

EAI 미중관계 공식성명일지 (2011년 6월)

김양규 아시아안보연구센터 2011년 8월

<u>기간</u>: 2011년 6월 1일~30일

주요 이슈

1. **아태지역문제** : 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화와 미중의 지역안보 전략, 남중국해 문제에 대한 미중의 입장, 미중 아시아태평양 사무협상의 의의, 미일 안보협의회와 미일의 대중국 정책

미국	중국
 2일 Gates 미 국방부장관 샹그릴라 대화 전 발언 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미 국방부장관 연설, 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미 국방부장관 연설 후 Q&A 8일 국무부 정례 브리핑 10일 국무부 정례 브리핑 14일 국무부 정례 브리핑 21일 미일 안전보장협의위원회 공통전략목표에 관한 공동성명에서 중국 언급, Gates 미 국방부장관 미일 안보협의회의 후 발언, 국무부 정례 브리핑 22일 국무부 정례 브리핑 23일 Clinton 미 국무장관 필리핀 외무부장관과 회의 후 발언 26일 Campbell 미 국무부 동아시아태평양 담당 차관보 미중 아시아 태평양 사무협상 후 발언 	 ● 2일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견 ● 3일 人民日報 영문판 사설 ● 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설, 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설 후 Q&A ● 8일 人民日報 영문판 사설 ● 14일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견, 環球時報 영문판 사설 ● 16일 人民日報 영문판 사설 ● 21일 環球時報 영문판 사설 ● 23일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견, 中國日報 영문판 사설 ● 24일 人民日報 영문판 사설 ● 25일 中國日報 영문판 사설 ● 28일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견, 中國日報 영문판 사설 ● 28일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견, 中國日報 영문판 사설 ● 29일 中國日報 영문판 사설 ● 30일 人民日報 영문판 사설 ● 30일 人民日報 영문판 사설

2. 미중관계 발전방향 : 미중 법률전문가대화의 의의, 중국의 평화로운 부상전략

미국	중국
● 7일 국무부 정례 브리핑	● 2일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견● 23일 人民日報 영문판 사설

3. 경제협력 : 미국의 중국에 대한 세계무역기구 국제규범 이행 촉구, 중국의 아프리카 경제지원 정책에 대한 미국의 우려, 개발원조 문제에 있어 미중협력의 중요성, 미국 부채 문제에 대한 중국의 입장, 위안화 절상문제와 세계경제 리밸런싱에 대한 중국의 입장

미국	중국
● 7일 Ron Kirk 미 무역대표부 대표 발언	● 1일 人民日報 영문판 사설
● 10일 Clinton 미 국무장관 잠비아 대통령과 발언	● 2일 中國日報 영문판 사설
● 12일 Clinton 미 국무장관 Radio Free Africa와의 인터뷰	● 7일 人民日報 영문판 사설
	● 9일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견
	● 14일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견. 中國日報 영문판 사설
	● 16일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견



4. 미중 군사안보협력 : 중국 군사력 증가와 미국의 우려, 상하이 협력기구에 대한 미국의 의구심과 이에 대한 중국의 입장, 북대서양조약기구 역할에 대한 중국의 비판, 미국의 아프간 철군에 대한 중국의 입장

미국	중국
● 2일 Gates 미 국방부장관 샹그릴라 대화 전 발언 ● 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미 국방부장관 연설,	● 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설 후 O&A
국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미 국방부장관 연설 후	● 16일 人民日報 영문판 사설
Q&A ● 16일 국무부 정례 브리핑	● 23일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견● 24일 中國日報 영문판 사설
● 26일 Campbell 미 국무부 동아시아태평양 담당 차관보 미중 아시아 태평양 사무협상 후 발언	● 27일 人民日報 영문판 사설

5. **인권문제**: 미국의 중국에 대한 보편적 인권 존중 촉구, 리비아 사태 해결에 관한 미중의 입장, 미국의 중국내 정치범 석방 요구와 이에 대한 중국의 반발, Bashir 수단 대통령의 방중에 대한 미국의 입장

미국	중국
● 3일 국무부 정례 브리핑	● 7일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견
● 7일 국무부 정례 브리핑	● 9일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견
● 16일 국무부 정례 브리핑	● 11일 人民日報 영문판 사설
● 22일 국무부 정례 브리핑	● 16일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견
● 27일 국무부 정례 브리핑	● 21일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견
	● 23일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견, 人民日報 영문판 사설
	● 24일 環球時報 영문판 사설
	● 28일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견

6. 북한문제 : 북한문제 해결에 관한 미중의 입장, 중국내 북한이탈주민 문제, 북한의 추가도발 억제를 위한 중국의 노력, 6자 회담 재개에 대한 미중의 입장, 남북관계 개선을 위한 미중의 입장

미국	중국
 ● 1일 국무부 정례 브리핑 ● 2일 King 미 국무부 대북인권특사 북한인권법안 관련 발언 ● 3일 국무부 정례 브리핑 ● 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미 국방부장관 연설후 Q&A ● 10일 국무부 정례 브리핑 ● 21일 Clinton 미 국무장관 미일 안보협의회의 후 발언 ● 26일 Campbell 미 국무부 동아시아태평양 담당 차관보 미증 아시아태평양사무협상 후 발언 ● 28일 국무부 정례 브리핑 	 ● 2일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견 ● 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설, 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설 후 Q&A ● 9일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견 ● 28일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견



- 7. 대만문제 : 대만관계법과 미국의 의무
 - 2일 Gates 미 국방부장관 샹그릴라 대화 전 발언
- 8. 사이버안보 문제: 구글의 중국발 이메일 해킹 주장에 대한 미중의 입장, 미국의 "가방 안의 인터넷" 프로그램에 대한 중국의 비판, 미국의 사이버공간 전장 선언에 대한 중국의 비판, "Online Blue Army"에 대한 중국의 입장

[판, Online Blue Army 에 대한 중국의 입상	
미국	중국
□ 2일 국무부 정례 브리핑, Clinton 미 국무장관 체코 외무부장관과 회의 후 발언 □ 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미 국방부장관 연설 후 Q&A □ 22일 국무부 정례 브리핑	● 2일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견 ● 3일 環球時報 영문판 사설 ● 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설, 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설 후 Q&A ● 9일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견 ● 10일 人民日報 영문판 사설 ● 17일 人民日報 영문판 사설 ● 21일 中國日報 영문판 사설 ● 28일 人民日報 영문판 사설

Issue 1. 아태지역문제: 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화와 미중의 지역안보 전략, 남중국해 문제에 대한 미중의 입장, 미중 아시아태평양 사무협상의 의의, 미일 안보협의회와 미일의 대중국 정책

United States China

• 2011년 6월 2일 Gates 미 국방부장관 샹그릴라 대화 전 발언(Media Availability with Secretary Gates en route to Singapore)

Quote: "[...] I think that there has been really extraordinary progress made, particularly in — I would say in the last couple of years or so with a number of countries in strengthening our military-to-military relationships and our overall relationship [...]. Obviously, a lot of attention focused on Southeast Asia at Shangri-La." "And I think the general recognition on the part of all the countries over the past several years that their own security environment is evolving and their desire to adjust their own positions accordingly and the need for us to be flexible as we develop our relationships with these countries and the nature of the activities that we have with others [...]." "We are often the catalyst not only for bilateral relationships, but for multilateral, the development of multilateral cooperation. And we are willing to partner with the people in these things." "Obviously, China plays a big part in this. We're very satisfied with the progress of the relationship."

● 2011년 6월 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미국방부장관 연설(First Plenary Session - Dr Robert Gates)

Quote: "[...] irrespective of the tough times the US faces today, or the tough budget choices we confront in the years to come, America's interests as a Pacific nation, as a country that conducts much of its trade in the region, will endure, and the US and Asia will only become more inextricably linked over the course of this century." "Our engagement in Asia has been guided by a set of enduring principles that have fostered the economic growth and stability of the region [which are] free and open commerce, a just international order that emphasizes rights and responsibilities of nations and fidelity to the rule of law, open access by all to the global commons of sea, air, space, and now cyberspace, and the principle of resolving conflict without the use of force." "[...] we recognize that the American defense engagement, from our forward-deployed forces to exercises with regional partners, will continue to play an indispensable role in the stability of the region. ""[...] we have taken a number of steps towards establishing a defense posture [...] that maintains our presence in Northeast Asia while enhancing our presence in Southeast Asia and into the Indian Ocean." "As I leave the United States government, I have no doubt that future generations will have a similar story to tell about the benefits of American power, presence and commitment in this region."

