

Americanism among the opposition to the government of President Noh Tae Woo. This month the students have taken up the emotionally charged theme of "reunification." The student protests carry great weight in Korea's Confucian society, where students are accorded the position of "conscience of the nation."

The students are acting in part under directives of Kim Dae Jung, the opposition leader who was spirited back to South Korea from exile under the protective wing of the U.S. State Department in 1985. Kim, a defeated presidential candidate, recently offered to go to Pyongyang and negotiate a joint hosting of the Summer Olympics with North Korea.

The students are also receiving support and guidance from Pyongyang. Giving the lines to its dupes in the south, Pyongyang radio declared June 8, "As for the initiative of students to hold North-South student talks, it is a very beneficial and good one for the reunification of the divided country. . . . Nevertheless, the No Tae Woo group is ruthlessly cracking down upon students by linking North-South student talks with 'security.' What a detestable behavior this is. . . . Such behavior of the Noh Tae Woo group was manipulated by the U.S. imperialists behind the scene."

A wild card?

Although a major North Korean provocation against the South would tend to disrupt the "New Yalta" deals currently under negotiation between Washington and Moscow, analysts believe that Kim Il-Sung is a wild card that cannot be controlled. In 1950, for example, Kim marched his troops against the South without the precise foreknowledge of either Beijing or Moscow, his two close allies.

In the last three years, North Korea has entered into an effective military alliance with the Soviet Union, which has backed Pyongyang's demands for "reunification" to the hilt. The Soviets have given the North MiG-23s and, it is believed, have stationed SS21s on North Korean soil. Although Moscow is telling various U.S. negotiators and visitors that it has no check on North Korea and that it has told the North not to engage in terrorism, military sources also report that Moscow has exerted no actual pressure on Pyongyang. In fact, Moscow is passively "playing" the Pyongyang profile.

Despite its protests to gullible Americans, Moscow has everything to gain from a North Korean provocation. The Korean peninsula, it is known, was a point of discussion between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Moscow in May, although no details of the discussion have been released.

A North Korean provocation against Seoul would bring directly into play the "crisis-management" condominium Moscow and its negotiating partners in the West seek. Those negotiations will be driven to one final objective: the withdrawal of U.S. ground forces from South Korea, a theme that is being revived by presidential candidate Michael Dukakis and the liberals of Congress.

Korea's opposition:

by David Hammer

On May 20, Party for Peace and Democracy leader Kim Dae Jung, the most radical figure in Korea's parliamentary opposition, issued a call for "political parties of North and South Korea" to meet at the village of Panmunjom in the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea, to discuss the two countries co-sponsoring the 1988 Olympics. When even Kim's fellow opposition parties rejected the call (a key North Korean demand), stating that there are no such things as political parties in the North, Kim retracted it. But it was picked up by the radical students who rioted on June 10 (see accompanying article), along with another demand with which Kim has long been identified—that North and South Korea be reunified.

The banner of last year's student riots was "democracy"; this year it reads "reunification." According to the pundits of the major press in the United States and elsewhere, the reunification demand, as well as the increasing student radicalization and its concomitant virulent anti-Americanism, represent a natural deepening of the Korean nationalist movement.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The Korean radical opposition is not a "social movement"; it is an intelligence operation.

When Kim Dae Jung returned to Korea in 1985, after a three-year exile in the United States, he did so because the U.S. State Department not only demanded his return, but sent numbers of its top personnel to accompany him. His base—the radical student movement and the "grassroots" extraparliamentary opposition—and that opposition's chief demand of "reunification," were created by institutions based in the United States, most prominently Union Theological Seminary in New York City. For decades, that institution has been associated with the family of former Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his brother, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency Allen Welsh Dulles.

'Made in U.S.A.'

Throughout the last half of 1987, *EIR* carried out an extensive investigation of the genesis of South Korea's opposition. In church-tied circles active in creating South Korea's opposition from 1968 on, one name continually recurred: Union Theological Seminary, located around the corner from its sister institution, the U.S. National Council of Churches.

These investigations demonstrated that:

- Union-trained personnel, both Korean and American, set up the Urban Industrial Mission (UIM), the radical, "community organizing" group that served as the nursery for both the entire leadership of the radical student movement, and its associated "extraparliamentary" opposition. This opposition, directed by Union graduates, has organized the violence in the streets.

