

# REACHING

Breaking down the Hanoi summit



A Nodutdol zine  
March 2019

OUR RESPONSE  
TO THE  
FAILED  
D.P.R.K. - U.S.  
SUMMIT

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# an incomplete time

1990s USSR collapses. market reforms in China. DPRK experiences food shortages + economic crisis

DPRK implements strategy to: ←

- establish relations with US
- develop nuclear weapons to deter, defend, use as bargaining chip

ALSO

US imposes economic sanctions...

1994. Agreed framework

things look up. move towards lifting sanctions... But...

No Congressional support.

Clinton doesn't follow through.

1994. Clinton thinks about invading the DPRK...

the Pentagon projects 1 million deaths, in the event of war...

2002. Bush refers to the DPRK (+Iran + Iraq) as the "Axis of Evil"...

Reneges ALL Previous Agreements...

# Line of US-DPRK Relations

2005-7.

Six Party Talks

plans for normalizing relations + dismantling nuclear facilities

2007.

Korea Summit

Roh Moo Hyun + Kim Jong Il meet in Pyongyang and discuss future of Reconciliation

2008.

the DPRK blows up Yongbyon nuclear tower

si today... fng

"Strategic Patience"

Obama crushes hopes.

2017.

"fire and fury" AND UN command + sanctions... Ruin everything

Annual war games. Tensions escalate. New sanctions... (:(

2018.

Korea Summit

inter-railroad projects, Kungang san tourism, Kaesong industrial complex

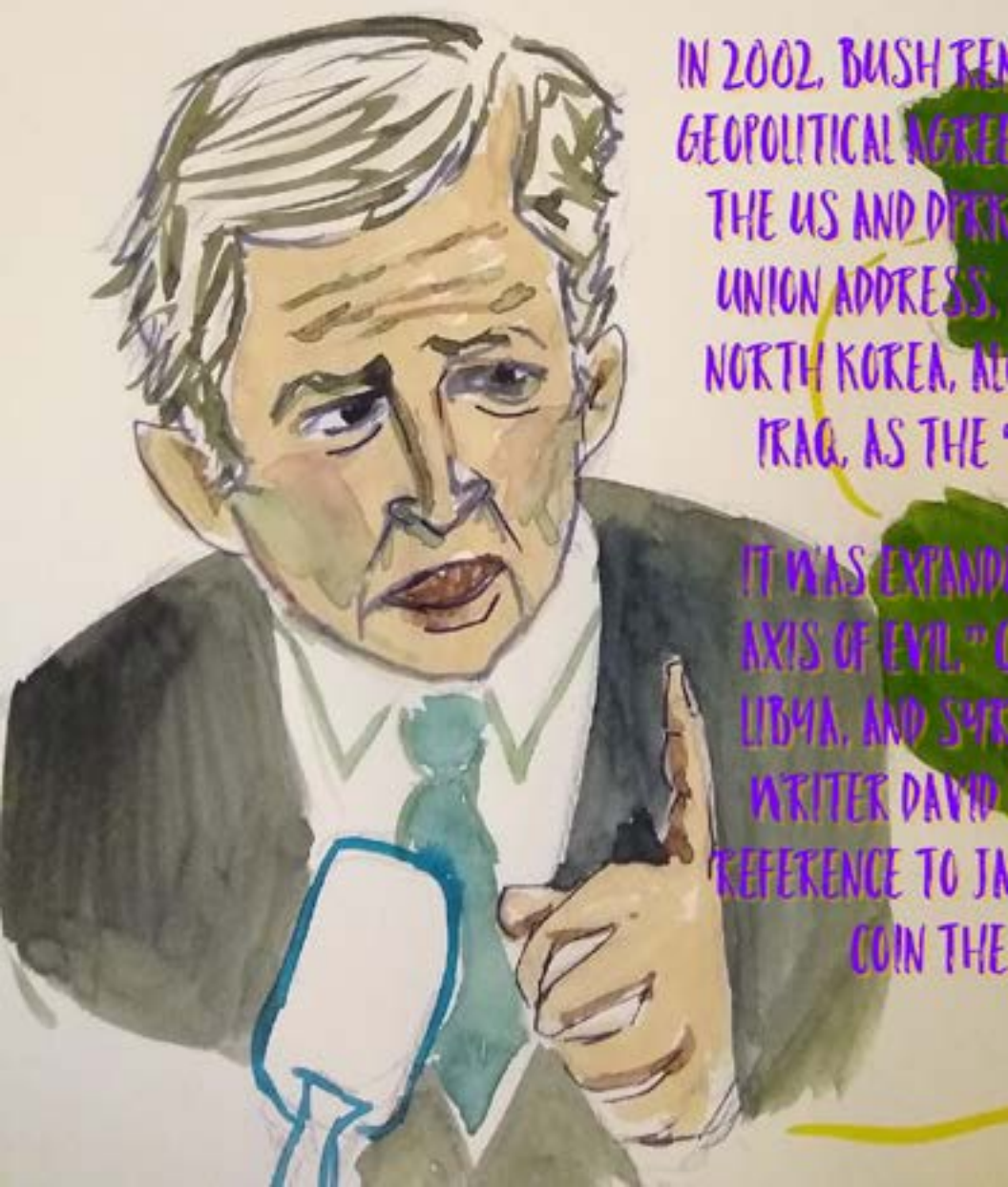
including...

