

# 트럼프 대통령의 한반도 관련 주요 발언



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# 트럼프 대통령의 한반도 관련 주요 발언

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## 요약/정리

이우태, 정구연, 민태은

본 보고서에 수록된 내용은 집필 참여진의 개인적인 견해이며, 당 연구원의 공식적인 의견을 반영하는 것이 아님을 밝힙니다.

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## 서 문

본 자료는 2016년 제45대 미국 대통령으로 당선된 트럼프(Donald J. Trump)의 한반도 관련 문제에 대한 입장을 정리한 것이다. 트럼프 대통령만큼 선거기간 동안 많은 논란을 야기한 대선후보는 없었을 것이다. 그가 선거기간 동안 공식적으로 제시한 공약이나 다양한 대외정책 현안에 대해 표명한 입장들은 많은 논란을 일으켰으며 심지어 공화당 내부와 참모진 사이에서도 의견일치를 보지 못한 경우도 있었다. 이러한 이유로 선거기간 동안 트럼프 대통령의 정책 현안에 대한 정확한 어구(語句)를 확인하는 작업은 중요한 의미가 있다. 본 자료는 트럼프 대통령의 대선 기간 동안의 북한 관련 발언, 한국 관련 발언, 그리고 한반도 주변국 관련 발언 등 3개의 카테고리로 나누어 취합되었다.

우선 북한 문제에 있어서는 김정은 정권에 대한 인식, 북핵에 대한 인식, 그리고 북핵 해법을 중심으로 주요 발언들을 정리하였다.

둘째, 한국과 관련한 트럼프 대통령의 발언은 크게 한국에 대한 인식, 주한미군 방위비 분담금 증액문제 등 한·미 동맹, 한·미 자유무역협정(FTA), 한국의 핵무장, 그리고 미사일 방어 시스템으로 주제를 분류하여 발언을 정리하였다.

마지막으로 한반도 주변국인 중국, 일본, 러시아와 관련된 트럼프 대통령의 주요 발언을 정리하여 미국의 한반도 문제 접근법과 정책결정의 맥락을 이해하고자 노력하였다.

본 자료는 미 대선기간 동안 트럼프 대통령의 공식 선거 캠페인, 언론 인터뷰, 기고문 등에 나타난 발언을 수록한 것으로 트럼프 행정부의 한반도 정책을 이해하기 위한 유용한 기초자료가 될 수 있을 것이다. 본 자료가 최근 급변하는 국제정세 속에서 한국의 대북 및 대외정책을 수립하는데 기여하기를 바란다.



## I. 북한 관련 발언

### 1. 김정은 정권에 대한 인식

트럼프 대통령은 김정은 정권을 매우 적대적이고 호전적이라고 평가하였다. 김정은 개인에 대해서는 ‘maniac(미치광이)’과 ‘madman(미친놈)’이라는 단어를 사용하며 부정적으로 인식하고 있으며 아버지인 김정일보다 김정은이 더 불안정하고 김정일이 상대적으로 더 나았다고 평가하고 있다. 아울러 김정은이 김정일 사망 이후 정적들을 제거하고 빠른 시일 내에 정권을 장악한 점에 놀라움을 표시하면서도 김정은의 어린 나이를 강조한 점은 김정은에 대한 정치적 위상을 폄하하려는 의도가 있다고 볼 수 있다.

○ Matt Murphy Show on Birmingham, Alabama, August 22, 2015.

*And you know, we have this mad guy, I guess he's mad, either he's mad or he's a genius, one or the other, but he's actually more unstable, even than his father, they say. They said the father was a pleasure by comparison to him, in North Korea.*

○ Rally in Virginia Beach, Virginia, September 6, 2016

*Well, it's not that they've done some unbelievable things [North Korean regime], but they're in the process of doing*

*some unbelievable things believe me, I mean they are very belligerent, they have no respect for our country, none whatsoever and we have a situation that's a potential catastrophe.*

○ 4th Republican Debate, November 10, 2015

*... we have somebody over there, a madman, who already has nuclear weapons...*

○ Fox News, January 7, 2016

Q. How serious a problem do you see this? I mean, look, you know, they've got at least we know atomic bombs ... And then every once in a while they do a test. I mean, the fourth test in about eight years. How serious do you see this?

**TRUMP** *Well, I think it's a serious problem because he is probably on the wacky side. He's certainly - he could be a total nut job, frankly. I mean, it's amazing for the young guy would go over and take over. You know, you would have thought that those tough generals would've said no way this is going to happen when the father died. So he's got to have something going for him because he kept control, which is amazing for a young person to do.*

○ Rally in Ottumwa, Iowa, January 9, 2016

*If you look at North Korea, this guy, he's like a maniac. OK? You've got to give him credit. How many young guys - he was like 26 or 25 when his father died - take over these tough generals, and all of a sudden - you know, it's pretty amazing when you think of it. How does he do that? Even though it is a culture, and it's a cultural thing, he goes in, he takes over, he's the boss. It's incredible. He wiped out the uncle, he wiped out this one, that one. This guy doesn't play games and we can't play games with him. Because he really does have missiles and he really does have nukes.*

○ CBS This Morning, February 10, 2016

*Well, this guy is a bad dude. And don't underestimate him. Any young guy that can take over from his father with all those generals that probably want the position. This is not somebody to be underestimated.*

○ Rally in Atlanta, Georgia, June 15, 2016

*...And you know you have the maniac in North Korea; maybe we have to do something.*

○ Rally in Virginia Beach, Virginia, September 6, 2016

*...we have a man [North Korean leader Kim Jong Un] who is, I mean, he took over at 25 years old I guess or around then and now it looks like he is getting more and more hostile.*

## 2. 북핵에 대한 인식

트럼프 대통령은 북한의 핵 능력이 지속적으로 강화되고 있다고 언급하였다. 또한 오바마 임기 동안 북한은 더욱 공격적으로 변하고 핵 능력을 고도화시키며 미국의 안보를 심각히 위협하고 있음에도 불구하고 이를 방치하는 것은 문제임을 강조하며 오바마 행정부의 '전략적 인내' 정책을 비판하고 있다. 또한 트럼프 대통령은 북핵 문제는 미국만의 문제가 아니라 한국, 일본, 중국 등 관련국 모두의 문제라고 인식하고 있다. 이는 북핵 문제 해결을 미국이 주도하기에는 정치적 부담이 크므로 그 책임과 부담을 관련국과 나누려는 의도로 볼 수 있다.

※ 마이클 플린(Michael Flynn) 백악관 국가안보보좌관 내정자는 2016년 11월 18일 조태용 청와대 국가안보실 1차장을 단장으로 하는 한국 대표단과의 면담에서 “북한의 위협이 커졌다”면서 “차기 행정부에서 북핵문제를 우선순위로 다루겠다”고 언급하였다.

### ○ 4th Republican Debate, November 10, 2015

*We have problems with North Korea where they actually have nuclear weapons. You know, nobody talks about it, ... but, we have somebody over there, a madman, who already has nuclear weapons we don't talk about that. That's a problem.*

○ Rally in Virginia Beach, Virginia, September 6, 2016

*We have somebody [North Korea] that truly does have nuclear and nuclear capability.*

○ NBC Meet the Press, January 10, 2016

Q. So this [North Korean nukes] isn't an American problem?  
You think this should be a Chinese problem -

**TRUMP** *Well, I want it to be American problem because, ultimately, nukes are everybody's problem, right? And frankly, it's a Japanese problem and it's a South Korea problem...*

○ CBS This Morning, February 10, 2016

*We got a problem: North Korea. [North Korea] is playing around with nukes. Because nukes: that's the whole game changer...*

○ The New York Times, March 26, 2016

*... every time North Korea raises its head, you know, we get calls from Japan and we get calls from everybody else, and "Do something." And there'll be a point at which we're just not going to be able to do it anymore. Now,*

*does that mean nuclear? It could mean nuclear. It's a very scary nuclear world. Biggest problem, to me, in the world, is nuclear, and proliferation.*

[...]