● **2011년 6월 2일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "Meanwhile, China and the US also share major common interests in the Asia-Pacific region, which requires the two to boost cooperation and endeavor to build a more stable, peaceful and prosperous Asia-Pacific in the 21st century."

● **2011년 6월 3일 人民日報 영문판 사설**('Shangri-La Dialogue' should focus on cooperation)

Quote: "China has always participated in regional security cooperation in a sincere, candid and constructive manner. It is hoped that that all parties involved will strengthen mutual trust and cooperation to maintain peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region." "Disagreement and even collision of opinions were common in previous Shangri-La Dialogues, which was understandable. However, the dialogue should not be used as a platform for certain countries to deliberately criticize other countries or a tool of exerting unilateral political pressure." "Given the concerns of ASEAN countries over non-traditional security issues, the Chinese side has repeatedly expressed its sincerity in actively participating in economic, energy and environmental security cooperation as well as the fight against terrorism in the Asia-Pacific region and has proposed to expand exchange channels to enhance mutual trust and clear up doubts, and to gradually solve issues rooted in history, provided that the region remains stable. It is crucial to maintain mutual trust during this process."

● 2011년 6월 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설(Fourth Plenary Session - General Liang Guanglie: English Translation)

Quote: "First, in the principle of respect and equality, we should accommodate each other's core interest and major concerns." "Second, in the principle of mutual understanding and trust, we should fully understand each other's strategic intentions." "Third, in the principle of sharing weal and woe, we should not engage in any alliance targeting at a third party." "Fourth, in the principle of openness, inclusiveness, solidarity and cooperation, we welcome all nations' contribution to the security in Asia Pacific." "China adheres to the path of peaceful development. It is committed to common development and common security. The Chinese military's outreach for international security cooperation is not intended to impair the current international system, but to become a player and builder of the system, providing additional public goods to the international community so that the benefit [...] of security could be truly shared by all. The time and tides of the 21st century point to its new reading: military can also be a bond of cooperation, peace and prosperity."



● 2011년 6월 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미국방부장관 연설 후 Q&A(First Plenary Session - Question and Answer Session)

Quote: "[about the conflict in South China Sea] I think the underlying principles apply not just to the US and China, but to all states in terms of the rules of the road and the settlement of disputes through international law. [...] This is an area where ASEAN has taken the lead. There is a 2002 code that could provide the basis for that kind of a dialogue. The key here is to get these relationships and the rules, if you will, ironed out in a way that is agreed to by all parties and that provides a peaceful mechanism for resolving these disputes without increasing tensions." "Finding a mechanism for adjudicating conflicting disputes seems to me to be one of the institutional challenges confronting the entire region. We will be significantly engaged in and supportive of that process, but the reality is it needs the engagement of all the principal players out here as well." "I will bet you \$100 that five years from now, United States influence in this region is as strong if not stronger than it is today."

• 2011년 6월 8일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[about Secretary Campbell's travel in Asia] He's in Surabaya, rather, Indonesia today and tomorrow, June 8th and 9th, to participate in a series of ASEAN-related meetings hosted by the Government of Indonesia. This visit demonstrates long and — or continued strong U.S. support for ASEAN as the region's — or as the lynchpin for the region's emerging regional architecture and Southeast Asia's development and stability. On June 9th, he'll convene a number of bilateral meetings with regional partners. He'll attend a series of multilateral meetings aimed at supporting preparations for the ASEAN-U.S. leaders meeting as well as the East Asia Summit Meeting in November in Indonesia. And just to note that this year marks the United States' first attendance as a member of the EAS, the East Asia Summit."

● 2011년 6월 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설 후 Q&A(Fourth Plenary Session - Question and Answer Sessio-

Quote: "As for the problem of marine safety, I will focus on the South China Sea, since I believe you are not interested in other areas, and they are not so relevant to your question. The South China Sea has always been free for navigation, and it does not belong to any single country. Generally, the South China Sea is maintained for stability."

● 2011년 6월 8일 人民日報 영문판 사설(US should draw lessons from arms race)

Quote: "Although [US] economy has not fully recovered from the recession, there is no doubt that it will maintain a leading position in the military structure of the Asia-Pacific region for a very long time. It should adopt a new mindset and make wise use of its soft and hard power, in order to avoid the same old mistakes it made when seeking global hegemony." "The U.S. policy toward Asia will depend more on the development situation of Asia in the future, unlike in the past when the policy was mainly based on the U.S. global strategy. That means that the United States will need to engage in Asian affairs in a way that Asian countries like." "[...] in the future, it will be Asia that 'shapes' U.S. regional strategies." "Recently, a senior U.S. official warned that China should learn something from the Soviet Union, which broke down economically during its arms race with the United States. However, since China will never seek hegemony, it is the United States that needs to learn something from that period of history."

● **2011년 6월 8일** 人民日報 영문판 사설(Cold War mentality hinders peace in Asia-Pacific)

Quote: "During the forum, Robert Gates jokingly said before defense ministers, senior defense officials and security experts from many countries that he would take a bet with anybody that in five years, the influence of the United States in this region will be just as strong, if not stronger than now. Analysts believe that the United States is seeking to boost the confidence of its Asian allies in an attempt to alleviate their doubts." "[...] despite the positive attitude, the United States still needs to take practical actions. It is difficult for the United States to change its strategy of using the concerns of some countries over China's growing strength to contain China." " Analysts believe that it is imperative to prevent a third party intervention for solving the South China Sea issue. Some experts pointed out that the United States is very likely to ensure its presence in Asia by depending more on military power. However, such Cold War-like mentality may lead to the opposite effect, resulting in increasing unbalance among regional powers and easier outbreak of disputes, which may even bring about internal instability in countries that depend heavily on the American power." "[...] the 'You are with us or against us' statement made by the Bush Administration during the Irag War had led to the split of Europe, and many people in the United States have realized that it does not accord with their interests. Therefore, the United States is unlikely to make same mistake in Asia."



• 2011년 6월 10일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "Well, I can just say that we've been troubled by some of these reports about the South China Sea and don't believe they — believe they only serve to raise tensions and don't help, obviously, with the peace and security of the region. As I think the Secretary said last year in Hanoi, we've got a number of national interests that we share with the international community in the South China Sea, and obviously these incidents in the last couple days raise significant maritime security issues, including the international community's freedom of navigation, unimpeded economic development and commerce, and respect for international law. Our position remains clear. We want to see — we believe that customary international law provides unambiguous guidance on the appropriate use of the maritime domain and rights of access to it. And we support a collaborative, diplomatic process by all claimants to resolve various territorial disputes without coercion, and call on all claimants to conform all of their claims, both land and maritime, to international law."

• 2011년 6월 14일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "We believe that we share a number of national interests with the international community in the South China Sea. We want to see and support a collaborative diplomatic process by all claimants to resolve all the various territorial disputes without coercion, and we call on all claimants to conform all of their claims to international law." "We're prepared to support initiatives that were laid out in the ASEAN-China Declaration to work with the South China Sea claimants to meet shared interests. And I think I'd just say that we're — what we're looking for is a peaceful, collaborative, and diplomatic process to resolve these outstanding claims." "There is this — the ASEAN-China Declaration on the Conduct of Parties of the South China Sea, and we support that and believe that — and encourage parties to reach the full code of contact — or conduct, rather. And we're — as I said, we're prepared to work within ASEAN to begin setting up this kind of collaborative process and to work with the South China Sea claimants directly to resolve some of these claims."

