with Christine Ahn by author, April 2020.

44 Transitional feminists have highlighted seven political issues direly in need of feminist analysis: 1) the gendered and racialized effects of nationalism and patriotism; 2) the impact of U.S. wars, internal repression, and the gendered impacts of global migration, exile, displacement, exploitation, etc.; 3) the dual use of military and surveillance technologies (i.e. border security, police) for both waging wars abroad and repressing civil unrest; 4) racialized and gendered stereotypes that follow crises and wars; 5) the feminization of emotions, such as grief, trauma, and melancholy and exploitation of sentimentality for war efforts; 6) media and mediation, and its role in the co-optation of feminist agenda by conservative or elite interests; and 7) movements that are based on the knowledge of global capitalism and globalization's impacts in the world. See Paola Bacchetta, et al, "Transnational Feminist Practices against War," *Meridians*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2002), pp. 302-308.

the societal basis from which you can later mobilize.”⁴⁵ As a result, explicitly introducing a feminist agenda from the very onset of the campaign allows for both laying down the general groundwork for participatory democracy and mainstreaming feminism within civil society.⁴⁶ As feminist legal scholars point out, gender violence is not only a result of legislative underenforcement of women’s rights, but also due to an absence of collective responsibility towards women and other marginalized communities, in addition to underenforcement in our everyday habits and practices.⁴⁷

Consequently, KPNGN is not just a peace movement with women’s leadership and participation but a *feminist* peace movement. It draws on a gender-based analysis that foregrounds women’s leadership and participation to enhance gender equality, but also integrates gender-balance and representation in the structure of the movement itself. For example, the current KPNGN webinar series team, working in coordination with other U.S. grassroots networks such as Korea Peace Network (KPN), Peace Treaty Now (PTN) and Re’Generation Movement, ensures that there will be at least one or two women moderators to bring a ‘gender balance’ to the webinar series. Another example is the intergenerational Korean women’s panel, an event postponed during the March National Advocacy Action in Washington, D.C. due to Covid-19, brings Korean American women together to speak about the human costs of the Korean War. The discussions with Korean women brought to light a gender dimension to the division and war that are not explicitly evident if we speculate on the impacts of war only in highly spectacular and military terms. The following section will

45 Ezra Klein, “Labor organizer Jane McAlevey on how the left builds power all wrong,” *Vox*, March 17, 2020, <<https://www.vox.com/podcasts/2020/3/17/21182149/jane-mcalevey-the-ezra-klein-show-labor-organizing>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

46 Christine Bell and Catherine O’Rourke, “The People’s Peace? Peace Agreements, Civil Society, and Participatory Democracy,” *International Political Science Review*, vol. 28, no. 3 (2007), p. 294.

47 Fionnuala Ni Aolain, Eilish, Rooney, “Underenforcement and Intersectionality: Gendered Aspects of Transition for Women,” *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, vol. 1 (2007), pp. 338-354.

examine how the inclusion of women in the Korea peace process and giving them a seat at the negotiation tables can be a starting point for healing and reconciliation of historical trauma of division and war.

The Insistence of Feminist Advocacy & Education

KPNGN and its strategy to push for Congressional H.Res.152 is one of the ways in which legal claims can open up space for addressing historical trauma and social healing through participatory democracy. Hyun Lee states that “all [of the Korean Americans in KPNGN, some of whom are mothers and housewives, come] together out of a shared desire for peace in Korea. [...] Korean Americans are telling their stories for the first time to their Representatives, and this has really made an impact on conveying why it’s so important to end the Korean War.”⁴⁸ Transnational feminists have observed that “people who have lost loved ones as a consequence of U.S. foreign policy elsewhere are not [seen as equally] sufferers of trauma or injustice.”⁴⁹ While the politicization of trauma has been thoroughly problematized, trauma has also been recognized as one of the leading moral frameworks for feminist and humanitarian arguments against torture, violence, and repeated injustices against marginalized communities.⁵⁰ Beyond its clinical origins, trauma has become a tool for demanding justice and claiming one’s rights.⁵¹ A feminist call for peace agreement on the Korean Peninsula with women’s inclusion in the peace process can be understood as an attempt to address “the complex nexus of history and

48 Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar “Celebrating Women’s Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing” held on May 22, 2020.