*... unfortunately, we have a nuclear world now. And you have, Pakistan has them. You have, probably, North Korea has them. I mean, they don't have delivery yet, but you know, probably, I mean to me, that's a big problem.*

○ Foreign Policy Speech, Washington D.C., April 27, 2016

*... President Obama watches helplessly as North Korea increases its aggression and expands further and further with its nuclear reach.*

○ The New York Times, July 20, 2016

*... So we've kept peace, but in the meantime we've let North Korea get stronger and stronger and more nuclear and more nuclear, and you are really saying, "Well, how is that a good thing?" You understand? North Korea now is almost like a boiler. You say we've had peace, but that part of Korea, North Korea, is getting more and more crazy. And more and more nuclear. And they are testing missiles all the time.*

○ Rally in Rothschild, Wisconsin, April 2, 2016

*... frankly, the case could be made that let [Japan and South Korea] protect themselves against North Korea. They'd probably wipe 'em out pretty quick. And if they fight, you know what, that would be a terrible thing, terrible. Good luck, folks, enjoy yourselves. If they fight, that would be terrible, right? But if they do, they do!*

○ On Twitter after “North Korean New Year’s Address,”  
January 2, 2016

*North Korea just started that it is in the final stages of developing a nuclear weapon capable of reaching parts of the US It won't happen!*

### 3. 북핵 해법

트럼프 대통령은 북핵 해결을 위해서 국제사회의 역할도 중요하지만 중국의 역할에 대해 특히 강조하고 있다. 트럼프 대통령은 중국이 북한을 제어할 수 있는 절대적인 영향력(absolute power)을 가지고 있다고 보고 중국이 그 책임과 역할을 다 할 것을 강조하고 있다. 중국의 역할 이외에 북핵 해법으로서 트럼프 대통령은 북한과 가까운 관계인 이란의 역할을 활용할 것을 주장하기도 하고 북한과 지리적으로 인접한 일본도 북핵 해결을 위한 능력을 가지고 있다고 언급했다. 또한 트럼프 대통령은 북핵 문제 해결을 위해서는 김정은과 얼마든지 대화할 수 있다고 언급한 바 있는데, 다만 대화 방법에 있어서 트럼프 대통령은 김정은이 미국으로 올 것과 공식만찬이 아닌 ‘햄버거 대화’를 언급한 것은 김정은을 동등한 협상대상자로 인정하고 있는지 불확실함을 알 수 있다.

※ 마이클 플린(Michael Flynn) 국가안보보좌관 내정자는 2016년 10월 13일 니혼게이지신문과의 인터뷰에서 “현재의 북한체제를 오래 존속 시켜서는 안 된다. 김정은과 경제적 거래를 할 생각은 없다”고 밝히고 있다. 또한 제임스 매티스(James Mattis) 국방장관 내정자는 2017년 1월 12일 의회 인준 청문회에서 한반도 상황은 “일촉즉발의 상황”이라며 “대북 선제공격도 배제하지 않겠다”고 밝혔다.

#### ○ CBS This Morning, February 10, 2016

Q. Yesterday, the director of the National Intelligence, James Clapper, Congress saying that North Korea's nuclear weapon is the top threat to the United States.

What would you do to deal with that reclusive country?

[...]

**TRUMP** ... *China has control, absolute control over North Korea. They don't say it but they do and they should make that problem disappear.*

[...]

**TRUMP** ... *China in the mean time, has tremendous power over North Korea...*

○ CNN Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees, January 6, 2016

**Q.** Would you consider a preemptive strike to destroy North Korea's nuclear capabilities?

**TRUMP** *No, because China has total control over them and we have total control over China. If we had people that knew what they're doing which we don't, we have no leadership in this country ... they say they don't have that much control over North Korea. They have total control because without China, they wouldn't be able to eat.*

[...]

**Q.** So you want China basically to handle the North Korea?

**TRUMP** *They can handle it so easily. Now, they don't say that. You know, they say, "Well, they are not that easy, they are not that easy." They are taunting us, OK - They're playing games with us. I do it all the time, I mean that's the way I deal in business. It's like they're playing games with us. China should solve that problem and if they don't solve that problem, we should be very tough on them with trade. Meaning, start charging them tax or start cutting them off. You'd have China collapse in about two minutes.*

○ Fox News, January 7, 2016

**Q.** ... I want to start first with foreign policy and North Korea. They have recently done a test that has shaken everybody. And you suggested that China get more involved. But no one has been able to solve this problem so far. So tell me what you would do.

**TRUMP** *Well, they don't live and they don't breathe without China. China has a lot of power over North Korea. I have been saying this for a long time. And China is playing us like a fiddle. China is saying, well, we don't have that much power. We don't have that much control. They wouldn't get anything without China.*

[...]

**Q.** Is the U.N. absolutely hopeless on this? ... do you totally take the U.N. out of the North Korea problem and do you totally place it on China and the only way China will do this if we put economic pressure on China?...

**TRUMP** *No, I don't take the U.N. out at all. I think the U.N. can be very useful and can be helpful, but the real power is China. China controls North Korea.*

*Now, they say they don't have that much power or that much control, I think they say that to taunt us because they like seeing what's happening. But China has great control over North Korea. North Korea wouldn't exist if it weren't for China. So we have to use China and, you know, ideally, they do it without any threat. They should do it for their own well being, but if we have to use the threat we have as we have economic threat.*

○ NBC Meet the Press, January 10, 2016

**Q.** In 1999, on this very program, you were asked about North Korea. And at the time, you were open to a preemptive strike on the facilities that they were working on, on nukes. Where are you today, considering what just happened in North Korea?

**TRUMP** *So I would like to see China take care of North Korea because China has very strong control over them. Don't let them tell you they don't. And you know, they go around saying, well, we don't really have that much - (OVERTALK)*

○ 6th Republican Debate, January 14, 2016

**Q.** We know that recent global events have many people worried ... North Korea and its nuclear ambitions...

**TRUMP** *... they were asking me what to do about North Korea. China, they don't like to tell us but they have total control - just about, of North Korea. They can solve the problem of North Korea if they wanted to but they taunt us. They say, "well, we don't really have control." Without China, North Korea doesn't even eat.*

○ 8th Republican Debate, February 6, 2016

**Q.** Mr. Trump, do you have a red line with North Korea? Would you consider military action? And how far would you let them go?

[...]

**TRUMP** *We have - tremendous - has been just sucked out*

*of our country by China. China says they don't have that good of control over North Korea. They have tremendous control. I deal with the Chinese all of the time ... I deal with them. They tell me. They have total, absolute control, practically, of North Korea. They are sucking trillions of dollars out of our country - they're rebuilding China with the money they take out of our country. I would get on with China, let China solve that problem. They can do it quickly and surgically. That's what we should do with North Korea.*

○ The New York Times, March 26, 2016

**TRUMP** ... *China has great power over North Korea even though they don't necessarily say that.*

[...]

**TRUMP** *China has great influence over North Korea but they don't say they do because they're tweaking us. I have this from Chinese. I have many Chinese friends, I have people of vast wealth, some of the most important people in China have purchased apartments from me for tens of millions of dollars and frankly I know them very well. And I ask them about their relationship to North Korea, these are top people. And they say we have tremendous power over North Korea.*

*I know they do. I think you know they do.*

**Q.** They signed on to the most recent sanctions, more aggressive sanctions than we thought the Chinese would agree to.