- **Saul Alinsky**, the chief theoretician for the UIM, was affiliated with Union. His second book, *Reveille for Radicals*, was a compilation of his Union lectures.

- Union-trained theologians introduced all the radical new theologies in Korea over the past 20 years, including *minjung* theology, the Korean version of Jesuit Liberation Theology.

- Kim Dae Jung's friends and advisers are from Union, where Kim himself lectured. Union's president, **Donald Shriver**, was one of Kim Dae Jung's key backers during Kim's 1982-85 U.S. exile.

Shriver recently put it, "I would say we have 30 or 40 graduates in Korea, at least. And for the most part, those graduates have been leaders in the democratic opposition. . . . I am talking the church side of the protest, the civil rights, for democratization of the government and also for *reunification* of the north and the south" (emphasis original).

The list of Union graduates is indeed impressive, and includes virtually every top figure who has played a crucial role in creating the "democratic opposition": **Rev. Moon Ik**

Hwan, chairman of the United Minjung Movement for Democracy and Unification; **Rev. Park Hyung Kyu**, an old friend and adviser of Kim Dae Jung, and chairman of the National Coalition for a Democratic Constitution, which, together with Moon Ik Hwan's organization, organized much of the street violence in June 1987; **Rev. Kim Kwan Suk**, executive secretary of the Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC), which provided the financial, logistical, and political backing for the emergence of the radical non-party opposition, during the 1970s and early 1980s; **Rev. Kim So Young**, who replaced Kim Kwan Suk as KNCC head; **Rev. Moon Dong Hwan**, Moon Ik Hwan's brother, radical theologian, adviser to Kim Dae Jung, and now a member of Kim's PPD; **Rev. Hyun Young Hak**, former professor at Ewha Women's University, former Luce Professor at Union Theological Seminary, leading radical theologian; **Suh Kwang Sun David**, professor at Ewha University, and, with Hyun, one of the creators of *minjung* theology; and **Choan Seng Song**, *minjung* theologian, associated with Urban Industrial Mission circles, trainer of radical theologians for Korea and all of Asia.

Union's large-scale intervention into the religion and politics of South Korea began with the Program of Advanced Religious Studies (PARS) of the 1950s and early 1960s. The former dean of students at Union, Bill Weber, described its purpose: "That PARS program was . . . 'to train the outstanding future leaders in churches all over the world,' and bring them to Union for a year. Kind of the war college of the church."

PARS recruited the most promising students from many Asian countries, in particular from Korea's sizable Christian population, and brought them to Union to be radicalized. Weber described Union's impact: "You get the guys like David Suh and Young Hak Hyun [*minjung* theologians] and so on, and Steven Moon [Rev. Moon Dong Hwan]; those people got *radicalized*. . . . It was kind of a real conversion experience for a lot of those people to come into a milieu like that." Back in Korea, the Union graduates took up key positions in the seminaries and in the Korean National Council of Churches, there to sponsor the emergence of the opposition.

What is Union Theological Seminary?

Union Theological Seminary is a graduate school of Christian theology in New York City, founded in 1836 by a group of "new school" Presbyterian laity and clergy. Though founded and still dominated by Presbyterians, it is non-denominational, and its professors include Catholic priests, as well as representatives of numerous Protestant denominations. In 1987-88, it had a student body of 411, of which 33 are from abroad. Of these, eight are from Korea—most other foreign countries have one.

UTS boasts in its catalogue that it "has probably had a more profound impact on the theological education and on the life, thought, and leadership of the church than any other

seminary in the United States.” With such postwar leaders of liberal Protestantism on its faculty as Reinhold Niebuhr, John Bennett, and Paul Tillich, that claim is probably accurate.

Its board of directors both reflects, and accounts for, its enormous influence. It includes such pillars of the liberal Eastern Establishment as the president of Chemical Bank, the vice president of Citibank, and the president of D.D. Needham Worldwide, Inc., the world’s largest advertising agency.

But Union is most notorious for its advocacy of heresy. Union’s catalogue emphasizes, “A Union education involves more than a traditional, Western view of Christianity.” Indeed, like the World Council of Churches, Union’s teaching is heavily weighted *against* the “traditional, Western view of Christianity.” It offers such courses as; “The Philosophy of David Hume,” the founder of British philosophical radicalism, who stressed that morality is not knowable; a seminar on “Asian Theology of Liberation against a Latin American Background”; “Peace Studies”; “Feminist Theology,” which stresses the concept of “Mother-God,” and that the Holy Spirit is equivalent to the Great Mother of the ancient Near East; “Nietzsche’s Critique of Christianity”—Nietzsche argued that Dionysius (Satan) should be worshiped rather than Christ, as in his famous cry, “Am I understood? Dionysius against the Crucified!”