49 Paola Bacchetta, Tina Campt, Inderpal Grewal, Caren Kaplan, Mino Moallem and Jennifer Terry, “Transnational Feminist Practices against War,” *Meridians*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2002), pp. 302-308.

50 Didier Fassin, Richard Rechtman, *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 278-284.

51 *Ibid.*

geopolitics” of the Korean War and division in order to articulate new political legal claims.⁵²

Furthermore, since President Bush identified North Korea as an ‘Axis of Evil,’ U.S. media’s portrayal of North Korean people has been dehumanizing and problematically voyeuristic.⁵³ A voyeuristic and non-consensual gaze is both orientalist and patriarchal. Media plays a large role in influencing how most Americans see U.S. hostile foreign policy on North Korea as morally justified. Feminists have identified the role of media and technology in shaping images and narratives of human suffering, which often structure public sentiment and fidelity to the moral, patriotic, nationalist, racist, or sexist claims underlying them.⁵⁴ The resolution, therefore, is a starting step for including Korean women’s leadership, where they are not seen as passive recipients of a colonial and male gaze.

Finally, H.Res. resolution includes an important gender component, referring to other existing legislations:

Affirms the vital role that women and other marginalized groups who would be particularly vulnerable to any resumption of active hostilities must play in building a lasting, sustainable, and peaceful settlement, and calls on all parties to take greater steps to include women and civil society in ongoing discussions, as outlined in the Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017.⁵⁵

The Women, Peace, Security Act of 2017 identifies women’s participation and leadership in “fragile environments, particularly

52 Paola Bachetta et al, pp. 302-308.

53 See David Shim, "Visual Politics and North Korea: Seeing is Believing," (New York: Routledge, 2013).

54 Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004), p. 1.

55 See 116th Congress, H.Res. 152, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/152/text?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22korean+war%22%5D%7D&r=2&s=1#H8BFAAA45578A4878BE6BCFE61D318E93>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

during democratic transitions, is critical to sustaining lasting democratic institutions.”⁵⁶ The long-term implications of women’s participation in the peace process has been pointed out by the Feminist Transitional Justice (FTJ) literature that argues a peace agreement involving grassroots mobilization, a vibrant civil society, and transnational networks leads to lasting, durable peace.⁵⁷ As a result, FTJ observes that “peace agreements which emerge often include provision for civil society involvement as part of the new political and legal arrangements.”⁵⁸ In addition, a gender-based analysis heeds the common problem of post-peace agreements situations, where an underenforcement of intersectionality and women’s right and security has been reported in the transitional process.⁵⁹ Arguably, civil society, grassroots networks, and women’s leadership are critical components for not only participatory democracy but collectively initiating dialogue and everyday practices towards recuperative justice for Korean women in Korea and the United States.

Towards a Feminist Agenda for a Korean Peace Regime: A Conceptual Terrain

Understanding what makes KPN a feminist peace movement rather than just a peace movement is important for understanding the campaign and the grassroots network’s long-term contribution to gender-equality and women’s rights. Investigating sexual violence in the context of how it is differentiated by the war-peace continuum challenges the myth that wartime and peacetime are different kinds of political regimes. Furthermore, emphasizing the continuity of violence during and even long after armed conflict deconstructs the artificial boundary between military

56 United States, 115th Congress, Public Law No, 115-68, S. 1141 – Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/1141/text>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

57 Christine Bell and Catherine O’Rourke, p. 294.

58 *Ibid.*

59 Fionnuala Ni Aolain, Eilish, Rooney, pp. 338-354.

and civilian and war crimes and intimate crimes that normalize sexual subordination outside the boundaries of the legal battlefield. The final section will briefly introduce a conceptual terrain for a feminist agenda for a Korean peace regime and the overlapping theoretical and political concerns raised in the fields of Feminist Security Studies (FSS) and Feminist Transitional Justice (FTJ).

