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LUCAS LEITE RANGEL DE PONTES

**ANÁLISE DO IMPACTO DO ESTILO DE LIDERANÇA DO
PRESIDENTE DONALD TRUMP NA POLÍTICA EXTERNA DE
WASHINGTON PARA PYONGYANG**

JOÃO PESSOA

2021

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Dissertação apresentada à Banca Examinadora do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais da Universidade Federal da Paraíba, como requisito parcial para obtenção do título de Mestre em Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais.

Área de concentração: Relações Internacionais.

Orientadora: Prof.^a Dra. Mariana Pimenta Oliveira Baccarini.

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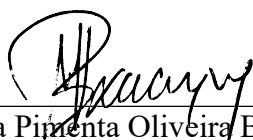
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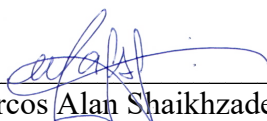
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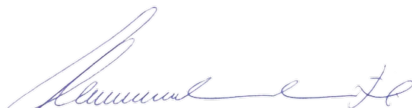
BANCA EXAMINADORA



Prof.ª Dra. Mariana Pimenta Oliveira Baccarini (Orientadora)
Universidade Federal da Paraíba



Prof. Dr. Marcos Alan Shaikhzadeh Vahdat Ferreira
Universidade Federal da Paraíba (Membro interno)



Prof. Dr. Alexandre César Cunha Leite
Universidade Estadual da Paraíba (Membro externo)

JOÃO PESSOA

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Deleite-se no Senhor, e ele atenderá aos
desejos do seu coração. (Salmo 37:4)

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RESUMO

Introdução: É possível extrair características pessoais do presidente Donald Trump analisando o conteúdo de suas entrevistas? A partir dessas características pessoais é possível esboçar um estilo de liderança e conhecer a sua influência no processo de tomada de decisões na política externa? **Objetivos:** A presente pesquisa analisa as características pessoais e a influência do estilo de liderança de Donald Trump no processo de tomada de decisão na política externa dos Estados Unidos da América. **Método:** As características pessoais e o estilo de liderança do presidente serão estudados sob a ótica do modelo de análise de traços de liderança sugerido por Hermann (2005a; 2005b; 2005c). 155 respostas espontâneas a entrevistas dispostas pelos quatro anos do mandato presidencial foram criptografadas e em seguida checadas no software ProfilesPlus – LTA Classic, extraindo-se pontuações do líder em sete traços (crença no controle de eventos, necessidade de poder, desconfiança, autoconfiança, complexidade conceitual, viés intragrupo e foco em tarefas) que, sistematizados conforme o modelo de análise de traços de liderança, respondem a três questionamentos centrais no esboço do estilo de liderança: o líder respeita ou desafia restrições?; o líder é aberto ou fechado às informações contextuais?; quais as motivações do líder? **Resultados:** Partindo do enquadramento em um estilo de liderança, a pesquisa segue na avaliação do impacto deste estilo e de suas características no processo de tomada de decisão dentro de um estudo de caso envolvendo a política externa de Washington para Pyongyang. Donald Trump apresentou traços distintivos em “necessidade de poder e viés intragrupo”, e um estilo de liderança oportunista.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Análise de política externa. Líder. Estilo de liderança. Donald Trump.

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: Is it possible to extract personal characteristics of President Donald Trump by analyzing the content of his interviews? From these personal characteristics can sketch a leadership style and know his influence in the decision-making process? **Objectives:** This research examines the personal characteristics and influence of Donald Trump's leadership style in the decision-making process in the foreign policy of the United States of America. **Method:** The president's personal characteristics and leadership style will be studied from the perspective of the leadership traits analysis model suggested by Hermann (2005a; 2005b; 2005c). 155 spontaneous responses to interviews distributed in four years of the presidential term were encrypted and checked using the ProfilesPlus - LTA Classic software, extracting the leader scores in seven traits (belief in ability to control events, need for power, distrust, self-confidence, conceptual complexity, in group bias and task orientation) that, systematized according to the leadership traits analysis model, answer three central questions of the leadership style: does the leader respect or challenge restrictions?; is the leader open or closed to contextual information?; what are the motivations of the leader? **Results:** Based on the framework about the leadership style, the research follows in assessing the impact of this style and its characteristics in the decision-making process within a case study of Washington's foreign policy towards Pyongyang. Donald Trump had distinctive traits in “need for power and in group bias”, and an opportunistic leadership style.

Keywords: Foreign policy analysis. Leadership. Leadership style. Donald Trump.

LISTA DE GRÁFICOS

Gráfico 1 - Linhas de pesquisa nos estudos presidenciais americanos	29
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LISTA DE QUADROS

Quadro 1 – Descrição dos traços da ATL	35
Quadro 2 – Estilo de liderança como uma função de capacidade de resposta a restrições, abertura à informação e motivação	36
Quadro 3 – A reação do líder aos constrangimentos	38
Quadro 4 – Regras para determinar abertura à informação e possíveis modos de comportamento do líder	39
Quadro 5 – Regras para avaliar a motivação e comportamento do líder	40
Quadro 6 – Motivação em relação ao mundo	42

LISTA DE TABELAS

Tabela 1– Registro de exercícios militares conjuntos dos EUA	27
Tabela 2 - Grupos normativos	52
Tabela 3 – Dados das análises individuais dos bancos de dados	53
Tabela 4 – Comportamento das pontuações nos GN	54
Tabela 5 – Análise dos traços de liderança do presidente Donald Trump	54
Tabela 6 – Ferramenta para acessar o estilo de liderança	58
Tabela 7 – Evolução do orçamento do Departamento de Defesa dos EUA	80
Tabela 8 – Alterações na estrutura burocrática governamental	81
Tabela 9 – Registro de viagens presidenciais	82
Tabela 10 - Dados das entrevistas analisadas	83
Tabela 11 – Dados processados no software ProfilerPlus - LTA Classic	151
Tabela 12 – Codificação geral do LTA Classic	152

LISTA DE ABREVIATURAS E SIGLAS

APE	Análise de política externa
ATL	Análise de traços de liderança
BACE	Crença de que pode controlar eventos
CC	Complexidade conceitual
CSNU	Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas
DIS	Desconfiança
ENS	Estratégia Nacional de Segurança
EUA	Estados Unidos da América
IGB	Viés intragrupo
ONU	Organização das Nações Unidas
PE	Política externa
PI	Política interna
PWR	Necessidade de poder e influência
RI	Relações internacionais
RPDC	República Democrática da Coreia do Norte
SC	Autoconfiança
TASK	Foco na tarefa
TNP	Tratado de não proliferação
USFK	Forças Armadas dos EUA-Coreia do Sul
GN	Grupo normativo
G1	Grupo normativo 1
G2	Grupo normativo 2
G3	Grupo normativo 3
BD1	Banco de dados da Factbase

BD2	Banco de dados da Casa Branca
BD3	Banco de dados integrados – Factbase e Casa Branca

SUMÁRIO

INTRODUÇÃO.....	13
1 REVISÃO TEÓRICA	18
1.1 OS DEBATES TEÓRICOS NAS RELAÇÕES INTERNACIONAIS.....	18
1.2 CONCEITO DE POLÍTICA EXTERNA.....	19
1.3 ANÁLISE DE POLÍTICA EXTERNA.....	20
1.4 NÍVEL DE ANÁLISE NA POLÍTICA EXTERNA	25
1.5 ANÁLISE DO LÍDER E DO ESTILO DE LIDERANÇA.....	28
2 ANÁLISE DO LÍDER À DISTÂNCIA	34
2.1 O MODELO DE ANÁLISE DOS TRAÇOS DE LIDERANÇA DE M. HERMANN	34
2.1.1 1ª Dimensão - Respeito ou desafio as restrições	37
2.1.2 2ª Dimensão - Abertura ou fechamento para informações	38
2.1.3 3ª Dimensão - Motivações.....	40
3 MÉTODOS E TÉCNICAS.....	44
3.1 ABORDAGENS METODOLÓGICAS	44
3.2 EXECUÇÃO DO ESTUDO DE CASO	47
3.2.1 Softwares	47
3.2.2 Banco de dados.....	48
3.2.3 Critérios de seleção do material de análise.....	48
4 ANÁLISE DOS DADOS	52
4.1 DONALD TRUMP RESPEITA OU DESAFIA RESTRIÇÕES?	55
4.2 DONALD TRUMP É ABERTO OU FECHADO ÀS INFORMAÇÕES? ..	56
4.3 QUAIS AS MOTIVAÇÕES DE DONALD TRUMP?	56
4.4 AS DECISÕES DE DONALD TRUMP NA QUESTÃO NUCLEAR DE PYONGYANG.....	57
5 CONCLUSÕES	63
6 REFERÊNCIAS	66
APENDICE A - EVOLUÇÃO DO ORÇAMENTO DO DEPARTAMENTO DE DEFESA DOS EUA.....	80

APÊNDICE B – ALTERAÇÕES NA ESTRUTURA BUROCRÁTICA GOVERNAMENTAL	81
APÊNDICE C – REGISTRO DE VIAGENS PRESIDENCIAIS	82
APÊNDICE D – DADOS GERAIS DAS ENTREVISTAS ANALISADAS	83
APÊNDICE E – BANCO DE DADOS DA FACTBASE	84
APÊNDICE F – BANCO DE DADOS DA CASA BRANCA	110
APÊNDICE G – RESULTADOS DO PROFILERPLUS PARA OS BANCOS DE DADOS	151
APÊNDICE H – ESQUEMAS DE CODIFICAÇÃO DO PROFILERPLUS - LTA CLASSIC	152

INTRODUÇÃO

A política externa nuclear praticada pelo regime de Pyongyang continua alcançando seus objetivos com êxito (ver Feaver e Niou, 1996; Noland, Robinson and Wang, 2000; Mistry, 2003; Smith, 2005; Byman e Lind, 2010; Hamisevicz, 2015). Atingido o know-how nuclear, o país agora está na lista dos possuidores de armamento nuclear, juntamente com EUA, Israel, Índia, Paquistão, França, China, Rússia e Reino Unido. Após décadas de relações envolvendo ameaças, sanções, descumprimentos de acordos, denúncia do Tratado de Não-Proliferação - TNP, testes de mísseis e bombas nucleares, crises diplomáticas e mortes, Kim Jong Un declarou, na Cúpula de Singapura, acontecida em 11 e 12 de junho de 2018, que o país “[...] se compromete em concluir a desnuclearização da península da Coreia.” (EUA, 2018). Na Cúpula de Hanói, ocorrida em 27 e 28 de fevereiro de 2019, Donald Trump e Kim Jong Un novamente se reuniram, mas nada ultrapassou a cordialidade e o diálogo.

As duas cúpulas realizadas, somadas a um breve encontro dos líderes na fronteira entre a República Democrática da Coreia do Norte - RPDC e Coreia do Sul, em um terceiro momento, com o gesto simbólico de entrada do presidente americano em solo norte-coreano, são apenas três dos eventos que mostram uma mudança relevante na forma de Washington conduzir a política externa com relação a Pyongyang. Estes eventos, acontecidos durante os dois primeiros anos do governo Trump, marcaram o histórico de relação entre os países e foram os primeiros encontros de Chefes de Estado em todo o período de relações.

Durante o primeiro ano de mandato, Donald Trump classificou os problemas internos e externos dos Estados Unidos da América - EUA como uma herança maldita dos governos anteriores. Apesar de inserir as relações com a RPDC na lista dos problemas herdados, Donald Trump, em princípio, apresentou-se aberto a um diálogo que avançasse no sentido da estabilidade, da paz e da segurança, sugerindo conduzir a política externa ao revés do que se implementou no governo Barack Obama.

O principal objetivo da política externa de Washington com relação a Pyongyang, durante os quatro anos de governo Donald Trump foi a desnuclearização total, irreversível e verificável da RPDC (EUA, 2017). Não é credível que Pyongyang realmente promoverá a desnuclearização de seu arsenal, seguindo o exemplo da África do Sul, pois há 70 anos

sustenta a necessidade de armas nucleares como um assunto de soberania nacional (ver Cha, 2002; Cha, 2002; Cha and Kang, 2004; Hecker, 2010).

Além de um potencial nuclear, biológico e químico relativamente desconhecido, Pyongyang tem à disposição mais de um milhão de soldados, compreendendo forças terrestres, navais, aéreas, de operações especiais e de mísseis (EUA, 2017). As forças terrestres, em maioria, são de infantaria regular e leve, com unidades blindadas, mecanizadas e pesadas concentrações de artilharia. Conta também com tanques leves e médios, e força de artilharia com armas de longo alcance e lança foguetes-múltiplos. A força aérea possui cerca de 1.300 aeronaves para suporte logístico, transporte, apoio, reconhecimento e combate, além de centenas de helicópteros de transporte e ataque. A marinha possui várias naves de patrulha com mísseis de cruzeiro, torpedos e armas antinavio, cerca de 70 submarinos e uma grande frota de hovercrafts (EUA, 2017).

Mesmo sendo um aparato bélico irrisório quando comparado aos EUA, a RPDC pode causar muitos danos, principalmente aos aliados dos EUA no entorno da região peninsular. Como Donald Trump reagiu as informações sobre os riscos que Pyongyang ofereceu a segurança nacional e internacional? O discurso agressivo e ameaçador que Donald Trump sustentou no início de seu mandato é um indicativo de que reagiria atacando diretamente a RPDC, caso o limite da “linha vermelha” fosse ultrapassada?

Washington não conseguiu que Pyongyang renunciasse à todas as suas armas nucleares. Muito embora o objetivo não tenha se concretizado, os anais das relações diplomáticas entre EUA-RPDC receberam páginas inusitadas. O estrondo causado pela posse de Donald Trump no cargo de presidente dos EUA precedeu outra série de eventos que deslocaram a atenção para o ocupante da cadeira mais importante dos EUA. O governo Donald Trump, por exemplo, emplacou aumentos no orçamento do Departamento de Defesa em valores astronômicos¹; anunciou reformas das Forças Armadas; criou uma força militar espacial (BBC, 2019); e declarou que os EUA se lançariam em busca da paz pela força na política externa.

A crença de Donald Trump é que a capacidade militar dos EUA deve ser máxima e insuperável para proteger os interesses nacionais em casa e no exterior (EUA, 2018).

¹ Ver Tabela 1 no Apêndice A, apresentando a evolução do Orçamento de 2009 (início do governo Obama) a 2020 (fim do governo Trump).

No discurso do Estado da União, em 30 de janeiro de 2018, Donald Trump declarou que até as forças nucleares dos EUA devem ser modernizadas e reconstruídas (EUA, 2018).

Esta visão militarista de Donald Trump pode ser vista em outras ocasiões. Em discurso na Base da Força Aérea MacDill, em Tampa – Flórida, por exemplo, Donald Trump evocou posicionamentos dos ex-presidentes George Washington e Ronald Reagan — “[...]estar preparado para a guerra é um dos meios mais eficazes para preservar a paz [...]” e “[...] paz através da força [...]”—, para endossar a política do *America First* (EUA, 2017).

Nos bastidores da Casa Branca o clima parece ser conturbado. Durante o curso do governo, várias alterações e substituições na estrutura burocrática foram efetuadas pessoalmente por Donald Trump em um curto período de tempo, quando comparados com o governo de Barack Obama, por exemplo.² Os atos presidenciais de demissão e admissão em cargos importantes, como o de Secretário de Estado, Secretário de Defesa e Conselheiro de Segurança Nacional, chegaram a ser divulgados no *twitter* pelo presidente antes de qualquer publicação oficial, às vezes à revelia do titular do cargo.

O Conselheiro de Segurança Nacional e o Chefe do Gabinete Executivo foram substituídos três vezes, outras duas alterações foram realizadas no posto diplomático de representação na ONU. Questões pessoais e discordâncias quanto a condução da política externa com o presidente, levaram, ou ao menos ajudaram, à queda de Rex Tillerson e John Bolton (Baker, 2019; BBC, 2018; BBC, 2019; The Guardian, 2019).

Muitas questões políticas envolvendo Donald Trump sugerem consequências relativas ao seu perfil individual. Neack (2014) afirma que Donald Trump tem um estilo de liderança caracterizado pela confrontação, hierarquia e ausência de princípios. Powaski (2019), de outro lado, acredita que Donald Trump aparentemente não está adstrito aos seus conselheiros de segurança nacional. Podemos afirmar que o estilo de liderança do presidente Trump direcionou ou de alguma forma influenciou o processo de tomada de decisão na política externa empreendida à Pyongyang? Características pessoais do presidente Donald Trump foram capazes de moldar a política externa de Washington na questão nuclear com Pyongyang?

Em artigo retratando o seu perfil psicológico, Donald Trump é descrito com uma extroversão altíssima combinada com baixa aceitação, narcisista, inquieto, impaciente e

² Ver Tabela 2 no Apêndice B, apresentando as alterações em cargos no poder executivo.

incapaz de ficar parado (MacAdams, 2016)³. Mike Pence tem o presidente Donald Trump como um homem de palavra e de ação (EUA, 2017). MacAdams (2016), diz ainda que Donald Trump poderia ser “[...] um tomador de decisão ousado, cruelmente agressivo e que deseja desesperadamente criar o resultado mais forte, mais alto, mais brilhante e mais impressionante e que nunca pensa duas vezes em danos colaterais. Difícil, belicoso, ameaçador e explosivo. [...]”

Contudo, nem sempre as considerações sobre quem realmente é Donald Trump ou quais são suas características pessoais, e se seu estilo pessoal tem algum efeito sobre sua pessoa política, vêm acompanhadas de dados seguros e verificáveis.

Observando que o presidente Donald Trump, com frequência, enfatizou a questão nuclear de Pyongyang como um problema herdado de gestões passadas; que envidou esforços durante seu mandato para reestabelecer o diálogo com um país até então considerado terrorista e ditador; e que a retórica presidencial mudou das ameaças diretas de guerra e intervenção militar para o engajamento diplomático com realização de cúpulas entre Chefes de Estado e entrada simbólica do presidente Donald Trump em solo norte-coreano; — escolheu-se direcionar a pesquisa para análise das características pessoais do presidente, na tentativa de traçar o seu estilo de liderança e saber se esse estilo de alguma forma influenciou ou impactou a formulação de política externa de Washington para Pyongyang.

O caso escolhido é paradigmático. O período de análise é recente, mas acumula uma escalada no conflito sem precedentes e, ao mesmo tempo, uma reaproximação no diálogo entre os Chefes de Estado e o reestabelecimento das vias diplomáticas. Destaca-se, igualmente, que as pesquisas sobre a influência das características pessoais do estilo de liderança do presidente Donald Trump na política externa são escassas, principalmente quando voltamos para análise da questão nuclear de Pyongyang. A pesquisa proposta, então, abordará um objeto de investigação em um período não coberto suficientemente

³ O autor utiliza um sistema taxonômico para diferenciar pessoas que dentro da psicologia da personalidade é conhecido como os “Cinco Grandes”. São eles: Extroversão: gregário, domínio social, entusiasmo, comportamento de busca de recompensas Neuroticismo: ansiedade, instabilidade emocional, tendências depressivas, emoções negativas Consciência: diligência, disciplina, respeito às regras, organização Simpatia: cordialidade, cuidar dos outros, altruísmo, compaixão, modéstia Abertura: curiosidade, não convencionalidade, imaginação, receptividade a novas idéias. Disponível em: <<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/06/the-mind-of-donald-trump/480771/>>. Acesso em 15.11.2019.

pela literatura. No capítulo 1, a revisão teórica aborda as questões conceituais e debates da política externa, da análise de política externa e do nível de análise em política externa.

No capítulo 2 aborda-se a teoria sobre análise do líder, a técnica à distância e o modelo de análise de traços de liderança desenvolvido por Hermann (2005a; 2005b; 2005c).

No capítulo 3, apresenta-se algumas questões metodológicas e de funcionamento do modelo de ATL com softwares, banco de dados e critérios. No capítulo 4, o modelo LTA de Hermann (2005a; 2005b; 2005c) será aplicado na construção do estilo de liderança do presidente Donald Trump. Analisadas as características pessoais do presidente Donald Trump e traçado o seu estilo de liderança, confrontaremos os resultados obtidos pela técnica à distância com os registros de política externa de Washington-Pyongyang, buscando saber se houve influência ou direcionamento do estilo de liderança nas decisões de Donald Trump.

1 REVISÃO TEÓRICA

1.1 OS DEBATES TEÓRICOS NAS RELAÇÕES INTERNACIONAIS

As discussões do primeiro grande debate, entre liberais e realistas, se deram a partir do pós primeira guerra mundial. O pensamento liberal sustentava que a criação de uma organização internacional promoveria a contenção dos Estados e que, junto com o modelo de Estado democrático liberal e o direito internacional, estaria garantida a paz entre as nações. O fiasco da Liga das Nações e a ascensão de regimes autoritários e expansionistas, enfraqueceram a proposta liberal, fazendo surgir novos questionamentos, fora do foco liberalista na cooperação e interdependência entre os Estados.

Por outro lado, a teoria realista desenvolve-se com a obra de Edward Hawlett Carr, “Vinte anos de crise: 1919-1939: uma introdução ao estudo das relações internacionais”, e é sistematizada com a obra de Hans Morgenthau, “Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace”, como bem observa Ferreira (2020).

A ideia realista, em suma, repousa na natureza egoísta do homem, na luta pelo poder e na anarquia da política internacional. A abordagem realista, surgida neste cenário de luta pelo poder em um ambiente hostil e violento do pós guerra, prevaleceu nessa primeira confrontação teórica.

O segundo debate ocorreu entre as abordagens tradicionais e o behaviorismo, com foco em questões de metodologia. A contrário das abordagens clássicas, o behaviorismo pretendia explicar cientificamente os padrões de comportamento nas relações internacionais. Não seria necessariamente o behaviorismo uma teoria, mas um novo rumo proposto nos estudos de RI, calcados no cientificismo, na separação entre os fatos, que admitem explicação científica, e os valores, que deveriam ser ignorados, pela impossibilidade de uma pesquisa objetiva. Enquanto as abordagens tradicionais atuavam com normas e valores, conhecimento histórico e diplomático, o behaviorismo pretendia formular leis científicas no estudo das relações internacionais. As pretensões do behaviorismo foram em parte aproveitadas por realistas e liberais, principalmente quanto a utilização de alguns métodos, influenciando o terceiro debate teórico.

O terceiro debate se deu entre neorrealistas/neoliberais e neomarxistas, envolvendo questões econômicas, sobre riqueza e pobreza dos Estados. De acordo com Halliday (2007), a história do sistema interestatal moderno emergiu em um contexto de

disseminação global do capitalismo e da subjugação das sociedades pré-capitalistas. O autor destaca que este sistema socioeconômico sustentou o caráter individual dos Estados e as suas relações. Finalmente, afirma que nenhuma análise das RI é possível sem referência ao capitalismo, às formações sociais por ele originadas e ao sistema mundial. O debate neomarxista, em contraponto as abordagens tradicionais, se distancia de questões políticas, para cuidar de matérias do Terceiro Mundo, ou seja, de problemas econômico e sociais, tais como o subdesenvolvimento, a dependência e a desigualdade.

O último debate é promovido por abordagens pós-positivistas, em contraponto as teorias consagradas. As abordagens pós-positivistas trarão ao debate novas temáticas e discussões metodológicas. Temas envolvendo o meio ambiente, organizações internacionais e gênero são algumas das novas preocupações nos estudos de RI. O argumento central seria a incapacidade das teorias consagradas em entender a política mundial e suas peculiaridades no pós guerra fria.

As discussões teóricas e pesquisas sobre análise de política externa nascem nas críticas as proposições realistas na década de 1950 (Ferreira, 2020), conforme adiante discorre-se.

1.2 CONCEITO DE POLÍTICA EXTERNA

Inicialmente, necessário abordar algumas nuances conceituais. Hermann (2012) observou que as preocupações na literatura de análise de política externa americana não têm recaído sobre questões conceituais da política externa. Indaga-se, os conceitos não são chaves relevantes no estudo teórico? Sem o conhecimento dos elementos, das relações e dos processos relativos à política externa, é difícil compreender uma abordagem teórica e a sua utilidade acadêmica. As lentes teóricas possuem camadas e, dentro delas, a camada ou campo conceitual é uma das responsáveis pelo pré-estabelecimento de significados com influência substancial nas condições e limites interpretativos da teoria. A revisão dos conceitos trazidos da literatura de análise de política externa sobre o que seria a política externa em si, mostra-nos as peculiaridades tratadas por cada pesquisador, conforme adiante discorreremos.

Alguns analistas entendem que a política externa é composta por plano de metas, estratégias, ações ou regras, elaboradas pelos formuladores oficiais de políticas e com efeitos no ambiente internacional (Hermann C., 1990; Rosati e Scott, 2010; Morin e

Paquin, 2018). A política externa poderia então, por exemplo, ter fundamento nos documentos oficiais de condução e orientação diplomáticas, as estratégias de segurança nacional ou nos rumos adotados por cada país em suas relações com outros atores no sistema internacional.

Embora com estratégias e ações diferenciadas, Obama e Trump sempre deixaram claro a meta da política externa de Washington em alcançar a desnuclearização completa, verificável e irreversível de Pyongyang (EUA, 2015; EUA, 2017). Neste primeiro âmbito conceitual, a meta de política externa de Washington é parte de um conjunto maior que representa a sua política externa.

Outros analistas preferem elaborar conceitos baseados na política externa como o comportamento ou conjunto de práticas e condutas entre atores estatais e não estatais no sistema internacional (Alden e Aran, 2016; Hill, 2003; Carter, 2020) ou na intersecção dos sistemas internacional e doméstico (Neack, 2014). O debate conceitual avança para incorporar atores que não sejam apenas os estados, mas organizações internacionais ou entidades que guardam uma parcela do protagonismo no processo de formulação e tomada de decisão na política externa.

1.3 ANÁLISE DE POLÍTICA EXTERNA

O processo de entendimento da política externa de um país começa com a identificação de quem toma as decisões e quem age no processo de tomada de decisão (Rosati e Scott, 2010). O estudo da política externa, para Alden e Aran (2016), trata das condutas e práticas de seus atores (estados, instituições e povos) em relacionamento dentro do sistema internacional. Segundo os autores, a análise de política externa tem no cerne o estudo do processo de tomada de decisão, dos tomadores de decisão e dos processos e fatores que influenciam a política externa e os resultados do processo decisório. Rosati e Scott (2010) sugerem que na análise da política externa dos EUA sejam sintetizadas as abordagens política, histórica e das ciências sociais, oferecendo ao pesquisador ferramentas de compreensão mais sofisticadas da política externa.

De acordo com Hudson e Vore (1995), a análise de política externa, desde o início da agenda de pesquisa, envolve o estudo do processo de tomada de decisão, admitindo que de forma individual ou agrupada, os seres humanos são fontes de comportamento e mudanças na política internacional. Esta alusão nos remete ao que Carlsnaes (1980),

pouco mais de uma década antes, disse sobre o que constituía a política externa, “[...] uma forma de comportamento e, mais particularmente, uma forma de comportamento que emana de, ou pelo menos atribuível a, seres humanos.”

Segundo Hudson e Vore (1995), três obras inauguraram as bases do campo de análise de política externa: "Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy", de James Rosenau (1966); "Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International", de Snyder, Bruck e Sapin (1954), revisado e ampliado em 1963; e "Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International", de Sprout e Sprout (1956), revisado e ampliado em 1957 e em 1965, no livro "The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs with Special Reference to International Politics."

