

국가안보패널보고서⑤ “2004 미국 대선과 한반도”부록 목록

- <부록1> 미 공화당 선거강령 중 한반도 관련 부분 발췌
- <부록2> 미 민주당 선거강령 중 한반도 관련 부분 발췌
- <부록3> 부시-케리 1차 토론 북한/대외정책 분야 토론 발췌
- <부록4> 부시-케리 2차 토론 북한/대외정책 분야 토론 발췌
- <부록5> 부시-케리 National Security 정책비교

<부록1> 미 공화당 선거강령 중 한반도 관련 부분 발췌

“The Republic of Korea is a valued democratic ally of the United States. Our two nations are maintaining vigilance toward North Korea while preparing our alliance to make contributions to the broader stability of the region over the longer term. In concert with American's allies South Korea and Japan, and supported by China and Russia, our nation is leading the international community to speak with one voice to demand the complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear programs. Republicans support the Bush Administrations efforts to protect the peace on the Korean peninsula. North Korea lies outside of the international system. American have shed their blood to stop North Korean aggression before and remain prepared to resist aggression today.” 2004 Republican Party Platform, p 32.

미 공화당 Platform 전문(全文)을 보려면

http://www.democrats.org/pdfs/gop_2004platform.pdf

<부록2> 미 민주당 선거강령 중 한반도 관련 부분 발췌

“Leading international efforts to shut down nuclear efforts in North Korea, Iran, and elsewhere. We must show determined leadership to end the nuclear weapons program in North Korea and prevent the development of nuclear weapons in places like Iran. North Korea has sold ballistic missiles and technology in the past. The North Koreans have made it clear to the world-- and to the terrorists--that they are open for business and will sell to the highest bidder. But while this Administration has been fixated on Iraq, the nuclear dangers from North Korea have multiplied. The North Koreans allegedly have made enough new fuel to make six to nine nuclear bombs.”

“ We should maintain the six-party talks, but we must also be prepared to talk directly

with North Korea to negotiate a comprehensive agreement that addresses the full range of issue for ourselves and our allies. But we should have no illusions about Kim Jong Il. Any agreement must have rigorous verification and lead to complete and irreversible elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons program.”

2004 Democratic Party Platform, p7

미 민주당 Platform 전문을 보려면

<http://www.democrats.org/pdfs/2004platform.pdf>

<부록3> 부시-케리 1차 TV 논쟁: 대외정책과 대북정책부분 발췌

Sept. 30, 2004 in Miami, Florida

○ 제1차, 2차 부시-케리 TV 토론 대외정책 분야 전문 Download

http://www.eai.or.kr/eai_db/list_eaidb.asp에서 다운로드 가능

○ Issues on Foreign Policy & North Korea

1. Issues of George W. Bush

- Take preemptive action in order to make America secure.
- We ought to be working with the African Union.
- Free nations will help us achieve the peace we all want.
- Hope we never have to take preemptive military action.
- I just know how this world works.
- Continue working with Putin in the future.
- The six-party talks will unwind when we have bilateral talks.
- Six-party talks are better than taking on North Korea alone.
- Must have China's leverage on Kim Jong Il.
- No Global test? protect Americans even if unpopular abroad

2. Issues of John Kerry

- Take notice of political oppression in Russia.
- Preemptive strike must pass a global test.
- Bush is sending mixed messages to South Korea.
- China is involved with North Korea no matter what.
- Will never take my eye off the real dangerous threats.
- Want both bilateral and multinational talks with North Korea.
- North Korea's got nuclear weapons due to Bush's ambivalence.

1. Issues of George W. Bush

- Take preemptive action in order to make America secure

KERRY: Iran & North Korea are now more dangerous. Whether preemption is ultimately what has to happen, I don't know yet. But as president, I'll never take my eye off that ball. I've been fighting for proliferation the entire time-anti-proliferation the entire

time I've been in the Congress. And we've watched Bush actually turn away from some of the treaties that were on the table. You don't help yourself with other nations when you turn away from the global warming treaty, for instance.