A private intelligence capability

Union Theological Seminary today is a merger of two Presbyterian seminaries: the original Union Seminary in New York City, and the former Auburn Seminary in the northern part of New York State. The Auburn Seminary was closely associated for many decades with the family of John Foster and Allen Welsh Dulles, descended from a long line of Presbyterian ministers. Their father, Rev. Allen Macy Dulles, was the director of Apologetics at Auburn Seminary, who from this post, reformed the entire Presbyterian Church in America in a radically more liberal direction. In the 1930s, Auburn Seminary merged with Union. In the 1950s, when the radical Saul Alinsky gave his lectures on “community organizing” at Union Theological Seminary, the Auburn Endowment at Union financed the program.

The Dulles family, earlier known as Presbyterian ministers, is better known in the 20th century in the field of politics: John Foster and Allen’s uncle, Robert Lansing, was Secretary of State before World War I and brought his two nephews into intelligence work at the time of the Versailles Treaty; John Foster Dulles was Secretary of State from 1953 to 1959, while his brother Allen headed the Central Intelligence Agency from the mid-1950s until the Kennedy administration.

In the 1930s, as an attorney for New York’s Sullivan and Cromwell law firm, John Foster Dulles directed the complex of business arrangements the liberal Eastern Establishment maintained with Hitler. He wrote letters commending Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler’s economics minister. During the same

period, when Auburn Seminary merged with Union, John Foster Dulles became an influential member of Union’s board. Union’s president from 1945 to 1973, Henry Pitney Van Dusen, was one of Dulles’s closest friends.

Union and the World Council of Churches

In conjunction with Union Theological Seminary, the other important force in creating South Korea’s radical opposition has been the Soviet front organization, the World Council of Churches, both its international headquarters, based in Geneva, and its most important national arm, the U.S. National Council of Churches. Not only have the U.S. NCC and the WCC poured funds into the Korean opposition, but they provided the political shelter under which the Korean radicals hid during their germination phase of the 1970s and early 1980s.

In the 1920s, the Dulleses were the single most influential force in establishing the Federal Council of Churches, predecessor of the U.S. National Council of Churches. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, and until he became Secretary of State in 1953, Dulles and his friend Van Dusen were two of the leading campaigners for the foundation of the World Council.

After their move into the U.S. government, the Dulles brothers continued to use the church institutions they had built. Their aims in government were identical to those in the “private sector”: to destroy independent nation-states. John Foster viewed both the United Nations and the World Council of Churches as instruments to destroy sovereign governments, in favor of a one-world government ruled by a concert of oligarchical families. Union specializes in creating radical, anti-nation-state insurgencies to promote these goals.

As the careers of the Dulleses indicate, Union Theological Seminary has been virtually synonymous with the World Council of Churches and its predecessors in the 20th century:

- **Henry Pitney Van Dusen**, Union’s president for three decades until 1973, was a founder of the World Council of Churches;
- **Donald Shriver**, Union’s current president, is a member of the World Council’s Committee on Theological Education;
- **Prof. James Cone**, who wrote the introduction to the book, *Minjung Theology*, largely authored by Union graduates, is involved in numerous World Council committees;
- **Prof. Koyama**, the Professor of World Religions at Union, and many other professors there, are also members of the World Council.

From East Harlem to Seoul

Both the South Korean government and the opposition acknowledge that one particular program in Korea bred most of the leaders of the radical opposition: the Urban Industrial Mission. The UIM infiltrated and radicalized industrial workers, and secondly, established radical organizations in the

large urban slums of Seoul and other cities. The movement was extensive—over the course of the 1970s, UIM trained between 2,000 and 2,500 *leaders* of the labor movement. It was American financing and American personnel which made it work, and once again, all roads led back to Union Theological Seminary.