● **2011년 6월 14일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference)

Quote: "Recently, some countries took unilateral actions which impaired China's sovereignty as well as maritime rights and interests and released untrue and irresponsible remarks with the attempt to expand and complicate disputes over the South China Sea. This is where the root-cause lies. China is trying to safeguard its own justified rights and interests instead of infringing other countries' rights and interests. Justice lies in people's hearts. China always maintains to resolve territorial and jurisdictional disputes peacefully through friendly consultation and negotiation between directly-concerned sovereign states rather than resort to force or threat of force."

● 2011년 6월 14일 環球時報 영문판 사설(US intervention in South China Sea daft)

Quote: "Now the US has vowed to take no side in an international dispute. This might be part of what US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton described as 'smart power,' with which the US appears to be reaching out to countries around the South China Sea, while in fact, it is masterminding discontent and resentment among them. The US looks to be the biggest winner from this discord." "In the worst scenario, if a military conflict did occur in the South China Sea, it would be almost impossible for the US to step in and fight China for the two Southeast Asian countries. It is a big mistake for any country to involve itself in the territorial conflicts of others." "US warships will not be willing to attack Chinese counterparts for a third country's interest in the South China Sea or anywhere in the Western Pacific. In the meantime, China will not give up its sovereign rights for the sake of Sino-US relations."

● **2011년 6월 16일 人民日報 영문판 사설**(Intensifying tension not conducive to solving South China Sea dispute)

Quote: "The establishment of this strategic partnership [between China and ASEAN member countries] shows that China is willing to be the good neighbor and good partner to ASEAN and seek common development towards the future and also indicates that the South China Sea has become a dispute between strategic partners. Such a dispute must be solved peacefully by both sides through friendly consultations and China is firmly opposed to countries that have nothing to do with the South China Sea intervening in the dispute and causing it to be an international, multilateral and expanded issue."



● 2011년 6월 21일 미일 안전보장협의위원회 공통전략목표에 관한 공동성명에서 중국 언급(Joint Statement of the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee)

Quote: "Encourage China's responsible and constructive role in regional stability and prosperity, its cooperation on global issues, and its adherence to international norms of behavior, while building trust among the United States, Japan, and China. Improve openness and transparency with respect to China's military modernization and activities and, strengthen confidence building measures." "Promote effective cooperation through open, multilayered regional networks and rule-making mechanisms, including the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting-Plus (ADMM+), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and the East Asia Summit (EAS)."

• 2011년 6월 21일 Gates 미 국방부장관 미일 안보협의회의 후 발언(Remarks With Secretary of Defense Robert Gates; Japanese Foreign Minister Takeaki Matsumoto; and Japanese Defense Minister Toshimi Kitazawa After Their Meeting)

Quote: "As a Pacific power, the U.S. remains committed to maintaining a robust forward presence in East Asia."

● 2011년 6월 21일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "There was quite a bit of discussion this morning in the 2+2 talks not only about U.S.-Japan relations, but about the importance of the U.S. and Japan working together with other regional partners." "With regard to China, there was a strong sense in the room that working together, the U.S. and Japan can continue to encourage China to follow a cooperative and collaborative and transparent path in its relations with other powers in the region, certainly with regard to being more transparent about its military developments, about our policy, our dialogue with regard to freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, and the importance, as we work together, of operating within international norms and standards."

● 2011년 6월 21일 環球時報 영문판 사설(China must react to Vietnam's provocation)

Quote: "Vietnam has been taking risky actions in the South China Sea for some time. It has occupied 29 Chinese islands." "Vietnam is the major advocate of inviting the US into the South China Sea as a 'balance." "Vietnam has been trapped in an unrealistic belief that as long as the US balances out the South China Sea issue, it can openly challenge China's sovereignty, and walk away with huge gains." "The US may add some uncertainty in the South China Sea. China will handle this carefully, and is not likely to engage in a direct confrontation with the US."

● **2011년 6월 23일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "We have noted relevant report [about Japan-US Security Consultative Committee releasing a joint statement saying that China should play a responsible and constructive role in safeguarding regional stability]. Japan-US alliance, as a bilateral arrangement forged under special historical circumstances, should not go beyond its bilateral scope." "China always staunchly advocates and actively promotes regional peace and stability as well as mutually beneficial cooperation. We hope relevant countries respect the fact, adopt a responsible attitude and do more to safeguard regional peace and stability and enhance mutual trust." "[...] it is necessary for [US and China] to initiate a specific consultation channel to facilitate exchange of views on regional situation and respective policies, map out and push forward bilateral cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region and appropriately address relevant differences with a view to promoting sound interactions between China and the US in this region." "China hopes [...] to enhance bilateral communication in Asia-Pacific affairs, strengthen mutual understanding, expand practical cooperation, properly handle differences, jointly promote peace, stability and development of the Asia-Pacific region and advance China-US cooperative partnership."

● 2011년 6월 23일 中國日報 영문판 사설(Cooperation, not threats)

Quote: "The US-Japan joint statement defines the security environment in the Asia-Pacific region as 'increasingly uncertain'. It calls China's growing military capabilities and activities in space, the high seas and cyberspace as challenges the two countries need to address." "Clearly the future interactions between the US, Japan and China will shape the strategic map of Northeast Asia. Cooperation rather than confrontation will be better for all." "The three countries need to create a situation where they can cooperate and coexist and avoid the tragedy of a competition for power."



• 2011년 6월 22일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[regarding Chinese Vice Foreign Minister's remarks that the U.S. should keep out of the South China Sea] Again, I haven't seen his remarks. I haven't had a chance to study how they were — the context in which they were made. We've been clear and consistent on our position about South China Sea. We continue to support a collaborative diplomatic process."

● 2011년 6월 23일 Clinton 미 국무장관 필리핀 외무부장관과 회의 후 발언 (Remarks With Philippines Foreign Secretary Albert del Rosario After Their Meeting)

Quote: "We are concerned that recent incidents in the South China Sea could undermine peace and stability in the region. We urge all sides to exercise self-restraint, and we will continue to consult closely with all countries involved, including our treaty ally, the Philippines." "The United States has a national interest in freedom of navigation, respect for international law, and unimpeded, lawful commerce in the South China Sea." "The United States does not take sides on territorial disputes over land features in the South China Sea, but we oppose the use of force or the threat of force to advance the claims of any party." "The United States supports the 2002 ASEAN China Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, and we encourage the parties to reach agreement on a full code of conduct." "[...] the United States is prepared to support the initiatives led by ASEAN and work with the South China Sea's claimants to meet their concerns."

● **2011년 6월 24일 人民日報 영문판 사설**(China, US launch new win-win cooperation platform)

Quote: "The first round of consultations between China and the United States on Asia-Pacific affairs will be held in Hawaii on June 25." "China and the United States strengthening consultation is conducive to ensure a peaceful interest distribution method of the Asia-Pacific region in the transitory stage and will also help both sides adapt to their exchanges in the new pattern of the future." "The countries seeking to counterbalance China simply aim to use such a balance to maintain regional peace and stability and maximize interests for their development." "The confrontation between China and the United States is harmful to both sides, because it will not only increase the development costs of both sides, but also lead to the loss of security in the region."

● 2011년 6월 25일 中國日報 영문판 사설(For regional peace)

Quote: "The first round of China-US consultations on the Asia-Pacific region, to be held in Honolulu, Hawaii, on Saturday, will help the two countries know more about each other's strategic intentions in the region, reduce misunderstanding and avoid confrontation." "US interference in the South China Sea issue will complicate matters further and create hurdles for the peaceful resolution of the disputes. It is thus important that Beijing use the bilateral consultations as a platform to tell Washington that critical issues such as the one on South China Sea should be resolved through dialogues between parties directly related to the disputes."