BUSH: My attitude is you take preemptive action in order to protect the American people, that you act in order to make this country secure. My opponent talks about me not signing certain treaties. Let me tell you one thing I didn't sign, and I think it shows the difference of our opinion—the difference of opinions. And that is, I wouldn't join the International Criminal Court. It's a body based in The Hague where unaccountable judges and prosecutors can pull our troops or diplomats up for trial.

○ George W. Bush: The six-party talks will unwind when we have bilateral talks

KERRY: I want both bilateral and multinational talks which put all of the issues, from the armistice of 1952, the economic issues, the human rights issues, the artillery disposal issues, the DMZ issues and the nuclear issues on the table.

BUSH: The minute we have bilateral talks, the six-party talks will unwind. That's exactly what Kim Jong Il wants. And by the way, the breach on the agreement was not through plutonium. The breach on the agreement is highly enriched uranium. That's what we caught him doing. That's where he was breaking the agreement. Secondly, Kerry said where he worked to put sanctions on Iran—we've already sanctioned Iran. Finally, we were a party to the convention—to working with Germany, France and Great Britain to send their foreign ministers into Iran.

KERRY: In order for the sanctions to be effective, we should have been working with the British, French and Germans and other countries. That's the difference between Bush and me. Again, Bush sort of slid by the question.

○ We ought to be working with the African Union

KERRY: I intend to double the number of special forces so that we can do the job we need to do with respect fighting the terrorists around the world. And if we do that, then we have the ability to be able to respond more rapidly. If it took American forces to some degree to coalesce the African Union, I'd be prepared to do it because we could never allow another Rwanda.

BUSH: I agree with Kerry that we shouldn't be committing troops. We ought to be working with the African Union to do so—precisely what we did in Liberia. We helped stabilize the situation with some troops, and when the African Union came, we moved

them out. My hope is that the African Union moves rapidly to help save lives. And fortunately the rainy season will be ending shortly, which will make it easier to get aid there and help the long-suffering people there.

○ **Free nations will help us achieve the peace we all want**

We're pursuing a strategy of freedom around the world, because I understand free nations will reject terror. Free nations will answer the hopes and aspirations of their people. Free nations will help us achieve the peace we all want.

Source: First Bush-Kerry debate, Miami FL

○ **Hope we never have to take preemptive military action**

I was hopeful diplomacy would work in Iraq. It was falling apart. There was no doubt in my mind that Saddam Hussein was hoping that the world would turn a blind eye. And if he had been in power, in other words, if we would have said, "Let the inspectors work, or let's hope to talk him out. Maybe an 18th resolution would work," he would have been stronger and tougher, and the world would have been a lot worse off. There's just no doubt in my mind we would rue the day, had Saddam Hussein been in power. So we use diplomacy every chance we get, believe me. By speaking clearly and sending messages that we mean what we say, we've affected the world in a positive way. Libya was a threat. Libya is now peacefully dismantling its weapons programs. Libya understood that America and others will enforce doctrine and that the world is better for it. I would hope we never have to take preemptive military action. By acting firmly and decisively, it will mean it is less likely we have to use force.

○ **I just know how this world works**

You cannot lead if you send mixed messages. Mixed messages send the wrong signals to our troops and our allies. Mixed messages send the wrong signals to the Iraqi citizens. And that's my biggest concern about Kerry. I admire his service. But I just know how this world works, and that in the councils of government, there must be certainty from the US president. We change tactics when need to, but we never change our beliefs, the strategic beliefs that are necessary to protect this country in the world.

○ **Six-party talks are better than taking on North Korea alone**

BUSH: We signed an agreement with North Korea that my administration found out that was not being honored by the North Koreans. And so I decided that a better way to approach the issue was to get other nations involved, just besides us. And China's a got a lot of influence over North Korea, some ways more than we do. As well, we included South Korea, Japan and Russia. So now there are five voices

speaking to Kim Jong Il, not just one.