O impacto teórico das obras fundantes da APE pode ser resumido nas seguintes proposições: (1) o conhecimento sobre as particularidades das pessoas que tomam decisões de política externa é fundamental para entender a natureza dessas escolhas; (2) as informações sobre essas particularidades precisam ser incorporadas como exemplos de categorias maiores de variação no processo de construção da teoria de médio alcance; (3) múltiplos níveis de análise, variando do mais micro ao macro, devem ser integrados a serviço de tal construção de teoria; (4) conceitos e teorias de todas as ciências sociais podem contribuir para esse esforço de construção de teoria; (5) compreender o processo de formulação de política externa é, no mínimo, tão importante, se não mais importante, do que entender os resultados da política externa (Hudson e Vore, 1995).

A obra de Snyder, Bruck e Sapin, publicada em 1954, incentivou pesquisas com foco dentro do nível de análise do Estado-Nação, enfatizando os atores envolvidos na política externa (Hudson e Day, 2019). Comentando sobre a proposta de análise daqueles autores, Solomón e Pinheiro (2013) afirmam que:

O ponto de partida era a ideia de que a política externa é, antes de tudo, um produto de decisões, e que o modo pelo qual as decisões são tomadas afeta substancialmente seu conteúdo. Ou seja, a política externa deveria ser investigada a partir do suposto de que ela se constitui essencialmente de uma série de decisões tomadas por um ou mais indivíduos chamados decisores; que esses decisores agem de acordo com a definição que fazem da situação; e que essas decisões não surgem pura e simplesmente a partir dos estímulos externos, mas são sim processadas por um mecanismo dentro do Estado. Em contraponto ao que as análises sistêmicas de base realista defendiam, a partir dessa nova perspectiva o analista estaria em condições de explicar por que Estados com posições similares no sistema internacional comportavam-se de modos distintos.

A ênfase da análise aqui está na tomada de decisão de política externa, passando pela compreensão das esferas de competência dos atores envolvidos, os seus processos de comunicação e informação e as suas motivações, com explicações multicausais e interdisciplinares (Hudson e Day, 2019).

A obra de James Rosenau, publicada em 1966, incentivou estudos sobre generalizações aplicáveis internacionalmente envolvendo o comportamento da política externa dos Estados de uma forma sistemática e científica, sendo necessário uma teoria geral e testável (Hudson e Day, 2019). Ferreira (2020), abordando a referida obra de James Rosenau, afirma que “[...] o autor basicamente defende que o processo de política externa envolve a necessidade de desenvolver um exame científico que explicita os mecanismos causais que residem nos assuntos internacionais.” E acrescenta que James Rosenau “[...] defende que cinco variáveis de análise explicariam a tomada de decisões, a saber: idiossincrática, função, governamental, societal e variáveis sistêmicas.”

A obra de Sprout e Sprout, publicada em 1956, contribuiu nos estudos de análise de política externa, sugerindo a sua compreensão pelo exame do contexto (Hudson e Day, 2019). De acordo com Ferreira (2020),

“[...] os autores mostram a necessidade de uma análise do contexto psicossocial do indivíduo e grupos envolvidos com a tomada de decisões. Com isso, podem ocorrer incongruências entre o que é percebido e o que é objetivado no sistema internacional. Afinal, a trajetória e visões de mundo de um grupo social ou indivíduo podem fazê-lo ter uma percepção errônea da realidade, comprometendo assim sua tomada de decisões. Para eles, as fontes dessas incongruências são diversas e o analista deve estar atento para avaliar como as pessoas respondem e agem perante contingências (SPROUT E SPROUT, 1954).”

Hudson e Day (2019) sugerem que essas bases da APE se ramificaram em três diferentes abordagens para o estudo da tomada de decisão de política externa, originando três grandes áreas de estudo: tomada de decisão em política externa, política externa comparada e contexto de política externa.

A **abordagem da tomada de decisão em política externa**, abrangeu desde a formulação de política externa em grupos pequenos até grandes burocracias e organizações. A literatura, neste sentido, busca estas dimensões da APE, por exemplo, quando aborda a relação entre o presidente e estruturas consultivas ou de assessoramento (Preston e Hart, 1999), órgãos por vezes com a tarefa de disponibilizar relatórios e

pareceres sobre situações que podem culminar em conflitos armados ou disputa econômica, por exemplo.

Nos estudos da dinâmica de pequenos grupos, destaca-se o trabalho de Irving Janis, que sugere que a motivação para manter o consenso do grupo e a aceitação pessoal do grupo podem causar a deterioração da qualidade da tomada de decisões (Hudson e Day, 2019). No exame da influência do processo organizacional e da política dentro das burocracias na tomada de decisões de política externa, necessário citar as obras de Morton Halperin e Graham Allison.

A obra de Morton Halperin, publicada em 1974, intitulada “Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy”, é bem destacada pelo exame detalhado de generalizações sobre o comportamento burocrático, sobretudo pelos exemplos dentro da política de defesa americana nos governos Eisenhower, Kennedy e Johnson (Hudson e Day, 2019).

Ao criticar a modéstia da análise dos eventos no sistema internacional, sobretudo no estudo de caso da crise dos mísseis em cuba, tomando a ideia do comportamento dos governos como atores únicos, Graham Allison (1971) criou um esquema com três modelos de análise de decisão, com ênfase (i) no “Rational Actor Model”, (ii) no “Organizational Process Model” e (iii) na “Governmental Politics Model”.

No modelo do ator racional o tomador de decisão é unitário e monolítico, decidindo de forma racional. No modelo do processo organizacional, a análise gira em torno do contexto organizacional, valorizando aspectos inerentes a organizações, procedimentos e padrões. Por fim, a análise no modelo da política burocrática toma em consideração que o processo de tomada de decisão é submetido à barganha de vários atores da estrutura governamental.

Na **abordagem da política externa comparada**, destaca-se a busca de dados de eventos de política externa. Carlsnaes (1980) dedicou um artigo ao debate conceitual do que ele nomeia “ações de política externa” na análise comparativa. Neste trabalho, “The concept of foreign policy actions in comparative analysis”, desarticulam-se os componentes que envolvem o conceito do que seriam as ações de política externa, com o propósito de estabelecer uma “unidade de análise” para o método comparado de investigação, delimitando o objeto de estudo com uma nítida preocupação metodológica. Defende que “[...] políticas externas são aquelas ações que, expressas na forma de diretrizes explicitamente declaradas, e executadas por representantes governamentais agindo em nome de suas comunidades soberanas, são manifestamente direcionadas a

objetivos, condições e atores - governamentais e não governamentais - que estão claramente além da sua esfera de legitimidade territorial.”

Os dados de eventos de política externa, na análise comparada, são coletados para a realização de testes empíricos agregados, na tentativa de descobrir generalizações e formular uma teoria transnacional e multinível. São exemplos de bancos de dados de projetos relevantes os seguintes trabalhos: “Comparative Research on the Events of Nations – CREON” e o “Dimensions of Nations – DON” (Hudson e Day, 2019).

Finalmente, na **abordagem do contexto de política externa**, ressalta-se as contribuições relevantes das obras de Robert Jervis (1976), “Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics”, e Richard Cottam (1977), “Foreign Policy Motivation: a general theory and a case study”. Segundo Ferreira (2020), as duas obras mostram os riscos de uma percepção errônea em política externa, que poderia acarretar consequências catastróficas em um mundo termonuclear polarizado entre duas potências.

Hudson e Day (2019) pontuam que:

A mente de um formulador de política externa não é uma tabula rasa. Ela contém informações e padrões complexos e intrinsecamente relacionados, como crenças, atitudes, valores, experiências, emoções e autoconcepções sobre a nação e sobre si mesmo. A mente de cada tomador de decisão é um microcosmo da variedade possível em uma determinada sociedade. Cultura, história, geografia, economia, instituições políticas, ideologia, demografia e inúmeros outros fatores moldam o contexto social em que o tomador de decisões opera.⁴

Quais seriam essas peculiaridades dos tomadores de decisão que são cruciais para o entendimento da decisão tomada? A filiação a um partido político? A propensão ao conflito? A abertura às informações dos órgãos de consulta e assessoria? A necessidade de controle do processo de formulação da política externa ou de poder? A tendência a desconfiar dos demais atores implicados no processo de tomada de decisão?

Várias pesquisas, que serão abordadas oportunamente nesta pesquisa, têm analisado a influência de características pessoais e do comportamento dos líderes na

⁴ Texto original: The mind of a foreign policymaker is not a tabula rasa: it contains complex and intricately related information and patterns, such as beliefs, attitudes, values, experiences, emotions, traits, style, memory, and national and self-conceptions. Each decisionmaker's mind is a microcosm of the variety possible in a given society. Culture, history, geography, economics, political institutions, ideology, demographics, and innumerable other factors shape the societal context in which the decisionmaker operates (Hudson e Day, 2019).

tomada de decisão (Preston, 2001; Greenstein, 2009; Hyatt, Campbell, Lynam e Miller, 2018; Ashcroft, 2016; Hermann e Kaarbo, 1998; Hermann, 1980a; Hermann, 2005a; Hermann, 2005b; Post, 2003; Dyson, 2006; Hudson e Day, 2019).

A análise de política externa concentra uma fonte de conhecimento valiosa. As pesquisas realizadas e as teorias de médio alcance desenvolvidas não servem somente ao entendimento puro do processo de tomada de decisão ou dos tomadores de decisão e dos fatores que exercem influência sobre eles. A pesquisa em APE, igualmente, almeja trazer mais segurança aos tomadores de decisão, diminuindo riscos, corrigindo falhas em políticas que não obtiveram êxito no passado, oferecendo opções e novas estratégias de ação nas relações entre os atores.

1.4 NÍVEL DE ANÁLISE NA POLÍTICA EXTERNA

Conforme assevera Neack (2014), a política externa não é um fenômeno de fácil compreensão, dado que a multiplicidade de atores, cenários e fatores poderiam levar falsamente a ideia de que até um estudo de caso de política externa deve passar pela análise de todos os elementos que envolvem o processo de formulação e tomada de decisão em política externa.

Assim, para identificar se houve influência do estilo de liderança do presidente Trump no processo de formulação da política externa de Washington para Pyongyang, não necessariamente a análise deve abranger, por exemplo, o estudo da existência ou não de pressão do Partido Republicano para que o presidente adotasse uma política externa de engajamento e de máxima pressão sobre Pyongyang. De igual modo, caso a pesquisa objetivasse saber sobre o impacto dos *think thanks* democratas nas decisões tomadas pelo presidente Trump diante dos testes nucleares e balísticos de Pyongyang, não seria muito útil investigar se houve divergência entre o Secretário de Estado e o Conselheiro de Segurança Nacional quanto a participação do presidente nas Cúpulas de Singapura e de Hanói, ou no encontro emblemático que resultou na presença de Trump em solo norte coreano.

Diante destas limitações metodológicas, alguns pesquisadores têm seguido o caminho do desmembramento do estudo da política externa, focando os esforços em partes que compõe todo o processo. Os níveis de análise (Singer, 1961) têm sido uma abordagem relevante na organização dos estudos de política externa, sobretudo na análise

dos tomadores de decisão. Seguindo essa lógica, Carlsnaes (1980) dedicou um artigo inteiro ao debate do que ele nomeia “ações de política externa” na análise comparativa. Neste trabalho, desarticulam-se os componentes que envolvem o conceito do que seriam as ações de política externa, com o propósito de estabelecer uma “unidade de análise” para o método comparado de investigação, delimitando o objeto de estudo com uma nítida preocupação metodológica.

Rosati e Scott (2010) afirmam que o processo de formulação e tomada de decisão da política externa dos EUA não é simplesmente domínio do líder da Casa Branca, conquanto entendam ser o presidente o ator político mais poderoso do país e que “[...] suas crenças desempenham um papel crucial na criação da política externa [...]”. Os autores lembram que as competências constitucionais e atribuições do presidente — Comandante em Chefe das Forças Armadas no exterior; diplomata, administrador e legislador chefe; Chefe de Estado; a voz do povo; e diretor judicial — ampliam o poder do líder.

Rosati e Scott (2010) reconhecem que existem “muitas restrições que limitam seu poder”, [...] “o tempo, a informação, a burocracia, o congresso, os governos estaduais e locais, os partidos políticos, os grupos de interesse e os movimentos sociais.” Outros elementos “incertos”, de acordo com os autores, podem exercer influência sobre o presidente: “[...] os tribunais, a opinião pública, a mídia e o contexto global e histórico.”

Conforme mencionado na introdução, existem muitos indícios de que Donald Trump foi o principal ator dentro do processo de tomada de decisão quanto a questão nuclear de Pyonyang. A mudança na retórica do presidente, a realização de Cúpulas entre os Chefes de Estado, demissões e substituições em cargos-chave da administração, as declarações de compromisso entre Donald Trump e Kim Jong Un, e até a redução dos exercícios militares conjuntos EUA-Coreia do Sul⁵ na fronteira nortecoreana, apontam para um envolvimento especial de Donald Trump nesse contexto de crise.

⁵ Analisando os registros da Força Armada do EUA-Coreia do Sul - USFK, durante o último mandato de Barack Obama, foram realizadas cerca de 14 operações de exercício militar de treinamento ou em resposta às ações da RPDC, na fronteira da Coreia do Sul. No primeiro ano de mandato de Donald Trump, os exercícios aumentam consideravelmente. Os dados da USFK marcam 11 operações militares em 2017. A partir do ano de 2018, as operações foram drasticamente reduzidas. Disponível em: <<https://www.usfk.mil/>>.

Tabela 1 – Registro de exercícios militares conjuntos dos EUA

Presidente	Barack Obama				Donald Trump			
Ano	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Exercício militar aéreo			2	4	6	1	0	0
Exercício militar terrestre	1				4	0	0	0
Exercício militar marítimo				2		0	0	0
Exercício militar misto*	1	1	3		1	1	2	1
Total	2	1	5	6	11	2	2	1
*Exercícios envolvendo na prática mais do que um tipo de força armada.								

Fonte: Autor (2021), com dados da USFK.

O objetivo da pesquisa sugere então que a análise seja direcionada ao estudo da liderança no domínio individual. A ideia parte do pressuposto de que quando o assunto são relações Washington-Pyongyang, os holofotes estiveram muito voltados à Donald Trump durante seu governo. As declarações e ações de Donald Trump sugerem um engajamento na questão nuclear de Pyongyang. O líder destacou a importância do diálogo dentro do contexto das relações diplomáticas, e reconheceu que tanto ele como o líder da RPDC tomaram decisões difíceis até chegar em um canal estável de conversação. Para Donald Trump, “nada se perde conversando” (EUA, 2019).

Apesar de manter um baixo número de viagens oficiais quando comparado com Barack Obama, Donald Trump foi o único presidente a visitar a RPDC, ainda que de forma “improvisada”.⁶ Outros fatores apontam para uma ênfase maior na política externa dos EUA na questão nuclear de Pyongyang.

Durante o governo Barack Obama, por exemplo, foram aprovadas por unanimidade cinco resoluções no CSNU⁷ aplicando sanções a RPDC em resposta aos testes nucleares e de mísseis (Philipp, 2018). Os períodos de aprovação se estendem pelos dois mandatos do governo Obama. No governo Donald Trump, somente no ano de 2017 se aprovou, também por unanimidade, três resoluções no CSNU⁸, aplicando sanções a Pyongyang (ONU, 2021).

⁶ Ver Tabela 3 no Apêndice C, com os registros de viagens oficiais dos presidentes Obama e Trump.

⁷ Resolução 1874 (2009), Resolução 2087 (2013), Resolução 2094 (2013), Resolução 2270 (2016) e Resolução 2321 (2016).

⁸ Resolução 2371 (2017), Resolução 2375 (2017) e Resolução 2379 (2017).

A referência de Donald Trump ao problema nuclear com a RPDC é constante em seus primeiros discursos e pronunciamentos. Na 72ª Assembleia Geral da ONU, por exemplo, Donald Trump reafirma sua indignação com os países que mantêm relações políticas e comerciais com a RPDC. Os EUA, disse Donald Trump, “[...] tem muita força e paciência, mas se forem forçados a se defender ou defender os seus aliados, não teriam escolha, e destruiriam totalmente a RPDC. “*Rocket Man*” e o seu regime estão em uma missão suicida.” (EUA, 2017)

O alerta geral de um possível ataque preventivo ressoou em todas as chancelarias do mundo, e quando se pensou que o conflito armado estaria mais próximo do que nunca, Donald Trump e Kim Jong Un interloperam as agressões e ameaças mútuas, progredindo as relações EUA-RPDC a um novo estágio, abrindo os canais diplomáticos.

Muitas indagações decorrem da problemática em torno da proliferação nuclear de Pyongyang e junto destas indagações seguem dúvidas, avanços e recuos na política externa adotada por Washington. Se não é provável que Pyongyang aborte seus interesses, por que Donald Trump decidiu encampar engajamento e abertura diplomática nas relações EUA-RPDC? As características pessoais de Donald Trump concorreram nesse processo de formulação e tomada de decisão em política externa?

Holsti (2016) destaca que “[...] as necessidades psicológicas e as características de personalidade dos formuladores de políticas podem ser estabelecidas como elementos importantes na explicação de decisões e ações [...] quando uma única figura é claramente responsável pela liderança e/ou implementação de políticas, e onde evidências razoáveis sugerem que sem esse indivíduo, a intenção e ações teriam diferido significativamente.”

Neste sentido, saber sobre as relações entre características pessoais de um líder e as decisões tomadas em política externa demandam um duplo esforço. O primeiro recai sobre um estudo das nuances pessoais do líder, de acordo com os critérios da psicologia política para análise de traços do indivíduo. O segundo reside no esforço para estabelecer uma ligação entre os eventos de política externa e o estilo de liderança do líder tomador de decisões.

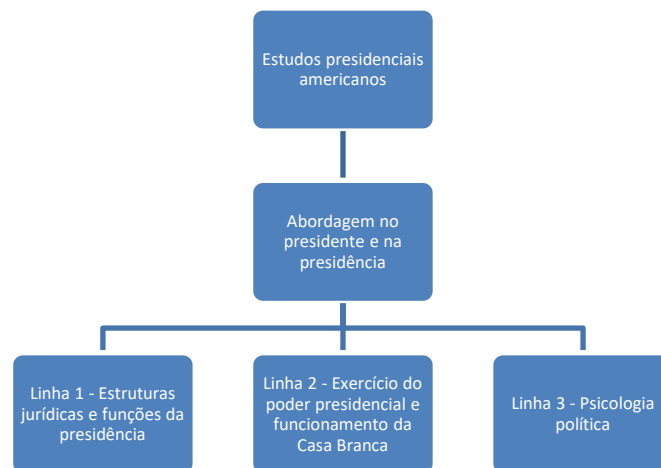
1.5 ANÁLISE DO LÍDER E DO ESTILO DE LIDERANÇA

Os estudos presidenciais estadunidenses e latino-americanos podem ser divididos em duas abordagens dominantes, uma voltada ao presidente e outra voltada à presidência

(Araya, 2020). Na primeira abordagem os pesquisadores consideram os atributos dos líderes essenciais na compreensão dos resultados das políticas e da tomada de decisões no poder executivo. Na segunda abordagem, os pesquisadores minimizam a relevância do presidente como indivíduo, centrando o foco no ambiente institucional (Araya, 2020).

Especificamente, as pesquisas sobre a presidência americana combinam em graus variados as duas abordagens (focadas no presidente e na presidência), e podem ser agrupadas em três linhas: as com foco nas estruturas jurídicas e funções da presidência; as com foco no exercício do poder presidencial e no funcionamento da Casa Branca; e as com abordagem em psicologia política, desenvolvidas em tipologias, análise de código operacional e psicobiografias (Araya, 2020).

Gráfico 1 - Linhas de pesquisa nos estudos presidenciais americanos



Fonte: Autor (2021), com dados de Araya (2020).

Hermann (2014), afirma que as pesquisas que adotam a linha da psicologia política no estudo da liderança se concentram, de forma geral, em estabelecer conexões entre as características dos líderes e as ações das instituições que representam, procurando compreender os fatores que influenciam quem se torna um líder, explorar quais as características dos líderes podem afetar suas ações e examinar as condições sob as quais a personalidade do líder poderá influenciar essas ações.

Hudson e Day (2019) afirmam que nem sempre as decisões de política externa carregam características e percepções pessoais distintivas do líder. Em que condições seria mais proveitoso, então, analisar as características do líder? Segundo os autores, algumas variáveis contextuais auxiliam esse processo seletivo, são elas: o tipo de regime,

o interesse na política externa, a resposta emocional em situações de crise, ocorrência de situações ambíguas ou incertas, grau de treinamento ou formação em política externa, a especialização em determinado assunto ou região do mundo, o estilo de liderança e as interações de grupo.

Preston (2001), por outro lado, desenvolveu uma tipologia de “estilo de liderança e comportamento presidencial”⁹, na tentativa de buscar prever como os presidentes provavelmente estruturariam a presidência e os seus processos consultivos, com base na análise de suas características e estilos pessoais. Greenstein (2009) analisou o comportamento de sete presidentes dos EUA, com foco nos pontos fortes e fracos em 6 características¹⁰ que sugere como influenciadoras no desempenho do líder.

Swansbrough (1994), apresenta um modelo próprio com tipologias de perfis¹¹ e estilos de personalidade do líder¹², examinando os reflexos do perfil e do estilo de personalidade do presidente George Bush na tomada de decisão na Guerra do Golfo. Hermann (1979) sugeriu formas de avaliar o stress capaz de afetar o desempenho dos tomadores de decisão em situações de crise.

Hermann (1980a) analisou também o impacto de seis características pessoais¹³ de 45 chefes de governo no comportamento da política externa dos países, buscando saber a relação destas características com duas variáveis, o interesse e o treinamento do líder em política externa. Hermann e Kaarbo (1998) analisaram os estilos de liderança de Margaret Thatcher, John Major, Konrad Adenauer e Helmut Kohl, com base no estudo de cinco características pessoais, sugerindo uma relação plausível entre os estilos traçados e o processo de elaboração da política externa.

A questão é que discussões sobre política externa e política internacional parecem ter um foco nos líderes e no comportamento que adotam durante o mandato no cargo que ocupam (Hermann e Hagan, 1998). Não é incomum a referência à doutrina de política

⁹ Diretor, Administrador, Magistrado, Delegador, Navegador, Sentinela, Observador e Independente (Preston, 2001).

¹⁰ Comunicação pública, capacidade organizacional, habilidade política, visão política, estilo cognitivo e inteligência emocional (Greenstein, 2009).

¹¹ Mestre, Empreendedor, Executor, Seguidor e Solitário (Swansbrough, 1994).

¹² Controlador, Calculista, Dramático, Vacilante e Sonhador (Swansbrough, 1994).

¹³ Nacionalismo, crença de que se pode controlar o que acontece, necessidade de poder, necessidade de afiliação, complexidade conceitual e desconfiança (Hermann, 1980a).

externa adotada pelo presidente de um país, com suas características e estilo pessoal de liderança: doutrina Bush, doutrina Obama, doutrina Trump (Dueck, 2015).

Hermann e Hagan (1998) destacam que:

Os líderes definem as restrições internacionais e domésticas dos estados. Com base em suas percepções e interpretações, eles constroem expectativas, planejam estratégias e instam os governos a agir de acordo com seus julgamentos sobre o que é possível e provável mantê-los em suas posições. Tais percepções ajudam a enquadrar as orientações dos governos para assuntos internacionais. As interpretações dos líderes surgem de suas experiências, objetivos, crenças sobre o mundo e sensibilidade ao contexto político.¹⁴

O conhecimento sobre o que pensam ou que farão os líderes é uma fonte de informações estratégica na análise de política externa. As ações de política externa dependem significativamente de uma compreensão do que pensa o outro. Contudo, nem sempre as decisões de política externa carregam características e percepções pessoais distintivas do líder (Hudson, 2014).

Dueck (2015), acrescenta:

Na era moderna, o aparato de política externa dos EUA é essencialmente centrado no presidente. Dificilmente pode ser o contrário. Os presidentes são chefe de estado, comandante em chefe e líder do partido. Nenhum outro indivíduo é realmente capaz ou capacitado para avaliar, julgar e agir de acordo com prioridades nacionais e internacionais conflitantes em nome do interesse nacional. Em termos burocráticos, quando se trata de política externa, o presidente não é apenas um ator entre muitos. Antes, em grande parte, é o presidente quem determina a influência relativa dos outros atores burocráticos, incluindo o secretário de Estado. Da mesma forma, enquanto o Congresso tem um papel vital e constitucional a desempenhar na formulação da política externa dos EUA, a realidade é que os presidentes lideram nessa área. A opinião pública também é claramente uma poderosa influência abrangente, como deveria estar dentro de uma democracia, mas não é literalmente a opinião pública que toma decisões de política externa. Por um lado, há considerável incerteza, desatenção e desconfiança entre o público em geral quando se trata de questões internacionais mais específicas. Elegemos funcionários, inclusive presidentes, e os responsabilizamos por essa

¹⁴ Texto original: “Leaders define states’ international and domestic constraints. Based on their perceptions and interpretations, they build expectations, plan strategies, and urge actions on their governments that conform with their judgments about what is possible and likely to maintain them in their positions. Such perceptions help frame governments’ orientations to international affairs. Leaders’ interpretations arise out of their experiences, goals, beliefs about the world, and sensitivity to the political context.” (Hermann e Hagan, 1998)

mesma razão: tomar decisões difíceis. A personalidade, as crenças e o estilo de gestão de cada presidente, portanto, realmente fazem a diferença.¹⁵

Mas se a personalidade e as características pessoais que a constituem não são os únicos preditores do comportamento político de um líder e, às vezes, não são preditores relevantes (Winter, Hermann, Weintraub e Walker, 1991a), como julgar a imprescindibilidade do estudo do líder dentro do processo de tomada de decisão em política externa? Em outras palavras, como saber quando é importante analisar a política externa sob a perspectiva das características pessoais do estilo de liderança do líder?

Hudson (2014) sugere algumas variáveis contextuais que ajudam a identificar quando seria importante enveredar a pesquisa neste sentido: o tipo de regime, o interesse na política externa, situações de crise que requerem o envolvimento da alta cúpula do governo, ocorrência de situações ambíguas ou incertas, a formação diplomática, a especialização em determinado assunto ou região do mundo, o estilo de liderança e as interações de grupo.

A variável “estilo de liderança”, é a que mais parece se adequar ao estudo de caso proposto. Segundo Hudson e Vore (1995) “[...] a mente de um formulador de política externa não é uma tabula rasa. Ele contém informações e padrões complexos e intrinsicamente relacionados, como crenças, atitudes, valores, experiências, emoções e concepções de nação e próprias [...]”