**TRUMP** *Well that's good, but, I mean I know they did, but I think that they have power beyond the sanctions.*

**Q.** So you would advocate that they have to turn off the oil to North Korea basically.

**TRUMP** *So much of their lifeblood comes through China, that's the way it comes through. They have tremendous power over North Korea, but China doesn't say that. China says well we'll try. I can see them saying, "We'll try, we'll try." And I can see them laughing in the room next door when they're together. So China should be talking to North Korea...*

○ Foreign Policy Speech, Washington D.C., April 27, 2016

*... We have the leverage. We have the power over China, economic power, and people don't understand it. And with that economic power, we can rein in and we can get them to do what they have to do with North Korea, which is totally out of control.*

○ Reuters, May 18, 2016

*... we have tremendous power over China. China can solve that problem with one meeting or one phone call.*

○ Rally in Virginia Beach, Virginia, September 6, 2016

*And what I would do, very simply, is say "China, this is your baby, this is your problem, you solve the problem." China can solve that problem, and remember this, that's a big problem, China has virtually total control over North Korea but they say they don't because they want to tweak us.*

○ First Presidential Debate, September 27, 2016

*... you look at North Korea, we're doing nothing there. China should solve that problem for us. China should go into North Korea. China is totally powerful as it relates to North Korea.*

○ Fox News, December 11, 2016

*... And, frankly, they're not helping us at all with North Korea. You have North Korea, you have nuclear weapons, and China could solve that problem. And they're not helping us at all.*

○ CBS This Morning, February 10, 2016

Q. ... if they [China] say no, what would you do?

**TRUMP** *I would very strongly stop them from ripping, I am gonna stop them anyway to a certain extent, maybe I would do a little bit more forcefully.*

[...]

**TRUMP** *... The closest partner of North Korea is Iran. Why didn't we put something with Iran? Iran gets in, and we force Iran to get in, and do something with North Korea. We didn't do anything...*

○ The New York Times, March 26, 2016

**TRUMP** *Iran is the No. 1 trading partner of North Korea. Now we could have put something in our agreement that they would have led the charge if we had people with substance and with brainpower and with some negotiating ability. But the No. 1 trading partner with North Korea is Iran. And we did a deal with them, and we just did a deal with them, and we don't even mention North Korea in the deal. That was a great opportunity to put another five pages in the deal, or less, and they do have a great influence over North Korea.*

[...]

**TRUMP** ... *Iran is the No. 1 trading partner, but we should have had something in that document that was signed having to do with North Korea as the No. 1 trading partner and as somebody with a certain power because of that. A very substantial power over North Korea.*

**Q.** Mr. Trump with all due respect, I think it's China that's the No. 1 trading partner with North Korea.

**TRUMP** *I've heard that certainly, but I've also heard from other sources that it's Iran.*

**Q.** Iran is a major arms exchanger with...

**TRUMP** *Well that is true but I've heard it both ways. They are certainly major arms exchangers, which in itself is terrible that we would make a deal with somebody that's a major arms exchanger with North Korea. But had that deal not been done and they were desperate to do it, and they wanted to do it much more so than we know in my opinion, meaning Iran wanted to make the deal much more than we know. We should have backed off that deal, doubled the sanctions and made a real deal. And part of that deal should have been that Iran would help us with North Korea. So, the bottom line is, I think that frankly, as long as North*

*Korea's there, I think that Japan having a capability is something that maybe is going to happen whether we like it or not.*

○ First Presidential Debate, September 27, 2016

*... Iran is one of their biggest trading partners. Iran has power over North Korea. And when they made that horrible deal with Iran, they should have included the fact that they do something with respect to North Korea.*

○ Reuters, May 18, 2016

*I would speak to him (Kim Jong-un). I would have no problem speaking to him.*

○ Rally in Atlanta, Georgia, June 15, 2016

*And then, one of the papers called, the other day, and they said, "Would you speak to the leader of North Korea?" I said "Absolutely, why not, why not?" And they come back "Trump will speak to him." Who the hell cares? I'll speak to anybody. Who knows? There's a 10 percent or a 20 percent chance that I can talk him out of those damn nukes because who the hell wants him to have nukes? And there's a chance - I'm only gonna make*

*a good deal for us. But there's a chance.*

[...]

*What the hell is wrong with speaking? And you know what? It's called opening a dialogue. It's opening a dialogue. And I don't say it's going to happen, and probably it won't. But there's nothing I wouldn't go there. That I can tell you. If he came here, I'd accept him, but I wouldn't give him a state dinner like we do for China and all these other people that rip us off when we give them these big state dinners. We give them state dinners like you've never seen. We shouldn't have dinners at all. We should be eating a hamburger on a conference table, and we should make better deals with China and others and forget the state dinners.*

## II. 한국 관련 발언

### 1. 한국에 대한 인식

트럼프 대통령은 한국은 부유한 국가임에도 불구하고 미국이 한국을 위해 경제적, 군사적으로 많은 것을 주고 있다고 불평하고 있다. 특히 그는 한국은 미국과의 무역을 통해 많은 이익을 보는 반면, 미국은 이에 상응하는 경제적, 군사적 보상을 받지 못하는 것으로 인식하고 있다. 트럼프 대통령은 자신이 한국에 건물을 짓고, 많은 사업도 하고 있다고 밝히며 한국산(産) TV를 수 천대 구입한 적이 있음을 여러 차례 강조했다. 이는 한국과의 무역 불균형 문제 해결과 주한미군 방위비 분담금 증액을 고려한 정치적 수사(修辭)임을 알 수 있다. 아울러 트럼프 대통령은 한국이 부유한 경제력을 바탕으로 미국의 노력에 상응하는 책임을 질 수 있고 또한 져야 한다는 뜻을 밝히고 있다.

#### ○ NBC Meet the Press, August 16, 2015

*... if you take South Korea, they make a fortune off it. We do very little to them. They do tremendous to us. You can't buy a television - other than Sony, which is Japan, you can't buy a television practically if it's not made in South Korea. Everybody. Whether it's Samsung or all of them. Sharp. All of them are - it's, like, South Korea. So I say to myself, "I mean, this is terrible."*

- Matt Murphy Show on Birmingham, Alabama, August 22, 2015.

*... I think South Korea's great. I think it's wonderful. I just order 4,000 television sets for a job that I'm doing, right? And guess what? Between Samsung, and LG, and Sharp, they all come from South Korea. They're making a fortune...*

- No Labels Problem Solver Convention, Manchester, New Hampshire, October 12, 2015

*... I say all the time about South Korea, I ordered 4,000 television sets recently for a big project. They all come from South Korea. My only bidder was South Korea, except for SONY, which is in Japan, and they lost their way, OK? My only bidder whether it's LG or whether it's Samsung these were wealthy countries.*

- CNN Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees, January 6, 2016

*Well, I would want South Korea to pay us a lot of money. We're doing a lot of - what are we doing? I just ordered 4,000 television sets, 4,000 they come from South Korea. South Korea is a money machine.*

- Fox News, January 7, 2016

*... I do a lot of business with South Korea. I like them.*

*They are great people. They are wonderful people, but they make a fortune as a country. Every time, I order a television set, when I order thousands of sets, I order many - so many television sets every year for different properties, thousands, they all come from South Korea.*

○ NBC Meet the Press, January 10, 2016

*... When I buy televisions or when I buy a lot of different products, I have to buy them in South Korea because they don't make them here anymore. I mean, they virtually don't make television sets in the United States anymore. They make a fortune. They're a very wealthy country. We're a very poor country.*

○ Meeting with Washington Post Editorial Board, March 21, 2016

*... You know, South Korea is very rich. Great industrial country. And yet we're not reimbursed fairly for what we do.*

○ Rally in Atlanta, Georgia, June 15, 2016

*... South Korea. I love South Korea. I have buildings in South Korea, I have done jobs in South Korea; it's great.*

## 2. 한·미 동맹

트럼프 대통령은 당선 직후 굳건한 한·미 동맹관계의 중요성을 강조하였다. 그러나 대선기간 동안 나타난 트럼프 대통령의 한·미 동맹에 대한 인식은 미국이 한국에 대한 군사적 보호를 위해 지출하는 비용에 대해서 한국은 충분한 보상을 하지 않는다는 것이다. 대선기간 동안 트럼프 대통령은 해외 주둔 미군의 비용대비 실질적인 세계평화기여도에 대해서도 회의적인 발언을 하였고 한국뿐만 아니라 우방국인 일본, 사우디아라비아, 그리고 독일도 미국에 안보 무임승차를 하고 있다고 주장하였다. 특히 그는 한국 방어를 위해 수만 명의 미군이 주둔하고 있는 상황에서 미국은 군사 지원에 대한 비용 보전을 받아야 하고 한국 측이 주한미군 방위비를 100% 분담해야 한다고 언급하기도 했다. 아울러 한국이 책임을 나누어지지 않으면 주한 미군을 철수할 수도 있다고 언급하며 차제에 방위비 분담 협정을 재협상해야 한다고 주장하였다.