KERRY: We had inspectors and television cameras in the nuclear reactor in North Korea. Secretary Bill Perry negotiated that under Clinton. And we knew where the fuel rods were. And we knew the limits on their nuclear power. Colin Powell announced one day that we were going to continue the dialog of working with the North Koreans. Bush reversed it publicly while the president of South Korea was here. And the president of South Korea went back to South Korea bewildered and embarrassed because it went against his policy.

○ Continue working with Putin in the future

BUSH: I look forward to discussing it more with Putin, as time goes on. Russia is a country in transition. Vladimir is going to have to make some hard choices. And I think it's very important for the American president, as well as other Western leaders, to remind him of the great benefits of democracy, that democracy will best help the people realize their hopes and aspirations and dreams. And I will continue working with him over the next four years.

KERRY: I've had an extraordinary experience of watching up close and personal that transition in Russia, because I was there right after the transformation. I regret what's happened in these past months. And I think it goes beyond just the response to terror. Mr. Putin now controls all the television stations. His political opposition is being put in jail. It's very important to the US, obviously, to have a working relationship that is good. This is a very important country to us. We want a partnership. But we always have to stand up for democracy.

○ Must have China's leverage on Kim Jong Il

BUSH: I can't tell you how big a mistake I think that is, to have bilateral talks with North Korea. It's precisely what Kim Jong Il wants. It will cause the six-party talks to evaporate. It will mean that China no longer is involved in convincing, along with us, for Kim Jong Il to get rid of his weapons. It's a big mistake to do that. We must have China's leverage on Kim Jong Il, besides ourselves. If you enter bilateral talks, they'll be happy to walk away from the table. I don't think that'll work.

KERRY: Just because Bush says it can't be done, that you'd lose China, doesn't mean it can't be done. I mean, this is Bush who said "There were weapons of mass destruction," said "Mission accomplished," said we could fight the war on the cheap—none of which were true. We could have bilateral talks with Kim Jong Il. And we can get those weapons at the same time as we get China. Because China has an

interest in the outcome, too.

○ No Global test? protect Americans even if unpopular abroad

KERRY: No president has ever ceded, nor would I, the right to preempt in any way necessary to protect the US. But if and when you do it, you have to do it in a way that passes the global test where your people understand fully what you are doing & you can prove to the world that you did it for legitimate reasons.

BUSH: I do not exactly sure what you mean, "passes the global test." My attitude is you take preemptive action in order to protect the American people, that you act in order to make this country secure. [For example] I wouldn't join the International Criminal Court. It's a body based in The Hague where unaccountable judges and prosecutors can pull our troops or diplomats up for trial. I understand that in certain capitals around the world that that wasn't a popular move. Trying to be popular, in the global sense, if it's not in our best interest, makes no sense. I'm interested in working with our nations and do a lot of it. But I'm not going to make decisions that I think are wrong for America.

2. Issues of John Kerry

○ Bush is sending mixed messages to South Korea

BUSH: We signed an agreement with North Korea that my administration found out that was not being honored by the North Koreans. And so I decided that a better way to approach the issue was to get other nations involved, just besides us. And China's a got a lot of influence over North Korea, some ways more than we do. As well, we included South Korea, Japan and Russia. So now there are five voices speaking to Kim Jong Il, not just one.

KERRY: We had inspectors and television cameras in the nuclear reactor in North Korea. Secretary Bill Perry negotiated that under Clinton. And we knew where the fuel rods were. And we knew the limits on their nuclear power. Colin Powell announced one day that we were going to continue the dialog of working with the North Koreans. Bush reversed it publicly while the president of South Korea was here. And the president of South Korea went back to South Korea bewildered and embarrassed because it went against his policy.

○ China is involved with North Korea no matter what

BUSH: I look forward to discussing it more with Putin, as time goes on. Russia is a country in transition. Vladimir is going to have to make some hard choices. And I think it's very important for the American president, as well as other Western leaders, to remind him of the great benefits of democracy, that democracy will best help the people realize their hopes and aspirations and dreams. And I will continue working with him over the next four years.