Como os padrões complexos do presidente Donald Trump podem ser acessados? A literatura apresenta estudos sobre o código operacional de Donald Trump (Walker, Schafer e Smith, 2018), seu perfil como líder (Ruddenn 2018; Pfiffner 2020; Immelmann, 2016; Immelman, 2017), os seus discursos (Stuckey, 2020; Boucher e Thies, 2019), os

¹⁵ Texto original: “In the modern era, the US foreign policy apparatus is essentially president-centered. It can hardly be otherwise. Presidents are head of state, commander in chief, and party leader. No other individual is truly able or empowered to weigh, judge, and act upon conflicting domestic and international priorities on behalf of the national interest. In bureaucratic terms, when it comes to foreign policy the president is not simply one player among many. Rather, to a great extent it is the president who determines the relative influence of the other bureaucratic players, including the secretary of state. Similarly, while Congress has a vital and constitutional role to play in the formulation of US foreign policy, the reality is that presidents lead in this issue area. Public opinion is clearly a powerful overarching influence as well, as it should be within a democracy, but it is not literally public opinion that makes foreign policy decisions. For one thing, there is considerable uncertainty, inattention, and diffidence among the general public when it comes to most specific international issues. We elect officials, including presidents, and then hold them accountable for this very reason: to make the difficult decisions. The personality, beliefs, and management style of individual presidents therefore really do make a difference.” (Dueck, 2015)

seus assessores e consultores (Stevenson, 2018). Todavia, escolhemos realizar a análise utilizando a técnica à distância dentro dos parâmetros abordados no próximo tópico.

2 ANÁLISE DO LÍDER À DISTÂNCIA

Preston (2001) afirma que a pesquisa sobre o impacto da personalidade ou do estilo de liderança no processo de tomada de decisão, baseada em aspectos individuais do líder, conta com (i) estudos psicanalíticos, voltados ao caráter ou desenvolvimento psicológico; (ii) técnicas de análise de conteúdo, que medem traços ou características específicas de líderes; (iii) análise de arquivos e entrevistas; e (iv) preferências organizacionais dos presidentes. Dentro das técnicas de análise de conteúdo, encontramos o método de análise à distância.

A técnica ou método à distância consiste em analisar as características psicológicas dos líderes sem ter acesso direto a eles, com base em seu comportamento verbal. O ponto central deste método de análise é a possibilidade de observar características pessoais a partir do conteúdo verbal produzido pelo líder (Schafer e Walker, 2006). As técnicas de análise à distância fornecem dados válidos e confiáveis sobre líderes, considerando a dificuldade de acesso a material particular, teste de personalidade ou submissão espontânea do líder a exames clínicos que atestem suas características pessoais (Hermann, 1980a; Hermann, 2005a; Dyson, 2006). O modelo de análise de traços de liderança, adiante apresentado, é uma das técnicas à distância mais abrangentes na psicologia política.

2.1 O MODELO DE ANÁLISE DOS TRAÇOS DE LIDERANÇA DE M. HERMANN

Segundo Hermann e Sakiev (2011), “[...] a análise dos traços de liderança é uma técnica de avaliação à distância projetada para nos ajudar a determinar as maneiras pelas quais as características dos líderes afetam sua tomada de decisão, estilo de liderança, as ações que escolhem e o comportamento das organizações que lideram”.

Uma série de estudos fez parte da construção e sistematização do modelo de análise dos traços de liderança (por exemplo, Hermann, 1980a; Hermann, 1980b; Hermann, 1980c; Winter, Hermann, Weintraub e Walker, 1991a; Winter, Hermann, Weintraub e Walker, 1991b; Hermann e Preston, 1994; Kaarbo e Hermann, 1998; Hermann, Preston, Korany e Shaw, 2001; Hermann, 2005a; Hermann, 2005b; Hermann, 2005c; Hermann e Sakiev, 2011).

Os traços analisados na técnica, na verdade são um conjunto de sete variáveis de personalidade que podem se manifestar no líder: a) a necessidade de poder e influência - PWR; b) a crença de que pode controlar eventos - BACE; c) a complexidade conceitual - CC; d) a autoconfiança – SC; e) o foco em tarefas - TASK; f) a desconfiança - DIS; e g) o viés intragrupo - IGB.

Lyra (2018), em pesquisa que utilizou o modelo de ATL para analisar os estilos de liderança do presidente Lula da Silva e Dilma Rousseff e a influência da liderança brasileira no Conselho de Defesa Sul-Americano, apresenta um quadro explicativo dos conceitos de cada traço de liderança e a codificação de cada um deles no funcionamento da técnica.

Quadro 1– Descrição dos traços da ATL

TRAÇO	DESCRIÇÃO	Codificação
Necessidade de Poder	Preocupação com o estabelecimento, manutenção ou restauração do poder do indivíduo. Isto é, impacto, influência e controle sobre os outros.	Porcentagem de verbos relacionados a ações que atacam, aconselham e influenciam comportamentos.
Necessidade de Controle (crença na habilidade de controlar eventos)	Visão de mundo de que o indivíduo percebe ter algum nível de controle sobre as situações nas quais está envolvido. Ou seja, o quanto o indivíduo acredita que pode influenciar em uma situação.	Porcentagem de verbos que refletem ação ou planejamento de ação.
Necessidade de Associação	Preocupações em estabelecer, manter ou restaurar relacionamentos amigáveis com os outros.	Porcentagem de verbos que indicam a procura de relacionamentos amigáveis.
Complexidade Cognitiva	Habilidade de diferenciar o ambiente. Isto é, o grau de capacidade de diferenciação que o indivíduo apresenta para descrever e discutir situações, pessoas, ideias, políticas etc.	Porcentagem de palavras relacionadas à alta complexidade vs. palavras de baixa complexidade.
Desconfiança	Sentimento geral de dúvida, desconforto e receio em relação aos outros. Inclinação a desconfiar dos motivos e ações dos outros.	Porcentagem de nomes que indicam desconfiança em relação aos outros.
Autoconfiança	Sensação de autoimportância e confiança na própria habilidade de lidar com o ambiente.	Porcentagem de pronomes pessoais utilizados, em que o indivíduo se percebe como autoridade, instigador ou fomentador de ações.
Ênfase na realização de tarefas	Ênfase na realização de tarefas em detrimento do foco nas necessidades e sentimentos dos outros.	Porcentagem de verbos relacionados a atividades instrumentais vs. verbos que indicam preocupação com o sentimento de desejo dos outros.
Etnocentrismo e Nacionalismo (ou viés intra-grupo)	Visão de mundo que privilegia a própria nação, com fortes laços nacionais e ênfase na honra e identidade nacional.	Porcentagem de referências favoráveis ao próprio grupo ou nação.

Fonte: Hermann (2002b) *apud* Lyra (2018).

As variáveis fornecem informações sobre (1) a probabilidade de os líderes desafiarem as restrições, (2) quão responsivos eles serão ao contexto político, (3) se estão

mais motivados para resolver problemas ou intrigados com o processo político e se sua atenção será atraída para ameaças ou oportunidades (Hermann e Sakiev, 2011).

O Quadro 2 apresenta as combinações destas características individuais, formando oito tipos de estilo de liderança dentro do modelo ATL: expansionista, evangelista, independente ativo, diretivo, incremental, influente, oportunista e colegial.

Quadro 2 - Estilo de liderança como uma função de capacidade de resposta a restrições, abertura à informação e motivação

		Motivações	
Responsividade aos constrangimentos	Abertura às informações	Foco no problema	Foco nas relações
	Desafia Fechado às constrangimentos informações	<i>Expansionista</i> (o foco está na expansão do controle do líder, do governo ou do estado)	<i>Evangelista</i> (o foco está em persuadir os outros a aceitar a própria mensagem e a mobilizá-los em torno da sua causa)
Desafia constrangimentos	Aberto às informações	<i>Independente ativo</i> (o foco está em manter sua própria capacidade de manobra e independência e a do governo em um mundo que é percebido como continuamente tentando limitar ambos)	<i>Diretivo</i> (o foco está em manter o seu próprio status e o do governo e a aceitação pelos outros, por meio do engajamento em ações no cenário mundial que aprimorem a reputação do estado)
Respeita constrangimentos	Fechado às informações	<i>Incremental</i> (o foco está na melhoria da economia e/ou segurança do estado em etapas incrementais, evitando obstáculos que inevitavelmente surgirão ao longo do caminho)	<i>Influente</i> (o foco está em construir relações de cooperação com outros governos e estados dispostos a seguir as regras do líder; pode-se ganhar mais trabalhando com outros do que trabalhando sozinho)
	Aberto às informações	<i>Oportunista</i> (o foco está em avaliar o que é possível na situação e contexto atuais, considerando o que se deseja alcançar e o que os eleitores importantes permitirão)	<i>Colegial</i> (o foco está em reconciliar as diferenças, construir consensos – ganhando prestígio e status através do empoderamento de outros e compartilhamento de responsabilidades)

Fonte: Hermann e Sakiev (2011), traduzido pelo Autor (2021).

O exame dos traços é realizado em conteúdo de discursos, pronunciamentos ou entrevistas do líder. As fórmulas para exame dos traços estão na Tabela 12 do Apêndice H. As informações para processamento da técnica, preferencialmente, devem ser extraídas de material espontâneo, diminuindo assim as chances de as respostas serem

influenciadas ou pré-fabricadas. As entrevistas têm se mostrado a melhor espécie de material de pesquisa.

A adequação do modelo requer que as respostas das entrevistas, que são a unidade de análise de todo o processo, sejam respostas com mais de cem palavras, e que o agrupamento seja um mínimo de cinquenta respostas. Para não traçar um estilo de liderança relacionado a um contexto, o modelo sugere que as entrevistas selecionadas estejam distribuídas durante o mandato do líder, em diferentes configurações de entrevista e com temas de abordagem diversos. A análise das características é quantitativa e considera a frequência com que uma frase ou palavra é utilizada pelo líder.

As unidades de análise então são submetidas à técnica e, para cada traço específico, um código de busca e registro está relacionado. Alguns traços são marcados pela porcentagem de determinados verbos, palavras, referências ou pronomes pessoais.

Em seguida discute-se o desdobramento das variáveis nas três dimensões que norteiam a construção do estilo de liderança: o desafio ou respeito às restrições, a abertura às informações do contexto e as motivações do líder.

2.1.1 1ª Dimensão - Respeito ou desafio as restrições

De acordo com Hermann (2005a), o conhecimento sobre como o líder reage as restrições no ambiente político sugere o peso de seu interesse em controlar e influenciar o ambiente e as restrições encontradas. No modelo ATL, são as pontuações nos traços PWR e BACE que oferecem subsídios para definir se um líder desafia ou respeita restrições.

Quadro 3 – A reação do líder aos constrangimentos

Necessidade de Poder	Crença na própria habilidade de controlar eventos	
	Baixo	Alto
Baixo	Respeita constrangimentos: trabalha dentro dos parâmetros para atingir os objetivos; construção de consensos e compromisso é importante.	Desafia constrangimentos, mas com menos sucesso em fazê-lo, porque é muito direto e aberto no uso do poder; menos capaz de ler como manipular as pessoas e ambientes nos bastidores para ter a influência desejada.
Alto	Desafia os constrangimentos, mas fica mais confortável de forma indireta (nos bastidores); bom em ser "poder por trás do trono", onde pode puxar as cordas, mas são menos responsáveis pelo resultado.	Desafia constrangimentos: é hábil em influência direta e indireta; conhece o que o público quer e se encarrega de fazer que aconteça.

Fonte: Lyra (2018) *apud* Hermann (2002b).

Com base no Quadro 3, verifica-se que o líder com pontuações altas em PWR e BACE, desafia constrangimentos. Líderes com pontuações altas pressionam o limite das possibilidades, estão no comando das situações, sabem o que deve acontecer e são hábeis em conseguir o que desejam. Líderes com pontuações baixas em PWR e BACE respeitam às restrições e trabalham dentro do limite das restrições para atingir seus objetivos. A habilidade para construir consensos e firmar compromissos é percebida pelos líderes com pontuações baixas (Hermann, 2005a; Hermann, 2005b).

Se as pontuações em PWR e BACE forem moderadas, o líder não possui diferenças nesses traços com relação aos líderes do grupo normativo. Segundo Hermann (2005b), líderes com pontuações moderadas geralmente respeitam as restrições, podendo desafiá-las circunstancialmente, quando entender que as restrições são inadequadas ou sem fundamento. A autora sugere que esse tipo de líder tende a ser reativo, preferindo liderar em contextos com ao menos 50% de chance de êxito ou onde existem margem para o acordo, deixando a liderança e a responsabilidade por eventos muito ousados e incomuns ao encargo de outros.

A codificação de BACE se concentra no percentual de verbos usados pelo líder, que reflitam em ação ou planejamento de ação do próprio líder ou grupo relevante, enquanto que a codificação de PWR se fixa no percentual de verbos ligados a ações de ataque, aconselhamento, influência do comportamento de outras pessoas e de preocupação com a reputação (Dyson, 2006).

2.1.2 2ª Dimensão - Abertura ou fechamento para informações

A abertura ou o fechamento do líder às informações é obtido pelas suas pontuações em SC e CC. Segundo Hermann (2005a; 2005b; 2005c), a relação entre esses traços definem a abertura do líder às contribuições de outras pessoas no processo de tomada de decisão ou no ambiente político geral, inclusive sugerindo os tipos de sistemas de incentivos que provavelmente usarão com subordinados, conselheiros e outros líderes.

O modelo ATL apresenta algumas regras para determinar esta abertura do líder à informação. Observa-se do Quadro 4 que quando a pontuação em CC for maior que a pontuação em SC, o líder é aberto às informações contextuais. Hermann (2005a) sugere que líderes com pontuações em CC mais altas do que em SC, podem apresentar as seguintes características: geralmente é pragmático; responde aos interesses, necessidades, ideias e demandas de outras pessoas; são sensíveis a pistas situacionais; e agem com base no que consideram aceitável nas condições atuais.

Caso a pontuação em CC seja menor que a pontuação em SC, é provável que o líder seja fechado às informações contextuais. Conforme sustenta Hermann (2005a), esses líderes são ideólogos e motivados princípios e causas; sabem o que é certo e o que deve acontecer e tentam convencer os outros de que o seu curso de ação é adequado; não respondem ou são insensíveis às indicações do ambiente.

Quadro 4 – Regras para determinar abertura à informação e possíveis modos de comportamento do líder

Pontuação em Complexidade Conceitual e Autoconfiança	Abertura à Informação Contextual
Complexidade Conceitual > Autoconfiança	Aberto
Comportamento - geralmente são mais pragmáticos e respondem aos interesses, necessidades, idéias e demandas de outras pessoas; sensíveis a pistas situacionais e agem com base no que consideram aceitável nas condições atuais; parecem estar abertos a ouvir os outros; capazes de convencer os outros a fazerem coisas porque parecem interessados no que acontece com eles e estão preocupados em ajudá-los; é provável que organizem estruturas de decisão colegiadas e, assim, maximizar as informações contextuais que possam ter sobre as opiniões e necessidades das pessoas ao seu redor; lidam com problemas e eventos caso a caso.	
Autoconfiança > Complexidade Conceitual	Fechado
Comportamento - são ideólogos e motivados por princípios e causas; sabem o que é certo e o que deve acontecer e tentam convencer os outros da adequação de seu curso de ação; não respondem ou são insensíveis às indicações do ambiente; reinterpretam o ambiente para se adequar à sua visão de mundo; é possível que usem táticas coercitivas ou desonestas para garantir que suas opiniões sejam adotadas por um grupo; são altamente ativos em nome de sua causa, buscando ansiosamente opções que acreditam ter sucesso; é mais provável que esses líderes organizem o processo de tomada de decisão de maneira hierárquica, a fim de manter o controle sobre a natureza da decisão; geralmente não vencem nenhum concurso de líderes “mais populares”, mas são admirados pelo que podem fazer.	
Complexidade Conceitual e Autoconfiança Altas	Aberto
Comportamento - são mais estratégicos, concentrando sua atenção no que é possível e viável a qualquer momento; a alta autoconfiança facilita a paciência na situação e o tempo necessário para ver o que será bem-sucedido; combinarão as melhores qualidades de ambas as características - uma noção do que eles querem fazer, mas a capacidade de verificar o ambiente para ver o que funcionará; é menos	

provável que esse tipo de líder seja eleito em sistemas democráticos, talvez porque seu comportamento pareça ao observador externo e ao componente interessado ser errático e oportunista; se alguém conhece os objetivos e contextos políticos de tais líderes, suas decisões e ações se tornam mais lógicas; sem esse conhecimento, no entanto, eles podem parecer indecisos e semelhantes a camaleões em seu comportamento.	
Complexidade Conceitual e Autoconfiança Baixas	Fechado
Comportamento - refletem as opiniões daqueles que o rodeiam e se inclinam a travar facilmente em uma posição que parece provável que seja bem-sucedida; são alvos fáceis para grupos que buscam alguém que defenda tenazmente uma posição específica em troca de influência e autoridade, por mais tênue e fugaz que possa ser a tarefa; podem evidenciar alguns dos sinais de narcisismo, saboreando os holofotes, pressionando para movimentos ainda mais extremos do que o grupo pode achar necessário, e preocupados com fantasias de sucesso ilimitado.	

Fonte: Autor (2021), com dados de Hermann (2005a).

Pontuações altas tanto em CC como em SC sugerem abertura do líder às informações contextuais, enquanto que pontuações baixas em CC e SC sugerem fechamento do líder às informações contextuais.

A codificação para CC está no percentual de palavras relacionadas a alta complexidade, como “aproximadamente”, “possivelmente” e “tendenciosamente”, e a baixa complexidade, como “absolutamente”, “certamente” e “irreversivelmente” (Dyson, 2006). O Quadro 4 resume as formas que o comportamento dos líderes pode assumir, de acordo com sua abertura ou fechamento à informação.

2.1.3 3ª Dimensão - Motivações

As motivações se referem as razões ou motivos dos líderes para assumir uma posição de autoridade, podendo estar relacionadas ao próprio líder ou com os grupos com os quais o líder se identifica (Hermann, 2005a; Hermann, 2005b). Dentro do modelo ATL os líderes podem ser movidos por um foco interno (problema, causa ou conjunto de interesses) ou pelo desejo de feedback daqueles em seu ambiente (relacionamento, aceitação, poder, suporte ou aclamação) (Hermann, 2005a; Hermann, 2005b). O Quadro 5 apresenta as regras para avaliação da motivação para problemas e/ou relacionamentos, sumarizando possibilidades de comportamento do líder de acordo com a sua pontuação em TASK.

Quadro 5 – Regras para avaliar a motivação e comportamento do líder

Pontuação em “Orientação a Tarefas”	Motivação
Alta	Problema

Comportamento - são hábeis em incentivar um grupo a trabalhar na solução do problema específico do momento; tendem a ver o mundo em termos de problemas e o papel do grupo em fornecer soluções para esses problemas; veem as pessoas menos como indivíduos do que como instrumentos; estão constantemente pedindo movimento em um projeto, sobre o que está acontecendo na implementação de uma solução para um problema, opções para lidar com um problema; a substância, não as pessoas envolvidas, é o foco da atenção; estão dispostos a sacrificar um alto nível de moral no grupo para realizar a tarefa; procuram seguidores que compartilhem seu interesse em resolver problemas e que trabalharão duro para implementar quaisquer decisões que sejam tomadas.	
Moderada	Problemas e relações
Comportamento - facilidade de direcionar sua atenção para o problema quando for apropriado, para a situação em questão ou de construir relacionamentos quando isso parecer mais relevante; podem ir em direção a seus objetivos ou centrar sua atenção em manter elevados a lealdade e o moral de constituintes importantes; podem cumprir ambas as funções consideradas importantes para a governança - realizar algo e manter coalizões; provavelmente monitorarão o ambiente em busca de pistas que indiquem a demanda por um determinado foco de atenção.	
Baixa	Relações
Comportamento - desejam manter o moral e o espírito de seus grupos elevados; geralmente são sensíveis ao que as pessoas querem e precisam e tentam fornecê-lo; apenas moverão o grupo em direção a seus objetivos tão rápido quanto os membros estiverem dispostos a avançar; camaradagem, lealdade e comprometimento com o grupo são críticos para os líderes com essa ênfase; as pessoas do grupo, não o que precisa ser feito, são o foco da atenção; trabalham para promover um senso de colegialidade e participação em seus grupos; os membros têm a sensação de que fazem parte do que acontece e que suas opiniões são buscadas e ouvidas; mobilizar e capacitar membros é o que é a liderança; é provável que eles formem equipes e compartilhem liderança, buscando frequentemente opiniões sobre o que é viável entre os eleitores relevantes a qualquer momento.	

Fonte: Autor (2021), com dados de Hermann (2005a).

O primeiro tipo de motivação, desta forma, está entre o foco na tarefa e o foco nas relações. A codificação para TASK envolve o percentual de palavras relacionadas a atividades, como “realização”, “plano” e “proposta versus percentual de palavras relacionadas com os sentimentos e desejos dos outros, como “colaboração”, “anistia” e “apreciação” (Dyson, 2006).

O segundo tipo de motivação está relacionado à orientação do líder para o mundo. Os líderes podem ser motivados pelos problemas e ameaças que percebem no mundo ou pelas oportunidades de construção de relacionamentos cooperativos (Hermann, 2005a; Hermann, 2005b). A aferição da orientação do líder à política no modelo ATL envolve a análise das pontuações em IGB e DIS.

A codificação para IGB está no percentual de referências que são favoráveis ao grupo (exemplos: “bem-sucedido”, “próspero”, “ótimo”), que demonstrem força (“poderoso”, “capaz”) e que denote necessidade de manter a identidade do grupo (“decidir nossas próprias políticas”, “defender nossas fronteiras”). Por outro lado, a codificação para DIS reside no percentual de substantivos que indiquem dúvidas ou suspeitas de que outros pretendem prejudicar o líder ou o seu grupo (Dyson, 2006).

Quadro 6 – Motivação em relação ao mundo

Viés Intragrupo	Desconfiança	
	Baixa	Alta
Baixa	O mundo não é um lugar de ameaças; conflitos são percebidos como específicos do contexto e reagem caso a caso; os líderes reconhecem que seu país, como muitos outros, tem que lidar com certas restrições que limitam o que pode ser feito e tem flexibilidade de resposta; além disso, existem certas arenas internacionais onde a cooperação com os outros é possível e viável. (O foco está em tirar vantagem das oportunidades e construir relacionamentos)	O mundo é percebido como propenso a conflitos, mas porque outros países são vistos como tendo restrições sobre o que podem fazer, é possível alguma flexibilidade de resposta; os líderes, entretanto, devem vigiar os desenvolvimentos da área internacional e se prepararem prudentemente para conter as ações de um adversário enquanto ainda perseguindo os interesses de seu país. (O foco está em aproveitar oportunidades e construir relacionamentos, mas permanecendo vigilante).
Alta	Enquanto o sistema é essencialmente um jogo de soma-zero, os líderes veem que estão delimitados por um conjunto de normas internacionais; Mesmo assim, os adversários são percebidos como inerentemente ameaças e o confronto é visto como possibilidade em curso, visto que os líderes trabalham para limitar as ameaças e melhorar a capacidade de seus países e status relativo. (O foco está em Lidar com ameaças e resolver problemas, mesmo ainda que algumas situações pareçam oferecer oportunidades).	A política internacional é centrada em torno de um conjunto de adversários que são vistos como "mal" e com a intenção de espalhar sua ideologia ou extensão seu poder à custa de outras; os líderes percebem que têm um imperativo moral enfrentar esses adversários; como resultado, eles são susceptíveis a assumir riscos, altamente agressivos e apresentam comportamento assertivo. (O foco é na eliminação de potenciais ameaças e problemas.)

Fonte: Lyra (2018) *apud* Hermann (2002b).

Ao observar as pontuações do líder nas características e obter as informações sobre as três dimensões do modelo ATL é possível o estabelecimento inicial do perfil do líder. Na análise dos traços de liderança de Clinton, por exemplo, Hermann (2005b) extraiu das pontuações que o presidente provavelmente respeita as restrições em seu ambiente político, está aberto e busca informações contextuais (CC>SC) e tem motivação voltada tanto para problemas como para relacionamentos, além de perceber a política como a arte do possível e mutuamente benéfica. As pontuações de Clinton foram moderadas em BACE, PWR e TASK, altas em CC e SC, e baixas em IGB e DIS.

Respeitando restrições e estando aberto à informações, o estilo de liderança do presidente Clinton encontra-se, conforme o Quadro 2, entre o perfil oportunista e colegial. Hermann (2005b), aprofunda a pesquisa e sugere que Clinton possui foco de atenção voltado para reconciliar diferenças e construir consensos, angariando poder e autoridade por meio da construção de relacionamentos, enquadrando o estilo de liderança de Clinton no padrão colegial, com possibilidade de mostrar-se oportunista caso as circunstâncias exigirem, focando na tarefa e no que precisar ser feito para cumprimento de um objetivo da agenda.

O estilo de liderança de Saddam Hussein, identificado por Hermann (2005c) como expansionista, de acordo com o Quadro 2, tem foco na expansão do controle do líder. Saddam apresentou pontuações altas em IGB, PWR, DIS e SC e pontuações moderadas para BACE, CC e TASK. É um tipo de líder que desafia os constrangimentos e é fechado às informações (SC>CC), podendo se concentrar na resolução de problemas ou em ideias e sentimentos dos outros quando a situação convir.

As pesquisas incluem outros presidentes (Winter, Hermann, Weintraub e Walker, 1991a; Winter, Hermann, Weintraub e Walker, 1991b; Gorener e Ucal, 2011), primeiros-ministros (Hermann e Kaarbo, 1998; Dyson, 2006), membros do politburo soviético (Hermann, 1980a) e líderes de organizações terroristas internacionais (Hermann e Sakiev, 2011). O modelo ATL é uma ferramenta útil na explicação das características pessoais do líder e na construção de um estilo de liderança, e em explorar como essas variáveis podem afetar o comportamento de política externa dos governos. Assim, podemos usar o que os líderes dizem para entender como eles são, os seus estilos de liderança e como provavelmente eles poderão se comportar em um ambiente, situação ou diante de um problema (Hermann e Sakiev, 2011).

3 MÉTODOS E TÉCNICAS

3.1 ABORDAGENS METODOLÓGICAS

Donald Trump se diz um homem de fé, criado em uma família religiosa, e que acredita que a liberdade religiosa é um direito sagrado (EUA, 2017). Donald Trump entende que a liberdade, a dignidade e paz humanas são os blocos da construção de uma democracia (EUA, 2017). Não é incomum que Donald Trump evoque Deus ou a fé americana em Deus em seus pronunciamentos e declarações como presidente.

De acordo com Calmes (2019), Donald John Trump nasceu no distrito de Queens em Nova York, Estados Unidos. O avô, Friederick Christ Trump, nasceu em Kallstadt, Alemanha, e veio para os Estados Unidos em 1885, aos 16 anos de idade. Seu pai nasceu em Nova York, Estados Unidos, e era um rico empresário dos negócios imobiliários. Sua mãe, Mary Anne McLeod Trump, era uma imigrante da Escócia. A família do presidente Trump gozava de uma condição financeira de padrão elevado, distinta e privilegiada. Donald Trump casou-se três vezes e tem cinco filhos, Donald (1977-), Ivanka (1981-), Eric (1984-), Tiffany (1993-) e Barron (2006-). Em 2005, seu último casamento, uniu-se à Melania Knauss, ex-modelo da Eslovênia (Calmes, 2019).

Segundo Johnston (2016), o presidente Trump estudou na Fordham College e foi transferido no primeiro ano para uma escola da Ivy League na Universidade da Pensilvânia, Filadélfia. Graduou-se em economia pela Wharton School em 1968. Assumiu os negócios da família e expandiu as atividades empresariais que envolvem hotéis, cassinos, resorts, campos de golfe, concursos de beleza e produtos vinculados a marca com o sobrenome da família. Donald Trump foi estrela de *reality show* da NBC e publicou livros com sucesso de vendas (Calmes, 2019).