● 2011년 6월 28일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>) (US Senate's resolution on South <u>China Sea</u>)

Quote: "The core of the South China Sea issue is sovereign disputes between neighboring countries [...] which shall be addressed through direct negotiation between relevant parties concerned." "Free navigation in the South China Sea has never been affected by the disputes and is out of question." "The US Senate's resolution turns a blind eye to facts, confuses right and wrong, and thus does not hold water. We hope relevant US senators do more for regional peace and stability." "China always emphasizes that the South China Sea dispute, a matter for the directly concerned parties, should be resolved through direct negotiation and friendly consultation by them. We hope the non-parties respect the concerned parties' efforts to settle disputes peacefully through bilateral dialogue. Freedom of navigation in the South China Sea is out of question." "China and the US share important common interests and jointly shoulder major responsibilities in the Asia-Pacific region. We hope that the US will work along with China to promote regional peace, stability and prosperity." "[about the US and the Philippines holding joint military drill in the adjacent waters of the South China Sea] we have noted relevant report. We hope countries concerned do more for regional peace and stability."



● 2011년 6월 26일 Campbell 미 국무부 동아시아태평양 담당 차관보 미중 아시아 태평양 사무협상 후 발언(Press Availability Following the inaugural U.S.-China Asia-Pacific Consultations)

Quote: "The United States began the dialogue by highlighting that it is an Asia-Pacific country with an abiding national interest in peace, stability, and prosperity in the region." "The United States reiterated it welcomes a strong, prosperous, and successful China that plays a greater role in regional and world affairs." "These dialogues enhance cooperation, contribute to better understanding between the United States and China, and promote regional security." "I am not going to say very much more about the South China Sea. We had a — I think a candid and clear discussion about these issues. The United States, again, underscored our strategic principles that guide our approach. We want tensions to subside. We have a strong interest in the maintenance of peace and stability. And we are seeking a dialogue among all the key players."

● 2011년 6월 28일 中國日報 영문판 사설(Bilateral peace efforts)

Quote: "The talks with Vietnam are consistent with China's long-cherished stance that territorial disputes with other countries should be resolved through bilateral negotiations and peaceful means instead of through force or the threat of force." "Although not a claimant to the South China Sea, the United States' repeated statements about the area and that it will honor its treaties with Asian allies may have increased the illusions that the US will take sides against China in maritime disputes."

● **2011년 6월 29일** 中國日報 영문판 사설(Calming troubled waters)

Quote: "[...] in a blatant move to meddle in the issue, the US Senate approved a non-binding resolution on Monday that deplored the so-called use of force by China against Vietnamese and Philippine ships in the South China Sea. China has made clear on many occasions that it has not instigated the current round of tensions in the disputed seas and the US Senate's criticism is ill-founded and only testifies to Washington's growing desire to become more involved in Asia affairs." "Despite Washington's claim that it has a national interest in these troubled waters, it will not go too far over the issue. A direct conflict with Beijing over the dispute would jeopardize its interests in the region and the world at large." "It should be made clear that China's legitimate right over the entire South China Sea is indisputable. Its sovereignty over the maritime territory is in full conformity with international laws." "The disputes should be resolved by the claimant parties themselves through peaceful means. Outside interference will only exacerbate frictions in the region."

2011년 6월 30일 人民日報 영문판 사설(Motives behind US talk of 'freedom of navigation')

Quote: "Despite the long-running dispute, the South China Sea remains one of the world's busiest international shipping lanes, and the freedom of navigation in the sea is not threatened." "[...] all statements that the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea is threatened have been made by the United States tens of thousands of miles away. What are the superpower's motives behind this interesting phenomenon?" "It has been a commonplace that certain countries use all sorts of excuses, such as humanitarian crises, terrorist threats or democracy campaigns to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries." "The war hawks in the Pentagon may take advantage of the territorial dispute and the U.S. security treaties with the Philippines and other East Asian countries to strengthen and adjust its security forces in the region in order to encircle China with strategic alliances. This may cause greater tension or conflict in the South China Sea."



Issue 2. 미중관계 발전방향: 미중 법률전문가대화의 의의, 중국의 평화로운 부상전략

United States China

• 2011년 6월 7일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "And the dialogue — the legal experts' dialogue offers an opportunity to explore key legal issues of mutual interest for both China and the U.S. And, obviously, we're interested in pursuing in-depth discussions on practical cooperation, more practical cooperation, in terms of rule of law. This is in keeping — we talked about the Strategic Dialogue or the — that we have with China." "[...] this is a chance to talk about some of these hard issues and difficulties in a candid way with a broad range of legal experts. It's also an opportunity to share different experiences, both the American and Chinese experience in rule of law. And it's also an opportunity to forge deeper ties, in terms of — so that legal exchange can take place." "I think where we have legitimate human rights concerns, we'll raise them."

● **2011년 6월 2일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference)

Quote: "China and the US, as the largest developing country and developed country in the world, shoulder common responsibility of safeguarding world peace, development and stability. We stand ready to join hands with the US to strengthen dialogue, deepen strategic mutual trust and expand pragmatic cooperation in a bid to further advance China-US relations."

● **2011년 6월 23일 人民日報 영문판 사설**(Three 'nots' characterize China's peaceful rise)

Quote: "The most prominent questions in this regard are 'How did China make such achievement?', 'Can China realize a peaceful rise as it has promised?' and 'What will China do following the peaceful rise?' These questions can be answered using three 'nots." "First, China's peaceful rise is not an easy task." "[...] even the developed countries would find it hard to meet all these 'requirements,' let alone China, which is still a developing country. China needs understanding and support rather than criticism and censure." "Second, China's peaceful rise is not a copy of any other countries' success." "Unique national conditions require China to stick to a growth pattern that fits the country's real development." "Third, China's peaceful rise is not in conflict with the existing international system." "China is not the former Soviet Union and does not attempt to build its own military bloc and expand its influence."

● **2011년 6월 23일 人民日報 영문판 사설**('Convergence of interests' promotes global progress)

Quote: "There are two entirely different approaches to world development. One approach, which has been adopted by the Chinese government and mentioned in Zheng's article, is seeking common ground and creating communities of interest." "Despite considerable friction with the Western world, China has made unprecedented progress in cooperating with other countries in the past 30 years, especially with Western countries." "There is also another approach, which is highlighting differences in the current international relations. Once they find other countries that have different views, certain countries always want to change the way other countries think, and those countries that do not obey will be punished. The Afghanistan War, the Iraq War and the ongoing war in Libya are all results of this approach. The result of highlight differences is that the world's various conflicts have become even more intense, which increases the difficulty of solving problems." "[...] the common interests of various countries worldwide are more important than differences on the whole."



Issue 3. 경제협력: 미국의 중국에 대한 세계무역기구 국제규범 이행 촉구, 중국의 아프리카 경제지원 정책에 대한 미국의 우려, 개발원조문제에 있어 미·중 협력의 중요성, 미국 부채 문제에 대한 중국의 입장, 위안화 절상 문제와 세계경제 리밸런싱에 대한 중국의 입장

United States China

• 2011년 6월 7일 Ron Kirk 미 무역대표부 대표 발언(China Ends Wind Power Equipment Subsidies Challenged by the United States in WTO Dispute)

Quote: "The United States is pleased that China has shut down this subsidy program. Subsidies requiring the use of local content are particularly harmful and are expressly prohibited under WTO rules. This outcome helps ensure fairness for American clean technology innovators and workers. We challenged these subsidies so that American manufacturers can produce wind turbine components here in the United States and sell them in China. That supports well-paying jobs here at home." "The United States would prefer not to resort to WTO challenges but we will do so to hold China accountable and to enforce the rules on illegal subsidies. Even as we announce our success in this dispute, it is past time for China to be transparent about its subsidy programs, and that includes meeting its notification obligations like other WTO Members. China is the second largest trader at the WTO, and it is simply not acceptable that China continues to evade its transparency commitments."

• 2011년 6월 10일 Clinton 미 국무장관 잠비아 대통령과 발언(Remarks With Zambian President Rupiah Banda)

Quote: "China's presence in Africa reflects the reality that it has important and growing interests here on the continent, including access to resources and markets, as well as developing closer diplomatic ties. The United States does not see the Chinese interest as inherently incompatible with our own interest. [...] we do not see China's rise as a zero-sum game. We hope that it will become successful in its own economic efforts on behalf of the Chinese people, and that it will assume a greater and more responsible role in addressing global challenges. Now, we are, however, concerned that as China's foreign assistance and investment practices in Africa have not always been consistent with generally accepted international norms of transparency and good governance, and that it has not always utilized the talents of the African people in pursuing its business interests." "We want to work more closely with China and other countries to make sure that, when we are engaged with Africa, we are doing it in a sustainable manner that will benefit the nations and people of Africa. And therefore, we have begun a dialogue with China about its activities in Africa."