KERRY: I've had an extraordinary experience of watching up close and personal that transition in Russia, because I was there right after the transformation. I regret what's happened in these past months. And I think it goes beyond just the response to terror. Mr. Putin now controls all the television stations. His political opposition is being put in jail. It's very important to the US, obviously, to have a working relationship that is good. This is a very important country to us. We want a partnership. But we always have to stand up for democracy.

○ China is involved with North Korea no matter what

BUSH: I can't tell you how big a mistake I think that is, to have bilateral talks with North Korea. It's precisely what Kim Jong Il wants. It will cause the six-party talks to evaporate. It will mean that China no longer is involved in convincing, along with us, for Kim Jong Il to get rid of his weapons. It's a big mistake to do that. We must have China's leverage on Kim Jong Il, besides ourselves. If you enter bilateral talks, they'll be happy to walk away from the table. I don't think that'll work.

KERRY: Just because Bush says it can't be done, that you'd lose China, doesn't mean it can't be done. I mean, this is Bush who said "There were weapons of mass destruction," said "Mission accomplished," said we could fight the war on the cheap—none of which were true. We could have bilateral talks with Kim Jong Il. And we can get those weapons at the same time as we get China. Because China has an interest in the outcome, too.

○ Preemptive strike must pass a global test

The president always has the right, and always has had the right, for preemptive strike. That was a great doctrine throughout the Cold War. It was always one of the things we argued about with respect to arms control. No president, though all of American history, has ever ceded, and nor would I, the right to preempt in any way necessary to protect the US. But if and when you do it, you have to do it in a way that passes the global test where your countrymen, your people understand fully why you're doing what you're doing and you can prove to the world that you did it for legitimate reasons. Here we have our own secretary of state who has had to apologize to the world for the presentation he made to the UN. When Pres. Kennedy

in the Cuban missile crisis sent his secretary of state to Paris to meet with DeGaulle to tell them about the missiles in Cuba, he said, "Here, let me show you the photos." DeGaulle waved them off and said, "No, no, no. The word of the president of the US is good enough for me."

○ Will never take my eye off the real dangerous threats

KERRY: Iran & North Korea are now more dangerous. Whether preemption is ultimately what has to happen, I don't know yet. But as president, I'll never take my eye off that ball. I've been fighting for proliferation the entire time—anti-proliferation the entire time I've been in the Congress. And we've watched Bush actually turn away from some of the treaties that were on the table. You don't help yourself with other nations when you turn away from the global warming treaty, for instance.

BUSH: My attitude is you take preemptive action in order to protect the American people, that you act in order to make this country secure. My opponent talks about me not signing certain treaties. Let me tell you one thing I didn't sign, and I think it shows the difference of our opinion—the difference of opinions. And that is, I wouldn't join the International Criminal Court. It's a body based in The Hague where unaccountable judges and prosecutors can pull our troops or diplomats up for trial.

○ Want both bilateral and multinational talks with North Korea

KERRY: I want both bilateral and multinational talks which put all of the issues, from the armistice of 1952, the economic issues, the human rights issues, the artillery disposal issues, the DMZ issues and the nuclear issues on the table.

BUSH: The minute we have bilateral talks, the six-party talks will unwind. That's exactly what Kim Jong Il wants. And by the way, the breach on the agreement was not through plutonium. The breach on the agreement is highly enriched uranium. That's what we caught him doing. That's where he was breaking the agreement. Secondly, Kerry said where he worked to put sanctions on Iran—we've already sanctioned Iran. Finally, we were a party to the convention—to working with Germany, France and Great Britain to send their foreign ministers into Iran.

KERRY: In order for the sanctions to be effective, we should have been working with the British, French and Germans and other countries. That's the difference between Bush and me. Again, Bush sort of slid by the question.(끝).

