

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-10057-1 — Divided America, Divided Korea
David P. Fields, Mitchell B. Lerner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Divided America, Divided Korea

Bringing together leading experts on Korea and US–Korean relations, *Divided America, Divided Korea* provides a nuanced look at the critical relationship between the US and the two Koreas during and after the Trump years. It considers domestic politics, soft power, human rights, trade, security policy, and more, while integrating the perspectives of those in the US, South and North Korea, Japan, China, and beyond. The authors, ranging from historians and political scientists to policymakers and practitioners, bring a myriad of perspectives and backgrounds to one of the most critical international relationships of the modern world during an unprecedented era of turmoil and change, while also offering critical analyses of the past and present, and somber warnings about the future.

David P. Fields is Associate Director of the Center for East Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He is the author of *Foreign Friends: Syngman Rhee, American Exceptionalism, and the Division of Korea* (University Press of Kentucky, 2019).

Mitchell B. Lerner is Professor of History and the Director of the East Asian Studies Center at The Ohio State University. He is the author of *The Pueblo Incident: A Spy Ship and the Failure of American Foreign Policy* (University Press of Kansas, 2002).

Cambridge Studies in US Foreign Relations

Edited by

Paul Thomas Chamberlin, *Columbia University*
 Lien-Hang T. Nguyen, *Columbia University*

This series showcases cutting-edge scholarship in US foreign relations that employs dynamic new methodological approaches and archives from the colonial era to the present. The series will be guided by the ethos of transnationalism, focusing on the history of American foreign relations in a global context rather than privileging the US as the dominant actor on the world stage.

Also in the Series

- Pete Millwood, *Improbably Diplomats: How Ping-Pong Players, Musicians, and Scientists Remade US-China Relations*
- R. Joseph Parrott and Mark Atwood Lawrence (eds.), *The Tricontinental Revolution: Third World Radicalism and the Cold War*
- Aaron Donaghy, *The Second Cold War: Carter, Reagan, and the Politics of Foreign Policy*
- Amanda C. Demmer, *After Saigon's Fall: Refugees and US-Vietnamese Relations, 1975–1995*
- Heather Marie Stur, *Saigon at War: South Vietnam and the Global Sixties*
- Seth Jacobs, *Rogue Diplomats: The Proud Tradition of Disobedience in American Foreign Policy*
- Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire: American Teachers and Contested Colonization in the Philippines*
- Walter L. Hixson, *Israel's Armor: The Israel Lobby and the First Generation of the Palestine Conflict*
- Aurélie Basha i Novosejt, *"I Made Mistakes": Robert McNamara's Vietnam War Policy, 1960–1964*
- Greg Whitesides, *Science and American Foreign Relations since World War II*
- Jasper M. Trautsch, *The Genesis of America: US Foreign Policy and the Formation of National Identity, 1793–1815*
- Hideaki Kami, *Diplomacy Meets Migration: US Relations with Cuba during the Cold War*
- Shaul Mitelpunkt, *Israel in the American Mind: The Cultural Politics of US-Israeli Relations, 1958–1988*
- Pierre Asselin, *Vietnam's American War: A History*
- Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Woodrow Wilson and American Internationalism*
- Geoffrey C. Stewart, *Vietnam's Lost Revolution: Ngô Đình Diệm's Failure to Build an Independent Nation, 1955–1963*
- Michael E. Neagle, *America's Forgotten Colony: Cuba's Isle of Pines*
- Elisabeth Leake, *The Defiant Border: The Afghan-Pakistan Borderlands in the Era of Decolonization, 1936–1965*
- Tuong Vu, *Vietnam's Communist Revolution: The Power and Limits of Ideology*
- Renata Keller, *Mexico's Cold War: Cuba, the United States, and the Legacy of the Mexican Revolution*
- Susan Perlman, *Contesting France: Intelligence and US Foreign Policy in the Early Cold War*

Divided America, Divided Korea

*The US and Korea During and After the
Trump Years*

Edited by

DAVID P. FIELDS

University of Wisconsin–Madison

MITCHELL B. LERNER

The Ohio State University



Cambridge University Press & Assessment
 978-1-009-10057-1 — Divided America, Divided Korea
 David P. Fields, Mitchell B. Lerner
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
 New Delhi – 110025, India
 103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
 a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
 education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009100571

DOI: 10.1017/9781009119269

© David P. Fields and Mitchell B. Lerner 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
 of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take
 place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Fields, David P., 1983– editor. | Lerner, Mitchell B., 1968– editor.
 TITLE: Divided America, divided Korea : the US and Korea during and after the
 Trump years / edited by David P. Fields, University of Wisconsin–Madison ;
 Mitchell B. Lerner, The Ohio State University.
 OTHER TITLES: U.S. and Korea during and after the Trump years
 DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge
 University Press, 2024. | Series: Cambridge studies in U.S. foreign
 relations | Includes bibliographical references and index.
 IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023019369 (print) | LCCN 2023019370 (ebook) |
 ISBN 9781009100571 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009119269 (ebook)
 SUBJECTS: LCSH: United States – Foreign relations – Korea. | Korea – Foreign
 relations – United States. | United States – Foreign relations – 2017–2021. |
 United States – Foreign relations – 2021– | Korea – Foreign
 relations – 21st century.
 CLASSIFICATION: LCC E183.8. K6 D48 2024 (print) | LCC E183.8.K6 (ebook) |
 DDC 327.730519–dc23/eng/20230519
 LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023019369>
 LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023019370>