Donald Trump foi o primeiro presidente sem histórico de ocupação de cargos eletivos ou prestação de serviço militar. Já foi do partido Democrata, Independente e elegeu-se presidente pelo partido Republicano. Envolve-se com questões políticas há décadas e mostrou interesse na corrida presidencial nos anos de 1988, 2000, 2004 e 2012 (Calmes, 2019). Eleito presidente com a prevalência dos votos do colégio eleitoral, Donald Trump foi derrotado na votação popular para a candidata democrata Hillary Clinton.

Apesar de as informações pessoais sobre o presidente Donald Trump serem importante no processo de entendimento de sua personalidade, pouco ou quase nada se extrai de dados simples para esboçar as suas características intrínsecas.

Neste sentido, a opção metodológica do investigador deve reverência à natureza da pergunta da pesquisa e da estrutura dos dados investigados, de modo que a escolha sobre o método tem ligação direta com esses dois elementos da investigação (Van Evera, 2002). Não existe a melhor ou a mais importante abordagem dentro das ciências sociais. Porta e Keating (2008) afirmam que “[...] os pesquisadores precisam estar cientes das várias abordagens, das diferenças entre elas e de como elas podem ser combinadas.” A pesquisa aqui sugerida aplica o método qualitativo e quantitativo, pelas razões adiante expostas.

Como defendido anteriormente, a política externa pode ser analisada em vários níveis e sob diferentes perspectivas. A multiplicidade de atores, razões, interesses, necessidades e contextos envolvidos no processo de formação da agenda de política externa, oferecem recursos para guiar a pesquisa por mais de um caminho (Solomón e Pinheiro, 2013).

Segundo Porta e Keating (2008) a pesquisa de caráter qualitativo “[...] envolve uma abordagem natural e interpretativa do mundo [...] os pesquisadores qualitativos estudam as coisas em seus ambientes naturais, tentando compreender ou interpretar fenômenos em termos dos significados que as pessoas lhes trazem.” Para os autores, o objetivo da pesquisa qualitativa “[...] é compreender os eventos e fenômenos descobrindo os significados que os seres humanos atribuem ao seu comportamento e ao mundo externo.”

Reafirmando os apontamentos de Porta e Keating (2008), os métodos que favorecem a pesquisa qualitativa no estudo de caso delimitado são a análise textual e análise de conteúdo. O pesquisador deverá buscar no acervo de documentos disponível para pesquisa, que registrem a atuação diplomática de Washington, especificamente sobre quais decisões Donald Trump tomou no âmbito das relações com Pyongyang durante o seu mandato no cargo de presidente.

O estudo das características pessoais e do estilo de liderança de Donald Trump, de outra parte, terá uma abordagem quantitativa. A pesquisa realizada com enfoque no método quantitativo, de acordo com Porta e Keating (2008), “[...] refere-se à análise sofisticada de dados usando grandes números [...]”. Outro conceito trazido pelos autores,

de Brady et al. (2004), descreve o método “[...] como uma abordagem fundamentada no uso de análise de regressão e técnicas relacionadas com o objetivo de medir a inferência causal.”

A variável dependente nesta pesquisa é a política externa de Washington para Pyongyang. As variáveis independentes são as características pessoais do estilo de liderança do presidente Donald Trump. Como medir características pessoais de um líder? Quais são as características pessoais do presidente Donald Trump? Ramos (2013) relata que “[...] o argumento de que seja impossível medir características psicológicas, por exemplo, vem sendo refutado pela evidência. A inteligência, atitudes, classe social, realização pessoal vem sendo eficazmente medidas.”

Vários trabalhos têm aprimorado métodos de aferição de características pessoais dos líderes à distância (Hermann, 1980a; Hermann, 2005a; Hermann, 2005b; Hermann, 2005c; Winter, Hermann, Weintraub e Walker, 1991a; Winter, Hermann, Weintraub e Walker, 1991b; Gorener e Ucal, 2011; Hermann e Kaarbo, 1998; Dyson, 2006; Hermann e Sakiev, 2011).

Analizadas as características pessoais do presidente Donald Trump e traçado o seu estilo de liderança, confrontaremos os resultados obtidos pela técnica à distância com os registros de política externa de Washington-Pyongyang, buscando saber se houve influência ou direcionamento do estilo de liderança nas decisões de Donald Trump.

Este último capítulo tem forte influência da análise comparada histórica. Algumas decisões no âmbito das relações Washington-Pyongyang, tomadas pelo presidente Donald Trump durante o seu mandato, serão contextualizadas, interpretadas e comparadas com decisões de política externa de outros presidentes americanos. Sempre que possível, tentar-se-á uma correlação entre o comportamento do presidente Donald Trump no processo de tomada de decisão com as características de seu estilo de liderança.

Porta (2008) argumenta que na análise comparada histórica o objetivo da investigação “[...] é a compreensão profunda de um contexto [...]”. Ressalta, ainda, que “[...] a abordagem histórica é particularmente relevante para projetos de pesquisa orientados a casos que, por definição, são ligados ao contexto”. O contexto da pesquisa é bem delimitado. As decisões de política externa de Donald Trump na questão nuclear de Pyongyang (2017-2020). A estratégia de pesquisa aqui é orientada para o caso e se concentra em um número pequeno. A pesquisa está orientada para descobrir se as

características pessoais do estilo de liderança de Donald Trump, de alguma forma, impactaram suas decisões no processo de tomada de decisão.

Porta (2008) defende que “[...] concentrar-se em uma comparação pequena, orientada por caso, geralmente aponta para semelhanças e diferenças através de narrativas densas, com um grande número de características sendo levadas em consideração, muitas vezes junto com sua interação dentro de processos duradouros.”

Neste ponto em particular, análise pequena de casos é crucial para o entendimento da complexidade do problema investigado, onde só um exame detalhado permitirá uma compreensão rica em detalhes. O histórico de relações diplomáticas de Washington e Pyongyang, mostra que não é objetivo da RPDC desnuclearizar-se ou se abster de manter a continuidade do programa militar nuclear. As declarações de compromisso e aceite momentâneo de acordos no âmbito dos conflitos gerados pelo programa nuclear se prestaram a colocar vírgulas em momentos de extrema tensão ou necessidade do lado de Pyongyang. A escolha de uma grande quantidade de casos para análise inviabilizaria o entendimento circunstanciado do objeto de investigação.

Porta (2008) afirma que “[...] ao olhar para casos agregados, o pesquisador está tipicamente interessado nas variáveis que afetam umas as outras causalmente. Ao se concentrar em casos individuais, no entanto, ela pode visar a compreensão de uma unidade complexa, compreendendo as relações entre suas partes constituintes.” De acordo com o autor, “[...] a lógica com base em casos tem uma tendência a diversidade e (casos desviantes) pela descrição detalhada de um ou um pequeno número de casos, muitas vezes contrastados em várias dimensões.” Para ele, isso implica na análise de alguns casos com base em um grande número de características.

Tecidas estas considerações, os próximos passos descrevem como se efetivou o processo de ATL com o modelo de Hermann, para exame do estudo de caso proposto.

3.2 EXECUÇÃO DO ESTUDO DE CASO

3.2.1 Softwares

Na análise dos traços de liderança desta pesquisa foi utilizado o software Profilerplus – Leadership Trait Analysis – LTA Classic.¹⁶ O software foi desenvolvido especificamente para automatizar o processamento de dados em LTA¹⁷, utilizando a mesma metodologia criada por Hermann (2005a) para a análise de traços de liderança. Na realização da contagem de palavras foi utilizado o software Microsoft Office Word, versão de uso livre na web.¹⁸ O Profilerplus – LTA Classic processa as respostas retiradas das entrevistas selecionadas, que são previamente contadas no Microsoft Office Word e tratadas por outro software, o Notepad++¹⁹. O uso do Notepad++, após o processo de contagem, se fez necessário na conversão do conteúdo de texto para a linguagem de programação do Profilerplus – Leadership Trait Analysis - LTA Classic.

3.2.2 Banco de dados

Foram utilizadas duas fontes de entrevistas no estudo de caso. A primeira fonte é a compilação de documentos presidenciais da Casa Branca, organizado pelo seu Secretário de Imprensa, que possui um vasto arquivo de conferências, declarações, entrevistas e atos do presidente dos EUA, com registros desde o ano de 1992. A segunda fonte é o banco de dados da FactBase.se²⁰, que possui um acervo documental sobre o presidente Donald Trump, com vários registros, documentos e entrevistas realizadas desde o ano de 1976.

3.2.3 Critérios de seleção do material de análise

Tipo de material

¹⁶ Software livre, disponível em: <<http://profilerplus.org/>>. Acesso autorizado desde junho de 2020.

¹⁷ Outros modelos de análise, além do LTA Classic, estão disponíveis na plataforma do Profilerplus, como o “Verbal Behavior Analysis” e o “Operational Code Analysis”.

¹⁸ Software para uso livre na web, disponível em: <<https://www.microsoft.com/pt-br/microsoft-365/word>>.

¹⁹ O Notepad++ é um software livre que disponibiliza ferramentas de edição de texto e código-fonte. Disponível em: <<https://notepad-plus-plus.org/>>.

²⁰ Plataforma digital de acesso público que disponibiliza dados sobre Donald Trump, e atualmente, sobre o presidente dos EUA, Joe Biden. Atualmente pertencente a FiscalNote, empresa privada sediada em Washington – EUA, que atua no setor de BigData, Mídia e Política. Disponível em: <<https://fiscalnote.com/>>.

A seleção inicial do material de análise compreendeu somente as entrevistas espontâneas concedidas pelo presidente Donald Trump no exercício do mandato presidencial. 834 entrevistas foram coletadas para análise, sendo 346 da FactBase.se e 488 do arquivo da Casa Branca. Estabeleceu-se uma triagem de 20 respostas destas entrevistas, para cada ano entre 2017 e 2020, das perguntas de ambos os bancos de dados, o que resultaria em um somatório de 160 respostas. As respostas foram extraídas de entrevistas distintas, ou seja, sem a ocorrência de mais de uma resposta coletada da mesma entrevista.²¹

Delimitação temporal

As entrevistas estão distribuídas entre os 47 meses do mandato, sugerindo que a amostra tem cobertura ampla dos acontecimentos e ações do presidente no exercício do cargo. Do banco de dados governamental foram selecionadas entrevistas compreendidas entre 27.01.2017 e 02.11.2020, e do banco de dados da FactBase.se, entre 26.01.2017 e 03.11.2020. A análise de dados, portanto, tem um marco inicial próximo a posse presidencial e um marco final no penúltimo mês do mandato.

Controle de exclusão

Na medida em que iam sendo analisadas as entrevistas, aquelas que não possuíam nenhuma das respostas com 100 ou mais palavras foram descartadas. As entrevistas que possuíam somente uma das respostas com 100 ou mais palavras, mas com registros de transcrição incompleta ou falha de registro, também foram descartadas.

Ao final, selecionadas as 160 respostas de 160 entrevistas diferentes, o conteúdo delas foi separado para reanálise, antes da submissão ao tratamento no Notepad++. Observou-se que duas das respostas do ano de 2019 do banco de dados governamental, estavam com marcações que poderiam comprometer a análise no ProfilerPlus – LTA Classic. A primeira, continha um sutil registro de expressão comportamental do público presente na entrevista.²² A segunda resposta apresentou um registro de transcrição para esclarecimento do nome e da empresa jornalística aos quais se dirigiu a resposta do

²¹ Ver Tabela 6 no Apêndice D, com os registros dos dados gerais das entrevistas analisadas.

²² A transcrição da resposta na entrevista apresentou o registro “Laughter”.

president Donald Trump.²³ Quanto ao banco de dados da FactBase.se, três respostas foram detectadas com problemas na transcrição. Duas respostas, uma de 2017 e outra de 2020, estavam com problemas de transcrição relativos a pequenos trechos inaudíveis.²⁴ A terceira resposta, de 2017, constava um registro de expressão comportamental do público presente.²⁵ Seguindo as instruções de Hermann (2005a) para coleta e seleção de material de análise, sobretudo no tocante à fidelidade da transcrição do texto da resposta, essas 5 respostas mencionadas foram descartadas. Assim, o conjunto de texto para análise é composto por 155 respostas com 100 ou mais palavras extraídas de 155 entrevistas. As 155 respostas extraídas apresentaram um conjunto de 28.518 palavras, uma média de 183,98 palavras por resposta.

Controle do efeito de posição

Hermann (1980a), quando analisou o estilo de liderança dos membros do politburo soviético, selecionou um número igual de unidades de análise com 250 palavras do início, meio e fim do material disponível, evitando um efeito de posição. Adotamos o mesmo critério de evitação.

Na seleção das respostas das entrevistas, intercalou-se a extração das respostas com 100 ou mais palavras em cada entrevista, entre a primeira e segunda resposta com 100 ou mais palavras. Ou seja, se na primeira entrevista selecionou-se a primeira resposta com 100 ou mais palavras, na segunda entrevista a seleção recaiu sobre a segunda resposta com 100 ou mais palavras, e assim sucessivamente. Evitou-se, desta forma, um efeito de posição na extração das respostas, permitindo, assim, que as respostas selecionadas estivessem distribuídas no início, meio e fim das entrevistas.

Local das entrevistas

Das 155 entrevistas utilizadas, 142 ocorreram em território nacional, enquanto que 13 entrevistas aconteceram no exterior, em países que sediaram algum evento, como o

²³ A transcrição da resposta na entrevista apresentou o registro “[Jeff Mason, Reuters]”.

²⁴ A transcrição da resposta na entrevista apresentou o registro “Inaudible”.

²⁵ A transcrição da resposta na entrevista apresentou o registro “Laughter”.

Fórum Econômico de Davos, ou em algum país em que o presidente esteve em missão ou visita oficial.

Variedade das entrevistas e das mídias

As configurações das entrevistas selecionadas não possuem padronização, pois se deram em contextos diferenciados. Parte das entrevistas aconteceram no curto momento que antecedia as viagens oficiais do presidente pelos EUA ou com destino no exterior. Outra parte das entrevistas em momentos antes ou após alguma reunião com chefes de estado. Outras entrevistas fizeram parte de pronunciamentos oficiais do presidente, sozinho ou em conjunto com outro chefe de estado. Algumas entrevistas ocorreram a bordo do avião presidencial, mas também ocorreram entrevistas convocadas pelo presidente na Casa Branca. As entrevistas ocorreram pelo rádio, telefone, internet e de forma presencial. Algumas entrevistas foram concedidas a um jornalista e outras a vários jornalistas de jornais e emissoras diversas.

Temática das entrevistas

Hermann (2005a), sugere uma categorização das respostas coletadas por tema, evitando que a descrição do estilo de liderança não seja específica de um contexto. O modelo de Hermann não estabelece um esquema de categorização por tema, que fica assim no encargo do analista. Nesta pesquisa, os assuntos mais abordados em cada uma das 155 entrevistas tratadas foram classificados em 18 temas gerais. Serão consideradas para efeito de categorização em um tema geral o maior número de temas gerais ocorridos nas respostas. As respostas extraídas, desta forma, pertencem a um conjunto de temas heterogêneo.

4 ANÁLISE DOS DADOS

Três grupos normativos para comparação serão utilizados nesta pesquisa. Os registros de pontuações baixas e altas são um desvio padrão, respectivamente abaixo e acima da pontuação média de cada uma das sete características. As pontuações dos grupos normativos 1 (87 Chefes de Estado), 2 (122 Líderes Políticos) e 3 (18 Líderes Americanos) foram extraídas de pesquisas de Hermann (2005a). A Tabela 2 organiza as médias de pontuação e os desvios padrão para cada grupo.

Tabela 2 – Grupos normativos

Pontuações			
Características	87 Chefes de Estado*	122 Líderes Políticos**	18 Líderes Americanos***
Desconfiança	Média = 0.41 Baixa < 0.25 Alta > 0.56	Média = 0.38 Baixa < 0.20 Alta > 0.56	Média = 0.42 Baixa < 0.20 Alta > 0.63
Foco na tarefa	Média = 0.59 Baixa < 0.46 Alta > 0.71	Média = 0.62 Baixa < 0.48 Alta > 0.76	Média = 0.61 Baixa < 0.50 Alta > 0.72
Crença de que pode controlar eventos	Média = 0.44 Baixa < 0.30 Alta > 0.58	Média = 0.45 Baixa < 0.33 Alta > 0.57	Média = 0.41 Baixa < 0.28 Alta > 0.55
Viés intragrupo	Média = 0.42 Baixa < 0.32 Alta > 0.53	Média = 0.43 Baixa < 0.34 Alta > 0.53	Média = 0.38 Baixa < 0.30 Alta > 0.47
Autoconfiança	Média = 0.62 Baixa < 0.44 Alta > 0.81	Média = 0.57 Baixa < 0.34 Alta > 0.80	Média = 0.56 Baixa < 0.36 Alta > 0.75
Complexidade conceitual	Média = 0.44 Baixa < 0.32 Alta > 0.56	Média = 0.45 Baixa < 0.32 Alta > 0.58	Média = 0.52 Baixa < 0.39 Alta > 0.66
Necessidade de poder e influência	Média = 0.50 Baixa < 0.37 Alta > 0.62	Média = 0.50 Baixa < 0.38 Alta > 0.62	Média = 0.49 Baixa < 0.35 Alta > 0.64

Fonte: Autor (2021).

*G1: 87 Chefes de Estado (Hermann, 2005a).

**G2: 122 Líderes Políticos (Hermann, 2005a).

***G3: 18 líderes americanos (Hermann, 2005b).

Antes de processar no software todas as 155 respostas coletadas e tratadas de uma única vez, foi realizada uma análise individual de cada banco de dados fonte desta pesquisa, para verificar o nível de distorção entre os resultados processados.

Tabela 3 – Dados das análises individuais dos bancos de dados

Características	Pontuações BD1*	Pontuações BD2**	Diferença
DIS	0.3004	0.2463	0.0541
TASK	0.4865	0.5733	-0,0868
BACE	0.4300	0.3888	0,0412
IGB	0.1438	0.1417	0,0021
SC	0.4651	0.4917	-0,0266
CC	0.6137	0.6229	-0,0092
PWR	0.3266	0.2603	0,0663

*Banco de dados da Factbase.

**Banco de dados da Casa Branca.

Fonte: Autor (2021).

A comparação das pontuações obtidas individualmente sugere que existe uma discrepância sutil nos traços IGB e CC, com diferenças na média de 0.0021 e -0.0092, respectivamente. Nas pontuações dos traços DIS, BACE, SC e PWR, o contraste sugere diferenças pequenas, todas menores do que 0.06. A maior diferença nas pontuações está em TASK, que registrou o valor de -0.08.

Os parâmetros usados para comparação dos traços da liderança nesta pesquisa são os três grupos normativos da Tabela 2, nas médias obtidas na análise de 87 chefes de estado, 122 líderes políticos e 18 líderes americanos.

Aplicando a técnica em BD1, o modelo sugere que Donald Trump tem pontuações moderadas para BACE, SC e DIS em confrontação com qualquer dos GN. De mesmo modo, as pontuações são baixas para PWR e IGB em qualquer GN. As mudanças são verificadas em TASK, quando as pontuações saem de moderada em G1 e G2 para baixa em G3 e em CC, quando as pontuações saem de altas em G1 e G2 para moderada em G3.

Com relação a BD2, o modelo sugere que Donald Trump tem pontuações moderadas em BACE, TASK e SC para qualquer GN. As pontuações são baixas para PWR e IGB em qualquer GN. Em DIS, verifica-se que a pontuação sai de baixa em G1 para moderada em G2 e G3. Por fim, em CC, a pontuação sai de alta em G1 e G2 para moderada em G3.

As pontuações permanecem as mesmas quando utilizados BD1 e BD2 em contraste com o G2. Em G1, as pontuações apenas sofrem alterações em DIS, que altera de moderada no BD1 para baixa no BD2.

Tabela 4 – Comportamento das pontuações nos GN

Características	G1	G2	G3
DIS	Moderada*	Moderada	Moderada
	Baixa**	Moderada	Moderada
TASK	Moderada	Moderada	Baixa
	Moderada	Moderada	Moderada
BACE	Moderada	Moderada	Moderada
	Moderada	Moderada	Moderada
IGB	Baixa	Baixa	Baixa
	Baixa	Baixa	Baixa
SC	Moderada	Moderada	Moderada
	Moderada	Moderada	Moderada
CC	Alta	Alta	Moderada
	Alta	Alta	Moderada
PWR	Baixa	Baixa	Baixa
	Baixa	Baixa	Baixa

*BD1.

**BD2.

Fonte: Autor (2021).

O GN a ser utilizado na definição do estilo de liderança de Donald Trump será o G3. Observa-se da Tabela 4 que as pontuações para o G3 divergem quando utilizados BD1 e BD2 em TASK. As pontuações mudam de baixa em BD1 para moderada em BD2, permanecendo inalteradas as demais pontuações tanto para BD1 como para BD2. Contudo, esta alteração não compromete a análise do estilo de liderança, conforme adiante explicado.

Tabela 5 – Análise dos traços de liderança do presidente Donald Trump

Características	Pontuações BD3*
DIS	0.2707
TASK	0.5358
BACE	0.4079
IGB	0.1427
SC	0.4794
CC	0.6186
PWR	0.2911

*Dados reunidos de BD1 e BD2.

Fonte: Autor (2021).

A análise dos traços de liderança baseado nos dados agregados de BD1 e BD2 sugere que Donald Trump apresenta uma pontuação baixa em PWR e IGB. Em BACE, SC, TASK, DIS e CC, as pontuações mostraram-se moderadas. Donald Trump, desta forma, se distingue dos líderes do G3 nessas duas características específicas: PWR e IGB.

4.1 DONALD TRUMP RESPEITA OU DESAFIA RESTRIÇÕES?

O direcionamento do líder ao respeito ou desafio às restrições é obtido através das suas pontuações nos critérios PWR e BACE. Comparando as pontuações de Donald Trump com G1, observamos uma pontuação baixa em PWR ($0.29 < 0.37$) e uma pontuação moderada em BACE ($0.40 > 0.30$). Se comparado com G2, a pontuação é baixa em PWR ($0.29 < 0.38$) e moderada em BACE ($0.40 > 0.33$). Quanto ao G3, a pontuação é baixa em PWR ($0.29 < 0.35$) e moderada em BACE ($0.40 > 0.28$).

Observa-se que não existe diferença na classificação de pontuação do líder utilizando-se qualquer um dos GN. PWR permanece no nível baixo e BACE no nível moderado. A baixa pontuação em PWR e uma pontuação moderada para BACE, sugerem que Donald Trump respeita os constrangimentos.

Outros valores de pontuação, porém, podem ser encontrados nos trabalhos de Walker et al. (2018), que utilizando como parâmetro um GN de 13 ex-presidentes dos EUA, obteve pontuações para PWR em 0.29 e para BACE em 0.39, e de Fitzsimmons (2020), que utilizando um GN de 15 líderes anglo-americanos como parâmetro, encontrou o valor de 0.27 para PWR e 0.40 para BACE.

A pontuação moderada e baixa de Donald Trump, em BACE e PWR respectivamente, comparadas com o G3 sugerem que o líder, de forma geral, respeitará as restrições. No entanto, a possibilidade de desafiar restrições, sob certas circunstâncias, não estaria descartada, podendo agir de forma reativa. Líderes que acreditam que podem influenciar o que acontece no mundo possuem certo interesse e são mais ativos no processo de formulação de política externa, são propensos a iniciar atividades em vez de esperar que outros o façam (Hermann, 2005a). É provável que Donald Trump trabalhe dentro de parâmetros para atingir seus objetivos, podendo construir consensos e firmar compromissos no processo de trabalho.

4.2 DONALD TRUMP É ABERTO OU FECHADO ÀS INFORMAÇÕES?

Ser aberto ou fechado para informações decorre da análise das pontuações do líder nos critérios SC e CC. As pontuações de Donald Trump, comparadas com G1, nos critérios SC e CC foram respectivamente moderada ($0.47 > 0.44$) e alta ($0.61 > 0.44$). Em contraposição com G2, a pontuação obtida foi moderada em SC ($0.47 > 0.34$) e alta em CC ($0.61 > 0.58$). No G3, a pontuação foi moderada em SC ($0.47 > 0.36$) e moderado em CC ($0.61 < 0.66$).

A divergência encontrada está em CC, classificada em moderada quando confrontada com G3, enquanto que em G1 e G2 alteram para pontuações altas.

Em consonância com as regras do modelo ATL para determinação da abertura do líder à informação, os dados obtidos sugerem que Donald Trump é um líder aberto às informações, pois a pontuação em CC é maior do que a pontuação em SC ($CC > SC$).

Outras pontuações foram obtidas por Walker et al. (2018), sendo 0.41 para SC e 0.58 para CC. Fitzsimmons (2020) encontrou pontuações para SC em 0.46 e CC em 0.64.

As pontuações moderadas de Donald Trump, em SC e CC, comparadas com o G3, e a relação $CC > SC$, sugerem que Donald Trump geralmente é mais pragmático e responde aos interesses, necessidades, ideias e demandas de outras pessoas (Hermann, 2005a). A relação sugere ainda que Donald Trump é sensível a pistas situacionais e age com base no que considera aceitável nas condições atuais (Hermann, 2005a). As pontuações são um indicativo de que Donald Trump parece estar aberto a ouvir os outros e que também é capaz de convencê-los a fazer coisas por que aparenta estar interessado no que acontece com eles e está preocupado em ajudá-los (Hermann, 2005a). É possível que Donald Trump organize estruturas de decisão colegiadas, maximizando as informações contextuais que possam ter sobre as opiniões e necessidades das pessoas ao seu redor (Hermann, 2005a). As pontuações indicam, ainda, que Donald Trump lida com problemas e eventos caso a caso (Hermann, 2005a). Por ser conceitualmente complexo, Donald Trump pode ter mais de um motivo para adotar determinada posição, estando disposto a considerar ambiguidades e sendo flexível (Hermann, 2005a).

4.3 QUAIS AS MOTIVAÇÕES DE DONALD TRUMP?

As motivações são obtidas pelas pontuações do líder nos critérios TASK, IGB e DIS. As pontuações de Donald Trump, confrontadas com G1, revelaram-se moderadas em TASK ($0.53 > 0.46$) e DIS ($0.27 > 0.25$), e baixa em IGB ($0.14 < 0.32$). Se comparado com o G2, a pontuação é moderada em TASK ($0.53 > 0.48$), moderada em DIS ($0.27 > 0.20$) e baixa em IGB ($0.14 < 0.34$). Quanto a G3, a pontuação é moderada em TASK ($0.53 > 0.50$), moderada em DIS ($0.27 > 0.20$) e baixa em IGB ($0.14 < 0.30$).

De acordo com as regras do modelo ATL para determinação da motivação do líder, Donald Trump, com pontuação moderada em TASK, tem motivação voltada tanto para problemas como para as relações, dependendo da situação em que se encontra (Hermann, 2005a). O foco estará no que a situação demandar (Hermann, 2005a). Com pontuação baixa em IGB e moderada em DIS, podemos sugerir que Donald Trump não enxerga o mundo como mais ameaçador do que cooperativo, acreditando que os conflitos são específicos do contexto (Hermann, 2005a).

Walker et al. (2018) também obteve pontuações diferentes, sendo 0.46 em TASK, 0.11 em IGB e 0.28 em DIS. Fitzsimmons (2020) obteve 0.46 em TASK, 0.13 em IGB e 0.31 em DIS.