(http://archive.ontheissues.org/Bush_Kerry_1ed.htm를 참조하여 재편집)

<부록4> 부시-케리 2차 TV 논쟁: 대외정책과 대북정책부분 발췌

Town Hall format, Oct. 8, 2004 in St. Louis, Missouri

■ Issues on Foreign Policy & North Korea

1. Issues of George W. Bush

- Allies are dealing with Iran and North Korea with America.
- Other nations are sacrificing with us.
- Made unpopular decisions for great American values.

2. Issues of John Kerry

- Missouri would be the third largest country in "coalition".

1. Issues of George W. Bush

○ Allies are dealing with Iran and North Korea with America

The Duelfer report showed Saddam was deceiving the inspectors. Secondly, of course we've been involved with Iran. I fully understand the threat. And that's why we're doing what he suggested we do, get the Brits, the Germans and the French to go make it very clear to the Iranians that if they expect to be a party to the world, to give up their nuclear ambitions. We've been doing that. Let me talk about North Korea. It is naive and dangerous to take a policy that he suggested the other day, which is to have bilateral relations with North Korea. Remember Kerry was the person who's accusing me of not acting multilaterally? He now wants to take the six-party talks we have, China, North Korea, South Korea, Russia, Japan and the United States, and undermine them by having bilateral talks. Clinton had bilateral talks with the North Korean, and guess what happened? He didn't honor the agreement. He was enriching uranium. That is a bad policy.

○ Other nations are sacrificing with us

BUSH: You tell Tony Blair we're going alone. Tell Tony Blair we're going alone. Tell Silvio Berlusconi we're going alone. Tell Alexander Kwasniewski of Poland we're going alone. We've got 30 countries there. It denigrates an alliance to say we're going alone, to discount their sacrifices. You cannot lead an alliance if you say, you know, you're going alone. And people listen. They're sacrificing with us.

KERRY: Countries are leaving the coalition, not joining. Eight countries have left it. If Missouri, just given the number of people from Missouri who are in the military over there today, were a country, it would be the third largest country in the coalition, behind Great Britain and the United States. That's not a grand coalition. Ninety

percent of the casualties are American. Ninety percent of the cost is coming out of your pockets. I could do a better job. My plan does a better job. And that's why I'll be a better commander in chief.

○ Made unpopular decisions for great American values

Q: What is your plan to repair relations with other countries, given the current situation?

A: I made some decisions that have caused people to not understand the great values of our country. I recognize that taking Saddam out was unpopular. But I made the decision because I thought it was in the right interests of our security. I made some decisions on Israel that's unpopular. I made a decision not to join the International Criminal Court in The Hague, which is where our troops can be brought in front of a judge, an unaccounted judge. I don't think we ought to join that. That was unpopular. And so what I'm telling you is that sometimes in this world you make unpopular decision because you think they're right. We'll continue to reach out. There's 30 nations involved in Iraq; some 40 nations involved in Afghanistan. People love America. Sometimes they don't like the decisions made by America, but I don't think you want a president who tries to become popular and does the wrong thing.

2. Issues of John Kerry

○ Missouri would be the third largest country in "coalition"

BUSH: You tell Tony Blair we're going alone. Tell Tony Blair we're going alone. Tell Silvio Berlusconi we're going alone. Tell Alexander Kwasniewski of Poland we're going alone. We've got 30 countries there. It denigrates an alliance to say we're going alone, to discount their sacrifices. You cannot lead an alliance if you say, you know, you're going alone. And people listen. They're sacrificing with us.

KERRY: Countries are leaving the coalition, not joining. Eight countries have left it. If Missouri, just given the number of people from Missouri who are in the military over there today, were a country, it would be the third largest country in the coalition, behind Great Britain and the United States. That's not a grand coalition. Ninety percent of the casualties are American. Ninety percent of the cost is coming out of your pockets. I could do a better job. My plan does a better job. And that's why I'll be a better commander in chief.(끝).

(http://archive.ontheissues.org/Bush_Kerry_1ed.htm를 참조하여 재편집) (끝).