※ 마이클 플린(Michael Flynn) 국가안보보좌관 내정자는 2016년 11월 18일 한국 정부 대표단과의 면담에서 “한·미 동맹은 핵심 동맹(vital alliance)이다”라고 밝히고 있다.

○ Matt Murphy Show on Birmingham, Alabama, August 22, 2015.

*... we send our troops, we're getting ready to go in there and defend them. We get nothing. It's like crazy. We get nothing. Why are we getting nothing? Why aren't they helping us, okay? We help them...*

○ No Labels Problem Solver Convention, Manchester, New Hampshire, October 12, 2015

*... it's peanuts compared, it's peanuts compared to what is costing. It's peanuts and by the way they are very wealthy country. Part of the problem when we talk about like your question about deficits and about losing and why can't we do. We are defending Germany, we are defending Japan, we are defending South Korea, we're defending so many countries, we get peanuts. We get nothing. We get a - You're right. We get a small payment. It's a fraction, a tiny fraction ... We have 28,000 soldiers on the border of South Korea.*

○ CNN Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees, January 6, 2016

**TRUMP** *And by the way we get paid nothing. We get paid peanuts.*

**Q.** Would you pull them out?

**TRUMP** *...They pay us peanuts with defending them and I have many friends from South Korea. They buy my apartments. I do business with them but South Korea should pay us and pay us very substantially for protecting them.*

○ Fox News, January 7, 2016

*And I would say this, we are protecting South Korea. I have tremendous expense with South Korea ... They have to make more of a contribution towards the protection because we have 28,000 soldiers on the line, very, very dangerous. And we get paid very little money, relatively speaking, by South Korea. So they are going to have to step up to the plate and pay us more. You know, we are a debtor nation.*

○ NBC Meet the Press, January 10, 2016

**TRUMP** *And one of the things we have to do is we have to have South Korea and Germany and Japan, and all of these countries that we, essentially, protect (we protect them) - they have to start paying. They have to start paying, Chuck.*

[...]

**TRUMP** *... Germany, Japan, South Korea - We have 28,000 soldiers on the line in South Korea between the madman and them. We get practically nothing compared to the cost of this. Why are we doing this -*

**Q.** So with these countries, you're going to basically say, if you want our military protection, you're going to

have to do better with trade deals for us -

**TRUMP** *They're going to have to do better. Not trade deals. They're going to have to take of our military. They give us very little. We are paying to take care of all these countries. You know, when you hear that we spend more money (by many times) than other countries, part of the money we spend is we're protecting everybody and we're not getting very much for it.*

[...]

**TRUMP** *... when we protect Germany and South Korea and Japan, they've got to pay up - (OVERTALK)*

○ CNN/Telemundo Republican Debate, February 25, 2016

*... I think that we are now in a position - are 19 trillion dollars because of the horrible omnibus budget that was approved six weeks ago, it's going to be 21 trillion dollars. We can no longer defend all of these countries, Japan, Germany, South Korea.*

○ 12th Republican Debate, March 15, 2016

*... Our military is depleted. But we take care of Germany, we take care of Saudi Arabia, we take care of Japan, we take care of South Korea ... We have 28,000 soldiers on*

*the line, on the border between North and South Korea. We have so many places ... We're going to negotiate real deals now, and we're going to bring the wealth back to our country. We owe \$19 trillion. We're going to bring wealth back to our country.*

○ The New York Times, March 26, 2016

Q. Would you be willing to withdraw U.S. forces from places like Japan and South Korea if they don't increase their contribution significantly?

**TRUMP** *Yes, I would. I would not do so happily, but I would be willing to do it. Not happily. David actually asked me that question before, this morning before we sort of finalized out. The answer is not happily but the answer is yes. We cannot afford to be losing vast amounts of billions of dollars on all of this. We just can't do it anymore. Now there was a time when we could have done it. When we started doing it. But we can't do it anymore. And I have a feeling that they'd up the ante very much. I think they would, and if they wouldn't I would really have to say yes.*

○ CNN Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees, May 4, 2016.

**TRUMP** *You know, when people look at our military, and*

*they say, oh wow, that's fantastic, they have many, many times, you know, we spend many times what any country spends on military. It's not really for us. We're defending other countries. So all I'm saying is this, they have to pay. And, you know, what I'm prepared to walk. And if they have to defend themselves against North Korea, we have a maniac over there, in my opinion if they don't take care of us properly, if they don't respect us enough to take care of this properly, then you know what has to happen, Wolf, very simple, they going to have to defend themselves.*

**Q.** Because the other day the U.S. military commander in South Korea General Vincent Brooks, he testified up on Capitol Hill, he said South Korea pays for 50 percent of personnel cost for U.S. troops.

**TRUMP** *How much percent?*

**Q.** 50 percent.

**TRUMP** *50, why not 100 percent?*

**Q.** He also says that it's it would be more expensive to keep U.S troops here in the U.S than to keep alone bases in South Korea.

**TRUMP** *OK, well, I mean maybe we don't need them. OK, maybe we don't need them. Look, we are policing all*

*of these countries, they're not paying us, we're policing Saudi Arabia, we are protecting Saudi Arabia. So did I have many friends in Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia would not be there, Wolf, it wouldn't be there maybe for a month if we took our military out.*

*The only reason they're sort of protected and they're totally protected, is because we're protecting them. Saudi Arabia was making a billion dollars a day when the oil prices was high, now they're still making a fortune. Why aren't they paying us?*

**Q.** So, basically when I hear you saying, if the U.S. and then they'll keep troops in Japan and there's thousands of them, tens of thousands in Korea, 28,000...

**TRUMP** *We've got to reimbursed.*

**Q.** ... in Korea or Germany for that matter

**TRUMP** *Yeah.*

**Q.** You want host countries to pick up all expense

**TRUMP** *Of course they should pick up all the expense. Why are we paying for this, I mean we are paying to protect them. And I think it's wonderful, I think it's good. I'd rather do it rather than have them harmed, I would rather do it, and, you know, it was covered actually*

*accurately in the New York Times. Very accurately.*

*And they covered it because they talked cost. A lot of people like to say, oh Trump wants Japan to arm. I don't want them to arm. I want them to reimburse us for at least the cost. Now you could say it's worth more than that. But at least reimburse us for the cost. When you say we pay 50 percent, look if we say we pay 50 percent, that means we pay less OK, but we're losing tremendous amount of money and we have a military that's not in good shape anymore, you know that, everybody knows that. And we have to do something about it..*

#### ○ Rally in Atlanta, Georgia, June 15, 2016

*... We have right now 28,000 soldiers on the line between North and South, 28,000 soldiers. They pay us peanuts..., peanuts. And everytime he acts up from North Korea, he acts up; South Korea says, oh, we start sending our ships, planes, so this, so that...right - They pay us peanuts, compared to the cost of this. Now think of it.*

#### ○ The New York Times, July 20, 2016

**Q.** Well, keeping the peace. We didn't have a presence in places like Korea in 1950, or not as great a presence,

and you saw what happened.