Both FSS and FTJ's predominant political and ethical concerns can be summarized as such: a deep apprehension of both state and non-state actor's use of and investment in military force. Traditionally, security has been understood as the object of a state's responsibility, and consequently, it has always been posed in geopolitical terms, where governments prioritized state sovereignty and territory above all and thereby, legitimated their use of military force.⁶⁰ These two schools of thought, on the other hand, argue that the logic of traditional security or *negative security* underlying today's national security discourse is "rooted in assumptions about a universally defined state and security issues, addressed by a universally agreed upon tool of security—the military."⁶¹ They articulate the critique of security by foregrounding an important connection between gender violence, state security, and international politics. This framework is meaningful for understanding how the underenforcement of human rights and civil rights, particularly women's rights, have had and will continue to have gendered consequences in various conflict and post-conflict situations if the root causes of sexual violence are not adequately addressed.

The relentless pursuit of negative security by the state, FSS argues, is at odds with enjoying actual and genuine security. Whereas, the concept of 'human security' was introduced in the 1994 Human Development Report released by the U.N. Development Programme as an alternative to security defined by the use of military force, feminist security scholars have pointed

60 See Nick, Vaughan-Williams, "Critical Security Studies: An Introduction," *Routledge* (2000), pp. 1-88.

61 Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørvi, "Security by Any Other Name: Negative Security, Positive Security, and a Multi-Actor Security Approach," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2012), p. 836.

out that it is as equally normative and problematic as the concept of 'traditional security.'⁶² The U.N. agenda for 'human security' called for a re-definition of security in 'humanitarian' or moral terms against the traditional definition of security, where human beings were the main subjects of security governance that national governments and international organizations aspired towards. While the divide, in reality, is not so clear and distinct, the two concepts of security presumed a transition in global objectives from security by force towards security by humanitarianism. This epistemological turn on the concept of security, at least within the international institutions themselves, is important to keep in mind.

To the extent that one relies on the macro-political category, 'human security,' what is elided are the significant differences in what 'security' can mean for different kinds of subjects: women and other marginalized communities.⁶³ Feminist security scholars, as a result, critique the normative use of 'human security' that continues to broadly accept state intervention as long as it does not use military force. Consequently, human security as a global agenda fails to unsettle governments' reliance on military force, often misleadingly framed in humanitarian terms, applied to drone strikes or automation of border security. States, international organizations, or corporations that adopt the 'human security' framework often see individuals as passive recipients of security where, those with political and economic capital monopolize the active role of defining security. Gjørvi Gunhild states that positive security aims for a more meaningful participation of civil society where, "individuals and/or multiple actors have the freedom to identify risks and threats to their well-being and values...the opportunity to articulate these threats to other actors, and the capacity to determine ways to end, mitigate or adapt to

62 United Nations Development Programme, "Human Development Report 1994," by Oxford Press, New York, pp. 1-3 <<http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-1994>> (date accessed April 10, 2020).

63 The grassroots call for peace and security, arguably, preceded these institutional and intellectual turns in both global organizations and universities, and as a result, there are many reasons to be suspect of institutional and systematic change that does not acknowledge, include, and advocate grassroots politics and ideas.

those risks and threats either individually or in concert with other actors.”⁶⁴ Gunhild's point is well taken.

Unlike negative security, positive security first identifies individual and collective systems of values in order to re-evaluate and challenge the use of the technologies according to the former logic arguing for the use of military force.⁶⁵ As a result, positive security is an ‘enabler,’ thereby closely resembling the notion of freedom and empowerment.⁶⁶ Feminist scholars have pointed out that negative security invokes an epistemology of the enemy or the Other, where states often personify the roots of security threats through racialized and feminized images of the ‘terrorist,’ ‘communist,’ ‘foreigner,’ ‘criminal,’ or ‘the poor.’ As a result, they argue that conceptualizing security necessarily encounters ontological inquiries about systems of value (ethics) that undergird social manifestations of security within friends and families, and political manifestations through citizenship, nationality, and territoriality. Gjørv argues that a deeper exploration into values can potentially lead us to think through new conceptual relationships to security and insecurity in order to aspire towards positive security, which seeks to fundamentally transform political subjectivities that depends on institutions and infrastructures of negative security. As a result, there are some simple questions we can apply towards conceptualizing a positive security in the context of a feminist peace-building in Korea: Are women involved in positions of leadership and/or is gender violence sufficiently addressed in policies concerning security, both in its negative and positive sense? For whom and by whom are security discourses and practices undertaken? Are there genuine efforts to hold powerholders (governments, corporations, etc.) accountable so that civil society, especially women and marginalized communities, can enjoy positive security? Are we adequately ensuring that those who are most disenfranchised and disempowered are benefitting from these changes?