A pontuação moderada de Donald Trump em TASK, comparada com o G3, sugere o líder tem motivação tanto para a tarefa como para relacionamentos. É possível que Donald Trump possua a habilidade de direcionar sua atenção para o problema quando for apropriado ou de construir relacionamentos quando isso parecer mais relevante (Hermann, 2005a). Com pontuação moderada em TASK, Donald Trump pode ir em direção a seus objetivos ou centrar sua atenção em manter elevados a lealdade e o moral de eleitores importantes e provavelmente monitorará o ambiente em busca de pistas que indiquem a demanda por um determinado foco de atenção (Hermann, 2005a).

A pontuação baixa em IGB e moderada em DIS, quando comparadas com G3, sugerem que Donald Trump tende a ver o mundo mais como cooperativo do que conflituoso, sendo menos propenso a ver o mundo em preto e branco e mais dispostas a categorizar as pessoas como “nós” ou “eles” com base na natureza e contexto do problema (Hermann, 2005a).

4.4 AS DECISÕES DE DONALD TRUMP NA QUESTÃO NUCLEAR DE PYONGYANG

As pontuações indicativas de respeito às restrições, abertura às informações e motivação tanto para solução de problemas como para construção de relacionamentos, sugerem que Donald Trump está entre o estilo de liderança Oportunista e o estilo de liderança Colegial. Em qual estilo, então, se encaixa Donald Trump? Hermann e Sakiev (2011) disponibilizam uma ferramenta para acessar o estilo de liderança do líder baseado nas pontuações indicativas dos traços nas três dimensões.

Tabela 6 – Ferramenta para acessar o estilo de liderança

<i>Usando a ATL para acessar as dimensões do estilo de liderança</i>		
<i>Aspectos de estilo ATL</i>	Traços envolvidos	Como combinar (Baseado em grupos normativos)
<i>Reação às restrições</i>	BACE	Respeita restrições = Crença baixa/moderada e necessidade de poder baixa/moderada; Desafia restrições indiretamente = Crença baixa/moderada e alta necessidade de poder;
	PWR	Desafia as restrições diretamente = Crença alta e baixa/moderada necessidade de poder; Desafia restrições de ambas as maneiras = Alta crença e alta necessidade de poder;
<i>Abertura às informações</i>	CC	Fechado para informações = pontuação de autoconfiança maior do que para complexidade OU ambas as pontuações baixas;
	SC	Aberto às informações = Pontuação de complexidade maior do que para autoconfiança OU ambas as pontuações altas;
<i>Motivações</i>	TASK	Foco na resolução de problemas = Alta orientação para tarefas; Foco no que a situação requer = Moderado na orientação da tarefa; Foco no processo e manutenção do grupo = Baixa orientação à tarefa;
<i>Orientação à política</i>	DIS	Conflito visto como específico do contexto = Desconfiança baixa/moderada e preconceito interno do grupo baixo/moderado;
	IGB	Ameaças presentes, mas se vigilante, há oportunidades para tirar proveito de = Alta desconfiança e baixo/moderado preconceito dentro do grupo; Conflito devido a ameaças de adversários tradicionais = Alta desconfiança e alta polarização dentro do grupo; O conflito é de soma zero e devido à anarquia e à competição, o foco está em lidar com as ameaças e sair na frente = Desconfiança baixa/moderada e preconceito interno alto;
<i>Abordagem do líder</i>	Reação às restrições	Oportunista = Respeita as restrições e está aberto à informação;
	Abertura às informações	Pragmático = Respeita as restrições e é fechado para as informações; Estrategista = Desafia restrições e é aberto à informação; Advogado = Desafia restrições e é fechado para informações;

Fonte: Hermann e Sakiev (2011), traduzido pelo Autor (2021).

Neste tópico, procura-se estabelecer uma relação entre as características pessoais do estilo de liderança de Donald Trump dentro do processo de tomada de decisão de política externa na questão nuclear de Pyongyang. As características de Donald Trump que o distingue dos outros 18 líderes americanos, ou seja, seus traços mais distintivos, são o baixo viés intragrupo e a baixa necessidade de poder e influência.

O conceito de Donald Trump sobre o regime de Pyongyang ficou muito claro no início de seu mandato. Em 20.11.2017, por exemplo, Donald Trump afirmou que a RPDC é um país “patrocinador do terrorismo” (EUA, 2017). Em outra ocasião, Donald Trump dirige palavras contundentes à RPDC, afirmando que seu governo é muito diferente dos que passaram, e que a RPDC não deve subestimar e nem testar os EUA, pois apesar de os EUA não buscar conflito ou confronto, também não fugiria deles. Apesar das ameaças, Donald Trump se dispõe a construir uma nova RPDC, conquanto que Pyongyang cesse as ameaças e desista de seus mísseis e armas nucleares (EUA, 2017).

A disposição à negociação é visível no discurso de Donald Trump até nos momentos mais delicados. Conquanto tenha advertido a RPDC e deixado muito claro que “a linha vermelha” não poderia ser cruzada no seu governo, Donald Trump aparenta saber que a sua política de pressão máxima poderia não alcançar o objetivo principal de Washington. O deslizamento de Donald Trump entre atacar inconsequentemente com “fogo e fúria” e deixar um convite em aberto para uma reunião com Kim Jong Un, se amolda bastante com a habilidade de construir uma zona de diálogo dentro de um contexto de tensão.

Donald Trump percorreu os primeiros passos de presidente desafiando às restrições políticas na questão nuclear de Pyongyang. Ameaçou o país de destruição total, qualificou o regime com os piores predicados, criou um apelido para o líder norte-coreano, deslocou forças armadas para as regiões fronteiriças e do entorno da península, intensificou as sanções econômicas e deixou pairar à dúvida se seria capaz de lançar um ataque preventivo contra Pyongyang.

Em reunião com a embaixadora dos EUA na ONU, Nikki Haley, Donald Trump frisa que o programa nuclear da RPDC era, segundo houvera lhe dito Barack Obama, de longe, o maior problema do governo que o antecedeu (EUA, 2019). Na Revisão de Defesa de Mísseis, em 17 de janeiro de 2019, discursando junto a Mike Pence, Donald Trump declara a necessidade de atualização e modernização da defesa antimísseis em

contraposição a adversários estrangeiros, concorrentes e regimes desonestos que estão constantemente aprimorando seus arsenais de mísseis (EUA, 2019).

O próprio Donald Trump afirma que no início de seu mandato parecia que uma guerra com a RPDC era muito provável de acontecer, mas o avanço nas negociações bilaterais, com o apoio de aliados, mudou o rumo das previsões, abrindo novos caminhos para a paz (EUA, 2018). Em outro pronunciamento, desta vez em uma reunião de gabinete, D. Trump afirma que se outro governo tivesse vencido as eleições e assumido a presidência dos EUA, uma grande guerra estaria acontecendo na Ásia, que se espalharia para além do continente, em uma terceira guerra mundial (EUA, 2019).

Donald Trump, por outro lado, foi capaz de participar de duas cúpulas históricas, ser o primeiro presidente a “visitar” a RPDC na fronteira, cumprir parcialmente o acordo com Pyongyang de suspender os exercícios militares conjuntos com a Coreia do Sul, estabelecer o diálogo e um mínimo de relações diplomáticas em reuniões de trabalho entre Secretários de Estado e correspondências oficiais entre os líderes das duas nações. A sua participação intensa no processo de tomada de decisão corrobora com a sua pontuação moderada em BACE e baixa em PWR.

A complexidade conceitual de Donald Trump leva a crer que uma multiplicidade de fatores é considerada nas decisões que tomou em Pyongyang. Observa-se na problemática com o Secretário de Estado Rex Tillerson, que entrou em confronto com a Casa Branca por defender que as negociações com Pyongyang poderiam ocorrer sem condições prévias, enquanto Donald Trump desautorizava julgando ser perda de tempo tentar negociar com a RPDC— que o problema de política externa já era tratado pelo próprio Donald Trump sob diferentes ângulos (Watkins, 2017).

Em 17 de abril de 2018, por exemplo, antes de uma reunião com o primeiro ministro do Japão, Donald Trump declarou que os EUA estavam em conversas de alto nível com a RPDC. Confessa estar ansioso para encontrar o líder norte-coreano e que as expectativas para a solução do problema do regime de Pyongyang eram boas. O presidente abrandou a forma de se pronunciar sobre as relações com Pyongyang, e chegou a afirmar que existe uma relação de respeito entre EUA e RPDC (EUA, 2018). Em outros três pronunciamentos, no mês de maio de 2018, Donald Trump afirma que as negociações com a RPDC estão em andamento e que confia no potencial econômico da RPDC. Indagado se acredita na desnuclearização da RPDC, Donald Trump diz que acha que o líder de Pyongyang fala a verdade quando sustenta estar disposto a renunciar ao poder

nuclear. Caso a RPDC promovesse o desmantelamento completo, irreversível e verificável do arsenal, Donald Trump acrescenta que garantiria a segurança do regime de Pyongyang (EUA, 2018).

As mudanças repentinas nas decisões referentes a política externa de Pyongyang podem também ser fruto de uma postura pragmática. Donald Trump pode ter enxergado uma oportunidade no engajamento das relações e mudado o entendimento contrário às negociações abertas, repensando a postura até então adotada. Donald Trump, por exemplo, sinalizou em certo momento ser possível uma certa flexibilidade para manter as negociações com Pyongyang tramitando. Em declaração à imprensa, afirmou que aceitaria acordos menores para manter esse processo de diálogo em curso (EUA, 2019).

Donald Trump não deixa de distribuir os “méritos” com o grupo que participa do processo de formulação e implementação da política em Pyongyang, reconhecendo a importância de manter um bom status nas relações entre seus pares. Na reunião com seu gabinete em 21 de junho de 2018, por exemplo, Donald Trump declara o sucesso da Cúpula de Singapura, agradecendo aos Secretário de Estado Mike Pompeo e ao Conselheiro de Segurança Nacional John Bolton pelo trabalho que vinha sendo efetuado para desnuclearizar a RPDC. O presidente novamente destaca o bom relacionamento com Pyongyang e o início do processo de destruição total da infraestrutura ligada ao arsenal nuclear e da parada dos testes de mísseis balísticos e nucleares (EUA, 2018). Percebe-se à orientação de Donald Trump tanto para levar o seu grupo à se concentrar na questão nuclear de Pyongyang, ou seja, na solução do problema, como para manter o moral do seu grupo.

Donald Trump enxerga os problemas e ameaças existentes no mundo, mas acredita nas oportunidades de cooperação existentes. Em discurso junto ao Congresso dos EUA, defendeu que a política externa dos EUA exige um envolvimento direto, robusto e significativo com o mundo, e que é a liderança dos EUA baseada em interesses vitais de segurança que compartilha com seus aliados no exterior (EUA, 2017). A sua visão de um mundo com ameaças, mas com possibilidade de se obter vantagens e benefícios mútuos pode ser reparada no discurso da cerimônia de juramento do Secretário de Estado Rex Tillerson, em 01 de fevereiro de 2017, quando afirma que “ [...] é necessário que os EUA promovam a estabilidade e a segurança em um mundo preso a violência e a guerra. Nesta missão, seria importante o fortalecimento das alianças e a formação de novas

alianças para aprimorar os interesses estratégicos e a segurança do povo.” (EUA, 2017) Donald Trump parece preferir jogos de ganha-ganha à jogos de soma zero.

Após a Cúpula de Hanói, as relações EUA-RPDC declinaram. Donald Trump, entretanto, continua estrategicamente trabalhando com foco a não colocar em risco a estabilidade relativa do diálogo entre os países. Donald Trump afirma que por recomendação do Secretário de Estado Mike Pompeo, não houve decisões a serem efetivamente tomadas. Donald Trump confirma que o ponto de discordância na cúpula recaiu sobre o pedido da RPDC do levantamento das sanções impostas pelos EUA. Apesar de não concordar com a suspensão das sanções, Donald Trump seguiu declarando que as boas relações com Pyongyang e Kim Jong Un seguem mantidas (EUA, 2019).

Com o fim dos encontros oficiais, Donald Trump adota uma nova decisão, passando a ignorar os questionamentos da mídia quanto aos testes nucleares de curto alcance que Pyongyang realizou após as cúpulas. O posicionamento de Donald Trump é que a RPDC não fez testes nucleares nem balísticos de longo alcance. Em uma declaração à imprensa em 02 de agosto de 2019, afirma que os EUA em sua liderança é um país muito recíproco, e se algum país causa algo negativo aos EUA, a resposta se daria na mesma altura (EUA, 2019).

Donald Trump que não está feliz com os testes de curto alcance de Pyongyang, mas ainda assim não acha que seria violação das resoluções da ONU. Donald Trump mostra um entendimento realista quando declara a imprensa que “[...] gostem ou não, vivemos no mundo dos mísseis, e não apenas a RPDC testa mísseis de curto alcance”. Por outro lado, demonstra muito aprofundado nos liames das tratativas com a RPDC ao afirmar que “[...] não tratou com Kim Jung Un acerca de balística de curto alcance.” (EUA, 2019)

As cúpulas passaram, o diálogo entre EUA-RPDC deteriorou-se, mas ainda assim Donald Trump parece ter tirado bom proveito das decisões que tomou em Pyongyang. Diminuiu momentaneamente a tensão sobre um conflito nuclear, usou boa parte do tempo do governo abrindo as portas da diplomacia para conversar pessoalmente com Pyongyang e mostrou ser habilidoso em negociar em situação de crise extrema, quando se pensava apenas no uso recíproco da violência. Donald Trump, sugere-se, manteve o foco em avaliar o que foi possível fazer na questão nuclear de Pyongyang, considerando o que se desejava alcançar como objetivo e o que politicamente foi viável durante o seu mandato, voltado assim para um estilo de liderança oportunista.

5 CONCLUSÕES

Esta pesquisa objetivou identificar e avaliar as características pessoais do presidente Donald Trump, e a influência delas no processo de tomada de decisão em política externa, dentro da questão nuclear de Pyongyang, utilizando a técnica de análise à distância desenvolvida por Hermann (2005a).

Descobriu-se, a partir da análise de 155 respostas espontâneas a entrevistas, que Donald Trump tende a respeitar restrições políticas, é aberto a informações contextuais e é motivado tanto para resolver problemas como manter relacionamentos.

Analizando as pontuações de Donald Trump em cada uma das sete características do modelo ATL, verificou-se que ele possui traços distintivos em IGB e PWR. As pontuações de Donald Trump para IGB e PWR foram baixas.

Conforme registrou Hermann (2005a), líderes com baixo IGB “[...] são menos propensos a ver o mundo em preto e branco e mais dispostos a categorizar as pessoas como nós ou eles com base na natureza da situação ou problema em questão, de modo que tais categorias permaneçam fluidas e sempre mudando dependendo de o que está acontecendo no mundo no momento [...].”

A revisão das decisões tomadas por Donald Trump em Pyongyang mostra que ele está longe de ver o mundo em preto e branco, até por que possui uma pontuação moderada em complexidade conceitual. A visão de Donald Trump considera uma gama variada de elementos, não coadunando com conceitos primários ou entendimentos simplistas.

A pontuação baixa em necessidade de poder e influência, de acordo com Hermann (2005a), indica que o líder “[...] têm menos necessidade de estar no comando, oportunizando outros atores a ter influência.” É o que verificamos, por exemplo, na prevalência do entendimento do Secretário de Estado Mike Pompeo na Cúpula de Hanói em não firmar os compromissos propostos por Pyongyang. É normal para o líder com baixa necessidade de poder e influência que outros indivíduos recebam crédito pelo que acontece (Hermann, 2005a). Em discursos e reuniões de gabinete, Donald Trump parece usar o critério da meritocracia e do uso do elogio e reconhecimento àqueles que fizeram parte da formulação da política para Pyongyang, como John Bolton e Mike Pompeo.

De modo geral, nas outras características com pontuação moderada, Donald Trump não se diferencia dos outros 18 líderes americanos do grupo normativo a que foi comparado. O seu estilo de liderança está mais direcionado para o estilo oportunista, que

segundo o modelo de enquadramento, é provável que o seu foco está em avaliar o que é possível na situação e contexto atuais, ponderando o que se deseja alcançar e o que os eleitores importantes lhe permitirão fazer.

A revisão de literatura mostrou alguns trabalhos abordando a investigação das características pessoais e estilo de liderança de Donald Trump no âmbito da política externa. Walker et al. (2018), por exemplo, analisou o código operacional de Donald Trump e Hillary Clinton, quando então candidatos nas eleições de 2016, sugerindo, com base na teoria dos jogos, como os candidatos poderiam exercer o poder e tomar decisões caso vencessem a disputa eleitoral. Neste estudo, ficou registrado que “[...] é relativamente improvável que ele mude de um papel de rival para parceiro nas relações com estados pares, embora ele possa chegar a acordos temporários de acordo com a lógica de seu jogo subjetivo.” O registro coaduna com o estilo oportunista, com tendência a alcançar seus objetivos políticos, alterando substancialmente um posicionamento anterior que parecia contrário às suas concepções.

Outra pesquisa relevante sobre análise de traços da personalidade dos candidatos Donald Trump e Hillary Clinton foi apresentada por Nai et al. (2018), buscando compreender o reflexo da personalidade do líder no estilo de campanha. Nai et al. (2019) analisaram, também, os traços de personalidade de Donald Trump com base em oito critérios (Big Five e Dark Triad), comparando dados com grupos normativos, para sugerir implicações do perfil do presidente na política interna e externa dos EUA. Donald Trump foi caracterizado com estabilidade emocional muito baixa e extroversão muito alta.

Kogan (2019), por outro lado, direcionou esforços para identificar os aspectos-chave da abordagem de negociação de Donald Trump, explorando a política externa de Washington para Pyongyang em estudo de caso. Analisando o presidente Trump com base em quatro funções da abordagem de negociação²⁶, destaca que o presidente “[...] negocia identificando e explorando as vulnerabilidades de seus colegas e, em seguida, usando a vantagem e a bravata para moldar suas escolhas.”

Hyatt et al. (2018), através do modelo dos cinco fatores, sugeriram um perfil de personalidade de Donald Trump com base na análise comparada de dados de formulários respondidos por eleitores do presidente e de Hillary Clinton, destacando a descoberta de altos traços de psicopatia e narcisismo. Immelman (2016; 2017; 2020), analisou os traços

²⁶ Observador, executor, controlador e desregulador.

de Donald Trump com fundamento no manual e índice de Millon para perfis de personalidade, pontuando considerações relevantes sobre ambição, dominação e extroversão.

Contudo, necessário registrar que a literatura registra posicionamentos contrários às descobertas desta pesquisa. Vinha (2017), por exemplo, aponta que o presidente Donald Trump possui perfil inclinado à maximização do poder, contrastando com a pontuação baixa em PWR encontrado no modelo ATL aqui exposto. Hudson e Day (2019), comentando sobre a demissão do Secretário de Estado Rex Tillerson, afirma que o presidente Donald Trump sofreu severa perda de influência no Departamento de Estado, devido às declarações e a forma de condução das atividades pelo então Secretário Rex Tillerson, com baixa aprovação interna. Os motivos da demissão, pode-se argumentar, estariam vinculados à necessidade de poder e influência do presidente Trump dentro do Departamento de Estado, contrapondo a descoberta de baixa pontuação em PWR no modelo ATL. Outro argumento encontrado em Hudson e Day (2019) que contradiz a baixa pontuação em PWR é o registro de incômodo do presidente Donald Trump com o “estado profundo”, alusão às organizações governamentais poderosas que possuem agenda própria, certamente com pautas nem sempre alinhadas com a Casa Branca.

Vinha (2017) também indica que o presidente Donald Trump tem baixo nível de complexidade conceitual, característica que também destoa da pontuação encontrada no modelo ATL. Com relação à baixa pontuação em IGB encontrada no modelo ATL, Vinha (2017), assim como Ryan (2019), apresenta argumentos contrários aos dados que indicam baixo viés intragrupo, sustentando em suas pesquisas que o presidente Donald Trump possui um forte ímpeto nacionalista, rejeitando todos os constrangimentos à soberania americana. Conforme assevera Hudson e Day (2019), Donald Trump, com traços de personalidade distintos, atípicos para os presidentes dos EUA, aumentou o interesse pela psicologia política, e oferece oportunidades para repensar a análise de política externa com ênfase no líder.

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APENDICE A - EVOLUÇÃO DO ORÇAMENTO DO DEPARTAMENTO DE DEFESA DOS EUA

Tabela 7 – Evolução do orçamento do Departamento de Defesa dos EUA

Presidente	Barack Obama								Donald Trump			
Período	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Valor em bilhões de dólares	\$515	\$533	\$548	\$553	\$525	\$526	\$495	\$561	\$583	\$639	\$686	\$718

Fonte: Autor (2021) com dados do Federal Reserve (EUA, 2020).

APÊNDICE B – ALTERAÇÕES NA ESTRUTURA BUROCRÁTICA GOVERNAMENTAL

Tabela 8 – Alterações na estrutura burocrática governamental

Cargos	Obama I (2009-2012)				Obama II (2013-2016)		Trump (2017-2020)			
	Hillary Clinton				John Kerry		Rex Tillerson	Michael Pompeo		
Secretário de Estado										
Secretário de Defesa	Robert Gates	Leon Panetta			Chuck Hagel	Ashton Carter	James Mattis	Mark Esper		
Representante na ONU	Susan Rice				Rosemary DiCarlo	Samantha Power	Nick Haley	Jonathan Cohen	Kelly Craft	
Conselheiro de Segurança Nacional	James L. Jones	Thomas E. Donilon			Susan Rice		Michael Flynn	H. R. McMaster	John Bolton	Robert O' Brien
Diretor da CIA	Leon Panetta	Michael Morell	David Petraeus		Michael Morell	John Brennan	Michael Pompeo	Gina Haspel		
Diretor da NSA	Keith Alexandre				Michael Rogers		Michael Rogers	Paul M. Nakasone		
Chefe de Gabinete Executivo	Rahm Emanuel	Pete Rouse	William M. Daley	Jack Lew	Denis McDonough		Reince Priebus	John F. Kelly	Mick Mulvaney	Mark Meadows

Fonte: Autor (2021), com dados dos Departamentos de Governo (EUA, 2020).

APÊNDICE C – REGISTRO DE VIAGENS PRESIDENCIAIS

Tabela 9 – Registro de viagens presidenciais

Presidente	Barack Obama										Donald Trump***		
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019		
Período													
Total de viagens oficiais	25	9	10	7	14	21	15	19	15	8	9		
Viagem com agenda envolvendo a RPDC ou país membro do Six-party-talks*	4	2	0	1	1	3	0	4	4	1	4**		
Viagem de encontro com o líder da RPDC										1	1		

*Países que prestam algum tipo de apoio diplomático, como Cingapura e Vietnã, responsáveis por sediar duas Cúpulas entre EUA e RPDC, também foram considerados.

**Registros inseridos com dados divulgados pela Casa Branca. Disponível em <<https://www.whitehouse.gov>>. Acesso em 01.12.2019.

***Na fonte não consta nenhum registro de viagem referente ao ano de 2020. Muitos dados e informações, além das próprias viagens oficiais, ficaram comprometidos devido a pandemia do Covid19.

Fonte: Autor (2021), com dados do Office of the Historian (EUA, 2019).

APÊNDICE D – DADOS GERAIS DAS ENTREVISTAS ANALISADAS

Tabela 10 - Dados das entrevistas analisadas

Período	Número	Local	Número por local	Temas	Frequência dos temas
2017	38	EUA	142	Segurança internacional	12
2018	40	França	1	Segurança nacional	5
2019	38	Argentina	2	Eleições	9
2020	39	Porto Rico	1	Política interna	47
		Suíça	5	Política externa	23
		Reino Unido	1	Economia nacional	10
		Vietnã	2	Economia internacional	12
		Japão	1	Relações bilaterais	6
				Saúde	14
				Manifestações sociais	1
				Meio ambiente	2
				Violência	4
				Esportes	2
				Imigração	3
				Mídia	1
				Drogas	1
				Pessoal	1
				Tributação	2

Fonte: Autor (2021).

APÊNDICE E – BANCO DE DADOS DA FACTBASE

Banco de dados – Factbase					
Nº	Local	Data	Tema	Entrevistador	Resposta
1	EUA	05.11.2017	Tributação	Sharyl Attkisson	Well I think it's terrible I think it's despicable the amount of money that I hear being thrown around is ridiculous. Somebody said that this guy Steele that wrote it and we'll figure that out eventually that he paid money to the Russians. And frankly, if that was, in fact, Russia involved they don't like me very much just the opposite of what people were saying. And you know I have said over the last period of time the last person they want is me because I want a strong, strong military which I've proven in many ways and that was part of my campaign. And I also want lower oil prices and lots of oil which is not good for Russia. So I would think I would be the last one. But when you look at that horrible dossier which is a total phony fake deal like so much of the news that I read when you look at that and take a look at what's gone on with that and the kind of money we're talking about it is a disgrace.
2	EUA	02.11.2017	Imigração	Fox News (Laura Ingraham)	Until yesterday, most people never heard of chain migration. I gave a form of a press conference and I started talking about chain migration, and this horrible animal, he's an animal as far as I'm concerned. Twenty three people have touched him -- maybe, came in because he was in... and he was only in with a green card, supposedly. But chain migration is where his whole family comes in. His mother can come in, his father, his grandmother, everybody comes in. Chain migration is a disaster for this country, and it's going to end. Now I've been talking about it for a while, but I think the public until yesterday probably never heard about chain migration.
3	EUA	25.10.2017	Política interna	Lou Dobbs of Fox Business	Well, I think we're going to get it. I think these Senators are going to come together. I think the House is looking really good, you know, they're passing this bill along very rapidly. In fact, that's going to happen hopefully today. And I did make a couple of calls. I said -- fellas, please, no changes. Just pass it along. We have to get tax cuts. And just pass it along. We have to get tax cuts. And just pass it along. Now normally, they want to make their 15 points or their 20 points and then it has to go back and it has to be re-voted and everything else. I said just pass it along. And they said think we're going to do that. And let's see what happens. But I think they're going to do that. And so look, we have

					actually in the Republican Party, in a true sense, we have great unity. Look at the Democrats with Bernie Sanders who got absolutely taken advantage of by the DNC. And now see it, you know, all the stuff coming out. You see worse happening. But you look at Hillary and Bernie, that's big league stuff. We have very, very minor -- we have great unity. I was with the Senate yesterday, the entire Republican Senate. And other than two people, I tell you, there was a lot of love in that room.
4	EUA	22.10.2017	Economia nacional	Fox Business (Maria Bartiromo)	I think we have the votes. I think that Rand Paul is actually going to vote for the tax cuts. I think that other people -- you know, we had tremendous enthusiasm this time. Healthcare, I was told was tougher, but it was close. I mean, so far I would say it's not even a contest. And I will tell you speaking of healthcare, I believe we're going to get that also. It will be in the form of block grants to the different states, and it will be a wonderful healthcare. It will be a tremendous healthcare, managed properly in smaller doses where you can really do it much more individually. So I think we're going to get that also in a little bit later probably in three or four months from now. But I do believe we will have that long before the election in '18. As far as taxes are concerned, you see what's happening. It is really doing well, great enthusiasm.
5	EUA	17.10.2017	Tributação	Tony Katz of WIBC	I thought it was rather incredible that that happened. You know, you're talking repeal and replace for years. Don't forget, I've been doing this for two years -- they've been saying repeal and replace for seven. So I was surprised, but we're gonna get health care. Health care is going to happen. When I knocked out the CSRs one week we knocked out almost, you look at it, \$800 million, \$700 million a month, all of a sudden everyone's talking to me now, and we're gonna get health care. We're gonna get it probably in a short-term form and then in a long-term form, maybe the, maybe the blocks, we do the block grants, but we will have health care.
6	PORTO RICO	04.10.2017	Meio Ambiente	Geraldo Rivera of Fox News	I don't know the mayor but she was very, very nice at the beginning. She says it's incredible what happened and all of a sudden she went a little bit on the nasty side. And I guess she is running for office and it turns out I was right. Isn't that a shock? Your current governor, he is been amazing. Your congresswoman has been absolutely amazing and the people, I met your state Senators and lots of other people. Virtually every mayor has been so thankful. The job we've done. It's the job of the Navy and Army and Air Force and Marines. The whole thing. The U.S. Coast Guard, what they've done, the lives they have saved -- the people are really very thankful.