**TRUMP** *There's no guarantee that we'll have peace in Korea.*

**Q.** Even with our troops, no, there's no guarantee.

**TRUMP** *No, there's no guarantee. We have 28,000 soldiers on the line.*

**Q.** But we've had them there since 1953 and?

**TRUMP** *Sure, but that doesn't mean that there wouldn't be something going on right now.*

○ Rally in Des Moines, Iowa, August 5, 2016

*... We protect Japan, South Korea, Germany, Saudi Arabia and all these; they don't pay. Now, they pay, but they don't pay anywhere near what it costs.*

○ Q&A at the Economic Club of New York, September 15, 2016

*We also defend other countries. And those countries are not paying us nearly what they should be paying us. We are losing tremendous, billions and billions of dollars on defending other people. Some of whom don't even appreciate the fact that we are defending them. And many of them*

*do not pay us. They do not pay us. They do not pay us. I say why because you know, they do not ask. We do not ask.*

*So, those countries I am sure will start to pay for the defense, but it is a fantastic, it is a fantastic number. It is a very very large, it is a shocking number. It is a shocking number.*

*I will just finish with saying this. I have great respect for Japan. But, as you know, we defend Japan. We defend Germany. We defend Saudi Arabia. We defend South Korea. We have 28,000 soldiers right now South Korea. These are economic behemoths. Behemoths.*

*These are wealthy countries and when I said they have to pay more, a general came to refute my statement and said, "Doesn't Mr. Trump know that Japan pays 50% of the cost of its defense?" And I said, "Ah, why do not they pay 100%?"*

#### ○ The First Presidential Debate, September 27, 2016

**TRUMP** ... *Nuclear is the single greatest threat. Just to go down the list, we defend Japan, we defend Germany, we defend South Korea, we defend Saudi Arabia, we defend countries. They do not pay us. But they should be paying us, because we are providing tremendous*

*service and we're losing a fortune. That's why we're losing - we're losing - we lose on everything. I say, who makes these - we lose on everything. All I said, that it's very possible that if they don't pay a fair share, because this isn't 40 years ago where we could do what we're doing. We can't defend Japan, a behemoth, selling us cars by the million...*

**Q.** We need to move on.

**TRUMP** *Well, wait, but it's very important. All I said was, they may have to defend themselves or they have to help us out. We're a country that owes \$20 trillion. They have to help us out.*

**Q.** Our last...

**TRUMP** *As far as the nuclear is concerned, I agree. It is the single greatest threat that this country has.*

### ○ The Final Presidential Debate, October 19, 2016

*All I said is, we have to renegotiate these agreements, because our country cannot afford to defend Saudi Arabia, Japan, Germany, South Korea, and many other places. We cannot continue to afford..*

- Phone Conversation with South Korean President Park Geun-hye, announced in a statement by South Korea's presidential office, November 10, 2016.

*Trump agrees "100 percent" with South Korean President Park Geun-hye on the need to preserve a security alliance that has for decades acted as a deterrent to the regime in North Korea.*

*"We are with you all the way and we will not waver," Trump was quoted as saying in the statement. "We will be steadfast and strong with respect to working with you to protect against the instability in North Korea."*

- 트럼프 저서- *GREAT AGAIN: How to Fix Our Crippled America*, p.34

*"We defend Germany. We defend Japan. We defend South Korea. These are powerful and wealthy countries. We get nothing from them. It's time to change all that. It's time to win again. We've got 28,500 wonderful American soldiers on South Korea's border with North Korea. They're in harm's way every single day. They're the only thing that is protecting South Korea. And what do we get from South Korea for it? They sell us products - at a nice profit. They compete with us."*

### 3. 한·미 자유무역협정(Free Trade Agreement: FTA)

트럼프 대통령은 북미자유무역협정(NAFTA) 및 환태평양경제동반자협정(TPP)과 같은 다자간 자유무역협정뿐만 아니라 양자 간 협정 역시 미국의 무역적자와 일자리 손실의 원인이라는 부정적 인식을 하고 있다. 특히 트럼프 대통령은 한국과의 자유무역협정(FTA)이 미국 내 일자리에 미치는 부정적 영향에 주목하면서 한·미 자유무역협정은 미국민의 일자리를 빼앗는 재앙과 같은 끔찍한(horrible) 협정이고 깨어진 약속(broken promise)이라고 언급했다. 따라서 한국과의 자유무역협정을 '재협상'해야 한다고 주장하였다.

#### ○ Republican Nomination Acceptance Speech, July 21, 2016

*She [Hillary Clinton] supported the job killing trade deal with South Korea ... Our horrible trade agreements with China and many others, will be totally renegotiated.*

#### ○ Economic Speech, Detroit, Michigan, August 9, 2016

*Hillary Clinton has supported the trade deals stripping this city, and this country, of its jobs and wealth. She supported Bill Clinton's NAFTA, she supported China's entrance into the World Trade Organization, she*

*supported the job-killing trade deal with South Korea, and she supports the Trans-Pacific Partnership.*

*Let's talk about South Korea for a moment, because it so perfectly illustrates the broken promises that have hurt so many American workers. President Obama, and the usual so-called experts who've been wrong about every trade deal for decades, predicted that the trade deal with South Korea would increase our exports to South Korea by more than \$10 billion - resulting in some 70,000 jobs.*

○ The Economic Club of New York, New York, September 15, 2016

*It is no great secret that many of the special interest funding my opponent's campaign are the same people profiting from these terrible trade deals. They are terrible. They are terrible for everybody.*

*The same so-called experts advising Hillary Clinton are the same people who gave us NAFTA, China's entry into the World Trade Organization, the job-killing trade deal with South Korea, another disaster, and now, Trans-Pacific Partnership that they are pushing so strongly.*

#### 4. 한국의 핵무장

트럼프 대통령은 한국과 일본의 핵무장에 대해 언젠가는 논의해야 할 문제이며 미국의 국력이 지속적으로 약화될 경우 한국과 일본의 핵무장은 미국의 의지와는 상관없이 진행될 것이라고 언급하였다. 그러나 트럼프 대통령은 당선 직후 트위터 메시지를 통해 자신은 더 많은 국가가 핵무장을 해야 한다는 발언을 한 적이 없다고 기존의 핵무장 용인 발언을 철회했다. 이는 미국이 지난 50여 년 동안 유지해온 핵 비확산 정책기조를 단번에 뒤집기 어렵다는 정치적 판단에 근거한 것으로 볼 수 있다.

※ 렉스 틸러슨(Rex Tillerson) 미 국무장관 내정자는 2016년 1월 11일 의회 인준 청문회에서 한국과 일본의 자체 핵무장 허용에 동의하지 않는다고 밝히고 있다.

○ The New York Times, March 26, 2016

Q. Would you object if they [Japan and South Korea] got their own nuclear arsenal, given the threat that they face from North Korea and China?

**TRUMP** *Well, you know, at some point, there is going to be a point at which we just can't do this anymore.*

Q. ... there has always been a segment of Japanese society, and of Korean society that said, "Well, maybe we should have our own nuclear deterrent, because if the US isn't certain, we need to make sure the North

Koreans know that.” Is that a reasonable position. Do you think at some point they should have their own arsenal?

**TRUMP** *Well, it's a position that we have to talk about, and it's a position that at some point is something that we have to talk about, and if the United States keeps on its path, its current path of weakness, they're going to want to have that anyway with or without me discussing it...*

○ CNN Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees, May 4, 2016.

**Q.** You're ready to let Japan and South Korea become nuclear powers?

**TRUMP** *I am prepared to - if they're not going to take care of us properly, we cannot afford to be the military and police for the world.*

[...]

