

## Index

- 38th parallel, on Korean Peninsula, North Korean crossing of, 1, 12  
 “386 generation,” in South Korea, 71–72
- ABCTs. *See* armored brigade combat teams (ABCTs)
- Abe Shinzō, 46, 59, 68. *See also* Japan-US-Korean peninsula, political relations between  
 Kim Jong-Un and, 209–10  
 Trump, D., relationship with, 198, 202, 205–16, 221–22
- Acheson, Dean, 17
- Agreed Framework, for nuclear weapons in North Korea, 24–25, 89  
 failure of, 90–91  
 US–China–North Korea triangular relations and, 167–68
- Aguilar, Catalina Devendas, 103
- “America First” policy, under Trump, D., 78–79, 86, 95, 198, 204, 207–8, 216, 218–19  
 North Korea human rights policy and, 93, 97–98
- APEC. *See* Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)
- Arduous March, in North Korea, 24–25
- armistice, in South Korea, 1
- Armitage, Richard, 208
- armored brigade combat teams (ABCTs), 154
- Asia Watch. *See* Human Rights Watch (Asia Watch)
- Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), 205–6
- Australia, Quadrilateral Security Dialogue and, 65, 203
- Ayhan, Kadir Jun, 230
- Bannon, Stephen, 176–77
- Belt and Road Initiative, 199, 203, 214
- Biden, Joe, 220, 232  
 foreign policy for Korean peninsula, 85–86  
 on future of democracy, 196–97, 232  
 global response to election of, 222–23  
 Moon Jae-in and, 60–61  
 North Korea foreign policy, 141  
 OPCON transfer under, 148–50  
 public policy diplomacy and, 112, 122  
 Special Measures Agreement under, 155  
 US military strategy for Korean peninsula, 162  
 US–China–North Korea triangular relations and, 192–97
- Biegun, Stephen, 136, 137, 159–60
- Bishop, Bill, 171
- Blanchette, Jude, 195
- Bolton, John, 29–31, 60, 185–86, 189, 229
- Bush, George W., 207–8  
 Kim Jong-il and, 91, 182  
 North Korean foreign policy for, 164  
 North Korean Human Rights Act, 90–91  
 OPCON transfer under, 143–44  
 South Korea public opinion on, 44, 46, 48, 58  
 US–China–North Korea triangular relations and, 168–69

- Cairo Declaration, 11  
 Carlin, Robert L., 191, 193  
 Carter, Jimmy, 18, 24, 65, 91, 163  
   entrepreneurial diplomacy through, 28  
 CFC. *See* Combined Forces Command (CFC)  
 Cha, Victor, 142, 193, 201  
 Chang, David Cheng, 166, 229–30  
 Chang, Gordon, 115  
 China. *See also* Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP); US–China–North Korea, triangular relations between  
   Belt and Road Initiative and, 199  
   Kim Jong-Un in, 183–86  
   Korean peninsula and, 9  
   Nixon visit to, 196  
   North Korea and, 22, 67, 164  
     economic aid to, 166–67  
   Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and, 85–86, 215–16, 220  
   role in East Asia foreign policy, 62  
   Sino-Japanese War, 165  
   South Korea and  
     political relations from 2012–2017, 66–70  
     public opinions on, 45–47, 58  
     public policy diplomacy for, 116–17  
   US trade war with, 183, 194  
 Cho Won-jin, 55–56  
 Choi Jong Ku, 112–13  
 Choo Mi-ae, 56  
 Chubb, Danielle, 231  
 Chun Doo-hwan, 18–19, 71–72, 109, 157  
 Chung Eui-yong, 29, 181, 182  
 civil institutions, in South Korea, 4  
 Clinton, Bill  
   human rights in North Korea and, 88–89  
   US–China–North Korea triangular relations and, 167–68  
 Clinton, Hillary, 29  
 Cohn, Gary, 224  
 COI. *See* Commission of Inquiry (COI), on human rights  
 Cold War  
   alliance between US and South Korea during, 19, 129  
   public opinions on US in South Korea during, 38  
 Combined Forces Command (CFC), 142–43  
 Commission of Inquiry (COI), on human rights, 99–103  
 Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), 103  
 COVID-19 pandemic, 82  
   OPCON transfer and, 147  
   public policy diplomacy for South Korea and, 113–15, 123  
   US foreign policy impacted by, 139–40  
   US–China–North Korea triangular relations during, 190–91  
*Crippled America* (Trump, D.), 225  
 CRPD. *See* Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)  
 cultural diplomacy, of South Korea, 106–7, 117–19  
 cultural exchange, with South Korea, 20–21  
 Cumings, Bruce, 168  
 defector activists, in North Korea, 90  
 Delury, John, 168, 179–80  
 democracy. *See also* democratization, in South Korea  
   Biden on future of, 196–97, 232  
   in North Korea, 23–24  
   South Korea as, 2–4, 157–58  
   public support for, 50  
   transition to genuine democracy, 19  
 democratic institutions, in South Korea, 4  
 Democratic Party of Korea (South Korea), 77  
 Democratic People's Republic of Korea. *See* North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) (DPRK)  
 democratization, in South Korea, 4, 71–72, 129–41  
   under Peace and Prosperity Policy, 130–31, 133–34  
   under Sunshine Policy, 72–73, 130–31  
 Deng Xiaoping, 167  
 Denney, Steven, 230  
 dictators, hereditary, 7  
 DMZ. *See* Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ)  
 DPRK. *See* North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) (DPRK)  
 Dulles, John Foster, 1  
 Dunford, Joseph, 172  
 East Asian Strategic Initiative (EASI), 143  
 Egan, Robert, 27–28