● **2011년 6월 1일 人民日報 영문판 사설**(America's dogfight over debt woes worsening)

Quote: "The dogfight between the two major US political parties on whether to raise the federal deficit ceiling and avoid a default on American debts has just begun." China, now holding more than 8 percent, or nearly \$1.2 trillion US Treasury bonds, is certainly concerned about the quagmire, as the security of the debts repayment is on the line. Currently, Chinese online chat-rooms are awash with ordinary people's demands for Beijing to draw down its purchase of American debts, and shift to other securer investments including buying more oil and resources as strategic reserves." "[...] it is politically perilous for both Democrats and Republicans to tell Americans to tighten belts. It is hard for Americans to get rid of their habit of lavish spending and saving less."

● 2011년 6월 2일 中國日報 영문판 사설(Confusing US Openness)

Quote: "[...] it can be difficult to fathom whether Washington really wants to cooperate with Beijing or treat it as a rival. Discrimination against China, under the excuse of defending the US' national interests and national security, disproves the self-declared openness of the US market and reveals the psyche of those in the US who project China's development as a threat rather than an opportunity for greater cooperation."

● **2011년 6월 7일 人民日報 영문판 사설**(Asia should play bigger role in fixing world economy)

Quote: "It is impossible for the United States to reduce its current account deficit as long as its trade partners on the other side of the Pacific Basin are unwilling or unable to reduce their current account surpluses, as external balance is collectively a zero-sum game. East Asia needs to consume more and save less, just as the U.S. needs to consume less and save more, which means that the U.S. and East Asia need to export more and import more, respectively." "Exchange-rate misalignment lies at the crux of the imbalance issue. Rebalancing warrants exchange-rate realignment, especially between the U.S. dollar and the Chinese yuan." "While China will not succumb to external pressure, gentle persuasion by East Asian countries in the spirit of regional cooperation may yield positive results. If this does not work, East Asian partners may have no choice but to peg their currencies to the yuan so as not to lose out." "Neither the U.S. nor the EU would champion the cause of global free trade, given their high unemployment at home. Obviously, it is a proper time for Asia to take on a leadership role on the global stage."



● 2011년 6월 12일 Clinton 미 국무장관 Radio Free Africa와의 인터뷰(Interview With Baruani Muhuza of Radio Free Africa)

Quote: "[...] we do not see the Chinese commercial and diplomatic interest in Africa as inherently in conflict with U.S. interest." "But I have raised questions about ensuring that as any company, whether it's an American company or a Chinese company or an Indian or a Brazilian — any company that does business in Africa I hope adheres to the highest standards of how workers are treated, how the environment is protected, how the benefits from the investments are not just going to the elites in countries but more broadly spread across the population." "We learned that in one country we were building a hospital, and China was building a road, but neither of us knew what the other was doing, so the road did not lead to the hospital. So we think that if we better coordinate and share information what we are doing could perhaps be of more benefit to the people of the countries in which we are working." "And I think there are many ways that there are international standards that should be adopted, for example, in extractive industries, in mining, in agriculture, so that all companies from all countries are held to a high standard that will benefit Africa. We don't want to see a new form of colonialism in 21st century Africa."

● **2011년 6월 9일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "[...] we hope the US will adopt effective measures to improve the fiscal and financial situation of the US, safeguard the stability of the global financial market and promote a stable, sound development of the global economy."

● **2011년 6월 14일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "[about US Secretary of State Clinton's remarks concerning China-Africa cooperation] Both China and African countries suffered from colonial invasion and oppression in history. We know for the best what is colonialism as well as the significance of respect and equality. China fully respects the rights of African countries to choose their development paths independently and never imposes its own will on them. Our assistance to Africa is not attached with any political strings and we conduct cooperation with African countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and common development." "We hope relevant parties regard China-Africa cooperation in an objective and just manner." "The international community should pay attention to and accommodate Africa's desire of developing and resolving regional issues on its own."

● 2011년 6월 14일 中國日報 영문판 사설(Africa ties benefit both)

Quote: "The US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton warned Africa on Friday that China is embarking on 'new colonialism' by extracting the continent's natural resources to enrich its development interests, and she help up the US as an alternative." "China has never colonized any nation in Africa. On the contrary, it is well known to African people and the world that China has helped Africa build many schools, hospitals and other infrastructure [...]" "In fact many African countries regard Chinese investment as an opportunity and welcome Beijing's consistent policy of noninterference in domestic affairs." "The relationship between China and Africa is a new strategic partnership [...] which has nothing to do with neocolonialism."

● **2011년 6월 16일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "China firmly presses ahead with the reform of RMB exchange rate regime. A great many facts have proven that RMB exchange rate is not the major cause of China-US trade imbalance. We urge relevant US congressmen to realize the significance of China-US economic relations and trade and not to seek pretexts to impose protectionism on China so as to avoid hurting overall China-US economic and trade cooperation."



Issue 4. 미중 군사안보협력 : 중국 군사력 증가와 미국의 우려, 상하이 협력기구에 대한 미국의 의구심과 이에 대한 중국의 입장, 북대서양조약기구 역할에 대한 중국의 비판, 미국의 아프간 철군에 대한 중국의 입장

United States China

• 2011년 6월 2일 Gates 미 국방부장관 샹그릴라 대화 전 발언(Media Availability with Secretary Gates en route to Singapore)

Quote: "I think that their military modernization is proceeding apace. They are clearly working on capabilities that are of concern to us in terms of denial of access, particularly with respect to our aircraft carriers, the development of long-range accurate cruise and ballistic anti-ship missiles." "I think the Chinese have learned a powerful lesson from the Soviet experience and they do not intend to try and compete with us across the full range of military capabilities. But I think they are intending to build capabilities that give them considerable freedom of action in Asia and the opportunity to extend their influence." "[...] there is value in a continuing dialogue by the two sides of just exactly what our concerns are, what our issues are, and how we might alleviate the concerns on both sides." "We are not trying to hold China down. China has been a great power for thousands of years. It is a global power and will be a global power."

● 2011년 6월 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미국방부장관 연설(First Plenary Session - Dr Robert Gates)

Quote: "[...] as Secretary of Defense, I have made it a priority to build military-to-military ties with China, which have steadily improved in recent months. Last January, I had a very positive visit to China, and just a few weeks ago our Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mullen, hosted General Chen, Chief of the PLA General Staff, for a week-long visit to the US, where General Chen was shown a number of different US military installations. It is always my pleasure to meet again with General Liang, and we are very pleased to see him here at the Shangri-La Dialogue."

● 2011년 6월 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미국방부장관 연설 후 Q&A(First Plenary Session - Question and Answer Session)

Quote: "[with regard to China feeling intimidated about US military activities in China's vicinity] I think that the key here begins with one word, and that is transparency. The more transparent nations are in terms of what they are doing, what their intentions are and what their programs are, then in many instances, the less need there is for us to unilaterally attempt to figure that out on our own. Long ago one of my colleagues in the intelligence business said that there are two kinds of information that we seek: secrets and mysteries. Mostly, what we are trying to break are the mysteries. I think that greater transparency of intent and greater transparency of capabilities, which we are fully prepared to reciprocate, will help us in this arena."

● 2011년 6월 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설 후 Q&A(Fourth Plenary Session - Question and Answer Session)

Quote: "We are all positive and optimistic about the military relations between the two countries [US and China] and all have the stance that we should further strengthen our cooperation on national defense, promote the development of military relations between the two countries, and make continuous achievements." "As required for national defense and security, China has to properly develop its national defense power to protect its territory and territorial waters against any invasion, safeguard the development of our socialist undertakings, and guarantee that our people can lead a good life. The development of national defense in China corresponds to the development of the national economy." "Many people have deemed the development of China in its economy and national defense as threats to other countries; however, that is not the choice of China. As I just said, we did not seek hegemony in the past, nor now or in the future, when we developed. Therefore, our developments do not cause any major threat to any country, and we have never attempted to pose any threat to any country." "[...] there is still a big gap between the military hardware of China and that of developed or relatively developed countries."