64 Gunhild Hoogensen et al, “Human Security in the Arctic – Yes, It Is Relevant!,” *Journal of Human Security*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2009), p. 836.

65 Hoogensen, et al. pp. 836.

66 *Ibid.*

One recent example where we see a feminist analysis contribute to a greater understanding of the relationship between policy and gender is the report “Human Sanctions and Gendered Impact of Sanctions on North Korea” commissioned by KPN.⁶⁷ The report broadly supports a “human centric perspective” while specifically addressing U.N. sanction’s disproportionate impact on North Korean women which “exacerbates rates of domestic violence, sexual violence, and the trafficking and prostitution of women.”⁶⁸ As it states, “sanctions significantly degrade women’s economic status and threaten their social rights,” this is an example where an international policy is failing to support ‘positive security’ that would aim to enable Korean women to pursue all the possible securities mentioned by its very definition. The report also observes that gendered and sexual violence more readily take place when there is ‘social disorder,’ and this is one of the main areas of concern for both FSS and FTJ. The latter is careful to observe that often state’s transitional rhetoric—from colonialism to post-colonialism, authoritarian rule to democracy, wartime to peacetime—obscures a continuum of gender and sexual violence. Finally, the report demonstrates that the concept of economic sanctions falls under the normative logic of ‘human security,’ where sanctions are introduced as an alternative to traditional security or military force, but in reality, fail to heed the disproportionate harm it causes for North Korean women’s futures.

Feminist transitional justice (FTJ) scholars, on the other hand, fill an important gap within FSS, particularly in linking aspirations towards positive security with legislative accountability and creating political space for recuperative, social justice. FTJ links the notion of positive security with the establishment of a rule of law and examines the gendered impacts of negative security within the context where law and rights have been suspended by wars, military occupations, military governments, etc. In

67 “The Human Costs and Gendered Impact of Sanctions on North Korea,” *Korea Peace Now!*, <<https://koreapeacenow.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/human-costs-and-gendered-impact-of-sanctions-on-north-korea.pdf>> (date accessed April 27, 2020).

68 *Ibid.*

this framework, FTJ sees hope for new laws and policies as technologies for conflict prevention or resolution. FTJ's main interventions can be summarized as such: they argue that stability of law offers the condition of possibility for basic gender security; they identify areas of gender-blindness in law and legal institutions that perpetuate gender discrimination and sexual violence as part of the patriarchal status quo⁶⁹; they aspire towards positive security as an enabler of individuals and communities to enjoy genuine security.⁷⁰ As a result, FTJ and FSS's discourses of gender security and women's rights often overlap.

Besides a juridical concept of positive security, FTJ also introduces an ecological concept. An 'ecological' approach to security in FTJ conceptualizes justice not only in legislative terms or as a juridical subjectivity, but locates its practices within a complex social system of deep relationalities that cut across atomistic units of identity, community, and state. As a result, FTJ links empirical studies of systematic and structural violence with theoretical inquiry on how individuals or communities make sense and meaning out of those event(s).⁷¹ Understanding how individuals make meaning, experience belonging, betrayal, and trauma, are foundational to building modes of recuperation that are enabling, empowering, and human-centered. FTJ scholars that emphasize an ecological approach to justice argue that "it is not surprising that any one approach to understanding the descent into violence or to rectifying and returning a country to peace, is doomed to failure without a consideration of the multiplicity of influences that determine those events."⁷² Consequently, they ask: how to assign responsibility for violent acts? How to build steps to repair and rebuild broken ties, broken communities, and broken lives? How to provide a framework to interpret events that arise from multiple causes and in multiple institutions and multiple

69 Joanne Conaghan, "Reassessing the Feminist Theoretical Project in Law," *Journal of Law and Society*, vol. 27 (2000), p. 357.

70 *Ibid.*

71 Laurel E. Fletcher, Harvey M. Weinstein, "Violence and Social Repair: Rethinking the Contribution of Justice to Reconciliation," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 3 (2002), pp. 573-639.