- entrepreneurial diplomacy, with North Korea, 27–28  
 through Carter, 28  
 Trump, D., and, 7–8, 22, 26, 29, 34  
 Esper, Mike, 153  
 Europe, economic relations with North Korea, 23, 25
- Fahy, Sandra, 98–99  
 favorability ratings, for US, in South Korea, 43–45  
 by age cohorts, 52  
 Floyd, George, coverage of in DPRK propaganda, 98–99  
 Flynn, Michael, 171, 205–6  
 Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy, 199, 202–3  
 Trump, D., and, 213–16
- Gaddafi, Muammar, 189  
 Gates, Robert, 133  
 GDPR. *See* Global Defense Posture Review (GDPR)  
 General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA), 69, 216–19  
 Global Defense Posture Review (GDPR), 143  
 Go Myong-hyun, 231  
 Gojong (King), 9  
 Graham, Billy, 26  
 Graham, Franklin, 26, 33  
 Graham, Lindsey, 172, 178  
 Greenleaf, Stewart, 27  
 GSOMIA. *See* General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA)  
 Gwangju Uprising, 19
- Harris, Harry, 138–39, 219  
 Harris, Tobias S., 206–7  
 Hoey, Fintan, 229–30  
 Hong Jun-pyo, 55  
 human rights, in North Korea, 23–24  
 under “America First” policy, 93, 97–98  
 analysis of, 104  
 Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 103  
 defector activists and, 90  
 early history of, 88  
 non-governmental organizations and, 88  
 nongovernmental study of, 88  
 under North Korean Human Rights Act, 90–91  
 in political prison system, 100  
 social class as factor for, 100–1  
 South Korea response to, 97  
 transactional approach to, 103–4  
 UN reports on, 87–88  
 Commission of Inquiry, 99–103  
 UN Security Council, 102–3  
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, 94  
 US foreign policy and, 88–104  
 under “America First” policy, 93, 97–98  
 under Bush, G. W., 89–91, 101–2  
 under Clinton, B., 88–89  
 future of, 103–4  
 North Korean Human Rights Act, 90–91  
 under Obama, 92–93  
 under Trump, D., 93–103  
 Human Rights Watch (Asia Watch), 88
- IAEA. *See* International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)  
 illiberal dictators, 101–2  
 IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund (IMF), economic bailout of South Korea  
 India, Quadrilateral Security Dialogue and, 65, 203  
 International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 24–25, 89  
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), economic bailout of South Korea, 19
- Jang Song Thae, 67  
 Japan. *See also* Abe Shinzō; Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)  
 General Security of Military Information Agreement and, 69, 216–19  
 Korean peninsula occupied by March First Movement and, 10  
 US political relations during, 10–11  
 Moon Jae-in and, 216–17  
 Nippon Kaigai, 68  
 nuclear weapons program in, 83–84  
 Quadrilateral Security Dialogue and, 65, 203