7	EUA	28.09.2017	Política interna	Pete Hegseth on Fox & Friends	Well, it is an important issue. It's not a distraction at all, because, you know, first of all, I'm doing a lot. As you know, we've passed over 50 pieces of legislation. We have a Supreme Court judge. We have a much stronger military. We have strong borders now. We're going to get the wall. We're going to get all the things that we said. And now we're going, as you know, today is the big day. We're announcing the biggest tax cuts in the history of our country. So there's been no distraction. But the NFL cannot disrespect our country. They cannot disrespect our flag or our national anthem. And they can't have people sitting down or kneeling down during our national anthem. And I saw this a year ago with Kaepernick. And I said this is a terrible thing. I thought it was terrible. And then it builds up a little bit and a little bit more and you see what's been happening. And then all of a sudden, you see more and more and more. And I came out and made a statement in Alabama the other day and I said, I think it's very disrespectful to our country. And the world's picked it up. And guess what? Most people agree with me. And the NFL is in a box. They have to do something about it. They're disrespecting -- and when I say they, in a way, it is they, because they can stop it. You know, they have rules for everything. You can't dance in the end zone. You can't wear the pink socks, relative to breast cancer, which is one of the places -- they have rules for everything. Why aren't they honoring this country by enforcing a rule that's been in existence for a long time? So the NFL and the players really have to do the honor of the country. It's for the honor of the country. They have to respect our country. They have to respect our flag and our anthem.
8	EUA	25.09.2017	Política interna	WZZK-FM (Rick and Bubba)	Well, I think that Luther will be absolutely fantastic in terms of agenda. He wants the wall. He's very, very tough on crime. Remember this that if Luther didn't run, if he would have -- in other words, if he weren't appointed, let's say, he was Attorney General and he stayed Attorney General, etc., etc., and then he ran, nobody would even run against him. He would have been -- but because he was appointed by a little bit of a controversial guy, I guess, as I understand it, now, it makes the race tough. If he would have done nothing and just run now against -- and it might be that Roy Moore, as you say, because I don't know Roy Moore at all.
9	EUA	25.07.2017	Política interna	The Wall Street Journal	I've always -- I'm always concerned about that. I don't like it. I don't -- I don't like it from that standpoint. Now, with that being said, you might be able to make a very good deal because I think there's a lot of pressure on the Democrats. But the Democrats are nothing more than obstructionists. That's all they can do. That's all they seem to be good at. So they're

					obstructionists, so what they will do, even though it's for the good of the country, they will obstruct. They can't do anything about Obamacare, and I understand that. They don't want to vote against it. But now, once it's done -- it was my original theory: once it's begun, now they can get together. They can do something. But they won't do that. There's too much -- and this isn't with respect to me; this is years. É I mean, if you look at what's been going on over the last long period of time. I actually asked people that are political people -- I could ask you people -- you know, is it the worst you've seen it? And I've had every single person, no, actually there's certain other times that were worse. There were certain times in Obama's administration that were worse.
10	EUA	12.07.2017	Política externa	Pat Robertson of CBN	Well we have many problems. And I was left a very, very tough meal. I will say that. It was a mess. And I think we're doing very well. But North Korea certainly is a big problem. The; Middle East is a total mess. Other than in five months we have done more against ISIS than anybody has done since the beginning. And we're having tremendous success with that. But I would have to say, Middle East is a tough situation. But we're getting it straightened out. And ultimately, we want to start investing money back in the United States at our home. Yeah. But we have to get rid of ISIS. We have to get rid of the terrorists, as you know better than anybody. And the other is North Korea. We have somebody that is -- we will find out what he is. We're going to find out.
11	EUA	25.06.2017	Política interna	Fox and Friends (Pete Hegseth)	Well he actually used my term, mean. That was my term, because I want to see... I want to see -- and I speak from the heart that's what I want to see -- I want to see a bill with heart. Health care is a very complicated subject from the standpoint that you move it this way, and this group doesn't like it. You move it a little bit over here... you have a very narrow path and honestly nobody can be totally happy even without the vote... forget about votes -- this has nothing to do with votes. This has to do with picking a plan that everybody is going to like. I'd like to say love, but like. We have a very good plan, we have a few people that are, I think you could say modestly, they're not standing on the rooftops and screaming. They want to get some points. I think they'll get some points.
12	EUA	23.06.2017	Política interna	Ainsley Earhardt of Fox News	Well I didn't tape him. You never know what's happening when you see that the Obama administration, and perhaps longer than that, was doing all of this unmasking and surveillance. And you read all about it and I've been reading about it for the last couple of months about the seriousness and horrible situation with surveillance all over the place. And you've been hearing the word "unmasking,"

					a word you probably never heard before. So you never know what's out there, but I didn't tape and I don't have any tape and I didn't tape. But, when he found out that there may be tapes out there, whether it's governmental tapes or anything else, and who knows, I think his story may have changed. I mean, you'll have to take a look at that because then he has to tell what actually took place at the events. And my story didn't change. My story was always a straight story. My story was always the truth. But you'll have to determine for yourself whether or not his story changed. But, I did not tape.
13	EUA	13.05.2017	Política interna	Jeanine Pirro of Fox News	It's true. Number one, they're hypocrites. But it's beyond being a hypocrite. You have these tremendous... the level of hatred toward him, especially during that period of time with Hillary Clinton, where he gave her a free ride. I mean he gave her a free pass like nobody's ever, ever gotten, a free pass. And during that period of time, the level of hatred by the Democrats -- also the Republicans, to be honest -- because, you know, first she got a free pass, and then he came out with Comey two, and then he came out with Comey three, and the ultimate thing is he gave her a free pass, so they should have liked him.
14	EUA	11.05.2017	Política interna	Lester Holt of NBC News	He made a recommendation He is highly respected. Very good guy. Very smart guy. The Democrats like him. The Republicans like him. He made a recommendation, but regardless of recommendation I was going to fire Comey, knowing there was no good time to do it. And in fact, when I decided to just do it I said to myself, I said, you know, this Russia thing with Trump and Russia is a made-up story. It's an excuse by the Democrats having lost an election that they should have won. And the reason they should have won it is, the electoral college is almost impossible for a Republican to win. Very hard. Because you start off at such a disadvantage. So, everybody was thinking they should have won the election. This was an excuse for having lost an election.
15	EUA	11.05.2017	Economía nacional	The Economist Editors	I was all set to terminate, you know? And this wasn't like... this wasn't a game I was playing. I'm not playing... you know, I wasn't playing chess or poker or anything else. This was, I was, I'd never even thought about... it's always the best when you really feel this way. But I was... I had no thought of anything else, and these two guys will tell you, I had no thought of anything else but termination. But because of my relationship with both of them, I said, I would like to give that a try too, that's fine. I mean, out of respect for them. It would've been very disrespectful to Mexico and Canada had I said, "I will not."

16	EUA	28.04.2017	Política interna	Martha MacCallum of Fox News	No, no, I fall victim to it all, so -- no, no, I fall victim to it all, so -- but it is very much an artificial barrier but a lot of things can't be really determined. As an example, I've made tremendous and created great foundations in terms of relationships with China and with Japan and with many, many other countries. You are saying yourself and so on the show the other night where you're talking about there's never been any, kind of, a relationship that we've had with China, look at what China's doing, they're turning back the coal ships from North Korea, they're putting a lot of pressure on North Korea. Now, I don't know -- I have a lot of respect and I really like President Xi. I don't know that he is going to be able to pull it off. It may have to be a much more difficult ending, to be honest, but he is trying. I believe he is trying. And he's a friend of mine and I really like him a lot. We'll see what happens, but I've set the foundations for a lot of great relationships in the future. I have tremendous feelings for a lot of the people running the countries of this world. And that's a good thing, that's a great thing. Now, you don't measure that in the first 100 days but those foundations have been set in the first 100 days. Getting a Supreme Court Justice, a great one, I think he'll be great one but getting him not only nominated but approved in the first 100 days which hasn't been done since 1881. And this is going to be something really special. That was interesting. It was -- I was reading a couple of reports where every time there's a five to four decision in favor of let's say what our views are and this is for the next thirty or forty years potentially, you know, you can say that you had a major part in it. That's why I've always said having supreme Court justice, getting Supreme Court justices confirmed. Now, I could have others and we'll see what happens but getting justice confirmed was to me a very bright and it will be a very big thing in the future.
17	EUA	27.02.2017	Mídia	Matthew Boyle of Breitbart	It's intent. It's also intent. If you read the New York Times, if you read the New York Times, it's—the intent is so evil and so bad. The stories are wrong in many cases, but it's the overall intent. Look at that paper over the last two years. In fact, they had to write a letter of essentially apology to their subscribers because they got the election so wrong. They did a front page article on women talking about me, and the women went absolutely wild because they said that was not what they said. It was a big front-page article, and the Times wouldn't even apologize and yet they were wrong. You probably saw the women. They went on television shows and everything.

18	EUA	26.01.2017	Política interna	David Brody of CBN	Well, I'm looking at it, we are setting it, as you know, we discussed this before, we are studying it very, very long and hard. You know, it's a very big decision because every president for the last number of presidents, large number, they have commented they were going to do it and then all of a sudden, they decide they don't want to get involved. It's a big, big decision but we are setting the issue right now. I have always liked the concept of doing it, I will tell you that. I will have a decision in the not too distant future.
19	EUA	31.12.2018	Política interna	Pete Hegseth of Fox News	Well, I'm sort of in the White House right now. I'm talking to you and uh it's -- I think moving along well. We need border security, everybody knows it, we need a lot of people approved that we can't get through the senate. We can't get them through Chuck Schumer and the group -- we have 360 people that want to join the administration-- ambassadors and lawyers and lots of other people. We cannot get them approved because - I guess you could call it obstruction, if you think about it, it's pure obstruction -- and we have a lot of other things, but we have probably done more, Pete, than any administration in its first two years in history, according to most.
20	EUA	13.12.2018	Economía internacional	Harris Faulkner	Let me tell you, I never directed him to do anything wrong. Whatever he did, he did on his own. He's a lawyer. A lawyer who represents a client is supposed to do the right thing, that's why you pay them a lot of money, et cetera, et cetera. He is a lawyer, he represents a client. I never directed him to do any incorrect or wrong. And he understands that. Look, he did some bad things, unrelated to me, maybe related to his other clients. I wasn't his only client, he had other clients. He did some bad things and -- income taxes evasion, I heard about taxi cab -- I heard about a lot of things. Now, I'm not reading about any of that stuff, because what he did is he made a deal to embarrass me. In order to embarrass me they cut his term down. Pretty terrible stuff. Let me tell you the other thing, his father-in-law is a very rich guy, I hear. His father-in-law, I thought, was the guy that was the primary focus. Well, what did he do? Did he make a deal to keep his father-in-law out? Did he make a deal to keep his wife, who supposedly, maybe I'm wrong, but you can check it, did he make keep -- make a deal to keep his wife out of trouble? Now, how many people, when they say, "Listen, if you embarrass the President of the United States we'll give you a deal, your father-in-law, your wife, we'll cut you a deal." That's all it is. It's a terrible system we have. It's going on right now with General Flynn. The FBI said he didn't lie.

21	ARGENTINA	30.11.2018	Economía internacional	Greta Van Susteren	Well, I guess it's easy for somebody like that to criticize because, you know, maybe she's running, maybe she's not. I thought she'd be disqualified by now after she did her whole Native American thing. I really assumed she would have been disqualified, but I can do that with any deal. Any deal you have, I can say, 'Hey, didn't go far enough.' This deal is much better than NAFTA. It's a great deal for the United States. It's a deal we really like. We've gotten tremendous reviews on it, and I will say we have literally -- I have not heard one person hit it. They really have liked it. Now, the other countries, if you're talking about a little bit of a hit, they get a little bit of a hit, but I think they made a good deal also. It's great for the three countries.
22	EUA	27.11.2018	Economía internacional	Josh Dawsey and Philip Rucker of The Washington Post	I think that's been shown better than ever in the last short period of two weeks -- that we need a wall. I see the Democrats are going to want to do something, because they understand too. Those pictures are very bad for the Democrats. We're not having a wall because of the Democrats. We need Democrat votes to have a wall. Now, if we don't get it, will I get it done another way? I might get it done another way. There are other potential ways that I can do it. You saw what we did with the military, just coming in with the barbed wire and the fencing, and various other things.
23	EUA	31.10.2018	Política interna	David Brody and Jenna Browder from CBN	Well, I think the Blue Wave is dead, frankly, and I think we're doing very well. It looks like we're going to win the Senate, which is very important. That's why I'm here tonight, and we're going to Florida, where we have a great gubernatorial candidate, and a great Senate candidate and Rick Scott for the Senate. Ron DeSantis for governor. And, I think we're doing very well. There's a lot of feeling about the horrors of the illegal immigration problem, where people think they're just going to come into our country and take over our country, and it's just not going to happen. We're not going to let that happen. But the Democrats want to let that happen. It's crazy. So, we're doing very well, and the numbers reflected, as you know, and I think we can do -- I think we'll win the Senate. I think we're going to do well in the House.
24	EUA	20.10.2018	Política interna	Joe Hart of KRN	Well, I don't really, but I am going around and helping people, because I have some states where I won by 42 points, and I'm helping people -- you know, when you're up by that kind of number, we go around and we help. I was in Montana. I was in Arizona. I was all over over the last month, and here, I have been a couple of times, and maybe a few times, I should say, and I'm here for Dean Heller, and I'm here for, you know, really the Republican ticket. They're outstanding. But Adam Laxalt, likewise, he's

					going to be so great as a governor, which you really need.
25	EUA	21.09.2018	Economia nacional	Frances Watson of KY3/KSP R	What we're doing with tariffs is a fantastic thing. Your steel companies are coming back, your aluminum companies are coming back, the jobs -- everything else. It's incredible. Actually, what's happened to the steel industry in the United States is the talk all over the world, and we need the steel industry. That's not like some other industry that is not necessarily important. Steel is steel. You need for defense, military, everything else. And our steel industry is coming back, where we are tariffing, you know, if you really take, we're taxing the dumping -- they were dumping massive amounts -- China and other countries -- massive amounts of steel all over the place, putting everybody out of work. Our steel companies are just coming back it's a beautiful thing to see. And you're seeing it even here.
26	EUA	23.08.2018	Política interna	Fox and Friends (Ainsley Earhardt)	Well, he was a lawyer for me for -- one of many. You know, they always say "the lawyer" then they like to add "the fixer." Well I don't know him as a fixer. I don't know where that term came from, but he's been a lawyer for me. Didn't do big deals, did small deals. Not somebody that was with me that much. They make it sound like I didn't live without him. I understood Michael Cohen very well. He -- well, it turned out he wasn't a very good lawyer, frankly. But he was somebody that was probably with me for about 10 years. And I would see him sometimes, but when I had deals and big deals I had outside lawyers, and I have a lot of inside lawyers too in addition to Michael. I always found him to be a nice guy.
27	EUA	17.07.2018	Imigração	Tucker Carlson	Well, I think Brennan is a very bad guy. And if you look at it, a lot of things happened under his watch. I think he is a very bad person. I also think that when you watch Peter Strzok and Lisa Page, when you watch all of the things that happened, and Comey, take a look at that, and McCabe who has got some pretty big problems, I assume, you look at the deception, the lies, what's gone on in the last fairly long period of time - before I won. I mean, long before I won. During the campaign. I guess probably during the Republican - when I was fighting against 17 other Republicans. So, this has been going on for a long time. But these are people that, in my opinion, are truly - they're bad people. And they are being exposed for what they are and it's a shame that it has to happen, but it's really hurt our country.
28	EUA	27.06.2018	Política interna	Chris Berg of KVLV Fargo	Well she's been a no. I mean she voted no on the tax cuts. The fact is that they go along with Pelosi and Schumer, and now add to that Maxine Waters, this... she seems to be a new leader in the in the Democrats and she's been a no in almost everything, and I just can't rely on that.

					We need... we have great things that we are doing and we're putting forward. And the people of North Dakota love what we are doing and we can't have the no votes. You know, we have 51 right now, which is really not a majority. You know, it's essentially not a majority, because of the 51, you can't... right.
29	EUA	13.06.2018	Política externa	Bret Baier on Fox News	No, it's not drawing down at all. In fact, honestly it was never discussed. I'm sure he would like that. It was never on the table. You know, when I met him today, we have a very good relationship I feel. I feel it's good. You know when we have chemistry -- you know it as well as anybody. And you understand what I mean. But when I met him today -- we had done three months, almost four months worth of work prior to my meeting. So we sort of understood that was never on the table. With that being understood and, you know, you asking a question like that, I would love to get the military out as soon as we can because it cost a lot of money, a lot of money for us. We don't get paid fully for that military which, you know, I will be talking to South Korea about. But we have 32,000 soldiers in South Korea. I would like to get them home. I would like to. But it is not on the table right now. At the appropriate time, it will be.
30	EUA	24.05.2018	Violência	Fox and Friends (Brian Kilmeade)	Well I'm disappointed but we do have one point six billion. As you know we started the wall. We're also fixing many miles of wall making it very, you know, brand new. We're essentially making a brand new. Big impact. We're getting the rest as we go along. But we've done a lot of work on the wall. We're doing a lot of work on security, generally speaking, security and border, border security. The border is down over 40 percent. And don't forget, we have a great economy. Probably the best economy the country has ever had. So people come across but we're going to get the rest. I think there's a lot of pressure on the Democrats to get it approved frankly, and also to change the immigration laws to toughen them up a lot.
31	EUA	26.04.2018	Política interna	Fox and Friends	Well, I think we really came to recognize the -- you know, I can say it from my standpoint but he is viewing, I believe, Iran a lot differently than he did before he walked into the Oval Office and I think that's important. He understands where I'm coming from with respect to Iran. Iran is a real problem for this country. The president made a horrible deal. When I say the president, I'm talking about past administration made a horrible deal giving \$150 billion, giving \$1.8 billion in cash -- in actual cash carried out in barrels and in boxes from airplanes. It's inconceivable -- \$1.8 billion. And all they do is scream death to America, death to America. And by the way, they're not screaming it so much anymore. They were screaming it

					with him. They don't scream it with me. We haven't seen their little boats circling our ships in the ocean lately because they know if they do circle the ships they're not going to be there very longer.
32	EUA	24.02.2018	Política interna	Fox News (Jeanine Pirro)	And by the way, that is true, Jeanine. You have all these committees, everybody's looking. There is no collusion. No phone calls - I had no phone calls, no meetings, no nothing. There is no collusion. I say it all the time. Anybody that asks. There is no collusion. I was - you know -- I don't want sound braggadocious, I was a far better candidate, she was not a good candidate. She went to the wrong states. She didn't go to Michigan enough. She didn't go to Wisconsin at all. She didn't do a good job in North Carolina. She did a poor job in Ohio and a poor job in Pennsylvania and you can add Florida into the mix. And you know, frankly, that's what it was all about. It was nothing to do with Russians.
33	SUIÇA	26.01.2018	Economia internacional	ITV's Piers Morgan	Well, it's been an interesting campaign, and you know, often times they say that Hillary was a terrible candidate. They never said I was a great candidate, but we won. It was a convincing win. It was an electoral college -- I guess it was like 223 to 306. You remember that it could never be 270. I'd love to do popular vote, it would be such a thing. I would love to do a popular vote, but it's a much different kind of a contest. I think it would be actually an easier way of doing it, but the electoral college is nice because it gets you into so many different states that you wouldn't see otherwise. But we had a great campaign and we won, and the country is doing fantastically well.
34	SUIÇA	26.01.2018	Economia internacional	CNBC's Joe Kernan	I think it'll be much higher than that. So I said and let's see what happens, because as you know, we're getting a report very soon, so we're going to see what that is. But I just happened to ask what we were doing. Because you know, if you look at the real numbers, had I not won, had the Democrat won -- I'm going to be nice -- the Democrat, I say, won -- I would consider their last quarter my first quarter. Because you know, I just got there. So let's say the first quarter of '17 you had a 1.2 GDP. OK? 1.2. In the fourth quarter, which is the Obama quarter, you had a 1.8. Before that, you had a 2.8, a 2.2. You had -- weren't doing very well. And it was the worst recovery -- I guess do they say ever, or since the Great Depression? But it was the worst recovery. OK. Now, in my first quarter, which I consider to be the second quarter because I was there now long enough to have made an impact and don't kid yourself, regulations are just as big as the tax cuts. I've cut more regulations than any president in history and I've been here for one year. You can take their term whether it's

					eight years or 16 years in one instance -- but you can take anybody you want, in one year, we've cut more regulations. And by the way, there's going to be regulation but they're good, solid, sane regulations. But in quarter two, we had 3.1, and in quarter three, as you know, we had 3.2. But in quarter one, which is the Obama quarter -- really the last, I would say, Obama quarter, you had 1.2. We were going in the wrong direction.
35	EUA	11.01.2018	Política interna	The Wall Street Journal	I'm not sure that markets would dip; I think that markets would -- I can tell you I'm not sure about world markets, but I can tell you I think the American market would go up if I terminated NAFTA and renegotiated a new deal. We are -- when I campaigned I said we'll either renegotiate NAFTA or I'll terminate it. And nothing's changed, I have fulfilled many of my campaign promises. One of the promises that you know is being very seriously negotiated right now is the wall and the wall will happen. And if you look -- point, after point, after point -- now we've had some turns. You always have to have flexibility. As an example, we've been much tougher on China, but not nearly as tough as I would be, but they are helping us a lot with North Korea. And you see in North Korea what's happening with North Korea all of a sudden. China's been helping us a lot, so you can veer a little bit differently, but for the most part everything I've said I've done.
36	EUA	14.10.2018	Política externa	Lesley Stahl (60 minutes)	Well, I don't wanna give you an example. I'm not lookin' to -- in the meantime, nobody's been able to do what I've been able to do. Remember that. When you look at taxes, you look at regulations, you look at -- making deals with other countries. Nobody's been able to do anything like this. Actually, most people didn't even try because they knew they didn't have the ability to do it. But it's a very deceptive world. The other thing I've really learned is I never knew how dishonest the media was. I -- I -- and I really mean it. I'm not saying that as a sound bite. I never --
37	EUA	13.10.2018	Política interna	Miranda Combs of WKYT	We are, and we just got \$6 billion approved. That's a lot of money, and we're going to do another six billion for next season toward the opioid problem, and the drug problem. We're building a wall. It started already, and we're going to stop a lot of the drugs from coming in. Not only that, human trafficking, so much is coming, it's ridiculous, and we're very much into fixing -- I mean, I'd like to say totally eliminating, but sometimes that's awfully difficult to say -- but fixing the drug problem -- you know it's down about 15 percent, and the opioid distribution is down more than 15 percent. So we're working very hard. We have a lot of money coming at it, and we have to. We can't play around with it.

38	EUA	18.07.2018	Política externa	Pete Hegseth of Fox News	Well, I -- I will tell you, I don't know what the fuss is all about. I think we did extremely well. And I think the press makes up the, look, it's fake news. And people understand. I think the press largely makes up a lot of the fuss about a lot of things. And I'm not talking about everything. It's crazy. You do something that's positive, and they try and make it as negative as possible. Not all. And I have to say this, some of the most honorable people I know, some great people, are reporters, journalists, et cetera. But the level of dishonesty in your profession is extremely high.
39	EUA	07.12.2019	Política interna	Jackie Nespral of WTVJ NBC6	Well it's very important and you have a great new governor and you have, as you know, some really fantastic people down here that I like and that have been friends of mine for a long time and I'm moving to Florida, as you know, I've already moved to Florida. And it's just a great state. We've been very successful in Florida in many ways and certainly politically we won the state and quite easily. And we're doing even better now. And Florida is having the best year it's ever had. So we're very happy about it. But I love this state. I love the people.
40	EUA	22.11.2019	Política interna	Fox and Friends	So my conversation was a perfect conversation. The Ukrainian president said, "What are they talking about?" There must think we're nuts in this country. And this conversation was flawless. It was appropriate. It was perfect. It was nice. It was everything. And they even said that. They came out and said it. Now, compare that -- as they try to impeach, and by the way, they've looked like fools over the last five days, as these interviews were -- these were their witnesses. This was the best they've got. Adam Schiff is a sick puppy. He is a -- it's pretty incredible. Now, what you're going to see, I predict, will be perhaps the biggest scandal in the history of our country, political scandal. But I guess that's the biggest, because what's more important than a political --?
41	EUA	08.11.2019	Política interna	Alyse Eady of Fox 5	Well, I think we've cut into it very, very big, and, as you know, the polls have been very good for us now, and if you look at Black Voices for Trump today, it's an overflow crowd. We have the lowest unemployment for African-Americans in the history of our country. We have the best poverty numbers that we've ever had -- that's poverty in a very positive sense, the best we've ever had, and so many other things, and I think that overall, while we're doing well overall, African-Americans are doing proportionately better, and they've done better than they've ever done, and people are seeing that, and I said that was going to happen, as you know very well, because you've been there -- I said that was going to happen during the campaign, and we've produced.