**Q.** What about, another sense of issue, Japan, and South Korea. You see just it may be it's time ...

**TRUMP** *It's not sensitive. Not a sensitive issue.*

**Q.** Let them develop their own nuclear arsenal and get the U.S. out of there.

**TRUMP** *To me it's not a sensitive issue.*

**Q.** Why isn't that a sensitive issue?

**TRUMP** *I have great relationships with South Korea, I have buildings in South Korea, I have great relationships with Japan and in Japan. But our government and lot of people don't know even know the scene when I make speeches, I say we protect Germany, we protect Japan, we protect South Korea.*

*You know, many, many people sophisticated people in the audience, I didn't even know that. They have to help us. We don't get reimbursed for what this massive amount of work and energy and weaponry, what it is costing. We can't continue to do it. This isn't 40 years ago. This isn't when we were much different as a country. They have to take care of us. Now I think they will.*

*If they don't, you have to be prepared to walk. You always have to be prepared to walk from a deal including the Iran deal which is a disaster. They should have walked.*

**Q.** But you're ready to let Japan and South Korea become nuclear powers?

**TRUMP** *I am prepared to - if they're not going to take care of us properly, we cannot afford to be the*

*military and the police for the world. We are right now the police for the entire world. We are policing the entire world.*

○ On Twitter after Election, November 14, 2016

*The @nytimes states today that DJT believes 'more countries should acquire nuclear weapons.' How dishonest are they. I never said this!*

## 5. 미사일 방어 시스템

트럼프 대통령은 한반도 주변에 배치된 미사일 방어 시스템(MD)은 낡고 오래된 구식이라고 평가하며 MD 무용론을 제기하였으나 이후 MD의 필요성을 강조하고 MD 재건을 언급하였다. 이러한 입장선회는 사실상 MD 구축을 강조하는 공화당 정강과 일치하는 것으로 대통령 당선자가 겪게 되는 일종의 학습효과라고 볼 수 있으며 공화당 내부에 정치적 기반이 약한 트럼프 대통령이 전략적으로 공화당과의 정책적 간극을 줄이기 위한 입장선회라고 볼 수 있다.

○ The New York Times, July 20, 2016

**TRUMP** *And we've got our soldiers sitting there watching missiles go up. And you say to yourself, "Oh, that's interesting." Now we're protecting Japan because Japan is a natural location for North Korea. So we are protecting them, and you say to yourself, "Well, what are we getting out of this?"*

**Q.** Well, we keep our missile defenses out there. And those missile defenses help prevent the day when North Korea can reach the United States with one of its missiles. It's a lot easier to shoot down from there?

**TRUMP** *We've had them there for a long time, and now they're practically obsolete, in all fairness.*

○ National Security Speech, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 7, 2016.

*Under Obama-Clinton, our ballistic missile defense capability has been degraded at the very moment the US and its allies are facing a heightened missile threat from states like Iran and North Korea. As these potential adversaries grow their missile programs, US military facilities in Asia and the Middle East, as well as our allies, are increasingly in range, with the United States homeland also potentially threatened.*

*We propose to rebuild the key tools of missile defense, starting with the Navy cruisers that are the foundation of our missile defense capabilities in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East.*

### III. 한반도 주변국 관련 발언

#### 1. 중국

트럼프 대통령의 중국에 대한 불만은 북핵 문제 해결에 대한 중국의 역할뿐만 아니라 중국과의 무역관계로부터 기인한다. 트럼프 대통령은 중국을 환율조작국으로 의심하고 중국의 불공정 무역을 지적하는 등 미중 무역관행에 대해 부정적 시각을 보이고 있다. 또한 중국의 남중국해 군사거점화 시도에 대해서는 불만을 제기하고 있다. 이는 오바마 행정부 당시 확산된 미·중 세력전이 논쟁을 좌시하지 않겠다는 트럼프 대통령의 입장이 기저에 깔려 있는 것으로 미·중 대외무역관계를 바로잡아 중국의 군사적 굴기(崛起)를 막고자 하는 의도를 엿볼 수 있다.

#### ○ Rally in Phoenix, Arizona, July 11, 2015

*In the South China Sea, they are building a massive military base with runways, and storage of weapons, and all sorts of things. Now, they don't respect us. They're not supposed to be doing that. They're not supposed to be doing it. So we are going to have, let me just tell you. That's just the way it works.*

○ 6th Republican Debate, January 14, 2016

Q. ... Last week, the New York Times editorial board quoted as saying that you would oppose, “up to 45 percent tariff on Chinese goods.”

[...]

TRUMP *They were wrong.*

[...]

TRUMP *What I said to the New York Times, is that, “we have great power, economic power over China and if we wanted to use that and the amount - where the 45 percent comes in, that would be the amount they saw their devaluations that we should get.” That we should get.*

*What I’m saying is this, I’m saying that we do it but if they don’t start treating us fairly and stop devaluing and let their currency rise so that our companies can compete and we don’t lose all of these millions of jobs that we’re losing, I would certainly start taxing goods that come in from China. Who the hell has to lose 505 billion dollars a year?*

[...]

TRUMP *...Now, on that tariff - here’s what I’m saying,*

*China - they send their goods and we don't tax it - they do whatever they want to do. They do whatever what they do, OK. When we do business with China, they tax us. You don't know it, they tax us.*

*I have many friends that deal with China. They can't - when they order the product and when they finally get the product it is taxed. If you looking at what happened with Boeing and if you look at what happened with so many companies that deal - so we don't have an equal playing field. I'm saying, absolutely, we don't have to continue to lose 505 billion dollars as a trade deficit for the privilege of dealing with China.*

*I'm a free trader. I believe in it but we have to be smart and we have to use smart people to negotiate. I have the largest bank in the world as a tenant of mine. I sell tens' of millions of ...*

[...]

**Q.** So you're open to a tariff?

**TRUMP** *I'm totally open to a tariff. If they don't treat us fairly, hey, their whole trade is tariffed. You can't deal in China without tariffs. They do it to us, we don't it. It's not fair trade.*

○ Meeting with The Washington Post Editorial Board,  
March 21, 2016

Q. What about China and the South China Sea...

**TRUMP** *I think it's a terrible situation, I think it's terrible they have no respect for -*

Q. ... what should we do about it?

**TRUMP** *Well look, we have power over China and people don't realize it. We have trade power over China. I don't think we are going to start World War III over what they did, it affects other countries certainly a lot more than it affects us. But - and honestly, you know part of - I always say we have to be unpredictable. We're totally predictable. And predictable is bad. Sitting at a meeting like this and explaining my views and if I do become president, I have these views that are down for the other side to look at, you know. I hate being so open...*

[...]