● **2011년 6월 16일 人民日報 영문판 사설**(<u>Shanghai Cooperation Organization not Asia's NATO</u>)

Quote: "The Christian Science Monitor even questioned whether Russia and China intended to form the 'NATO of the East' to rival NATO. Some American scholars on the Central Asia issue also believed that the Shanghai Cooperation Organization is attempting to urge Central Asian countries to oust the military bases established by the United States in Central Asia in order to prevent the establishment of a U.S.-led security mechanism in Central Asia." "These views reflect the mindset of the United States that it is unwilling to allow other countries to challenge its position as the 'world police!"The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is not and will not develop into a military alliance." "It should be noted that the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's military cooperation is only aimed at combating terrorism and maintaining regional peace and stability."



2011년 6월 16일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[about creating a Syria resolution at the Security Council] We're working very hard in New York with UN Security Council members. I would simply say, to Russia and China, they are presumably seeing the same pictures that we are seeing, that you are seeing, and we hope that they increasingly draw the conclusion that it is time for UN action."

● 2011년 6월 26일 Campbell 미 국무부 동아시아태평양 담당 차관보 미중 아시아 태평양 사무협상 후 발언(Press Availability Following the inaugural U.S.-China Asia-Pacific Consultations)

Quote: "I think what we tried to communicate in our discussions with our Chinese friends is that their military expansion, their military capabilities have raised concerns in the region, and that greater transparency and more dialogue will help ease those concerns."

● 2011년 6월 16일 人民日報 영문판 사설(Will NATO become a 'paper tiger'?)

Quote: "U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates recently said during a speech at NATO headquarters in Brussels that the military operation against the Libyan government has exposed the alliance's two major shortcomings: the lack of military capabilities and weak political will." "[NATO']s performance during the past 20 years has made the United States, its 'initiator' and 'big boss,' disappointed." "Certain members have enjoyed NATO's security guarantee but failed to take their share of responsibility in common defense." "NATO, as the world's largest political and military group, faces a crisis that is far from a matter of life and death, and the criticism and accusations of the United States are only aimed at making NATO more consistent with its own global strategic interests."

● **2011년 6월 23일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates recently said during a speech at NATO We always call for respect for the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan." "We hope relevant parties earnestly assume responsibility during the transfer of security power to Afghanistan, help Afghanistan build up its security capacity so as to ensure a peaceful and stable transition."

● **2011년 6월 24일** 中國日報 영문판 사설(Beginning of the end)

Quote: "[...] the decision to withdraw US forces from Afghanistan has been timed to hopefully win Obama more support from voters." "The US may have won the war in terms of having toppled the Taliban regime, but given the fragility of the government in Afghanistan and its inability to provide basic social order and security and the danger of a Taliban resurgence, it may lose the peace. So, the US still has a long way to go before it can shrug off its responsibilities in Afghanistan." "Afghanistan, in the foreseeable future, will still be an important part of the US global strategy, where it is an ideal location for the US to maintain a political and military foothold in Central Asia."

● **2011년 6월 27일 人民日報 영문판 사설**(Obama's speech marks seismic strategic shift in Afghanistan) (President Obama's speech on Afghanistan)

Quote: "It is only a fantasy to establish a 'Western democracy' in Afghanistan." "The second is gaining the Afghan people's support." "Therefore, finding a low-cost way to 'stay' has become the inevitable choice of the United States." "[...] the conclusion can be drawn that the United States seems to have begun the 'exit strategy,' but is actually trying every means to maintain and consolidate its interests in Afghanistan and to continue its military presence in the country for a long time to come. [...] The strong U.S. influence in Afghanistan has not diminished."



Issue 5. 인권문제: 미국의 중국에 대한 보편적 인권 존중 촉구, 리비아 사태 해결에 관한 미중의 입장, 미국의 중국내 정치범 석방 요구와 이에 대한 중국의 반발, Bashir 수단 대통령의 방중에 대한 미국의 입장

United States China

2011년 6월 3일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "The United States joins others in the international community in urging China to release all those still serving sentences for participating in the peaceful protests. We ask the Chinese Government to provide the fullest possible accounting of those killed, detained, or missing and to cease the ongoing harassment of those who participated in the demonstrations and the families of the victims. We encourage China to protect the universal human rights of all its citizens, including those who peacefully express political views. We also renew our call for the release of all those detained, forcibly disappeared, or placed under house arrest in recent months as China has taken actions that are inconsistent with universally recognizable rights — recognized rights."

• 2011년 6월 7일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[about China never urging Qadhafi to step down] there's a UN mediator on this issue, and we believe that should be the focus of efforts to mediate the conflict there. That said, China and the rest of the international community continue to look with concern upon the situation in Libya, and we're trying to find a way forward, but I think what's really important is the red lines that Qadhafi is illegitimate as a leader, and therefore he must step down and — before that democratic transition can take place."

• 2011년 6월 16일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[about China hosting President Bashir of Sudan] China shares our interest in peace in Sudan." "We just hope that they use the opportunity of having him in town to make strong points to him about the future of his country and the importance of peace."

● **2011년 6월 7일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "China stands ready to work along with the international community to push for a political settlement of the Libyan crisis. China calls on all relevant parties to cease fire immediately and resolve the crisis through political means. The future of Libya shall be determined by the Libyan people themselves, and China respects their independent choice. We hope that relevant parties in Libya will accord priority to the interests of the country and its people."

● **2011년 6월 9일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "China believes that the future of Libya shall be determined by the Libyan people themselves." "China respects the independent choice of the Libyan people and believes that Libya's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity should be respected."

● **2011년 6월 11일 人民日報 영문판 사설**(<u>China backs peaceful solution to Libya</u> crisis)

Quote: "China believes that the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Libya should be respected and the Libyan people's independent choice should be respected. We are opposed to any action that is beyond the resolution of the U.N. Security Council."

● **2011년 6월 16일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference)

Quote: "China is willing to play a positive role in promoting peace and reconciliation of Sudan as well as the overall implementation of Comprehensive Peace Agreement and safeguarding regional peace and stability." "We believe the future of Libya should be decided by the Libyan people and China respects their independent choice."



• 2011년 6월 22일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[...] but we've long called for his [Ai Weiwei] release and we continue to urge for the — urge the release of all persons who've been detained for exercising their internationally recognized human rights." "Look, it would always be — it's always a good thing when such an individual, as we said, who's only in prison for exercising their — his internationally recognized human rights is released. But there's obviously more individuals who've — who are being held, so we want to see and urge – we want to see a release of all these people."

• 2011년 6월 27일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[about China hosting President Bashir of Sudan] We continue to oppose invitations, facilitations, support for travel by ICC indictees. We have a longstanding policy of strongly urging other nations to do the same. We have urged China to join the international community in its call for Sudan to cooperate fully with the ICC as required by UNSC 1593."

● **2011년 6월 21일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference)

Quote: "China has also made extensive efforts to work on various parties in the UN Security Council and on other multilateral occasions, contributing positively to promoting peace talks and easing the situation in the Abyei area, which has been welcomed and applauded by relevant parties. China is ready to work with the international community to continue to play a positive and constructive role in the North-South peace process of Sudan." "China is not a party to the Rome Statute and has reservations about the International Criminal Court's prosecution of President Bashir. It is above criticism that we invite the head of state of a country having normal diplomatic relations with China."

● 2011년 6월 23일 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "Foreign Minister Yang pointed out that China has no desire for private interests in the Libyan issue and believes that, in the final analysis, it is Libya's internal affairs and the future of Libya shall be determined by the Libyan people themselves independently."

● **2011년 6월 24일** 環球時報 영문판 사설(Ai's release not to do with foreign pressure)

Quote: "Just as when Ai Weiwei was arrested by the police, his release has triggered speculation among Western media about the political implications of this case. [...] Western media have preferred to see this as a result of political pressure from Western governments and human rights groups." "The Western critics care nothing about what laws Ai and other 'political dissidents' may have broken." "However, what the West has been doing is sheer political interference." "They are trying to raise the flag of Western ideology above China's judicial system. They wish for Chinese judges to only recite US and EU political lines." "But China will hold its judicial sovereignty in its own hands."