- Japan (cont.)  
 Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and, 85–86, 215–16, 220  
 right-wing nationalism in, 68  
 Russo-Japanese War, 10, 12  
 Sino-Japanese War, 165  
 South Korea and, 216–20  
   political relations from 2012–2017, 66–70  
 Trans-Pacific Partnership and, 85–86, 160–61, 214–15  
 Treaty of Shimonoseki, 165  
 Yoshida Doctrine in, 201  
 Japan-US-Korean peninsula, political relations between  
   “America First” policy and, 198  
   Free and Open Indo-Pacific strategy, 199, 202–3  
   Trump, D., and, 213–16  
 General Security of Military Intelligence Agreement and, 202  
 historical background for, 199–203  
   division of Korean peninsula, 199–200  
   after World War II, 199–200  
 Korean War and, 200  
   under Nixon, 198  
   under Obama, 202  
 Quadrilateral Security Dialog and, 203  
   under Trump, D., 204–16  
   “America First” policy, 198  
   Country Club diplomacy approach, 207–10  
   crisis management approach under, 210–13  
   Free and Open Indo-Pacific strategy, 213–16  
   Golf Club diplomacy approach, 204–7  
   Yoshida Doctrine and, 201  
 Jeong Kyeongdoo, 146  
 Ji Seong Ho, 95–96  
 Jiang Zemin, 167  
 Jiyeon Kim, 45  
  
 Kang Kyung-wha, 134  
 Kang Sok-ju, 167  
 Kelly, James, 91  
 Kelly, John, 178  
 Kerry, John, 169  
 Kim, Andy, 184  
 Kim Dae-jung, 76, 193  
   Sunshine Policy, 72–73, 130–31  
 Kim Il-sung, 15, 24–25, 165–67, 200  
  
 Kim Jong Nam, 67  
 Kim Jong Un, 46–47, 59. *See also* Japan-US-Korean peninsula, political relations between; North Korea (Democratic People’s Republic of Korea) (DPRK); nuclear weapons; US–China–North Korea, triangular relations between  
   Abe Shinzō and, 209–10  
   assassination of half-brother, 25  
   in China, 183–86  
   Clinton, H., and, 29  
   denuclearization requests, 80–81  
   economic development under, 33  
   as illiberal dictator, 101–2  
   Moon Jae-in and, 134, 184  
   Rodman and, 27  
   South Korean public opinion of, 54  
   Special Measures Agreement and, 153  
   Trump, D., and, 2, 7–8, 22, 29–33, 63, 84–85  
   public praise by, 55–56, 96–97, 163–64  
   publicity as reason for meeting, 33–35  
   response to nuclear weapons program, 59–60  
   visit to Korean Demilitarized Zone, 103  
   Xi Jinping and, 67, 68, 183–86  
 Kim Jong-il, 23, 167, 168  
   Bush, G. W., and, 91, 182  
 Kim Ki Jung, 72  
 Kim Yo-jong, 181–82, 192  
 Kim Yong-chol, 189  
 Kirby, Michael, 99  
 Kishi Nobusuke, 202–3  
 Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), 40, 80–81  
   Hanoi Summit and, 31, 81–82, 132–33, 137–38  
   Trump-Kim meeting at, 103  
 Korean Peninsula. *See also* Japan-US-Korean Peninsula, political relations between; North Korea (Democratic People’s Republic of Korea) (DPRK); South Korea (Republic of Korea) (ROK)  
   38th parallel in, 1, 12  
   Biden foreign policy in, 85–86  
   China and, 9  
   independence movement on, 11–12  
   Japanese occupation of  
     March First Movement and, 10