that leaves us with....

2019.

Hanoi Summit

# "Axis of



IN 2002, BUSH RENAMED  
GEOLOGICAL AGENTS  
THE US AND DEPT  
UNION ADDRESS,  
NORTH KOREA, AN  
IRAQ, AS THE "

IT WAS EXPANDED  
"AXIS OF EVIL." C  
LIBYA, AND SYR  
WRITER DAVID  
REFERENCE TO JA  
COIN THE

# 2002 Bush, From "Axis of Evil"

In 2002, Bush reneged ALL previous geopolitical agreements regarding the U.S. and DPRK. Bush identified North Korea alongside Iran and Iraq as the "AXIS OF EVIL".

It was expanded to "BEYOND THE AXIS OF EVIL", comprised of Cuba, Libya, and Syria. Bush's speechwriter David From took an FDR reference to Japan during WWII to coin the expression.

# who does this affect?

This negotiation breakdown breaks the hearts of many Koreans in the peninsula and the diaspora. Virtually everyone of Korean descent is impacted, directly or indirectly, because of our shared history of colonization, war, and division. **The breakdown affects those of us in the diaspora differently** though, because we are an ethnic minority emplaced in societies that are very often hostile to Koreans.

For instance, many Koreans have resided for generations in Japan and the US, two countries that do not have normalized relations with North Korea yet. Although contemporary South Korean popular culture seems to have elevated the status of Korea in the global scheme from a Eurocentric viewpoint, North Korea continues to be objectified, ridiculed, and disregarded by those who have little understanding of Korea's complex history.

This "Good Korean vs. Bad Korean" dichotomy is imposed on diasporic Koreans, who must navigate racism to survive in the US and Japan. While both of these countries are allies of neoliberal South Korea, racial inequalities place Koreans as inferior to white Americans and the Japanese. We tend to internalize such an imposed dichotomy in our attempt to perform our citizenship and secure our belonging as well-assimilated immigrants. In doing so, **we often end up intensifying various divisions within our diasporic communities along class, race, gender, sexuality, religion, language, and generation.**

Of course, it is our internal struggle to overcome these community divisions, but we feel that we cannot do so without fully addressing the geopolitical division of our ancestral land.

Our ancestors had to leave Korea and couldn't go back precisely because of the division. And it wasn't Koreans who decided to divide Korea in half in 1945, right after Japanese



colonization ended. Importantly, the subsequent Korean War's 1953 ceasefire agreement was signed between North Korea and the US, not between North and South Korea. **The United States' imperialist economic and military policy has played a significant role during all these decades**, implicating Korean communities in Japan, the US, and Korea.

Koreans who reside in the US, including transnational Korean adoptees and Zainichi Koreans (Koreans in/from Japan), struggle to make sense of our intersecting identities as women, queers, non-binary folks, working-class people, undocumented immigrants, mixed-race folks, and non-Korean-speaking Koreans. The fact that our ancestral country is legally at war with our country of residence, the most threatening of all, affects us not only economically and culturally but also psychologically and spiritually. **We are heartbroken to see, time and time again, that the US has failed to honor Korean people's urgent needs and cultivate mutual trust.**

This negotiation breakdown also affects the residents of the US, who are struggling to make ends meet, maintain housing, obtain quality education, secure healthcare access, and sustain healthy relationships because the government benefits from making war and justifying its exorbitant military budget in the face of ballooning private debt. "America First" is actually "Wealthy Americans First." What a world we live in.