Right after World War II, as part of the attack on sovereign nation states, Union set up a training program for radical activists in the East Harlem slums of New York City. Modeled on the “settlement-house” projects in the slums of London begun in the late 19th century by the British Fabian Society, the project emphasized the “spiritual values” of “small is beautiful” and “community control” in opposition to the emphasis on industrial and scientific progress associated with the modern nation-state. Several key figures trained in East Harlem or its sister-projects in Cleveland and Chicago would later set up Korea’s Urban Industrial Mission from scratch. These included:

- **Rev. George Ogle.** Founder of the flagship Incheon Urban Industrial Mission, Ogle was expelled from Korea for subversion in 1974.

- **Rev. George Todd.** A Presbyterian “industrial mission” specialist, Todd raised funds for the Yonsei Institute of Urban Studies and Development, whose 1968 creation transformed the earlier industrial mission work into radical jacobinism. After Korea, he ran the World Council of Churches’ UIM office (known as Urban Rural Mission) in Geneva for 10 years.

- **Rev. Herbert White.** After East Harlem, White founded Alinsky’s Rochester, New York project, then founded and ran the Yonsei Institute for Urban Studies and Development for its first two critical years, 1968-70. Shortly after White set it up, the Yonsei Institute organized the first riot in Korea in the postwar period. As White recently put it regarding the impact of his 1968-70 work at the Institute on the growth of the radical opposition in Korea today, “That’s the *genesis* of the non-party opposition, you know, the *genesis*, the generic base for what is going on there now” (emphasis original).

George Ogle set up the first, preparatory phase of the UIM in Korea. But it was White’s Yonsei work, with financing from the U. S. Presbyterian Church and volunteers from the Korean National Council of Churches, religious organizations such as the YMCA, and certain seminaries, which initiated the turn to radical jacobinism. For six months at a time, White sent these trainees into the slums to agitate for “action things.” Said White, “Even in those days, great response was always provoked from the government side. A large number of those trainees were at one time or another arrested. . . . So that kind of thing was the beginning, other than in student demonstrations, of a group of people learning about police and surveillance, and stuff like that.”

It was to this work that White recruited such crucial figures as Union graduate Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, who has

been an initiator of almost every single anti-government action to occur in Korea from the early 1970s on.

Hiding the U.S. origins

It was U. S. money, U. S. personnel, and U. S. political protection which enabled this radical jacobinism to get off the ground, a fact that White, Ogle, and others have been at great pains to hide from the American, as well as the Korean public. Privately, they admit the truth of the matter. Said George Todd, “Well, Herb [White] and I and others have not been very, have been somewhat chary about, ballooning the U.S. initiatives role in this. Because the whole point was so that if it became Korean, the foreigners should move out, and it was part of the original design in Herb’s assignment, that it not be an extended appointment and that if it took people, Koreans should assume the responsibility and leadership as expeditiously as possible. . . . Some people who opposed and criticized some of this kind of stuff, found one of the readiest ways to attack it, to say, ‘Well, this is some kind of new-model U. S. import. The latest imperialism. [It] has the name of community organization this time. Empowerment and so on.’ ”

White elaborated on the Union graduates working under U. S. direction. “They were very sensitive . . . they didn’t want to be Koreans who had been to the United States, coming back, bringing a foreign input with them, so we *downplayed* all that stuff.”

Though it was downplayed, it was the American protection which made it successful. “One reason why even in a tight military government situation, you could get this stuff started, [was] because an *American* was there covering it. This was the political cover for it. I was the political cover. And when it came down to it, none of our trainees could really be put in the can for a number of years and tortured and this and that because, hell, an American was involved in this program. Right? You see what I am saying?”

White left, but his legacy continued. As he explained, “Gradually what happened to the Community Action Training Department is that the Committee, chaired by Park Hyung Kyu, took pieces of it into the National YMCA program and into the National Council of Churches’ Urban Department.” Thus the program took on its “indigenous” life.

The UIM slum work of White et al. provided fertile ground for the emergence of radical ideologies, particularly *minjung* theology, Korea’s “theology of liberation.” White continued, “In the last 10 years, a whole theological movement has developed in Korea out of this stream that we are talking about. It’s called *minjung* theology. . . . So that in that sense, see what made this organizing experience such a critical and pervasive influence in what’s been going on in Korea for the past 15 years was the ability of people like Park Hyung Kyu and Oh Jae Shik and these others I have mentioned, was to *indigenize* it within the language of the culture, within the forms of the cultural interactions. This, of course,

a foreigner could never do.”