● **2011년 6월 28일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference)

Quote: "China is not a state party of the Rome Statute and has serious reservations about ICC's lawsuit against President Bashir. Over the years, President Bashir visited many countries and was warmly received. As the leader of a country that enjoys friendship with China, President Bashir is also welcomed in China." "[President Bashir's visit] will further advance China-Sudan traditional friendship, promote the North-South peace process in Sudan as well as the resolution of the Darfur issue."



Issue 6. 북한문제: 북한문제 해결에 관한 미중의 입장, 중국내 북한이탈주민 문제, 북한의 추가도발 억제를 위한 중국의 노력, 6자 회담 재개에 대한 미중의 입장, 남북관계 개선을 위한 미중의 입장

United States China

• 2011년 6월 1일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[...] we've been pretty consistent about saying that North Korea needs to improve North-South relations and demonstrate a change in behavior before we can move forward, and this includes ceasing provocative actions. But also I talked about its belligerent behavior, and the sinking of the *Cheonan* would certainly be evidence of that." "I would just say that it's more of the same we're hearing, more of the same rhetoric that we've heard before from North Korea, and it's not getting us any closer to improving those North-South relations. And so that would help move this process forward."

● 2011년 6월 2일 King 미 국무부 대북인권특사 북한인권법안 관련 발언 (Implementation of the North Korean Human Rights Act)

Quote: "We continue to urge China to adhere to its obligations as a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, including by not expelling or forcibly returning North Koreans who should be protected under those treaties. The United States is further troubled by the lack of access afforded to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to North Koreans, particularly in Northeast China, and we continue to urge the Chinese to cooperate with UNHCR in exercising its functions, including allowing access to North Korean asylum seekers."

• 2011년 6월 3일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[about North Korea issuing a strong military threat against South Korea] I just would say that it's obviously not the kind of behavior that we're looking forward — looking for from North Korea. We've said that many times, that we're looking for a more — we're looking for North Korea to put its relations with South Korea on a more positive track, and that's clearly not in keeping with that."

● **2011년 6월 2일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference)

Quote: "China always upholds and promotes dialogue and contact between all relevant parties as well as peaceful resolutions of Korean Peninsula issues. We hope the DPRK and the ROK reconcile and cooperate with each other so as to improve relations and appropriately address their respective concerns through dialogue and consultation, in a bid to jointly safeguard peace and stability of the Peninsula."

● 2011년 6월 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설(Fourth Plenary Session - General Liang Guanglie: English Translation)

Quote: "China actively promotes the Six Party Talks for handling the DPRK nuclear issue towards a denuclearized, peaceful and stable Korean Peninsula. At present, China is actively working with all parties concerned for an early resumption of the talks."

● 2011년 6월 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설 후 Q&A(Fourth Plenary Session - Question and Answer Session)

Quote: "We will try our best to communicate with South Korea and Japan, as well as North Korea. I can be very frank with you that what we have done in communications with North Korea is much more than you imagine, including the work of our representatives to the Six-Party Talks, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the leaders of our country. We have been advising North Korea, via different channels, not to take the risk."



● 2011년 6월 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미국방부장관 연설 후 Q&A(First Plenary Session - Question and Answer Session)

Quote: "One of the worries we have dealt with [...] both with our friends in the Republic of Korea and also in our dialogues with our Chinese friends and other members of the group of six, is the danger of unpredictable escalation in the event of another provocation. I believe that we all need to work much harder in terms of trying to prevent that from happening." "[...] when it comes to the Six-Party Talks there is this cycle on [the] part of North Korea where they will create a provocation, there will be a great deal of strain and a great deal of international pressure will be brought to bear for negotiations, negotiations with concessions will be undertaken which will move on for a while and then the cycle will begin again. My response at that time is that I am tired of buying the same horse twice." "[...] I think the time has come to make some long-term judgments and some long-term decisions in terms of how the international community deals with North Korea and the expectations we have of North Korean behaviours, so that the kind of belligerence and frankly unprovoked belligerence that we see from time to time is constrained."

- 2011년 6월 10일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

 Quote: "Well, we've said all along that we believe the next steps need to be improved dialogue between North and South Korea. Obviously, China's an important interlocutor in this regard, and I think [Secretary Campbell]'s just asking them to use their influence to get his process moving."
- 2011년 6월 21일 Clinton 미 국무장관 미일 안보협의회의 후 발언(Remarks With Secretary of Defense Robert Gates; Japanese Foreign Minister Takeaki Matsumoto; and Japanese Defense Minister Toshimi Kitazawa After Their Meeting)

 Quote: "On North Korea, we remain committed to deterring further provocative behaviors by North Korea, supporting a North-South dialogue, and promoting the com-

plete and peaceful denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula."

● 2011년 6월 26일 Campbell 미 국무부 동아시아태평양 담당 차관보 미중 아시아 태평양 사무협상 후 발언(Press Availability Following the inaugural U.S.-China Asia-Pacific Consultations)

Quote: "Obviously, the United States stated very clearly our consistent position with respect to developments on the Korean Peninsula. We are looking for concrete progress in North-South relations, and we believe that that is a critical first step towards a larger engagement with North Korea, with respect to a whole host of issues, with the Six-Party Talks and elsewhere." "We have asked, again, for China to take critical steps to urge North Korea to reach out and to deal responsibly and appropriately with South Korea, and to refrain from any further provocations."

● **2011년 6월 9일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "China believes that dialogue and negotiation is the only way out for the Korean Peninsula issue. All relevant parties should keep in touch with each other, advance in parallel bilateral and multilateral dialogues, resume the Six-Party Talks, jointly safeguard peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula and press ahead with the denuclearization process. We hope all parties make joint and positive efforts to that end for their own fundamental interests."

● **2011년 6월 28일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "China always maintains close communication and coordination with all relevant parties on the situation of the Korean Peninsula, making joint efforts to safeguard its peace and stability and promote denuclearization. China sincerely hopes that the Peninsula will maintain peace and stability and opposes any action that runs in the opposite direction. We hope to work along with all relevant parties to actively promote contact, dialogue and consultation, and advance in parallel bilateral and multilateral dialogues in a bid to resume the Six-Party Talks as soon as possible."



• 2011년 6월 28일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "We want to see an improvement in the North-South relationship, and then we want to get back to the Six-Party Talks, as is appropriate." "[...] we are using our influence with China to get messages to North Korea and directly that both sides need to work on improving relations."

Issue 7. 대만문제: 대만관계법과 미국의 의무

United States

● 2011년 6월 2일 Gates 미 국방부장관 샹그릴라 대화 전 발언(Media Availability with Secretary Gates en route to Singapore)

Quote: "Well, we do have obligations under the Taiwan Relations Act. And we have this discussion in virtually every meeting that we have with the Chinese. I would say that I think under both the Bush and Obama administrations, we have tried to thread the needle pretty carefully in terms of Taiwan's defensive capabilities, but at the same time being aware of China's sensitivities. I think both administrations have done this very thoughtfully and very carefully. By the same token, there is — just as the Chinese are very open with us about their concerns, we are also open with them about our obligations."



Issue 8. 사이버안보 문제: 구글의 중국발 이메일 해킹 주장에 대한 미·중의 입장, 미국의 "가방 안의 인터넷" 프로그램에 대한 중국의 비판, 미국의 사이버공간 전장 선언에 대한 중국의 비판, "Online Blue Army" 에 대한 중국의 입장

United States China

• 2011년 6월 2일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "But again, these are — okay, these are alleged hackings. The FBI is investigating it. Google has come out publicly and acknowledged that these — that this has happened or that — made these allegations. They're investigating it. But let's be clear that right now the FBI has the lead. We are obviously very much aware of the seriousness of the situation. I think the Secretary spoke more broadly this morning about that it underscores why cyber security is such a pressing issue and why we've got Chris Painter in place to look at these issues across the government and indeed internationally. But in terms of this specific case, the FBI has got the lead in investigating it and Google's also looking into it, but we'll wait to see what comes out of that." "[...] but that doesn't necessarily say that it was state-sponsored."