We do have hope – because we choose to be the hope. We created this zine to share our nuanced perspectives, stories, and feelings. The negotiation can and must continue no matter who the President is, because that's what North Korea has long been trying to do and that's what a process for **demilitarized peace and democratic unification** should entail.

**haruki eda**

Simply reunifying is not the goal -  
A reunification that replicates  
existing structures of oppression  
is a reunification we don't  
support.

We envision a Korea dedicated  
to peace, one where the people  
are centered.

It's important to remember to ask:  
Who are the voices promoting  
destructive paths to reunification?

A plan that alleges itself to be  
for the human rights of north  
Koreans but involves absorption,  
collapse, or military attack  
does not have the human rights  
of north Koreans in mind.

Anything but a just, people  
centered reunification will  
be unsustainable.

TRUE KOREA PEACE

# Paths to Reunification



# He said, he said, he said...

## What do we get from these competing accounts?

On Feb. 28, 2019, **Trump said** at the Foxnews interview, “Basically they wanted the sanctions lifted in their entirety, but we couldn’t do that ... we had to walk away from it.”

On the late night conference on Feb. 28, 2019, **Ri Yong-ho said**, “What we have asked for was partial lifting of sanctions, not entirely. In detail, we asked to lift 5 sanctions ..., out of a total of 11 sanctions, which would affect ordinary people’s economy and life.”

On March 2, 2019, **the Pentagon said** acting Secretary of Defense Patrick Shanahan and South Korea Minister of National Defense Jeong Kyeong-doo decided to end the Key Resolve and Foal Eagle series of exercises.

On March 3, 2019, **Trump tweeted**, “For the Democrats to interview in open hearings a convicted liar & fraudster [[Cohen]], at the same time as the very important Nuclear Summit with north Korea, is perhaps a new low in American politics and may have contributed to the ‘walk.’ Never done when a president is overseas. Shame!”

On March 3, 2019, **Bolton told** Chris Wallace at Foxnews that Kim “walked away from” Trump’s offer to take his ‘big deal’ – “denuclearization, give up the nuclear chemical and biological weapons, give up the ballistic missiles,” “in exchange for that you get this well-placed piece of real estate, as the president judges it from his business experience, that could have an extraordinary economic future.”

On March 15, 2019, US Secretary of State **Mike Pompeo said** he expects North Korea’s leader will live up to his commitment not to resume nuclear and missile tests.

This is not the first time I saw competing accounts of “he said & he said” in the context of US–DPRK relations. So many people ask whether we can trust the U.S. or whether we can trust DPRK. Trust building takes time, and in the history of U.S. foreign relations, I am not very sure if anything was a matter of “trust”. If we decide that we do not trust the governments, what are our choices available to us as a course of action? We cannot go through the exchange of war threats and heavier militarization of the Korean peninsula.

However untrustworthy the U.S. government is in terms of carrying out its promised deal with North Korea, we need to continue to urge the government to stop stalling of the peace process and move ahead to keep up our end of the actions listed in the Singapore Declaration. As a diasporic Korean, I demand that North Korea will keep up its effort to continue negotiation with the U.S. for normalization of the relations with U.S. and denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

At least, right now in March 2019, we heard that the annual large-scale joint war games between U.S. and South Korea will stop, and North Korea has not announced to resume its nuclear or missile testing. I may be skeptical to believe that this Trump administration can handle the complexities of talks with North Korea.

But, with an optimism believing in people power, I think Nodutdol will continue to mobilize and educate the U.S. public and our allies about the importance of this current peace process. How U.S. sanctions are choking the ordinary people in my northern home land and depriving them of their livelihood. Koreans, South, North and Overseas, have confronted so many and great obstacles for last 74 years, and this breakdown of one summit will not break us.

However disappointed and heart-broken, our roadmap is clear: we need to end the Korean war, to achieve peace and denuclearization in the Korean peninsula and to move toward a peaceful reunification.

# Sanctions will continue until morale improves

The U.S. and the rest of the international community have put in place harsh sanctions against North Korea as punishment for their:

- 1) Human rights violations , and
- 2) Nuclear program





Sanctions prohibiting imports and exports of major goods and labor is devastating for a country's economy and its people. From 2012 to 2017, N. K.'s exports shrunk 36% (about \$1B). Sanctions are economic warfare.



The only reason N.K. has enough material to make an estimated 20–60 nuclear weapons (the U.S. has almost 7,000) is as a deterrent for any attack. N.K. has been clear about this self-defense approach to their nuclear program.