- US political relations during, 10–11  
 Kingdom of Joseon, 8–9  
 Korean Demilitarized Zone, 40, 80–81  
 political legacy of Trump, D., in, 84–86  
 US military strategy for, 155–62  
   Army Military Government as part  
   of, 156  
   autonomy for South Korea as goal  
   of, 158  
   under Biden, 162  
   after Korean War, 156  
   Koreanization of, 156–57  
   New Southern Policy, 161  
   under Reagan, 157  
   Terminal High Altitude Area Defense  
   system and, 160–61  
   “Three Noes” policy, 160–61  
   Trans-Pacific Partnership and, 160–61  
   under Trump, D., 158–62  
 US political relations with (from  
   1882–1948), 8–14  
   during Japanese occupation, 10–11  
   occupation of southern Korea, 12–14  
   Taft–Katsura Memorandum and, 10,  
   63–64  
   Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce,  
   and Navigation, 8–9  
   during Truman administration, 11–17  
   during World War II, 11–12  
 Korean Studies programs, 119–20  
 Korean War, 19  
   Japan-US-Korean peninsula political  
   relations and, 200  
   North Korean non-recognition and, 22  
   OPCON transfer and, 142  
   “Second Korean War,” 23  
   US military strategy after, 156  
   US–China–North Korea triangular  
   relations after, 165  
 KORUS FTA. *See* United States–Korea Free  
 Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA)  
 Kushner, Jared, 206  
 Laird, Melvin, 156–57  
 Lavrov, Sergei, 187  
 Lawless, Richard, 73–74  
 Leap Day Agreement, for nuclear  
   weapons, 25  
 Lee Myung-bak, 75, 109, 168  
   approach to North Korea, 131, 193  
   OPCON transfer and, 144  
 Lee Sang-min, 139  
 Lee Seung-ook, 51  
 Lee Soo-hyuck, 117, 159  
 Lee Tae-kyu, 117  
 Lerner, Mitch, 194–95  
 Li Hungzhang, 8–9  
 Libya, 189  
 MacArthur, Douglas, 12, 16, 142  
 Mao Zedong, 14–16, 166–67  
 March First Movement, 10  
 Mattis, James, 145, 171, 208, 224  
 McCain, John, 172  
 McMaster, H. R., 84, 179–80, 182  
 Menendez, Robert, 94  
 Minjoo Party (South Korea), 61  
*A Misunderstood Friendship* (Shen Zhihua  
   and Xia Yafeng), 165  
 Moon Jae-in, 29, 48–49, 63, 180–81  
   advisers for, 72  
   Biden and, 60–61  
   on human rights issues in North  
   Korea, 97  
   Japan and, 216–17  
   Kim Jong Un and, 134, 184  
   New Southern Policy, 161  
   OPCON transfer and, 144–45, 148–49  
   public policy diplomacy and, 110–12,  
   115, 117, 121–22, 127  
   Terminal High Altitude Area Defense  
   system and, 77–78  
   “Three Noes” policy, 160–61  
   Trump, D., and, 39, 40, 53–54, 64,  
   81–82, 132  
   visit to Korean Demilitarized Zone, 103  
 Mutual Defense Treaty, 17–18, 38, 70  
   OPCON transfer and, 142, 147  
 New Southern Policy, 161  
 NGOs. *See* non-governmental  
   organizations (NGOs)  
 Nippon Kaigai, 68  
 Nixon, Richard, 18, 71  
   China and, 196  
   Japan-US-Korean peninsula political  
   relations and, 198  
 non-governmental organizations (NGOs),  
   for human rights, 88  
 North Korea (Democratic People’s  
   Republic of Korea) (DPRK). *See*  
   also human rights, in North Korea;  
   Japan-US-Korean peninsula,  
   political relations between; Korean

- North Korea (cont.)  
 Demilitarized Zone (DMZ); US–China–North Korea, triangular relations between  
 abduction of Japanese citizens, 23  
 Arduous March in, 24–25  
 Biden foreign policy for, 141  
 Bush, G. W., and, 164  
 China and, 22, 67, 164  
   economic aid from, 166–67  
 creation of, 13  
 crossing of 38th parallel by, 1  
 defectors from, 90  
 economic relations with Europe, 23, 25  
 General Security of Military Information Agreement and, 69, 216–19  
 Graham, B., in, 26  
 Graham, F., in, 26  
 humanitarian trips to, 26  
 Japan and, General Security of Military Information Agreement and, 69  
 Lee Myungbak approach to, 131, 193  
 Minjoo Party and, 61  
 non-recognition of by other states, 22  
 nuclear weapons program, 19, 20, 130–41  
   under Agreed Framework, 24–25, 89–91, 167–68  
   denuclearization requests, 80–81  
   International Atomic Energy Agency and, 24–25, 89  
   Leap Day Agreement and, 25  
   nuclear testing, 76  
   under Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 24–25  
   Yongbyon Nuclear Scientific Research Center, 137–38  
 Obama foreign policy for, 141, 164  
 Park Geun-hye approach to, 131  
 public policy diplomacy for South Korea and, 111–12  
 Rodman and, 27–28  
 self-isolation of, 22–23  
 sinking of South Korean ships, 131  
 South Korea invaded by, 14–16  
   United Nations Command response to, 15–17  
 Status of Forces Agreement, 44  
 Trump, D., relationship with, 29–33, 35–36, 80–81  
   entrepreneurial diplomacy and, 7–8, 22, 26, 29, 34  
   Hanoi Summit and, 31, 81–82, 132–33, 137–38  
   Kim Jong Un and, 2, 7–8, 22  
   “reality show diplomacy,” 140  
   United Nations Command in, 16–17  
   response to South Korean invasion, 15–17  
   US relationship with  
     under Carter, 24  
     through entrepreneurial diplomacy, 7–8, 22, 26–29, 34  
     humanitarian trips as part of, 26  
     non-official visits by American celebrities, 27–28  
     USS *Pueblo* incident, 22, 25–27  
   Xi Jinping visit to, 190  
 North Korean Human Rights Act, US (2004), 90–91  
 NPT. *See* Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)  
 nuclear weapons  
   in Japan, 83–84  
   in North Korea, 19, 20  
   in Taiwan, 83–84  
 nuclear weapons, in North Korea, 19, 20, 130–41  
   under Agreed Framework, 24–25, 89–91, 167–68  
 International Atomic Energy Agency and, 24–25, 89  
 Leap Day Agreement and, 25  
 nuclear testing, 76  
 under Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 24–25  
 Yongbyon Nuclear Scientific Research Center, 137–38  
 O, Tara, 115  
 Obama, Barack, 7, 32–33  
   Japan-US-Korean peninsula political relations and, 202  
   North Korea foreign policy, 141, 164  
   OPCON transfer and, 75, 144  
   South Korea public opinion on, 45, 46, 58  
   Trump, D., and, 163  
   US-China-North Korea triangular relations and, 169  
 Oberdorfer, Don, 193  
 OPCON transfer (American operational control), between US and South Korea, 74–75, 79–80, 142–51  
   under Biden, 148–50