● 2011년 6월 2일 Clinton 미 국무장관 체코 외무부장관과 회의 후 발언(Remarks With Czech Foreign Minister Karel Schwarzenberg After Their Meeting)

Quote: "[...] we are obviously very concerned about Google's announcement regarding a campaign that the company believes originated in China to collect the passwords of Google email account holders. Google informed the State Department of this situation yesterday in advance of its public announcement. These allegations are very serious. We take them seriously, we're looking into them, and because this will be an ongoing investigation, I would refer you to first Google for any details that they are able to share at this time and to the FBI, which will be conducting the investigation."

● **2011년 6월 2일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "The Chinese Government attaches great importance to cyber security and administrates the Internet in accordance with law. We require the netizens to abide by relevant laws and regulations when using the Internet and computer networks. The Chinese Government staunchly opposes and fights in accordance with law any criminal activity including hacking that may cause damage to the Internet and computer networks. Hacker attack is an international issue, to which China also falls victim. The allegation that China is behind the hacker attack is a complete fabrication out of ulterior motives."

- 2011년 6월 3일 環球時報 영문판 사설(Info transparency best way to dispel doubt)
 Quote: "If Google is serious about phishing committed from China, it needs to finish the story, such as how the company detected and traced the hackers and how it verified their identity. It is not surprising that an Internet service giant like Google encounters tons of clandestine intrusions by unknown hackers all over the world." "Even if a hacker is based in China, he is not necessarily a perpetrator in the pay of Chinese authorities." "In terms of hacker technology, China has lagged behind the West for over a decade. The nation is a major victim of Internet invasions." "It takes time to achieve information transparency. However, China should firmly aim in this direction. It is natural that a power as big as China makes a few mistakes and has some flaws."
- 2011년 6월 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설(Fourth Plenary Session - General Liang Guanglie: English Translatio-의

Quote: "The Chinese government attaches importance on cyber security and stands firmly against all kinds of cyber crimes. We believe that security cooperation in areas mentioned above should balance rights with responsibilities, capabilities with obligations. No double standard shall be adopted. Even less, shall it be politicized and thus utilized by any country to press another for its own good."



● 2011년 6월 4일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 첫번째 총회에서 Gates 미국방부장관 연설 후 Q&A(First Plenary Session - Question and Answer Session)

Quote: "We take the cyber threat very seriously and we see it from a variety of sources, not just one or another country. The truth of the matter is: I think all countries should see the cyber threat as a potential problem for them. One of the things that I have been trying to get going over the last four and a half years is to examine this world of cyber in the context of defense responsibilities, and what in fact does constitute an offensive act by a government." "One of the things that would be beneficial would be for there to be a more open dialogue among countries about cyber, establishing some rules of the road with respect to cyber, so that we have a clear understanding of the left and right lanes, if you will, so that somebody does not inadvertently or intentionally begin something that escalates and gets out of control."

● 2011년 6월 5일 국제전략연구소 샹그릴라 대화 4번째 총회에서 梁光烈 중국 국방부 부장 연설 후 Q&A(Fourth Plenary Session - Question and Answer Session)

Quote: "Once, when asking Mr Gates a question, a reporter said that they were attacked by China over the network. Mr Gates gave a wonderful answer, and I fully agree with his opinion. 'Such threats do not come from any specific country. Don't give out incorrect information.' China also frequently receives attacks over the network, and we don't know where such attacks come from, whether they are from the west, the east, the south, or the north. That is why we should have a set of uniform rules and measures so that we can coordinate to maintain good network security conditions and guarantee our economic and social development."

● **2011년 6월 9일** 洪磊 중 외교부 대변인 정례 기자회견(<u>Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei's Regular Press Conference</u>)

Quote: "Google claimed that it was attacked by hackers from China. It could have by all means reported the case to China's public security authorities or resorted to relevant China-US law enforcement cooperation mechanism. However, Google chooses to play up the 'incident' in this way. Doesn't it just indicate Google's ulterior motives?"

● 2011년 6월 10일 人民日報 영문판 사설(Google, what do you want?)

Quote: "Google claimed on its official blog on June 1 that the personal Gmail accounts of hundreds of users, including senior U.S. government officials, journalists and Chinese human rights activists, suffered phishing attacks originating from Jinan, China. In fact, this is not the first time that Google has slandered China." "This time, in order to cater to the West's stereotyped image of China, Google listed 'Chinese human rights activists' as victims, insinuating that the Chinese government was behind the cyber attacks although once again it did not provide any solid proof to support its statement. The conclusion is therefore reached that Google's accusation is groundless and bears ulterior motives." "It is worth noting that according to the International Strategy for Cyberspace recently released by the U.S. Department of Defense, the United States classified that network intrusions may provoke a military response. Many international experts said that Google's allegations carry strong political overtones. It is possible that Google is trying to spark off disputes between China and the United States over cyber security, making China an experimental subject of the U.S. global cyberspace strategy."

● 2011년 6월 17일 中國日報 영문판 사설(Subversion in a suitcase)

Quote: "The exploitation of online technology by the United States for an invisible battle against target governments could challenge international relations as country borders are cast into shadow." "[T]he technology the US is providing opposition forces in their bid to overthrow their legitimate governments is contrary to the stated aims of US foreign policy." "Secretly developed by the US government, this new technology is a weapon in a covert cyber war intended to maintain the US global dominance."



● 2011년 6월 22일 국무부 정례 브리핑(State Department Daily Press Briefing)

Quote: "[...] there were some allegations made by Google a few weeks ago. We believe that there's an investigation into some of those allegations, and I'll leave it at that."

● **2011년 6월 17일 人民日報 영문판 사설(**US' covert Internet plan is for subversion)

Quote: "The US is sponsoring projects, such as the creation of secretive cell phone networks inside foreign countries and an 'Internet in a suitcase' program, which will allow users to connect to independent wireless networks. These new networks will allow opposition forces to circumvent government control of electronic communications in countries such as Iran and Libya." "As usual, freedom of speech and democracy are the high-sounding rhetoric the US uses when selling its suitcase project or 'shadow Internet'. The US State Department has carefully framed its support of such projects as promoting free speech and human rights, but it is clear that the policy is aimed at destabilizing national governments." "It could plant the seeds of instability in countries that have governments that are not to the US' liking." "It could also be used as a tool to collect secrets from other countries." "Secretly developed by the US government, this new technology is a weapon in a covert cyber war intended to maintain the US' global dominance."

● **2011년 6월 21일** 中國日報 영문판 사설(Common Cyberspace)

Quote: "By defining cyberspace as a new domain in warfare and introducing military deterrence to it, the US is turning cyberspace into a cyber battlefield. These documents [the International Strategy for Cyberspace] raise concerns that the US will give itself new pretext to resort to different means of intervention against other states' sovereignty. The 'Internet freedom' proposed by this strategy can also be used as a foreign policy tool by the US to export its values and support online dissidents or activists to 'peacefully' realize regime changes." "Unchecked power will be abused whether in the real world or a virtual one. The world cannot count on the US and its cyber forces to serve as an impartial arbiter in cyberspace."

● 2011년 6월 28일 人民日報 영문판 사설(Why China Established 'Online Blue Army')

Quote: "China's 'Online Blue Army' is merely a name used for military training that serves as precautionary measures to cope with online attacks." "[...] compared with online military units of Western countries, China's 'Online Blue Army' is currently at its fledging period, and is more like an online maneuver mode than an organic, large-scale online army." "China is only a computer 'user,' and China's Internet security is very fragile. Therefore, it is very necessary for China to establish Internet security forces under such circumstances. However, some Western media suspected that the China's Online Blue Army is actually 'hackers' after China's military confirmed the existence of this 'Online Blue Army." "[...] in regard to the intent, the Online Blue Army bears the glorious mission of protecting national Internet security, while hackers are aimed at wantonly attacking other computers with computer viruses."



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