<부록5> 부시-케리 국가안보정책 비교

A National Security Comparison Kerry-Edwards vs. Bush-Cheney

(http://www.johnkerry.com/issues/national_security/compare.html)

<i>National Security Strategy</i>		
	Bush	Kerry
Restoring America's Alliances	Shattered alliances, alienated close allies, and made us less safe. America and American troops paying most costs of Iraq war.	Launch a New Era of Alliances for a post 9-11 world, to restore America's place in the world and make us safer.
Preventing the Spread of Dangerous Weapons	Stood by as North Korea and Iran further developed nuclear programs. Bush administration will take up to 13 years to finish the job of securing former Soviet weapons and materials at current pace.	Comprehensive plan to secure nuclear weapons and nuclear materials worldwide. Will secure all nuclear weapons and materials in the former Soviet Union and complete Global Cleanout of bomb material within four years.
Strengthening America's Military to Meet New Threats	Failed to adequately plan for wars of the 21st century. Sent troops into Iraq without proper equipment and supplies.	Strengthen our military, including doubling our Special Forces capability to fight the war on terror; improve our technology; and task our National Guard with Homeland Security. Add 40,000 new soldiers to the active-duty Army -- not to increase the number of soldiers in Iraq -- but to prevent and prepare for other possible conflicts.
Achieving Energy Independence From Mideast Oil	Ignored our increasing and dangerous reliance on Mideast oil. Refuses to get serious with Saudi Arabia about its role in funding terrorism.	Detailed plan to end America's dangerous dependence on Mideast oil to secure our full independence and freedom. Will stop using kid-gloves with countries that launder money for terrorism.

Winning the Peace in Iraq

	Bush	Kerry
Taking the Burden off the American Military & Taxpayer	Go it alone strategy means United States has contributed nearly 90% of forces on the ground and paid the vast majority of costs. No strategy to relieve the burden on the American military and taxpayer.	Plan to internationalize the security and reconstruction effort by making Iraq part of NATO's global mission and by involving allies in rebuilding the country, providing troops and financial commitments.
Planning for Iraq's Future	Has failed to present a plan to secure Iraq's future. Ignored post-war planning recommendations of its own State Department. Of the \$18.4 billion allocated for reconstruction by Congress, less than \$350 million had been spent as of June, and more than half of that was for security and law enforcement.	Strategy to implement an international effort to coordinate reconstruction efforts, draft the national constitution, and organize elections. Work with allies to forgive Iraq's multi-billion dollar debts. Convene a regional conference with Iraq's neighbors in order to secure a pledge of respect for Iraq's borders and non-interference in Iraq's internal affairs.
Building Security In Iraq	Current training programs are lagging far behind schedule. As of late June, the Iraqi army was one-third the size U.S. officials promised it would be, and seventy percent of police officers had not received training.	Launch a massive training effort to build a professional Iraqi security force, including a major role for NATO.

Winning the War on Terror

	Bush	Kerry
Fighting the War on Terrorism	Failed to go after bin Laden at Tora Bora. Pursued ad hoc strategy. Own Secretary of Defense says we lack metrics to measure success. Ignored the advice of military experts. Single	Launch a bold, comprehensive strategy to disrupt and destroy terrorist networks, double our Special Forces capability to fight the war on terror, reform our intelligence,

	focus on Iraq – let Afghanistan become the forgotten front of the war on terror.	crack down on terrorist financing, secure our homeland and prevent the emergence of new terrorists.
Building Bridges to Arab and Muslim Countries	Alienated large portions of the Arab and Muslim world against America. Administration's actions have squandered American credibility.	A plan to win the war of ideas in Arab and Muslim countries.
Making Bold Intelligence Reforms	Has taken no real action on critical reforms. Basic coordination of agencies, databases still not finished with no central system in place.	A plan that demands accountability, separates analysis and operations, and creates a Director of National Intelligence with real control of all national intelligence personnel and budgets.

Defending the Homeland

	Bush	Kerry
Protecting the Homeland	Failed to fund critical homeland security programs. Cut security training at nuclear facilities, killed chemical plant security plan.	Plan to keep America safe. Will give our first responders all the tools they need. Detailed port security & bio-terrorism strategies.

(끝).