Q. So what do you think China's aims are in the South China Sea?

**TRUMP** *Well I know China very well, because I deal with China all the time. I've done very well. China's*

*unbelievably ambitious. China is, uh... I mean, when I deal with China, you know, I have the Bank of America building, I've done some great deals with China. I do deals with them all the time on, you know, selling apartments, and, you know, people say 'oh that's not the same thing.' The level of... uh, the largest bank in the world, 400 million customers, is a tenant of mine in New York, in Manhattan. The biggest bank in China. The biggest bank in the world.*

*China has got unbelievable ambitions. China feels very invincible. We have rebuilt China. They have drained so much money out of our country that they've rebuilt China. ... We don't build anymore, and it, you know, we had our day. But China, if you look at what's going on in China, you know, they go down to seven percent or eight percent and it's like a national catastrophe. Our GDP is right now zero. Essentially zero.*

**Q.** Could you use trade to cause them to retreat in the South China Sea?

**TRUMP** *I think so, yeah. I think so.*

**Q.** What would you do?

**TRUMP** *We, well, you start making it tougher. They're selling their products to us for... you know, with no tax, no nothing. By the way, we can't deal with them,*

*but they can deal with us. See, we are free trade. The story is, and I have so many people that deal with China - they can easily sell their product here. No tax, no nothing, just 'come on, bring it all in, you know, bring in your apples, bring in everything you make' and no taxes whatsoever, right? If you want to deal with China, it's just the opposite. You can't do that. In other words, if you want to, if you're a manufacturer, you want to go into China? It's very hard to get your product in, and if you get it in you have to pay a very big tax.*

○ Foreign Policy Speech, Washington D.C., April 27, 2016

*... Fixing our relations with China is another important step and really toward creating an even more prosperous period of time. China respects strength and by letting them take advantage of us economically, which they are doing like never before, we have lost all of their respect. We have a massive trade deficit with China, a deficit that we have to find a way quickly, and I mean quickly, to balance. A strong and smart America is an America that will find a better friend in China, better than we have right now. Look at what China is doing in the South China Sea. They're not supposed to be doing it.*

○ Economic Speech, Detroit, Michigan, August 9, 2016

*... At the center of my plan is trade enforcement with China. This alone could return millions of jobs into our economy. China is responsible for nearly half of our entire trade deficit. They break the rules in every way imaginable. China engages in illegal export subsidies, prohibited currency manipulation, and rampant theft of intellectual property. They also have no real environmental or labor protections, further undercutting American workers.*

*Just enforcing intellectual property rules alone could save millions of American jobs. According to the U.S. International Trade Commission, improved protection of America's intellectual property in China would produce more than 2 million more jobs right here in the United States. Add to that the saved jobs from cracking down on currency cheating and product dumping, and we will bring trillions of dollars in new wealth and wages back to the United States.*

[...]

*Our trade deficit with the world is now nearly \$800 billion dollars a year. Like Bernie Sanders said, she [Hillary Clinton] has terrible judgement. The good news is, if we win on November 8th, these jobs are coming back. Here*

*are 7 steps to bring back our jobs, and creating millions of new jobs:*

[...]

*... Five: I am going to instruct my Treasury Secretary to label China a currency manipulator. Any country that devalues their currency in order to take unfair advantage of the United States will face tariffs to stop the cheating.*

*Six: I am going to instruct the U.S. Trade Representative to bring trade cases against China, both in this country and at the WTO. China's unfair subsidy behavior is prohibited by the terms of its entrance to the WTO, and I intend to enforce those rules.*

*Seven: If China does not stop its illegal activities, including its theft of American trade secrets, I will use every lawful presidential power to remedy trade disputes, including the application of tariffs consistent with federal law.*

#### ○ Rally in Charlotte, North Carolina, October 14, 2016

*... And we're going to stand up to China, we're going to stop their currency manipulation and product dumping, which is killing us. And they don't follow the rules and, if they don't, we're going to institute tariffs. When they send something into our country and, believe me, they're going*

*to obey our rules so quickly, you have no idea. And we'll end up with a better relationship with China than we do now.*

*Look what they're doing, they're building a massive fortress against everything. A massive fortress in the South China Sea. And yet they're ripping us off. Now, if they're going to rip us off, you wouldn't think they'd be building fortresses. They have no respect for our President which I can understand that they have no respect for Obama, they have no respect for our country, and they're getting away with murder.*

## 2. 일본

트럼프 대통령은 일본이 방위비는 적게 내면서 지나치게 자국의 안보를 미국에게 의존하고 있다고 지적하고 일본과 방위분담금 증액 문제에 대해 재협상할 것을 주장하였다. 또한 오바마 행정부와 일본 아베 정권이 공을 들인 환태평양경제동반자협정(TPP)에 대해서는 미국의 산업안정성을 해치고 미국민의 일자리를 빼앗아가는 협정으로 정의하고 TPP 탈퇴를 주장하였다. 방위비 분담과 관련한 트럼프 대통령의 입장은 미국의 이익에 초점을 맞추고 동맹국들과의 부담 공유, 혹은 책임전가(buckpassing)를 위한 전략적 접근법으로 이해할 수 있으며 환태평양경제동반자협정 탈퇴 입장 역시 타 국가의 무임승차를 허용하는 다자적 제도에 대한 회의적 입장이 반영된 것으로 볼 수 있다.

### ○ Rally in West Allis, Wisconsin, April 3, 2016

*... And if we say to Japan we need help, you have to help us, because we can't continue to lose a fortune defending you - you have to be prepared to walk. You have to be prepared. That doesn't mean I want them to arm, but it's possible. You know, there's a group of people that are very smart people, that say maybe it's better for us if Japan pays their own way, they arm, and they take care of North Korea instead of us taking care of it...*

○ Rolling Thunder Memorial Day Speech, Washington D.C., May 29, 2016

*... We're protecting Japan - and I love Japan we're gonna continue to protect Japan hopefully, but you always have to be prepared to walk. ... Well let me ask you, [Japan is] paying 50% of the cost to defend themselves, why don't they pay 100%?"*

○ Rally in Monessen, Pennsylvania, June 28, 2016

*The TPP would be the death blow for American manufacturing. It would give up all of our economic leverage to an international commission that would put the interests of foreign countries above our own. It would further open our markets to aggressive currency cheaters. It would make it easier for our trading competitors to ship cheap subsidized goods into U.S. markets - while allowing foreign countries to continue putting barriers in front of our exports.*

[...]

*Not only will the TPP undermine our economy, but it will undermine our independence. The TPP creates a new international commission that makes decisions the American people can't veto...*

[...]

*There is no way to “fix” the TPP. We need bilateral trade deals. We do not need to enter into another massive international agreement that ties us up and binds us down.*

○ Rally in Des Moines, Iowa, August 5, 2016

*... You know, we have a treaty with Japan where if Japan is attacked we have to use the full force and might of the United States. If we're attacked Japan doesn't have to do anything. They can sit home and watch Sony television. What kind of deals are these? ... These deals are by people, it's got to be a two-way street, these deals are by people that don't know what they're doing.*

○ The Final Presidential Debate, October 20, 2016

*... As far as Japan and other countries, we are being ripped off by everybody in the - we're defending other countries. We are spending a fortune doing it. They have the bargain of the century.*

*All I said is, we have to renegotiate these agreements, because our country cannot afford to defend Saudi Arabia, Japan, Germany, South Korea, and many other places. We cannot continue to afford - she [Hillary Clinton] took that as saying nuclear weapons.*

### 3. 러시아

트럼프는 러시아와 관계 개선 필요성을 강조하고 있다. 러시아와 우호적인 관계를 맺는 것은 ISIS 제거, 테러리즘 문제 등 미국의 국익에 도움이 되는 것이라 주장하고 있다. 또한 시리아와 우크라이나 문제에 있어서는 친(親)러시아 발언을 하였으며 북대서양 조약기구(NATO)의 역할에 대해서도 러시아를 막는 것보다 테러리즘과 이민자 문제 해결에 더 노력해야 한다고 주장하였다. 이러한 트럼프 대통령의 발언은 규칙과 보편적 가치를 기반으로 미국주도의 국제질서를 유지하려고 했던 오바마 대통령과는 달리 지극히 현실주의적 관점에서 제재국면에 놓인 러시아와의 협력의사를 제시한 것이다.

※ 트럼프 대통령은 2017년 1월 16일 더 타임즈(The Times)와의 인터뷰에서 러시아의 시리아 내전 개입은 인도주의적 측면에서 끔찍한 상황을 만들었다고 말했고 NATO는 중요하기는 하지만 구식의 유물이 고 제재를 받고 있는 러시아와 핵무기 감축과 같은 거래를 할 수 있다면 더 많은 이익을 얻을 것이라 밝혔다.

#### ○ 4th Republican Debate, November 10, 2015

Q. ... Now, Russia has invaded Ukraine, and has put troops in Syria. You have said you will have a good relationship with Mr. Putin. So, what does President Trump do in response to Russia's aggression?