- under Bush, G. W., 143–44  
 Combined Forces Command and,  
 142–43  
 conditions for, 75  
 COVID-19 pandemic and, 147  
 East Asian Strategic Initiative, 143  
 establishment of, 142  
 future challenges for, 150–51  
 Global Defense Posture Review  
 and, 143  
 Korean War and, 142  
 Lee Myung-bak and, 144  
 Moon Jae-in and, 144–45, 148–49  
 Mutual Defense Treaty and, 142, 147  
 under Obama, 75, 144  
 Park Geun-hye and, 144  
 Rhee and, 142  
 Roh Moo Hyun and, 143  
 under Trump, D., 144–47  
 “Operation Everready,” 70
- Paris Peace Accord of 1973, 79  
 Park Chung-hee, 18–19, 71, 201, 216–17  
 assassination of, 18–19  
 attempts at, 22  
 Park Geun-hye, 55–56, 75, 216–17  
 approach to North Korea, 131  
 OPCON transfer and, 144  
 public policy diplomacy and, 111  
 Xi Jinping and, 66–70  
 Pastreich, Emanuel, 120  
 Peace and Prosperity Policy, 130–31,  
 133–34  
 Pence, Mike, 29–30, 171, 181–82  
 Perry, Mathew (Commodore), 9  
 Pew Research Center Global Attitudes  
 Survey, 41–43  
 Pillsbury, Michael, 173  
 Pompeo, Mike, 30–31, 94, 134, 136, 153  
 US–China–North Korea triangular  
 relations and, 171, 182–89  
 Pottinger, Matthew, 31, 171–72, 196  
 Powell, Colin, 168  
 Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), 75  
 Public Diplomacy Act, South Korea (2016),  
 106, 107  
 definition clause in, 108  
 public opinion, in South Korea, on US,  
 43–58  
 analysis of, 58–62  
 under Biden, 60  
 under Bush, G. W., 44, 46, 48, 58  
 during Cold War, 38  
 compared to other countries and  
 regions, 45  
 confidence in POTUS, 45–47  
 favorability ratings, 43–45  
 by age cohorts, 52  
 after Korean War, 38  
 methodological approach to, 37–38,  
 41–43  
 by age cohorts, 43, 49–58  
 data collection in, 41–43  
 by gender, 57  
 Pew Research Center Global Attitudes  
 Survey, 41–43  
 by political identification, 50–52,  
 55–58  
 on Mutual Defense Treaty, 17–18,  
 38, 70  
 under Obama, 45, 46, 58  
 under Trump, D., 38–43, 45  
 for administration policies, 47  
 confidence ratings by select groups,  
 53, 57  
 favorability ratings, 53–54, 58–60  
 Pyongyang Joint Declaration, 48  
 on relationship with North Korea,  
 47–48, 54  
 United Nations Command and, 133–34  
 public policy diplomacy, for South Korea  
 analysis of, 127–28  
 as bipartisan, 111  
 China and, 116–17  
 conceptual approach to, 105–6  
 during COVID-19 pandemic,  
 113–15, 123  
 cultural diplomacy as element of, 106–7,  
 117–19  
 definition of, 106  
 emergence of, 106–9  
 expansion of, 106–8  
 knowledge diplomacy as element of,  
 119–21  
 Korean Studies programs, 119–20  
 Moon Jae-in and, 110–12, 115, 117,  
 121–22, 127  
 North Korea and, 111–12  
 objectives of, 106–9  
 outcomes of, 121–27  
 Park Geun-hye and, 111  
 under Public Diplomacy Act, 106, 107  
 definition clause in, 108  
 public opinion on, 122–23