Working for the Soviets

In Korea, White and his associates were careful that their missions and other projects not take on a communist coloration. However, in the Philippines and India, where White worked after Korea, he stressed that his work helped *build* the Communist movements. He laughed, “Things are still written about how to, ‘How Does a Revolutionary Party Seeking to Seize Power Utilize a Methodology of Developing Peasant and Squatter Mass Bases’. . . . To this day, papers get written on this.”

In late February 1986, hundreds of thousands of people surged into the streets in Manila—the “people’s power” which provided the cover for a U.S. coup. White recounted how he watched the whole affair on his television and laughed, saying to his wife, “How do you do? Oh, here’s ‘people’s power’ now, huh? Wonderful.”

White laughed with good reason. Much of the “people’s power” had come from the Zone One Tondo Organization in the Manila slums, which he had organized some 15 years before, and which is now part of the National Democratic Front, the political arm of the communist New People’s Army.

In the Philippines, White’s work became part of the Communist Party. In India, it was set up by the Communist Party, where his chief “community organizer,” who set up five huge organizations in Bombay, Calcutta, and elsewhere, was a cadre of the Communist Party of India. White, along with his friend George Todd, left this kind of organization all over Asia—in Taiwan, where Todd was based for several years, and also in Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

Transformation of the student movement

The volatile Korean student movement triggered the riots of 1987 and 1988; whoever shapes that movement has a lever to alter the direction of Korean society as a whole.

For centuries, students in Korea’s Confucian society have played a highly visible role as the social and moral conscience of the nation. Student demonstrations helped bring down former President Syngman Rhee in 1960. What is new, is the degree of radicalism, and more particularly, pro-communism, which emerged in the Korean student movement from the late 1960s on. This was entirely a result of the Urban Industrial Mission’s influence, beginning with the Korean Christian Student Federation.

The change was described by Korean student leader Soh Kyung Suk, a graduate of Union Theological Seminary. “I’m the first generation of the Christian Student Movement which was concerned about the social justice issue. Before me, students were not that concerned about the social justice issue; they were more evangelical. But from my generation, we got involved in social justice. . . . UIM was in operation, and at that time, Christian Student Movement was in close contact with UIM. *So UIM movement guided us to do this,*

with close contact” (emphasis added).

Members of the Christian Student Federation were sent into the slums to agitate. Soh continued, “Students began to go into the slum area and live there for several months, and find out problems in the area and then they would try to solve the problems by using Saul Alinsky’s method. By evoking confrontation; through confrontation, they tried to solve the problems. . . . That was a very precious experience. . . . The students’ experience with people was important *because that experience changed the whole direction of KCSF*” (emphasis added).

The turn toward “social justice” initiated in the Christian student movement, soon transformed the student movement as a whole. Soh Kyung Suk continued, “Christian Student Movement took the lead in the concern about urban poor. . . . Its impact was *great* among secular student movement. Since that time, secular student movement began to have much greater concern about the urban poor.”

The demand for reunification

The U.S.-based circles who created the Korean opposition, have also dictated that opposition’s chief demands, demands which the rioting, firebomb-throwing students agitated for beginning on June 10. Speaking in November 1987, Dorothy Ogle, wife of George Ogle, and chair of the U.S. National Council of Churches’ Education and Advocacy Committee for Peace and Reunification of Korea, predicted, “You’re going to see this much, much more in the opposition’s demands in the future, this and the demand for a nuclear-free zone. These will be the real features of the opposition.”

Mrs. Ogle would know, since she and her associates were the first to raise this demand. A colleague of Mrs. Ogle’s, a former leader of the Christian Conference on Asia’s Urban-Rural Mission, Rev. Pharis Harvey, explained, “The issue of reunification started in the churches. The church initiative to take up the issue at a non-governmental level has gone a long way in helping the public debate form.”

To aid in this campaign, the World Council of Churches, in conjunction with several Union Theological Seminary graduates, has conjured up “Reunification Theology.” This was launched in August 1986, when the Korean National Council of Churches, led by Union graduate Rev. So Young Kim, held “the first meeting of leading Christians ever held on the peace and reunification of Korea.” The KNCC policy statement emphasized that the churches have “sinned against God” for not fighting for reunification long before this, and that they must confess that “guilt” and change their ways. Union graduate David Kwang Sun Suh was one of the chief “theologians of reunification,” while Union graduate and KNCC head Rev. So Young Kim released a non-negotiable demand to the government on this “theological” issue: “Neither must the government disrupt or suppress the church in its work toward unification.”