TRUMP ... So, we have more than just Russia. But, as far

*as the Ukraine is concerned, and you could Syria - as far as Syria, I like - if Putin wants to go in, and I got to know him very well because we were both on 60 Minutes, we were stablemates, and we did very well that night. But, you know that.*

*But, if Putin wants to go and knocked the hell out of ISIS, I am all for it, 100%, and I can't understand how anybody would be against it...*

[...]

**TRUMP** *...They blew up a Russian airplane. He cannot be in love with these people. He's going in, and we can go in, and everybody should go in. As far as the Ukraine is concerned, we have a group of people, and a group of countries, including Germany - tremendous economic behemoth - why are we always doing the work?*

*We are - I'm all for protecting Ukraine and working - but, we have countries that are surrounding the Ukraine that aren't doing anything. They say, "Keep going, keep going, you dummies, keep going. Protect us..."*

○ Foreign Policy Speech, Washington D.C., April 27, 2016

*We desire to live peacefully and in friendship with Russia and China. We have serious differences with these two*

*nations, and must regard them with open eyes, but we are not bound to be adversaries. We should seek common ground based on shared interests.*

*Russia, for instance, has also seen the horror of Islamic terrorism. I believe an easing of tensions, and improved relations with Russia from a position of strength only is possible, absolutely possible. Common sense says this cycle, this horrible cycle of hostility must end and ideally will end soon. Good for both countries.*

*Some say the Russians won't be reasonable. I intend to find out. If we can't make a deal under my administration, a deal that's great - not good, great - for America, but also good for Russia, then we will quickly walk from the table. It's as simple as that. We're going to find out.*

#### ○ Rally in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, August 1, 2016

*... if we could get Russia to help us get rid of ISIS - if we could actually be friendly with Russia - wouldn't that be a good thing?*

[...]

*If we could get along with Russia, wouldn't that be a good thing, instead of a bad thing?*

○ Interview with ABC George Stephanopoulos, July 31, 2016

*They only fear one thing, losing the election. If our country got along with Russia, that would be a great thing. When Putin goes out and tells everybody, and you talk about relationship, but he says, "Donald Trump is gonna win. And Donald Trump is a genius." And then I have people saying, "You should disavow." I said, "I'm gonna disavow that?" But when Putin says good things, and when we have a possibility of having a good relationship with Russia -*

[...]

*... if we can have a good relationship with Russia, and if Russia would help us get rid of ISIS, frankly, as far as I'm concerned, you're talkin' about tremendous amounts of money and lives and everything else. That would be a positive thing, not a negative -*

[...]

*... the people of Crimea, from what I've heard, would rather be with Russia than where they were. And you have to look at that, also. Now, that was under - just so you understand, that was done under Obama's administration. And as far as the Ukraine is concerned, it's a mess. And*

*that's under the Obama's administration with his strong ties to NATO. So with all of these strong ties to NATO, Ukraine is a mess. Crimea has been taken. Don't blame Donald Trump for that.*

[...]

*And we'll do better. And yet, we'll have a better relationship with Russia. And having a good relationship - maybe. And having a good relationship with Russia is a good thing, not a bad thing.*

#### ○ The Final Presidential Debate, October 20, 2016

**TRUMP** ... *Now we can talk about Putin. I don't know Putin. He said nice things about me. If we got along well, that would be good. If Russia and the United States got along well and went after ISIS, that would be good...*

[...]

**TRUMP** *Putin from everything I see has no respect for this person [Hillary Clinton].*

**CLINTON** Well, that's because he would rather have a puppet as president of the United States.

**TRUMP** *No puppet. You're the puppet.*

[...]

**TRUMP** *I never met Putin. This is not my best friend. But if the United States got along with Russia, it wouldn't be so bad. Let me tell you, Putin has outsmarted her [Hillary Clinton] and Obama at every single step of the way...*

○ The Times, January 16, 2016

**Q.** Talking about Russia, you know that Angela Merkel understands Putin very well because he is fluent in German, she is fluent in Russian, and they have known each other for a long time - but who would you trust more, Angela Merkel or Vladimir Putin?

**TRUMP** *Well, I start off trusting both - but let's see how long that lasts. It may not last long at all.*

**Q.** Can you understand why Eastern Europeans fear Putin and Russia?

**TRUMP** *Sure. Oh sure, I know that. I mean, I understand what's going on, I said a long time ago - that Nato had problems. Number one it was obsolete, because it was, you know, designed many, many years ago. Number two - the countries aren't paying what they're*

*supposed to pay. I took such heat, when I said NATO was obsolete. It's obsolete because it wasn't taking care of terror. I took a lot of heat for two days. And then they started saying Trump is right - and now - it was on the front page of The Wall Street Journal, they have a whole division devoted now to terror, which is good.*

[...]

**Q.** Do you support European sanctions against Russia?

**TRUMP** *Well, I think you know - people have to get together and people have to do what they have to do in terms of being fair. OK? They have sanctions on Russia - let's see if we can make some good deals with Russia. For one thing, I think nuclear weapons should be way down and reduced very substantially, that's part of it. But you do have sanctions and Russia's hurting very badly right now because of sanctions, but I think something can happen that a lot of people are gonna benefit.*

부록

## 트럼프 대통령 취임사 전문

날짜: 2017. 1. 20.

장소: Washington, D.C.



## Inaugural Address

Washington, D.C.

January 20, 2017

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: thank you.

We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and to restore its promise for all of our people.

Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for years to come.

We will face challenges. We will confront hardships. But we will get the job done.

Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning. Because today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another

- but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the American People.

For too long, a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost.

Washington flourished - but the people did not share in its wealth.

Politicians prospered - but the jobs left, and the factories closed.

The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.

Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumphs; and while they celebrated in our nation's Capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.

That all changes - starting right here, and right now, because this moment is your moment: it belongs to you.

It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America.

This is your day. This is your celebration.

And this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people.

January 20th 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again.

The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

Everyone is listening to you now.

You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement the likes of which the world has never seen before.

At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens.

Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves.

These are the just and reasonable demands of a righteous public.

But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students

deprived of knowledge; and the crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now.

We are one nation - and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams; and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.

The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry;

Subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military;

We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own;

And spent trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.

We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon.

One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions upon millions of American workers left behind.

The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed across the entire world.

But that is the past. And now we are looking only to the future.

We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power.

From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land.

From this moment on, it's going to be America First.

Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families.

We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.

I will fight for you with every breath in my body - and I will never, ever let you down.

America will start winning again, winning like never before.

We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams.

We will build new roads, and highways, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all across our wonderful nation.

We will get our people off of welfare and back to work - rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.

We will follow two simple rules: Buy American and Hire American.

We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world - but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.

We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to follow.

We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones - and unite the civilized world against Radical Islamic Terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other.

When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.

The Bible tells us, “how good and pleasant it is when God’s people live together in unity.”

We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity.

When America is united, America is totally unstoppable.

There should be no fear - we are protected, and we will always be protected.

We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and, most importantly, we are protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger.

In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving.

We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action - constantly complaining but never doing anything about it.

The time for empty talk is over.

Now arrives the hour of action.

Do not let anyone tell you it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America.

We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease, and to harness the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow.

A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.

It is time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American Flag.

And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams, and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty Creator.

So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and

large, from mountain to mountain, and from ocean to ocean, hear these words:

You will never be ignored again.

Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams, will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

Together, We Will Make America Strong Again.

We Will Make America Wealthy Again.

We Will Make America Proud Again.

We Will Make America Safe Again.

And, Yes, Together, We Will Make America Great Again.  
Thank you, God Bless You, And God Bless America.



트럼프 대통령의 한반도 관련 주요 발언  
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