- public policy diplomacy (cont.)  
 in US, 109–19  
   under Biden, 112, 122  
   in Korean American community, 115  
   in news coverage, 124–26  
   in social media, 111, 114  
   under Trump, D., 111–13, 124
- Putin, Vladimir, 59
- Pyongyang Joint Declaration, 48
- Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, 65, 203
- Rage* (Woodward), 31–32, 60
- RCEP. *See* Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)
- Reagan, Ronald, 4  
   South Korea foreign policy, 19  
   US military strategy for Korean peninsula, 157
- Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), 85–86, 215–16, 220
- Republic of Korea. *See* South Korea (Republic of Korea) (ROK)
- Rhee, Syngman, 10, 17–18, 70, 200  
   OPCON and, 142
- Ri Yong-ho, 178, 188
- Rice, Susan, 169
- right-wing nationalism, in Japan, 68
- Rodman, Dennis, 27–28, 33
- Roehrig, Terence, 27–28
- Rogin, Josh, 173, 175, 191
- Roh Moo Hyun, 44, 45, 168  
   “386 generation” under, 71–72  
   OPCON transfer and, 143  
   Peace and Prosperity Policy, 130–31, 133–34  
   progressive presidency of, 72–75  
   self-reliance faction and, 64
- ROK. *See* South Korea (Republic of Korea) (ROK)
- The Room Where It Happened* (Bolton), 60
- Roosevelt, Franklin, 11–12
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 10, 17
- Rosenberger, Laura, 174
- Russia, 10, 12. *See also* Soviet Union
- Russo-Japanese War, 10, 12
- Schriver, Randall, 158
- Seoul, South Korea, public security issues in, 65
- Shanahan, Patrick, 146
- Shen Zhihua, 165
- Shufeldt, Robert, 8–9
- Shultz, George, 4
- Sino-Japanese War, 165
- SMA. *See* Special Measures Agreement (SMA)
- Snyder, Sarah, 94
- SOFA. *See* Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), with North Korea
- Song Young-gil, 139
- Song Young-moo, 145
- South Korea (Republic of Korea) (ROK). *See also* Japan-US-Korean peninsula, political relations between; Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ); OPCON transfer (American operational control), between US and South Korea; public opinion, in South Korea, on US; public policy diplomacy, for South Korea; Seoul, South Korea, public security issues in; Special Measures Agreement (SMA)  
   “386 generation” in, 71–72  
   autonomy for, 158  
   China and  
     political relations from 2012–2017, 66–70  
     public opinion of, 45–47, 58  
     public policy diplomacy and, 116–17  
   creation of, 13  
   Democratic Party of Korea, 77  
   democratization in, 4, 71–72, 129–41  
     under Peace and Prosperity Policy, 130–31, 133–34  
     under Sunshine Policy, 72–73, 130–31  
   economic development of, 2–3, 19  
   IMF bailout, 19  
   industrialization as element of, 3  
   United States–Korea Free Trade Agreement, 19, 20  
   urbanization as element of, 3  
   economic growth in, 129–30  
   General Security of Military Information Agreement and, 69, 216–19  
   Gwangju Uprising in, 19  
   Japan and, 216–20  
     political relations from 2012–2017, 66–70  
   modern transformation of, 4–6  
   North Korean invasion of, 14–16