ISBN 978-1-009-10057-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence
 or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this
 publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will
 remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of Maps</i>	ix
<i>List of Table</i>	xi
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xix
Introduction	I
<i>Kathleen Stephens</i>	
1 The Trump Administration's Place in the History of US Relations with the Korean Peninsula	7
<i>David P. Fields</i>	
2 <i>Plus Ça Change?</i> South Korean Public Opinion of the US during the Trump Administration	37
<i>Steven Denney</i>	
3 The Trumpian Wake-Up Call: South Korea's Search for Security beyond the Alliance	63
<i>Go Myong-hyun</i>	
4 North Korean Human Rights during the Trump Administration	87
<i>Danielle Chubb</i>	
5 South Korean Public Diplomacy vis-à-vis the US: Finding Support for Policies in Washington, DC	105
<i>Kadir Jun Ayhan</i>	
6 Stunted Growth or Growing Pains: The US–ROK Alliance in the Trump Era	129
<i>Clint Work</i>	

7	Inflection Points: US–China–North Korea Relations in the Trump Years <i>David Cheng Chang</i>	163
8	How to Make Friends and Alienate People: Japan’s Relations with the US and the Koreas, 2017–2020 <i>Fintan Hoey</i>	198
	Conclusion: The Trump Legacy in Korea, East Asia, and the World <i>Mitchell B. Lerner</i>	224
	<i>Index</i>	233

Figures

2.1	South Koreans' favorability ratings toward the US and select regional powers, 2003–19	<i>page</i> 44
2.2	South Koreans' confidence in POTUS and select regional leaders, 2003–19	46
2.3	South Koreans' approval of Trump administration policies, 2019	47
2.4	South Koreans' favorability toward the US by select groups, 2017 and 2019	52
2.5	South Koreans' confidence in Donald Trump by select groups, 2017 and 2019	53
2.6	South Koreans' approval of Donald Trump's North Korea policy by select groups, 2019	54
2.7	South Koreans' confidence in Donald Trump by select groups, 2019	57
5.1	Count of unique words found in @RokEmbDC tweets: July 6, 2018–May 6, 2022	114
5.2	Word network of tweets by @RokEmbDC: July 6, 2018–May 6, 2022	114
5.3	<i>New York Times</i> news coverage about Korea during the Trump presidency	124
5.4	<i>New York Times</i> news coverage about Korea during the first year of the Biden presidency	125
5.5	What news relating to South Korea can you remember from the last two years?	126

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-10057-1 — Divided America, Divided Korea
David P. Fields, Mitchell B. Lerner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Maps

1	The Korean Peninsula	<i>page</i> xii
2	Trump and Kim summit/meeting locations	xiii

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-10057-1 — Divided America, Divided Korea
David P. Fields, Mitchell B. Lerner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Table

2.1 Pew Global Attitudes Surveys used

page 43

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-10057-1 — Divided America, Divided Korea
David P. Fields, Mitchell B. Lerner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



MAP 1 The Korean Peninsula

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-10057-1 — Divided America, Divided Korea
David P. Fields, Mitchell B. Lerner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



MAP 2 Trump and Kim summit/meeting locations

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-10057-1 — Divided America, Divided Korea
David P. Fields, Mitchell B. Lerner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Contributors

Kadir Jun Ayhan is Assistant Professor of International Relations at Ewha Womans University Graduate School of International Studies. His main research interests include public diplomacy, power in world politics, and Korean diplomacy and foreign policy. He serves as Editor-in-Chief for the *Journal of Public Diplomacy* and regularly consults for governmental public diplomacy projects in Korea. He served as a member of the Korean Presidential (Transition Panel) Committee of National Cohesion in 2022, and as a member of a special presidential committee on immigration policies. He holds a PhD and a master's degree from Seoul National University Graduate School of International Studies and a Bachelor of Commerce from the University of Auckland. He has published peer-reviewed articles in *International Studies Perspectives*, *Korea Observer*, and *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, among others, and co-edited the volume *Comprehensive Peacebuilding on the Korean Peninsula: Internal Dynamics in North Korea and South Korean Approaches* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2023).

David Cheng Chang is Associate Professor of Humanities at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology and Visiting Professor of History at Ewha Womans University. He was the Radcliffe-Harvard Yenching Institute Fellow at Harvard University in 2021–2022. He received his PhD in modern Chinese history from the University of California, San Diego. He studies the Cold War, US–China relations, and the social history of war and revolution as experienced by the common people, such as China's World War II interpreters and Korean War soldiers and prisoners. His first book, *The Hijacked War: The Story of Chinese POWs in the Korean War*, was published by Stanford University Press in 2020.