72 Laurel E. Fletcher et al, p. 621.

dimensions?⁷³ Unlike the usage of ecology as environment in eco-feminism and demilitarization, FTJ's use of ecology draws on political psychology, where the very foundations of social systems and relationality are interrogated.⁷⁴ Feminist legal scholars locate the possibilities for social recuperation and healing from collective violence by understanding the pivotal role that historical experiences and trauma play in shaping how individuals or communities could or could not experience 'security' in the world. As a result, these feminist perspectives emphasize the importance of highlighting collective meaning-making processes around violence, community, and belonging as an integral step towards political empowerment.

Lastly, FTJ perspectives can contribute to peace work in Korea in various ways, particularly in their studies on how prior peace processes and agreements have failed to aspire to be more democratic and participatory for women and civil society. They offers insights on how peace treaties and agreements are important not only because these documents legally end war and militarization, thereby reducing conditions for gender and sexual violence, but also as an opportunity to pursue democratization and enhancements of women's rights, a process undermined by militarization and war. As a result, peace agreements and processes are new constitutional and political moments that are an "important starting point in achieving other political, legal and social gains for women," including "complex arrangements for new democratic institutions, human rights and minority protections, and reform or overhaul of security and justice sector institutions."⁷⁵ Consequently, FTJ legislative strategies aspire to contest "power-maps" by re-distributing institutional and social power, and imbuing the legal document with social democratic aspirations for the future.⁷⁶ This strategies are grounded in studies that show how the exclusion of women in political processes and participation is exercised in very mundane ways. An elaboration of this can

73 Laurel E. Fletcher et al, p. 622.

74 Laurel E. Fletcher et al, pp. 573-639.

75 Bell, Christine et al, p. 946-948

76 *Ibid.*

be found in Christine Chinkin's study of how historically peace processes and agreements were held in locations that were far from local communities, making it hard for women to travel and attend.⁷⁷ A FTJ perspective on peace processes helps us visualize how women are disempowered by the absence of legal architecture, infrastructure, and logistics that address their specific needs such as, accessing resources for child-care or care-taking roles or guaranteed protection from sexual perpetrators.⁷⁸ The FSS and FTJ's perspectives that I highlighted in this essay can contribute to conceptualizing a (feminist) praxis for sustainable peace and justice in Korea and beyond. I argue that valuing positive security is a step towards finding ways to collectively divest from the unending Korean War and invest in a political processes that are inclusive, empowering, and safe for women and other marginalized communities. As both FSS and FTJ perspectives show, ending the Korean War with a peace treaty with women's inclusion in the peace process offers one major step towards building a sustainable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.

Conclusion:

A feminist approach to Korea peace-building, I argue, links the textual absence of women in legal documents, such as the armistice agreement signed in 1953, with the contemporary need to include women in the Korea peace process; it connects the ongoing historical disavowal of the Korean War's impact on Korean women and women diaspora with the U.S. foreign policy on North Korea; and finally, it re-examines how the concept of security in the context of peace on Korea must necessarily heed a feminist agenda. This essay argued that feminist peace-building is meaningful and important for mainstreaming feminist politics at the international, national, and grassroots level, and can become an important starting point for healing and recuperation for

⁷⁷ Christine Chinkin, "Gender, Human Rights, and Peace Agreements," *Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution*, vol. 18 (2003), p. 872.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Korean women and diaspora impacted by 75 years of division and 70 years of war. Like FTJ's ecological approach to transitional justice or FSS's approach to positive security as enabling of others, enhancing public consciousness of women's rights and gender equality in the Korea peace work can be carried out in all areas of grassroots organizing. Lastly, Korea Peace Now! will continue to pave the pathway for young women peace activists advocating for feminist peace work and the end to the Korean War. In the upcoming months, KPN will be releasing a "Path to Peace in Korea" report to address what feminist peace on Korea would look like and also launch a young ambassador's program to address the link between peace and human rights.⁷⁹ Envisioning a feminist Korean peace process in the 21st century should not only presume that radical change is possible, but necessary.

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⁷⁹ Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar "Celebrating Women's Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing" held on May 22, 2020.

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