- United Nations Command response to, 15–17
- nuclear weapons program for, 83–84
- political development of, 2–3, 19
  - civil institutions in, 4
  - democratic institutions in, 4
- Public Diplomacy Act, 106, 107
  - definition clause in, 108
- public opinions on China, 45–47, 58
- Pyongyang Joint Declaration, 48
- Quadrilateral Security Dialogue and, 65, 203
- response to human rights in North Korea, 97
- Special Measures Agreement and, 219
- Trans-Pacific Partnership and, 85–86, 160–61, 214–15
- Trump, D., relationship with, 7–8, 21, 78–82
  - political legacy of, 224–32
  - response to US alliance, 34–35
  - suspension of “war games,” 35
- UN forces in, 1
- US alliance with, 1–6
  - abandonment fears as part of, 20–21, 64–65, 70–71
  - armistice as result of, 1
  - under Carter, 18, 71
  - cultural exchanges as part of, 20–21
  - end of Cold War and, 19, 129
  - mutual defense treaty, 17–18, 38, 70, 142, 147
  - under Nixon, 18, 71
  - Proliferation Security Initiative and, 75
  - under Reagan, 19
  - restriction of inter-Korean relations, 131–32, 135–41
  - since 1948, 14–21
  - Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system, 69, 76–78, 160–61
- Soviet Union
  - North Korea and, 22
  - US–China–North Korea triangular relations and, 167
- Special Measures Agreement (SMA), 40, 151–55, 219
  - armored brigade combat teams under, 154
  - under Biden, 155
  - cost-sharing disputes in, 151–55
  - Kim Jong-un and, 153
  - under Trump, D., 151–55
  - US Forces Korea under, 152
- Stalin, Joseph, 14–15, 166
- Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), with North Korea, 44
- Stilwell, David, 159
- Suga Yoshihide, 217, 220
- Suh Hoon, 181
- Suh Wook, 148–49
- Sunshine Policy, 72–73, 130–31
- Taft, William Howard, 10
- Taft–Katsura Memorandum, 10, 63–64
- Taiwan, nuclear weapons program in, 83–84
- Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system, 69, 76–78
  - Moon Jae-in and, 77–78
  - as response to North Korea nuclear tests, 76
  - Trump, D., and, 78
  - in US military strategy, 160–61
- “Three Noes” policy, 160–61
- Tillerson, Rex, 93, 171, 173–74, 177, 178, 224
- TPP. *See* Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)
- Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), 85–86, 160–61, 214–15
- Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce, and Navigation (1882), 8–9
- Treaty of Shimonoseki, 165
- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)
  - North Korea and, 24–25
  - South Korea withdrawal from, 83–84
  - US–China–North Korea triangular relations under, 167–68
- Truman, Harry, 32–33
  - on North Korean crossing of 38th parallel, 1
  - US political relations with Korean Peninsula, 11–17
- Trump, Donald, 2, 225, 232. *See also* Japan-US-Korean peninsula, political relations between; United States–China–North Korea
  - Abe Shinzō and, 198, 202, 205–16, 221–22
  - “America First” policy and, 78–79, 198
  - North Korea human rights issues and, 93, 97–98

- Trump, Donald (cont.)  
 Free and Open Indo-Pacific strategy and, 213–16  
 as “the great disruptor,” 7  
 human rights in North Korea and, 93–103  
 “America First” policy and, 93, 97–98  
 Commission on Inalienable Rights, 94  
 moral conception of, 94  
 Kim Jong Un and, 2, 7–8, 22, 29–33, 63, 84–85  
 nuclear weapons program under, 59–60  
 public praise of, 55–56, 96–97, 163–64  
 publicity as reason for meeting, 33–35  
 Moon Jae-in and, 39, 40, 53–54, 64, 81–82, 132  
 North Korea and, 29–33, 35–36, 80–81  
 entrepreneurial diplomacy and, 7–8, 22, 26, 29, 34  
 Hanoi Summit and, 31, 81–82, 132–33, 137–38  
 “reality show diplomacy” toward, 140  
 Obama and, 163  
 OPCON transfer and, 144–47  
 opposition to United States–Korea Free Trade Agreement, 39  
 political legacy in Korean peninsula, 84–86  
 public opinions on, 38–43, 45  
 for administration policies, 47  
 confidence ratings by select groups, 53, 57  
 favorability ratings, 53–54, 58–60  
 Pyongyang Joint Declaration, 48  
 on relationship with North Korea, 47–48, 54  
 public policy diplomacy and, 111–13, 124  
 Rodman and, 33  
 South Korea and, 7–8, 21, 78–82  
 political legacy of, 224–32  
 response to US alliance with, 34–35  
 suspension of “war games” with, 35  
 Special Measures Agreement and, 151–55  
 Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system and, 78  
 trade war with China, 183, 194  
 US military strategy for Korean peninsula, 158–62  
 visit to Korean Demilitarized Zone, 103  
 Xi Jinping and, 164, 173–76, 179–80, 187  
 Trump, Ivanka, 206
- UDHR. *See* Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)
- United Nations (UN)  
 human rights in North Korea and, 87–88  
 Commission of Inquiry, 99–103  
 UN Security Council, 102–3  
 Security Council, 102–3  
 in South Korea, 1  
 United Nations Command (UNC), 15–17, 132–35  
 Kim Dae-jung and, 133–34  
 Korean War and, 16–17  
 negative public opinions on, 133–34  
 Roh Moo Hyun and, 133–34
- United States (US). *See also* Japan-US-Korean peninsula, political relations between; OPCON transfer (American operational control), between US and South Korea; Special Measures Agreement (SMA); Trump, Donald; US–China–North Korea, triangular relations between  
 alliance with South Korea, 1–6  
 abandonment fears as part of, 20–21, 64–65, 70–71  
 armistice as result of, 1  
 under Carter, 18, 71  
 cultural exchanges as part of, 20–21  
 end of Cold War and, 19, 129  
 entrapment fears as part of, 71–76  
 mutual defense treaty, 17–18, 38, 70, 142, 147  
 Nixon and, 18, 71  
 Proliferation Security Initiative and, 75  
 under Reagan, 19  
 restriction of inter-Korean relations, 131–32, 135–41  
 since 1948, 14–21  
 Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system, 69, 76–78, 160–61  
 under Trump, D., 7–8, 21  
 COVID-19 pandemic in, 139–40  
 North Korea and, 22–34