If you really want to help North Koreans, ending warfare (economic and militaristic) can allow the people to live without fear and dedication to self-preservation.

# WHAT'S NEXT FOR THE KOREAN PEACE PROCESS?

As we hope for the dialogue between the U.S. and North Korea to resume and for North and South Korea to continue working together, and as we continue to resist the U.S. military-imperialist occupation of the Korean peninsula, we will ask ourselves, independent of unreliable politicians, what is the peace process at the people's level? How do we envision reunification? What do we hope for our world beyond this war?



to echo earlier  
sentiments:

→ The negotiation  
breakdown has  
an impact on  
virtually everyone  
of Korean  
descent.



→ Ending economic & militaristic warfare  
can allow the North Korean people  
to live without fear.

→ The U.S. and the rest  
of the international community  
have put ~~sancti~~ in place harsh  
sanction.

→ How do we envision  
reunification?

# Why <sup>to</sup> <sup>13</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> Zine?

Members of Nodutdol, a Korean diasporic group in NYC, like millions of Koreans + others around the world, had great hopes for the US-DPRK summits - & thought the Hanoi Summit could really result in concrete steps towards peace. In fact, we've been working to support peace in Korea for decades, like many others.

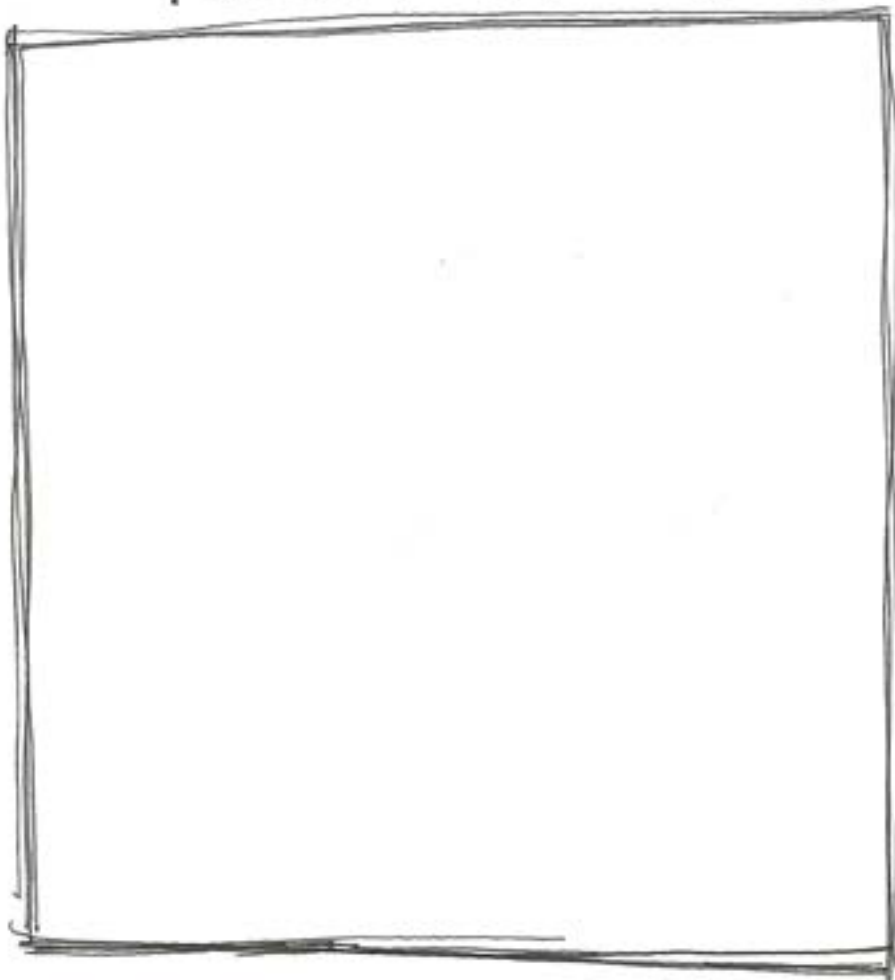
With this most recent summit failure + the dismaying reaction of so many in the U.S. - even among progressives we felt we had to say what we felt about it.

The peace process must go on!  
Dialogue must continue!  
Too many families remain divided,  
too much militarization & fear

## End the Korean War!

THIS WAS OUR RESPONSE,

WHAT'S YOUR  
RESPONSE?



Take a picture and send your  
contribution to us on Instagram @nodutdol  
#koreapeacehow #endtheKoreanwar

# 동행의

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