42	EUA	28.10.2019	Violência	Craig Wall of WLS-TV ABC 7	No, I would not consider that, no. I own the building. Why would I consider that? It's always been an asset. Now, frankly, we just -- we're doing a great job as President. Our numbers, we just had an all time high in the stock market today, again. The S&P just hit the all-time high. Highest in its history. Unemployment is the lowest in history, just about, for almost every group. African-American, Asian American, Hispanic American. Lowest numbers ever. Best unemployment numbers, and the best employment numbers we've ever had. Our country's booming. Our military is strong. We just got al-Baghdadi, which President Obama was trying to get for a long time, and he was unable to get, and other people, they've been -- we should have been gotten a long time ago. We got him. No, the country is doing the best it's ever done, and we're very proud of it.
43	EUA	22.09.2019	Economia nacional	Molly Kowee of WHIO-TV 7	Well, we're dealing now with Democrats who, frankly, are -- I wish they'd be a little bit more dedicated to getting something done instead of wasting a lot of time, but we're dealing very strongly, and we're trying to come up with a solution. At the same time, we have to protect our Second Amendment. We can't let the guns be taken away from good people, but we want to be -- have them taken away from crazy people or bad people. And, so, we're really working very hard to come up with a solution. But we wish the Democrats really would get to work.
44	EUA	18.09.2019	Segurança nacional	Ed Henry of Fox News	I really think that my standing is the best it's been. We had a poll today, 51 percent, and that's despite all of the fake news and all of the -- I say the Democrats and the media, really, are like one. They're -- as if one. But, I think that we're probably doing the best we've done. I think people see what's happening here, people see what's happening with our military, what's happening with the vets where we got Choice (ph) approved. You look at all of the things that we're doing, even where you have an attack like in Saudi Arabia where people thought that maybe our oil price was going to double, they barely went up and now they're coming rapidly down.
45	EUA	01.08.2019	Política interna	Bill Cunningham of 700WLW	No, because it doesn't work. We've been managing it well, and we've done -- you know I had a decision to make. Do I manage it well, or do I manage it poorly? And managing fully would be really tough. So we managed it, as well as it could be managed, but still the price is too high. You take a look at the deductible. It's way -- I mean, you have the deductible, you can practically not even use it. So Obamacare is a disaster. We had it beaten. And then one man late in the evening decided, Bill, that I think I'm gonna -- after eight years of campaigning, I think I'm gonna vote against it. And he did something, but it's actually maybe gonna work

					out very well. It looks like it's gonna work out very well. But Obamacare knows is a disaster.
46	EUA	30.07.2019	Pessoal	Steve Scully of C-SPAN	Well, I think I do. I think, you know, you get in and I say, what's the event of the day, what's going on, who's calling, what's happening, and my life has been a pretty rapid, you know, I've seen a lot of changes, a lot of rapid changes. I see it certainly in the White House. You come in and everything is going great, and then you find out that there's a tremendous conflict with another nation, you know, big stuff. There's something happened with respect to another country, or something happened with respect to a tragedy that takes place. I mean, things happen when you're president, and I take it very seriously. So, yeah. You have to see what happens that morning. You have to see what happens that evening. No question about it.
47	EUA	17.07.2019	Economia nacional	Dave Jordan of WITN-TV	Well, for 15 years as you know, the farmers have been doing very poorly and it's been going like this. And I came in and I saw what was happening, and a lot of it was China, a lot of it was Mexico. We have the U.S., Mexico and Canada deal now, the USMCA, and we have to get that approved by Congress, and if it's not approved by Congress would be a terrible upset for the farmers, but you know would only be political. It's a phenomenal deal -- much better than NAFTA, which was a disaster. And the other thing is, you know, China, is now -- they're, I guess, having the worst year in 27 years, one of the worst years they've had. They have had the worst year in 27 years, just reported yesterday. They took great advantage of our farmers, and they're not doing it anymore. We won't let that happen. And the other thing is, you know, China pulled back in order to try and maybe take support away from me. I said to Sonny Perdue, our great secretary of agriculture, I said, let me ask you Sonny, how much should China -- at their most contribute -- to the farmers, pay to the farmers. 16 billion. So I'm giving -- I've already done it -- I'm -- I'm giving, as you probably have heard, \$16 billion to the farmers of our country. That's the amount that China took back. And I'm doing that out of tariffs, because we've taken in many billions more than that. So the China -- the -- the farmers now, because of what -- what I've done with it -- and I have to say this, so important, the farmers have been incredible patriots. They know what I'm doing is right, because China has taken advantage of this country for so many years, hundreds of billions of dollars a year. So I'm giving back out of the tariffs that we take from China, I'm giving them back to the farmers, and the farmers are very happy. But I'm not sure all

					the farmers know that. But the farmers are very happy about it.
48	JAPÃO	01.07.2019	Política externa	Fox News (Tucker Carlson)	I think they are actually. I think they like the fact that we charged tariffs. You know, look, China has been beating us badly for many years. President Obama did nothing meaning, "O'Biden." I don't even think I have to say that anymore. He did -- they did nothing. And neither did in all fairness to President Obama, nobody did. It was crazy. And we had a deficit last year of \$506 billion -- billion with a B. You almost say, "You mean \$500 million? Don't you know?" \$506 billion, and this has been going on for years and years and years. We've rebuilt China and they did a great job. I give them a lot of credit. I don't -- I don't discredit them for what happened. I discredit our people that should have been doing what I'm doing right now. And it's not pleasant. Our farmers have been incredible. They are great patriots and it's going to pay off big for our farmers.
49	EUA	23.06.2019	Política interna	Chuck Todd of NBC	Well, you had a situation that was very bad because the night before, they shot down an unmanned drone. And the unmanned is a very big factor. The fact that there was not a person on it, a U.S. person on it, or anybody. And that had an impact on me. I said, "Well, you know, we got a little problem." And I think they did that on purpose because they understand that they will be hit very hard if that were a plane with a person in it. And I think they knew that there was nobody there. So we had a very, you know, modest but pretty, pretty heavy attack schedule.
50	EUA	20.06.2019	Imigração	José Díaz-Balart of Telemundo	Let me tell you what I did. I revoked it because everybody said that Obama had no right to do it. But I didn't revoke it quickly. I said let's make a deal. They were unable to make a deal. So now, it's sitting before the United States Supreme Court. I am willing to do something with the dreamers as you call DACA. By the way, there are different meanings when you say dreamers and DACA there were really a different -- but let's for purposes of this let's call it the same thing call them the dreamers. But that's very much different than DACA. Are you ready? I am willing to make a deal. I always happen. But Pelosi and Schumer don't want to make a deal. They don't want to make a deal.

51	EUA	19.05.2019	Economia internacional	Steve Hilton (Fox News)	Well, really very simply, we have companies coming in here, as you know, by the dozens and by the hundreds and big ones, car companies, Honda's coming in with \$14.5 billion. We have a tremendous amount of very, very top of the line -- and they're coming back. We need people. We need people. And our unemployment now is down to 3.6, and I think it's going a lot lower. We're doing really well. I want to make sure that anybody that comes into our country comes in through merit. You know that very well, I watch your show all the time, and we want it coming in through merit, that's what we have to have. We can't do the others, it's just not possible. And what we want to do is put up a very strong border. We'll have, by the end of next year, 450 to 500 miles built of the -- of the wall itself and the border wall. And it's imperative -- you know, I read so much where the Democrats like to say you don't need -- we're going to have drones flying around, you have thousands of people, the drone doesn't do a thing. So the wall is being built as we speak. We'll have close to 500 miles done by the end of next year, which is really something, and it'll have a big impact. And we're changing laws as rapidly as we can get them through the courts. But you know better than anybody we're fighting a court system. We're fighting the Democrats, the Democrats want open border. That means crime, and we have great crime statistic but they'd be even better if we didn't have, you know, all of this coming in, between the drugs and many of the wrong people, people that have records -- people that have criminal records. So we're making very sure that those people don't get in. We're taking tremendous numbers of them out. And all of this is in a very comprehensive plan, and it'll go before Congress. It's going to have tremendous Republican support. I hope we can get enough Democrat support to get it passed.
52	EUA	17.04.2019	Economia nacional	Eric Bolling of Sinclair Broadcast Group	So, I watched him and I appreciated him and I think he's a good man and he meant it. And Mr. Morgan meant it also. He worked for President Obama, he said the same thing and even in stronger terms. And that's what we have. But I'm building the wall. The wall is a big chunk of what we're talking about because then we can focus it into small sections of openings and ports, ports of entry. We're building a lot of wall right now. We're taking old stuff down that didn't work and we're using, we're building beautiful 30-foot barriers and bollards and in some cases concrete depending on what we need. And a lot of wall is being built but it's not easy. It would have been a lot easier if I could've had the support with the Democrats but we didn't get that support. But I'm getting it built anyway.

53	EUA	15.04.2019	Economía nacional	Tom Hauser of ABC's KSTP-TV 5	I think we did a great job in getting it approved, but we -- may be, a lot of the Republicans, including myself, haven't explained to people how much they're getting. Now they know it. A lot of stories are coming out with how incredible it's been for people. So they're learning, but it's had a tremendous impact -- could be seven, eight, nine thousand dollars in some cases. It's a tremendous tax cut for people, and people are really learning. I don't have to explain it. They're just seeing a lot more money show up in their check that they didn't see a couple of years ago.
54	EUA	22.03.2019	Economía nacional	Fox News (Maria Bartiromo)	I don't know. I mean, look, I hope I didn't influence, frankly, but it doesn't matter; I don't care if I influenced or not. One thing, I was right. But we would have been over four if they didn't do all of the interest rate hikes. And they tightened, I mean, they did \$50 billion a month. I said, "What are we doing here?" And so I'm not -- 3.1 may be the best in 14 years; I'm not happy with it. We should have had much higher. And hopefully now we'll won't do the tightening, because with the world going so, you know, off and with a lot of things happening, you don't do tightening at this time. And we'll see what happens. But we have tremendous potential as a country. Our companies are doing phenomenally well. The earnings are great. We have the greatest companies in the world. We're not being treated properly by other countries.
55	VIETNÃ	28.02.2019	Política externa	Fox News (Sean Hannity)	Well, they wanted to denuke certain areas and I wanted everything. And the sanctions are there and I didn't want to give up the sanctions unless we had a real program. And they're not ready for that and I understand that fully, I really do. I mean, they spent a lot of time building it and that doesn't mean the world has to be happy. But I wanted them to denuke, and they wouldn't do the full. They wanted to just some, and I guess a lot of people would have said, that's a great start. But I just didn't feel it was right.
56	EUA	03.02.2019	Política externa	Margaret Brennan on CBS's	She's -- she's costing the country hundreds of billions of dollars because what's happening is when you have a porous border, and when you have drugs pouring in, and when you have people dying all over the country because of people like Nancy Pelosi who don't want to give proper border security for political reasons, she's doing a terrible disservice to our country. And on the 15th we have now set the table beautifully because everybody knows what's going on because of the shutdown. People that didn't have any idea -- they didn't have a clue as to what was happening, they now know exactly what's happening. They see human trafficking. They see drugs and gangs and criminals pouring in. Now, we catch them because we're doing a great job. But if we had proper border security we wouldn't have to work so hard and we could do an even better job, and I think Nancy Pelosi is

					doing a terrible disservice to the people of our country. But she can --
57	EUA	10.01.2019	Drogas	Fox News (Sean Hannity)	That's right. They have easy access into the United States. We've built a lot of wall we've renovated tremendous amount of wall with money that we've already gotten and we're continuing that. But now we really just want to get it going and finish it up and we're going to build the new wall and it's common sense really is when you think of it whether you're into the world of law enforcement like these incredible folks behind us that understand the wall so easily. I mean it would make the job so much better and they could also go to other areas because we have the wall you don't need so many people we would probably pay for that many times in one year. If you think about it many times. So it's not a money thing it's a political thing. They look at the 2020 race and they're not feeling too good about it. They'll do whatever they can to win.
58	EUA	12.01.2019	Política interna	Fox News (Jeanine Pirro)	Well, they might not. I mean, you know, frankly, I was willing to do something and we're asking for \$5.6 billion, which is way less than what other presidents have been talking about. You know, if you look back, this should have been done 30 years ago, 20 years ago, 10 years ago. This should have been done by others. Just like if you look at Jerusalem, if you look at the embassy moving to Jerusalem, every president promised that, they never did it. I did it. If you look at so many other things that I've done -- we're going well with a lot of -- you know, we're doing well with China. We're doing well with North Korea. We're doing -- you know, I was left a very tough hand. But this was one of the problems, it's our southern border. And it's, you know, thousands and thousands of people are coming in, and we have human smugglers, we have traffickers, we have people -- the biggest drug dealers in the world. And they're pouring through the parts of the border -- they don't go through your areas that are port of entry, Jeanine.
59	EUA	03.11.2020	Eleições	Fox News Channel's Fox & Friends	Well it's, you know, become pretty standard. We built the greatest economy in the world, it was horribly interrupted by something that should have never happened, came in from China, the plague. The plague from China. A horrible situation and we had to shut it down and we had to learn about it. We had to shut it down and we did the right thing, we saved 2 million people, we saved a lot of people and we -- you know, the original model was 2.2 million people. And so, if you use that model and you go, well that was the main model, you used that model, we saved

					2 million people and now we're building it back up again. And we had the best economy, we had the best -- nobody had ever seen anything like it. And now what happens is we build it up again and we are doing it in a record clip. You saw the 33.1 on Thursday. That's the biggest number we have ever had GDP. And we are on a shape to build this up to a level that nobody has ever seen anything like it. I really think that we're going to end up with an economy that will be better than last year. And last year was a record. Last year was the best economy we've already had -- we've had. So, we have a chance to build something that will be fantastic. Now, in addition to that, we are doing very well and I say rounding the corner. Some people don't like that phrase. But I use that phrase. We are coming out with vaccines, the likes of which nobody has ever seen before. We have many companies. We have three main companies but we have many companies coming out with them. They're going to be activated very quickly, distributed and activated very quickly. And that will be that. It's going to be -- we will, you know, tame originally but ultimately get rid of the China plague. You see what's happening in Europe. It's a terrible thing. It's a very terrible thing. This is a horrible disease. We have learned about it. It affects the elderly. I tell the story about Barron Trump, he had it for about two seconds. Just went through him and just it's gone. And the immune system on children -- that's why you got to get the children back to work. Children back to school. You have to get the people -- they have to go to work. We have to open up our states. And that'll happen. I think now politically that will happen because you have the date --
60	EUA	28.10.2020	Economia nacional	Jon Taffer Podcast	But re -- I feel great. Uh, therapeutics are incredible, what they can do. And when you look at mortality rates and everything, they're down to a level that nobody could ever believe. And that's all taken place over the last six months. So we have a lot of things going, but this is a business, really you have to be able to get people into an aeroplane. We're also helping the airlines. We've helped them, and we will continue. It's always been a tough business, little bit like the restaurant business. Always been a tough business to start off with, but we're helping the airlines.
61	EUA	21.10.2020	Eleições	Sinclair (Eric Bolling)	Well, I'm going to Erie, Pennsylvania in a little while, right after this interview. We have thousands and thousands of people, they've been there for two days, already waiting. We had, we just got back from Arizona, and many other places. And we're having tens of thousands of people go to each one, and, uh, the spirit's been incredible. He's taken a different thing, and I think he doesn't want to be asked about his family, because it's corrupt. What they've done

					is corrupt. And nobody's ever seen anything like it, when you look at the laptop, we call it the laptop from hell, and when you look at what, uh, what they've done, and, as a family where the son follows the father into these countries and they walk away with tens of millions of dollars, hundreds of millions of dollars. It's ridiculous. And then the press doesn't want to cover it. And Big Tech doesn't want to cover it.
62	EUA	15.10.2020	Saúde	WTVD (Jonah Kaplan)	That's a very interesting question actually. Because we've accomplished so much. There's never been an administration in the first 3 1/2 years that's done anywhere near what we've done. Whether it's taking care of our military, rebuilding our military, providing choice for our soldiers -- they had to wait for weeks and weeks and weeks for medical care and now they get it immediately -- and we just got a 91% approval rating from them, accountability from them. All of the things we've done: rebuilding our military, cutting taxes to a level that they've never been cut before. You know it was the biggest tax cut that's ever been given or granted in the history of our country. Regulation cuts, building the wall -- the wall is almost finished and Mexico is paying for it, by the way -- but the wall is almost finished, and we're up to 400 miles of wall. Our southern border is secured, the most secured it's ever been, and just so many other things. So I have to fight some very bad people, I guess you'd have to say. They spied on my campaign and did things that were so terrible and so horrible and we caught them. But despite all of that we had this tremendous success. One of the reasons we've been successful is your state. Your state has always been behind us right from the very beginning. Right literally from the beginning. It makes me feel good to help, whether it's the tobacco growers or any others. There are so many different people we are helping. And we're helping on health care. Wait until you see what we're going to be doing on health care. Providing better health care at a lower price and always taking care of preexisting conditions. So it's a lot of work but it's really an achievement and I'm very proud of it.
63	EUA	22.09.2020	Saúde	Fox 2 (Roop Raj)	Well nobody really thought to do that. Uh, you know, it's, uh, I could say to him, "I wish you'd designed a little bit of a different car. It could have made a big difference." Nobody told me to do that. In fact, when I shut down, if you remember, everybody said, "There's no reason to shut down," including Dr. Fauci. And everybody said, "There's no reason to shut down. This is -- " When I shut down it was considered very early. So it's easy to look back now and say, "Gee I wish, uh, we would have shut down two weeks earlier." I wish China would have shut down two weeks earlier. I wish

					China wouldn't have let this virus come out. They're the ones to blame. Um, we've done an incredible job between the ventilators, and now the vaccines, and everything else, and the therapeutics. And you look at our numbers, we've done a tremendous job. The only thing we've done a bad job in is, uh, public relations because we haven't been able to convince people, what, which is basically the fake news, what a great job we've done. Other countries come to see me. The Presidents and Prime Ministers, they say, "You have done an incredible job." This is a big country, very big. And we report everything. Other countries, they don't report. They don't report their numbers, obviously. You know, you talk about China and various other countries. But we have done an incredible job, and we're doing an incredible job. And, uh, we will be, uh, we're, in my opinion, we're rounding the turn.
64	EUA	12.09.2020	Eleições	KTVN 2 (Andi Guevara)	Well, we'll have to see what the judge says. But you have a governor that just to have a rally made it very tough. So if he's in charge of millions of ballots, you're gonna a problem with this state. We're gonna win this state easily, but when they send out millions of ballots to people that they don't even know who they're sending them to, or maybe they do know, and maybe that's even worse, you're gonna have a big problem with the state. And we don't want a rigged election. But that's what you're gonna have. You have a highly political governor who made it very tough. Look at the people we had, what? 25,000 people here tonight. Look at this. He wanted to stop this rally. He couldn't stop it. He couldn't, but he tried. Well, he's gonna try and do something with the votes. That's just common sense. And it's terrible. It's a terrible thing. People wanna go to the poll or they wanna do a solicited ballot where they request a ballot, and they make a request, and they sign something, and it comes back, and they do it that way. But sending out millions of unsolicited ballots are, it's unacceptable. He doesn't even wanna have a guaranteed signature on. In other words, he doesn't even wanna have a notarized or otherwise guaranteed signature. What kind of a vote is that? It's a very serious problem. And he's the leader in the whole country of doing it deceptively and dangerously. And it's a danger for our democracy.
65	EUA	28.08.2020	Eleições	WMUR-TV (Adam Sexton)	Well, I don't want to have anybody have any risk, and these are incredible people. We have a very big venue. It's outdoor or essentially outdoor, which I think is good. That's why we're doing it here instead of one of the arenas. You have some pretty good arenas in New Hampshire. We're doing it here for that reason. But no, we don't want any risks. We have thousands of people lined up and down the

					runways. I just said, why couldn't we have them come over? And the reason they didn't want to have the crowd be too tight. So you have a lot of distancing in there. But the great thing is New Hampshire has done so well. Your numbers are very, very low.
66	EUA	18.08.2020	Eleições	ABC15 (Kaley O'Kelley)	Well, we had it. It was done. And then the virus came in. We were very successful. The division was ending. We had the highest unemployment rates in a positive way. But we had the best employment numbers that we've ever had. And it was done. Success was bringing us together. And then the China virus came and now we have to do it again. We're already doing it. The level of employment, the retail sales, the manufacturing numbers are higher than they were even before. So we're doing it again. The problem areas that you're talking about, in every case they're Democrat run, weak run areas, whether it's Portland or Chicago or New York. And those are areas, Republican areas don't have any problem. If they don't straighten it out, I'll straighten it out. But we need law and order. But if they don't straighten it out, we're going to straighten it out ourselves.
67	EUA	19.07.2020	Saúde	Fox News (Chris Wallace)	Look, I take responsibility always for everything because it's ultimately my job, too. I have to get everybody in line. Some governors have done well, some governors have done poorly. They're supposed to have supplies they didn't have. I supplied everybody. Now we have somewhat of a surge in certain areas. And other areas we're doing great. But we have a surge in certain areas. But you don't hear people complaining about ventilators. We've got all the ventilators we can use. We're supplying them to other countries. We go out into parking lots and everything, everybody gets a test. We find -- if we did half the testing -- with all of that being said, I'm glad we did it. This is the right way to do it. I'm glad we did what we're doing. But we have more tests by far than any country in the world.
68	EUA	25.06.2020	Política interna	Sean Hannity	Well, it's going to be probably 6,000, 7,000 jobs; it could go up to 10 [thousand] in Wisconsin alone. And it's a great shipyard that was on hard times, and now it's a very good shipyard, and a lot of people are going to be working. And it's one of the most beautiful ships. It looks like a yacht with a lot of ammunition on it. I will tell you, it's really something. And we'll probably end up with 20 or 25. And these are big ones. Beautiful ships. And they do a beautiful job in Wisconsin. So, I'm here. It's, sort of, like a launch. We're starting work, and the contract is all given. And you won it right here. So congratulations, folks.

69	EUA	22.06.2020	Saúde	Jeevan Vittal of Spectrum News	Well, all you can do is create the jobs and we're doing that. We're having record numbers of business openings. In other words, people are getting back to opening that business and we've helped with PPP and lots of -- lots of other things, stimulus. And we have tremendous numbers. Uh, two weeks ago, again, we reported the largest jobs number gain in history. Nobody's ever seen a number like that. So we're opening up. We had to close it. We saved millions of lives by doing it. We did a great job with it. We -- we banned China in term -- because they were very infected and we did that very early, much sooner than anybody thought it would even be possible to think about. And we've done a good job, but now we're opening up our country and the jobs numbers are good. And they're coming back very fast.
70	EUA	24.05.2020	Saúde	Sinclair's (Sharyl Attkisson)	Well, I think the concept of 9/11 was, it was a little more direct. It was a hit by terrorists. But this is a hit. It came out of China, whether we like it or not, it came out of China. It could have been stopped. It came all over the world, but it didn't really go to China. They stopped their planes going into China, but they didn't stop their planes and their traffic going into the rest of the world, including the United States and Europe, and Europe is decimated. And you look at what happened all over the world, 186 countries. So now it's a very terrible thing and they could have stopped it if they wanted to, they could have stopped it. Either it was incompetent or they didn't want to, both are not very acceptable, by the way.
71	EUA	17.05.2020	Esportes	NBC Sports (Mike Tirico)	Well a lot of them are very political actually. Some like my politics very much and probably some don't. I guess the ones that don't I don't get to see as much but they -- they seem to like it. And you know we were doing better than any country has ever done economically in just a couple of months ago and we'll rebuild that again. You'll never make up for the lives that have been lost but we'll rebuild it again. We're going to be starting and really we're starting almost right now. You look at your event, it's at the beginning of live events and you're going to have a masters pretty soon there'll be a little unusual, that'll be slightly less than the usual crowd jab but it's great to be playing. I guess -- I know so many of the tour players and they're really fantastic people. I can't think of anyone I don't like. I can't say that necessarily in life but when you meet these tour players they're just great people. There's something very special

72	EUA	11.04.2020	Saúde	Fox News (Jeanine Pirro)	Well, Jeanine, I think it's going to be the toughest decision that I've ever made, you know, I really, hopefully that I ever will have to make. But it's certainly the toughest decision that I've ever made. And I hope that I'm going to make the right decision. I'll be basing it on a lot of -- a lot of very smart people, a lot of professionals, doctors and business leaders. There are a lot of things that go into a decision like that. And it's going to be -- it's going to be based on a lot of facts and a lot of instinct, also. Whether we like it or not, there is a certain instinct to it. But we have to get our country back. People want to get back. They want to get back to work. We have to bring our country back. And so I'll be making a decision reasonably soon. We're setting up a council now of some of the most distinguished leaders in virtually every field including politics and business and medical. And we'll be making that decision fairly soon.
73	EUA	24.03.2020	Saúde	Fox News (Bill Hemmer & Harris Faulkner)	No, no. It was instinct, no. We had a -- a large group of people right behind me in the Oval Office. And I made a -- I consulted with Mike, but we made a decision. I made a decision to close off to China. That was weeks early, and honestly, I took a lot of heat. Sleepy Joe Biden said, "It's xenophobic." I don't know if he knows what that means, but that's OK. He said, "It's racist", what I did. Thousands and thousands of more people, probably of tens of thousands would be dead right now if I didn't make that decision. And I must say, doctors -- nobody wanted to make that decision at the time. It was very, very early. Call it luck or call it talent, it doesn't matter. We made a great decision. I took a lot of heat from China. They weren't happy with it. Now they understand it, and they've really, you know, we're doing just fine. But they were not happy with it.
74	EUA	02.03.2020	Saúde	Morgan Fogarty of WCCB-TV	Well, I think we're doing a really good job. We're getting very high marks on it. We're getting high poll numbers, believe it or not, for the way we've been handling it. Today, I met with a big pharmaceutical companies back in D.C., and they're really looking to do something. Pfizer, and Johnson and Johnson, and all, and they have a, sort of a thing that's going to work miracles. I think you're going to see some really tremendous things happening, plus we shut down our borders very early to China and to various other places, and we're doing really well. I think we're going to see a very good result out of it. It's rough, it's always rough, but you're going to see a very good result. We've handled it well.
75	EUA	10.02.2020	Economia internacional	Trish Regan of Fox Business	Well, the -- the -- a lot of it goes to the Supreme Court. We won a lot of them on the Supreme Court. The ban, as you know, we won at the Supreme Court. We lost in the lower courts out

					in the Ninth Circuit, and then we won at the Supreme Court. But no. I think some of them go and some of them don't. But the people are on our side. You can see that by the kind of crowds we have. I mean we have a larger crowd tonight than if you added up all of the other people put together . We have a much larger crowd than all of them put together.
76	SUÍÇA	22.01.2020	Economia internacional	CNBC (Joe Kernan)	I really don't know. I think that -- if everybody tells the truth, it's perfect. All you have to do is read the transcript. Read -- if you take a look at the transcript -- and it's really two transcripts. It's -- you know, I had a first call which was perfect, and I had a second call which was perfect. You notice they don't mention the calls, though. They never mention the calls. They talk about everything but the calls. All they have to do is read the transcripts. I put it out all the time. The other thing is speak to the president of Ukraine. He's been great, I have to tell you. And his foreign minister's been great.
77	EUA	09.01.2020	Segurança nacional	Lee Conklin of WTVG 13abc	Well, I thought it was a probability, not even a possibility. We had heard that, initially, it was 11, and then 12, and then 14, and then ultimately, 16 missiles were sent in. We knew pretty much where they were going. We had a lot of great intelligence, frankly. But we knew where they were going, and there -- they were big and they were fast, and I tell you what: we were very happy when we learned, not only weren't any -- nobody was killed, but nobody was even hurt, and they landed in areas that were very good, as far as I was concerned. So you had 16. I think four of them didn't reach the location and the other -- the other twelve were -- they didn't hit, perhaps they didn't want to hit, or something happened, but there was nobody hurt nobody injured, and I think I was very happily surprised.