Danielle Chubb is Associate Professor in International Relations at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia. She previously held positions at Pacific Forum, The Australian National University, and Hawaii Pacific University. Danielle's main research interests are transnational activism, the policy dynamics of the Korean peninsula, the role of nontraditional actors in security arenas, and Australian foreign policy. Her most recent books include *Contentious Activism and Inter-Korean Relations*, published by Columbia University Press in 2014, and *North Korean Human Rights: Activists and Networks* (edited with Andrew Yeo), published by Cambridge University Press in 2018.

Steven Denney is Lecturer in East Asian Economy and Society for the Department of East Asia Studies at the University of Vienna and Vice-Director of the European Centre for North Korean Studies. He holds a PhD in political science from the University of Toronto, an MA in global affairs and policy from Yonsei University, and a BA in political science from Harding University.

David P. Fields is Associate Director of the Center for East Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He is the author of *Foreign Friends: Syngman Rhee, American Exceptionalism, and the Division of Korea* (University Press of Kentucky, 2019) and the editor of *The Diary of Syngman Rhee, 1904–34, 1944* (National Museum of Korean Contemporary History, 2015). Since 2015 he has been the book review editor of the *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*.

Go Myong-hyun is Senior Research Fellow at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. Previously, he was a postdoctoral researcher at the University of California, Los Angeles. His research applies quantitative perspectives to traditional and nontraditional security issues, with a special focus on North Korea, sanctions enforcement, and the security and strategic dimensions of technology. Dr. Go was a Munich Young Leader of the Munich Security Conference 2015 and is formerly a member of the Advisory Committee of the ROK Ministry of National Defense, Senior Adjunct Fellow at the Center for a New American Security, and Associate Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute. He received a PhD in policy analysis from the Pardee RAND Graduate School.

Fintan Hoey is Associate Professor of History at Franklin University Switzerland. He is the author of *Sato, America and the Cold War: U.S.-Japanese Relations, 1964–1972*, which was published by Palgrave

List of Contributors

xvii

Macmillan in 2015. He was a Swiss National Science Foundation–funded Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, in Spring 2019. His current research is focused on Japanese policies regarding nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

Mitchell B. Lerner is Professor of History and Director of the East Asian Studies Center at The Ohio State University, where he is also Fellow at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies. He is the author of *The Pueblo Incident: A Spy Ship and the Failure of American Foreign Policy* (University Press of Kansas, 2002), which won the John Lyman Book Prize, and has published articles in many journals, including *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, *Diplomatic History*, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, *The Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*, and *The Journal of Military History*. He has been Fellow at the Miller Center for Public Affairs at the University of Virginia and held the Mary Ball Washington Distinguished Fulbright Chair at University College Dublin.

Kathleen Stephens served as US Ambassador to the Republic of Korea from 2008 to 2011, the first woman and first Korean speaker to serve in that position. Other overseas assignments included postings to China, former Yugoslavia, Portugal, Northern Ireland, where she was US Consul General in Belfast during the negotiations culminating in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, and India, where she was US Chargé d’Affaires (2014–2015). She also held numerous policy positions at the Department of State and the White House, including acting Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (2012), Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (2005–2007), Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs (2003–2005), and National Security Council Director for European Affairs at the Clinton White House. She is currently the Director of the Korea Economic Institute of America.

Clint Work is Fellow and Director of Academic Affairs at the Korea Economic Institute of America. Before joining the institute, Clint was Fellow with the Stimson Center’s 38 North program. Prior to joining Stimson, he was Assistant Professor at the University of Utah’s Asia Campus in South Korea and a regular foreign policy writer for *The Diplomat* magazine’s Korea page. He holds a Ph.D. in international studies from the University of Washington and an MA in international relations from the University of Chicago, and his work focuses on the Korean peninsula, US–Korean relations, East Asia, and US foreign policy.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-10057-1 — Divided America, Divided Korea
David P. Fields, Mitchell B. Lerner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Acknowledgments

Scholarly work is never a solitary endeavor, even when only one name appears on the title page. Since there are two editors in this case, there are even more people to thank. Numerous friends and colleagues provided important guidance throughout the process, including David Kang, Pil Ho Kim, Jean Lee, James Matray, and William Stueck. We also want to acknowledge the wonderful guidance of the editors and staff at Cambridge University Press, including Cecelia Cancellaro and Victoria Phillips, along with the external reviewers who endorsed this publication.

For financial and administrative support, we need to acknowledge the generosity of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies and the East Asian Studies Center at The Ohio State University. We are particularly thankful to Danielle Cooke, Kyle McCray, Janet Smith, and Amy Carey for their efforts on our behalf. We would also like to thank the University of Wisconsin–Madison’s Center for East Asian Studies, and its director, Charles Kim, for underwriting some of the production costs of this volume. We are grateful for the assistance of Jacob Steinberg and Katherine Koehler of the University of Wisconsin Cartography Lab for preparing the maps in this volume. We are also grateful for funding from the Department of Education’s Title VI International Education program.

Finally, it is important to note that any errors in the work are not the fault of anyone mentioned above. They are instead the responsibility of the co-editor.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-10057-1 — Divided America, Divided Korea
David P. Fields, Mitchell B. Lerner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)