- under Carter, 24
- through entrepreneurial diplomacy, 7–8, 22, 26–29, 34
- humanitarian trips as part of, 26
- non-official visits by American celebrities, 27–28
- policies on human rights in North Korea, 88–104
  - under “America First” policy, 93, 97–98
  - under Bush, G. W., 89–91, 101–2
  - under Clinton, B., 88–89
  - future of, 103–4
  - North Korean Human Rights Act, 90–91
  - under Obama, 92–93
  - under Trump, D., 93–103
- political relations with Korean peninsula (1882–1948), 8–14
  - during Japanese occupation, 10–11
  - military departure after occupation, 14–15
  - North Korean crossing of 38th parallel, 1
  - during occupation of southern Korea, 12–14
  - Taft-Katsura Memorandum and, 10, 63–64
  - Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce, and Navigation (1882), 8–9
  - during Truman administration, 11–17
  - during World War II, 11–12
- public policy diplomacy and, 109–19
  - under Biden, 112, 122
  - in Korean American community, 115
  - in social media, 111, 114
  - under Trump, D., 111–13, 124
  - in US news coverage, 124–26
- Quadrilateral Security Dialogue and, 65, 203
- Special Measures Agreement and, 219
- Status of Forces Agreement, 44
- trade war with China, 183, 194
- Trans-Pacific Partnership and, 85–86, 160–61, 214–15
- United States Army Military Government, in Korean peninsula, 156
- United States Forces Korea (USFK), 152
- United States–Korea Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA), 19
  - opposition of Trump, D., to, 39
  - opposition to, 20
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 94
- US *See* United States (US)
- US–China–North Korea, triangular relations between
  - under Agreed Framework, 167–68
  - under Biden, 192–97
  - under Bush, G. W., 168–69
  - Chinese economic aid to North Korea, 166–67
  - under Clinton, B., 167–68
  - after collapse of Soviet Union, 167
  - during COVID-19 pandemic, 190–91
  - after division of Korean peninsula, 165–66
  - early history of, 165–69
  - Korean War and, 165
  - under Obama, 169
  - Treaty of Shimonoseki and, 165
  - under Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 167–68
- Trump, D., and
  - in 2017, 171–80
  - from 2018–2019, 180–90
  - in 2020, 190–91
  - political legacy of, 192–97
  - Pompeo and, 171, 182–89
  - public threats by, 178
  - public views before presidency, 169–71
  - trade war under, 183, 194
- USFK. *See* United States Forces Korea (USFK)
- USS *Pueblo*, 22, 25–27
- Van Susteren, Greta, 26
- Versailles Treaty, 10–11
- Wang Yi, 174, 177, 187
- Warmbier, Otto, 95–97
- Wesel, Lara, 27–28
- Wit, Joel, 33
- Won In-choul, 148
- Woodward, Bob, 31–32, 60, 163, 191
- Work, Clint, 229, 231
- World War II, US political relations in Korean peninsula and, 11–12
- Xi Jinping, 45–47, 55, 59. *See also* US–China–North Korea, triangular relations between
  - Kim Jong Un and, 67, 68, 183–86

244

Xi Jinping (cont.)  
  in North Korea, 190  
  Park Geun-hye and, 66–70  
  Trump, D., relationship with, 164,  
    173–76, 179–80, 187  
Xia Yafeng, 165

*Index*

Yang Jiechi, 67, 169  
Yoon Suk-yeol, 82–84  
Yoshida Doctrine, 201  
Yoshida Shigeru, 201  
Zoellick, Robert, 230