APÊNDICE F – BANCO DE DADOS DA CASA BRANCA

Banco de dados – Casa Branca					
Nº	Local	Data	Tema	Entrevistador	Resposta
1	EUA	27.01.2017	Política externa	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, I hear a call was set up, Steve, and we'll see what happens. As far as the sanctions, very early to be talking about that, but we look to have a great relationship with all countries, ideally. That won't necessarily happen, unfortunately, it probably won't happen with many countries, but if we can have, as we do with Prime Minister May and the relationship that we've all developed, and even in the short relationship that we've just developed just by being with each other—we're going to have lunch, and we've really had some very interesting talks and very productive talks—but if we can have a great relationship with Russia and with China and with all countries, I'm all for that. That would be a tremendous asset. No guarantees, but if we can, that would be a positive, not a negative. Okay?
2	EUA	05.02.2017	Esportes	Jim Gray of Westwood One Sports Radio Network	Well, I'd just say good luck, just do a good job with the NFL. I mean, he handled the various situations—this was prior to me running for office—and he handled the various situations in his way, and I hope he's happy with it. I think it's good if he is. But people can disagree on everything. I may not have disagreed—I may really have looked upon the way he handled it a little bit differently than others, but you know what, it's the NFL. It's going to do well. The game is going to be very interesting. We'll see what happens.
3	EUA	10.02.2017	Segurança nacional	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, your question was unrelated to what we're here for today, but I'll answer it. We are going to keep our country safe; we are going to do whatever is necessary to keep our country safe. We had a decision which we think we'll be very successful with. It shouldn't have taken this much time, because safety is a primary reason. One of the reasons I'm standing here today is the security of our country. The voters felt that I would give it the best

					security. So we'll be doing something very rapidly having to do with additional security for our country. You'll be seeing that sometime next week. In addition, we will continue to go through the court process, and ultimately, I have no doubt that we'll win that particular case.
4	EUA	13.02.2017	Política externa	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Okay. Thank you. Many, many problems. When I was campaigning, I said it's not a good situation. Now that I see it—including with our intelligence briefings—we have problems that a lot of people have no idea how bad they are, how serious they are, not only internationally, but when you come right here. Well, I mean, obviously, North Korea is a big, big problem, and we will deal with that very strongly. We have problems all over the Middle East. We have problems just about every corner of the globe, no matter where you look. I had a great meeting this weekend with Prime Minister Abe of Japan and got to know each other very, very well—extended weekend, really. We were with each other for long periods of time and our staffs and representatives. But on the home front, we have to create borders. We have to let people that can love our country in, and I want to do that. We want to have a big, beautiful, open door, and we want people to come in and come in our country. But we cannot let the wrong people in, and I will not allow that to happen during this administration. And people—citizens of our country—want that, and that's their attitude too, I will tell you. We are getting such praise for our stance, and it's a stance of common sense—maybe a certain toughness, but it's really more than toughness, it's a stance of common sense—and we are going to pursue it vigorously. And we don't want to have our country have the kinds of problems that you're witnessing taking place not only here, but all over the world. We won't stand for it. We won't put up for—with it. We're just not going to let it happen. We're going to give ourselves every bit of chance so that things go well for the United States. And they will go well. Thank you.

5	EUA	15.02.2017	Política externa	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Michael Flynn, General Flynn is a wonderful man. I think he's been treated very, very unfairly by the media, as I call it, the fake media, in many cases. And I think it's really a sad thing that he was treated so badly. I think, in addition to that, from intelligence—papers are being leaked, things are being leaked. It's criminal action, criminal act, and it's been going on for a long time, before me. But now it's really going on, and people are trying to cover up for a terrible loss that the Democrats had under Hillary Clinton. I think it's very, very unfair what's happened to General Flynn, the way he was treated, and the documents and papers that were illegally—I stress that—illegally leaked. Very, very unfair. As far as settlements, I'd like to see you hold back on settlements for a little bit. We'll work something out. But I would like to see a deal be made. I think a deal will be made. I know that every President would like to. Most of them have not started until late because they never thought it was possible. And it wasn't possible, because they didn't do it. But Bibi and I have known each other a long time, a smart man, great negotiator. And I think we're going to make a deal. It might be a bigger and better deal than people in this room even understand. That's a possibility. So let's see what we do.
6	EUA	04.11.2017	Política externa	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Because it's really they tell me—you know, fortunately, that historically has not been a problem for me. I mean, one thing you people will say: That has not been a problem. We had a choice. I could have done a five and a four, or I could have done two fives, or I could have done one twelve. The one 12 was by far the best, most comprehensive, and the best timing because you have the two big conventions and conferences, right, where we're going to Vietnam and then two in the Philippines. I mean, one very big thing is the fact that we're going to the Philippines, because if you remember the previous administration, that was a great embarrassment to our country when they couldn't land. It was a very bad thing. Our relationships are very good with the Philippines. So I

					had a choice of five, four or—or five, five, or the twelve.
7	EUA	17.03.2017	Saúde	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Thank you, Mark. We just have a really wonderful group of people meeting later. We met with 12 pretty much "noes" in Congress—you saw that a little while ago—and they went from all "noes" to all "yeses." And we have a lot of "yeses" coming in. It's all coming together. We're going to have great health care. It's going to be passed, I believe, I think substantially and pretty quickly. It's coming together beautifully. You have conservative groups; you have other groups. Everybody wants certain things. In the end, we're going to have a great health care plan. Now, I have to tell you that Obamacare is a disaster. It's failing. I was in Tennessee—we had a tremendous crowd the other night—and they have half of the State is uncovered. The insurance companies have left, and the other half has one insurance company, and that will probably be bailing out pretty soon also. They'll have nobody. You have many States where they have one. You have a lot of places now where they'll have none. Obamacare will fail. It will fold. It will close up very, very soon if something isn't done. I've often said politically, the best thing I can do is absolutely nothing. Wait 1 year and then even the Democrats will come say, please, please, you got to help us. But it's not the right thing to do for the people. We have a great plan. We have a plan that's getting more and more popular with the Republican base, with the conservative base, and with people generally. The press has covered it very inaccurately. People are truly covered well, and I think it's going to be something that's going to be a model to be looked upon.
8	EUA	05.04.2017	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	I like to think of myself as a very flexible person. I don't have to have one specific way, and if the world changes, I go the same way, I don't change. Well, I do change, and I am flexible, and I'm proud of that flexibility. And I will tell you, that attack on children yesterday had a

					big impact on me—big impact. That was a horrible, horrible thing. And I've been watching it and seeing it, and it doesn't get any worse than that. And I have that flexibility, and it's very, very possible—and I will tell you, it's already happened—that my attitude toward Syria and Assad has changed very much. And if you look back over the last few weeks, there were other attacks using gas. You're now talking about a whole different level. So, as you know, I would love to have never been in the Middle East. I would love to have never seen that whole big situation start. But once it started, we got out the wrong way, and ISIS formed in the vacuum, and lots of bad things happened. I will tell you, what happened yesterday is unacceptable to me.
9	EUA	06.04.2017	Política externa	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	I've shaken them up, and I think we've had one of the most successful 13 weeks in the history of Presidents. If you look at all that we've done and all of the jobs we've created, if you look at the kind of cost-cutting we've been able to achieve with the military and at the same time ordering vast amounts of equipment—saved hundreds of millions of dollars on airplanes, and really billions, because if you take that out over a period of years, it's many billions of dollars—I think we've had a tremendous success. And we've just begun. And we're going to have a very interesting couple of days.
10	EUA	12.04.2017	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, we'll see. We're going to see, we're going to see about that. And I'll also see about Putin over a period of time. It would be a fantastic thing if we got along with Putin and if we got along with Russia. And that could happen, and it may not happen; it may be just the opposite. I can only tell you what I would like to do. I would love to be able to get along with everybody. Right now the world is a mess. But I think by the time we finish, I think it's going to be a lot better place to live. And I can tell you that, speaking for myself, by the time I'm finished, it's going to be a lot better place to live in, because right now it's nasty.

11	EUA	20.04.2017	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	I do not see a role in Libya. I think the United States has right now enough roles. We're in a role everywhere. So I do not see that. I do see a role in getting rid of ISIS. We're being very effective in that regard. We are doing a job, with respect to ISIS, that has not been done anywhere near the numbers that we're producing right now. It's a very effective force we have. We have no choice. It's a horrible thing to say, but we have no choice. And we are effectively ridding the world of ISIS. I see that as a primary role, and that's what we're going to do, whether it's in Iraq or in Libya or anywhere else. And that role will come to an end at a certain point, and we'll be able to go back home and rebuild our country, which is what I want to do. Thank you all very much. I appreciate it. Thank you.
12	EUA	27.04.2017	Economia internacional	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, I was going to terminate NAFTA as of 2 or 3 days from now. The President of Mexico, who I have a very, very good relationship, called me, and also the Prime Minister of Canada, who I have a very good relationship. And I like both of these gentlemen very much. They called me, and they said, rather than terminating NAFTA, could you please renegotiate? I like them very much. I respect their countries very much. The relationship is very special. And I said, I will hold on the termination; let's see if we can make it a fair deal. Because NAFTA has been a horrible deal for the United States. It's been very good for Canada, it's been very good for Mexico, but it's been horrible for the United States. And if you check my campaign—any of my speeches—I said I'll either renegotiate or I'll terminate. So they asked me to renegotiate; I will. And I think we'll be successful in the renegotiation, which, frankly, would be good, because it would be simpler. But we have to make a deal that's fair for the United States. They understand that. And so I decided, rather than terminating NAFTA, which would be a pretty big shock to the system, we will renegotiate. Now, if I'm unable to make a fair deal, if I'm unable to make a fair deal for the United States, meaning a fair deal for

					our workers and our companies, I will terminate NAFTA. But we're going to give renegotiation a good, strong shot. Thank you very much, everybody. Thank you very much.
13	EUA	04.05.2017	Relações bilaterais	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	I think we will get it through. The Republicans are very united like seldom before. I mean, you've seen that today. The Republicans came together all of a sudden 2 days ago, and it was like magic. They just came together. They're very, very united. Every group from Freedom Caucus to Tuesday to every single group. A lot of groups. A lot of great people. But they are very, very united. You saw that today, and you'll see it again. The Senate is looking forward to getting it. Mitch McConnell knows how to do things. And I think we are going to have some really great health care for a long time.
14	EUA	16.05.2017	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pós-reunião, com vários repórteres	Well, we had a very, very successful meeting with the Foreign Minister of Russia. Our fight is against ISIS, as General McMaster said. I thought he said, and I know he feels, that we had a—actually a great meeting with the Foreign Minister. So we're going to have a lot of great success over the next coming years, and we want to get as many to help fight terrorism as possible. And that's one of the beautiful things that's happening with Turkey. The relationship that we have together will be unbeatable. So thank you all very much. I appreciate it. We're going to meetings right now. Thank you.
15	EUA	20.06.2017	Política externa	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pós-reunião, com vários repórteres	Thank you. I think Otto—it's a disgrace what happened to Otto. It's a total disgrace what happened to Otto. That should never, ever be allowed to happen. And frankly, if he were brought home sooner, I think the result would have been a lot different. He should have been brought home that same day. The result would have been a lot different. But what happened to Otto is a disgrace. And I spoke with his family. His family is incredible, what they've gone through. But he should have been brought home a long time

					ago. Thank you all very much. I appreciate it.
16	FRANÇA	13.07.2017	Política externa	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, I'll start off by saying, first of all, I believe that we will have a great FBI Director. I think he's doing really well, and we're very proud of that choice. I think I've done a great service to the country by choosing him. He will make us all proud, and I think someday we'll see that, and, hopefully, someday soon. So we're very proud of him. As far as my son is concerned, my son is a wonderful young man. He took a meeting with a Russian lawyer, not a government lawyer, but a Russian lawyer. It was a short meeting. It was a meeting that went very, very quickly, very fast. Two of the people in the room, they—I guess one of them left almost immediately and the other one was not really focused on the meeting. I do think this: I think from a practical standpoint, most people would have taken that meeting. It's called opposition research or even research into your opponent. I've had many people—I have only been in politics for 2 years—but I've had many people call up, "Oh, gee, we have information on this factor or this person, or frankly, Hillary." That's very standard in politics. Politics is not the nicest business in the world, but it's very standard where they have information and you take the information. In the case of Don, he listened. I guess they talked about, as I see it, they talked about adoption and some things. Adoption wasn't even a part of the campaign. But nothing happened from the meeting. Zero happened from the meeting. And honestly, I think the press made a very big deal over something that really a lot of people would do. Now, the lawyer that went to the meeting, I see that she was in the Halls of Congress also. Somebody said that her visa or her passport to come into the country was approved by Attorney General Lynch. Now, maybe that's wrong. I just heard that a little while ago. But I was a little surprised to hear that. So she was here because of Lynch. So, again, I have a son who's a great young man. He's a fine person. He took a meeting with a lawyer from Russia. It lasted for a very short period, and nothing

					came of the meeting. And I think it's a meeting that most people in politics probably would have taken.
17	EUA	28.08.2017	Relações bilaterais	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	No, Todd. I think that you're going to very rapid action from Congress, certainly from the President. And you're going to get your funding. It's a terrible tragedy. Your Governor has been absolutely outstanding in the job he's done and his entire staff. And I will say that—I just spoke with Greg, and he is working, like, 24/7. We expect to have requests on our desk fairly soon, and we think that Congress will feel very much the way I feel. Very—in a very bipartisan way, that will be nice. But we think you're going to have what you need, and it's going to go fast. Texas is a unique place. It's a great, great State, great people, and I think you you'll be up and running very, very quickly. Really, very quickly. So yes, I think you're going to be in fantastic shape. I've already spoken to Congress, and everybody feels for you and feels for what you're going through. But at the same time, they have great respect—even additional respect for the State—because you've handled it so well, so brilliantly. But it's a long road. Still pouring, still a lot of rain. Nobody has ever seen anything like it. They've—I've heard the words "epic," I've heard "historic"—that's what it is. But you will have what you want, I think, very, very quickly.
18	EUA	06.09.2017	Política interna	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	No mixed signal at all. Congress, I really believe, wants to take care of this situation. I really believe it, even very conservative Members of Congress. I've seen it firsthand. If they don't, we're going to see what we're going to do. But I will tell you, I really believe Congress wants to take care of it. We discussed that also today, and Chuck and Nancy would like to see something happen, and so

					do I. And I said if we can get something to happen, we're going to sign it, and we're going to make a lot of happy people.
19	EUA	03.10.2017	Violência	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, I think she's come back a long way, and I think it's now acknowledged what a great job we've done. And people are looking at that. And in Texas and in Florida, we got an A-plus. And I'll tell you what, I think we've done just as good in Puerto Rico, and it's actually a much tougher situation. But now the roads are cleared. Communication is starting to come back. We need their truck drivers. Their drivers have to start driving trucks. We have to do that. So, on a local level, they have to give us more help. But I will tell you, the first responders, the military, FEMA, they have done an incredible job in Puerto Rico. And whether it's her or anybody else, they're all starting to say it. I appreciate very much the Governor and his comments. He has said we have done an incredible job, and that's the truth.
20	EUA	04.12.2017	Política interna	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	We're going to Utah. We're going to be doing something that the State of Utah and others have wanted to be done for many, many years. It will be one of the great, really, events in this country in a long time. So important for States' rights and so important for the people of Utah. And I know a lot of you are coming out with me. We'll have plenty of time to talk. The stock market, I think, is going to have a very big day, based on the massive tax cuts that we're very much in the process of getting approved. But based on the vote we had last week, the stock market has been reacting unbelievably well. The only thing that hurts it is the fake news, and there's plenty of that. So we're heading out to Utah. Again, I know you're coming with me, a lot of you. We'll have plenty of time to talk today. Thank you.
21	EUA	10.01.2018	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	Well, again, John, there has been no collusion between the Trump campaign and Russians, or Trump and Russians. No collusion. When I watch you interviewing all the people leaving their committees—I mean, the Democrats are all running for office, and they're trying to say this, that. But bottom line, they all say there's no collusion. And there is

					no collusion. And when you talk about interviews, Hillary Clinton had an interview where she wasn't sworn in, she wasn't given the oath, they didn't take notes, they didn't record, and it was done on the Fourth of July weekend. That's perhaps ridiculous, and a lot of people looked upon that as being a very serious breach. And it really was. But again, I'll speak to attorneys. I can only say this: There was absolutely no collusion. Everybody knows it. Every committee—I've been in office now for 11 months. For 11 months, they've had this phony cloud over this administration, over our Government. And it has hurt our Government. It does hurt our Government. It's a Democrat hoax that was brought up as an excuse for losing an election that, frankly, the Democrats should have won because they have such a tremendous advantage in the electoral college. So it was brought up for that reason. But it has been determined that there is no collusion and by virtually everybody. So we'll see what happens.
22	EUA	25.01.2018	Política externa	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	We'll see what happens. Yes, we have a proposal for peace. It's a great proposal for the Palestinians. I think it's a very good proposal for Israel. It covers a lot of the things that were, over the years, discussed and agreed on. But the fact is—and I think you know this better than anybody—there were never any deals that came close, because Jerusalem—well, you could never get past Jerusalem. So when people said, "Oh, I set it back," I didn't set it back, I helped it. Because by taking it off the table, that was the toughest issue. And Israel will pay for that. Look, Israel—something is going to happen. They'll do something that's going to be a very good thing. But they want to make peace, and I hope the Palestinians want to make peace. And if they do, everybody is going to be very happy in the end. We'll see what happens, Steve. We're going to see what happens.

23	EUA	23.02.2018	Violência	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	Well, it's a very big subject. It's a subject that everybody is talking about, obviously for all the wrong reasons. And we're going to do something about it. We're going to make changes. I see Congress wanting to act now for the first time. So we certainly have to strengthen background checks. Everybody agrees with that. And we're going to make background checks very, very strong. I'll be speaking about that at CPAC. Very, very important is to do that. And also, the mentally ill—people that are mentally—they have mental problems—we cannot allow them to have guns. So we're going to be very strong on that. That's going to go a long way. I also believe that schools have to have some form of protection. They can't just be open-ended gun-free. Gun-free is an invitation for these crazy people to just come in and shoot. If they're not gun-free, if there are guns inside, held by the right people, by highly trained professionals, you're going to see this end. It won't be happening anymore. Our schools are, essentially, gun-free zones, and that makes them very dangerous places.
24	EUA	06.03.2018	Política externa	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	I'd like to be optimistic, but I think, maybe, this has gone further than anyone has taken it before. Nobody had been in the position. This should have been handled long ago. This should have been handled over many years by many different administrations—not now. This was not the right time to handle it. But these are the cards we were dealt. We're handling it properly. And again, as I said, hopefully we'll go in the very, very peaceful, beautiful path. We're prepared to go whichever path is necessary. I think we're having very good dialogue, and you're going to certainly find out pretty soon what's happening. But we have made progress, there's no question about it.
25	EUA	20.03.2018	Política externa	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	It's terrible. The bombings in Austin are terrible. The local, State, and Federal are working hand in hand to get to the bottom of it. This is obviously a very, very sick individual or maybe individuals. These are sick people, and we will get to the bottom of it. We will be very strong. We have all sorts of

					Federal agencies over there right now. We're searching. What's going on in Austin—a great place, a tremendous place—is absolutely disgraceful. So we have a lot of power over there. We're looking; it's not easy to find. But these are sick people, and we have to find them as soon as possible. We have to find them, really, immediately. I will say, working with Texas, working with the local governments has been great. But we have to produce, we have to find this very sick person or people. Thank you all very much.
26	EUA	01.04.2018	Segurança nacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	Mexico has got to help us at the border. If they're not going to help us at the border, it's a very sad thing between two countries. Mexico has got to help us at the border. And a lot of people are coming in because they want to take advantage of DACA, and we're going to have to really see. They had a great chance. The Democrats blew it. They had a great, great chance, but we'll have to take a look. But Mexico has got to help us at the border. They flow right through Mexico. They send them into the United States. It can't happen that way anymore. Thank you.
27	EUA	03.04.2018	Política externa	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	No, the caravan doesn't irritate me. The caravan makes me very sad that this can happen to the United States, where you have thousands of people that decide to just walk into our country, and we don't have any laws that can protect it. And the wall, because of the Democrats, has been delayed—which we've started the wall. Just so you understand, we have \$1.6 billion. We're fixing and building brandnew walls in certain areas. And we have—we're doing a lot of work on walls. We have \$1.6 billion, and we're starting brand-new sections of walls. But we need to have a wall that's about 800 miles—700 to 800 miles—of the 2,000-mile stretch. We have a lot of natural boundaries. But it's very sad to see it. And it's sad, even, for both sides. It's sad for the people in the caravan, and it's sad for the people of the United States. It's really sad that we don't have laws that say we have a border and if you don't do it legally, you can't come into the United States. To me, that's a very sad thing for the

					people of the United States. Thank you all very much.
28	EUA	05.04.2018	Meio ambiente	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	Well, Amazon is just not on an even playing field. You know, they have a tremendous lobbying effort, in addition to having the Washington Post, which is, as far as I'm concerned, another lobbyist. But they have a big lobbying effort. One of the biggest, frankly. One of the biggest. And it's—you know, what they have is a very uneven playing field. You look at the sales tax situation which is going to be taken up, I guess, very soon. It's going to be a decision by the Supreme Court. So we'll see what happens. The post office is not doing well with Amazon, that I can tell you. But we're going to see what happens. The playing field has to be level for everybody. That's very important.
29	EUA	24.04.2018	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	Well, we will start with your second part of the question. And I hope that we will be able to deal in a very open and honorable fashion with North Korea. I started a process, and when I did, everybody thought I was doing it absolutely wrong. But in the meantime, for 25 years, people have been dealing, and nothing happened. And a lot is happening right now. I can tell you that, Jeff. A lot is happening. And I think it's going to be very positive. And I hope it's going to be very positive for North Korea and for South Korea and Japan and the rest of the world. But I am starting at a level that, frankly, I shouldn't have had to start. This should have been worked out a long time ago. This should have been worked out many years ago. We were discussing that. We shouldn't be having this situation happen to the United States and the world. This should have been resolved by other Presidents and by other leaders of other countries a long time ago. With that being said, I think we're doing very well. Meetings are being set up. And I want to see denuclearization of North Korea. A lot of concessions have already been made. We have made no concessions, despite some of the media saying that I've made concessions. I don't—I haven't even discussed a concession other than the

					fact that meeting is a great thing. And I'm sure that a lot of other people would have liked to have had the position we're having. I will say this: We put the strongest sanctions on a country that we ever have put on any country, by far. China, President Xi, has been very strong in helping us to solve this problem, in his case, at the border. He's allowing very little to get through. I think he's doing that for a number of reasons. We have a very good relationship, and also, it's very important in terms of trade, because I do play the trade card. If you look at what's happening with trade in China, it hasn't been fair for many, many years to the United States, and we're going to solve that problem. In fact, we're having Secretary Mnuchin and a couple of other folks heading over to—Bob Lighthizer—heading over to China, at the request of China. They came here, as you know, last week. And we're having very substantive discussions on trade. But I think it all plays to the border and the fact that they have been extremely strong on the border and very little has gotten through, much to the surprise of a lot of people. And I believe the trade will work out, but I also think that China has never treated us with more respect than they have over the last short period of time that I'm President. I have a very excellent, as you know, relationship with President Xi. And I think that relationship is very important as to what's happening with North Korea. So the end result is, we'll see. Maybe good things will happen, and maybe we're all wasting a lot of time. But hopefully, it will be good for everybody concerned. As far as Syria is concerned, I would love to get out. I'd love to bring our incredible warriors back home. They've done a great job. We've essentially just absolutely obliterated ISIS in Iraq and in Syria. And we've done a big favor to neighboring countries, frankly, but we've also done a favor for our country. With that being said, Emmanuel and myself have discussed the fact that we don't want to give Iran open season to the Mediterranean, especially since we really control it. To a large extent, we
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					really have controlled it, and we've set control on it. So we'll see what happens. But we're going to be coming home relatively soon. We finished, at least, almost our work with respect to ISIS in Syria, ISIS in Iraq, and we have done a job that nobody has been able to do. But with that being said, I do want to come home. But I want to come home also with having accomplished what we have to accomplish. So we are discussing Syria as part of an overall deal. When they made the Iran deal, what they should have done is included Syria. When I say "should have"—before giving them, Iran, \$150 billion and \$1.8 billion in cash—\$1.8 million in cash. If you think about this, before giving this kind of tremendous money, okay—\$150 billion and \$1.8 billion in cash—in barrels, I hear, it was taken out, and in boxes it was taken out—cash—they should have made a deal that covered Yemen, that covered Syria, that covered other parts of the Middle East where Iraq is involved—where Iran is involved. They didn't do that. So we want to come home. We'll be coming home. But we want to have a very, very strong—we want to leave a strong and lasting footprint, and that was a very big part of our discussion. Okay? Thank you.
30	EUA	04.05.2018	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Well, the problem with sitting is this: You have a group of investigators, and they say that I am not a target. And I'm not a target. But you have a group of investigators that are all Democrats. In some cases, they went to the Hillary Clinton celebration that turned out to be a funeral. So you have all these investigators; they're Democrat. In all fairness, Bob Mueller worked for Obama for 8 years. If you look at the statements that were made, if you take a look, as an example, at the Rod Rosenstein letter to me, prior to the firing of James Comey, just read it; put it in the air. Your viewers don't know about it. Put that letter on the air. It very much speaks very loudly, and that's just one thing. So I would say this: If I could be—I would love to speak. I would love to. Nobody wants to speak more than me—in fact, against my lawyers, because

					most lawyers, they never speak on anything. I would love to speak, because we've done nothing wrong. There was no collusion with the Russians. There was nothing. There was no obstruction. You know, very funny—if you fight back, because you people say something wrong, or they say something wrong, or they leak, which they've been doing; if you fight back, they say, oh, that's obstruction of justice. Somebody says something wrong, you fight back, they say that's obstruction of justice. It's nonsense. Okay. So let me just—
31	EUA	22.05.2018	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	Well, we're moving along. And we'll see what happens. There are certain conditions that we want, and I think we'll get those conditions. And if we don't, we don't have the meeting. And frankly, it has a chance to be a great, great meeting for North Korea and a great meeting for the world. If it doesn't happen, maybe it will happen later. Maybe it will happen at a different time. But we will see. But we are talking. The meeting is scheduled, as you know, on June 12 in Singapore. And whether or not it happens, you'll be knowing pretty soon. But we're talking right now.
32	EUA	23.05.2018	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	I think your autoworkers and your auto companies in this country are going to be very happy with what's going to happen. You'll be seeing very soon what I'm talking about. NAFTA is very difficult. Mexico has been very difficult to deal with. Canada has been very difficult to deal with. They have been taking advantage of the United States for a long time. I am not happy with their requests. But I will tell you, in the end, we win. We will win, and we'll win big. We'll get along with Mexico; we'll get along with Canada. But I will tell you, they have been very difficult to deal with. They're very spoiled, because nobody has done this. But I will tell you that what they ask for is not fair. Our autoworkers are going to be extremely happy
33	EUA	15.06.2018	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	No, I think—actually, if you take a look, when he totally exonerated her—her last—because I call it "Comey three." Comey three—you had one, two, and then you had Comey three. He totally exonerated

				her. And if anything you're saying is correct, what she did is—they tried to pretend it didn't happen. I would have gone out there, and I would have had the greatest news conference in history. They tried to pretend the exoneration didn't happen. Now, the exoneration was incorrect, because there's no way they could have checked that number of emails in just a few days. But if you remember, just before the election, he went out, and he exonerated her, and they didn't even talk about it. That was the greatest political mistake. Now, with all of that being said, I won Wisconsin, I won Michigan, I won States that a Republican hasn't won in many, many decades, years. She didn't do a good job, and you never gave me credit for doing a great job. But the fact is, I did a great job.
34	EUA	27.06.2018	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres He came to the White House. We had a wonderful discussion just prior to meeting the President and really had a very deep discussion. I got his ideas on things, including—I asked him if he had certain people that he had great respect for that potentially could take his seat—which is a very hard seat to fill. So we talked about different things. And he was here for about a half an hour. I don't think you folks saw him come in and out, did you? I'm shocked. Boy, they've done a great job. That's a shocker. That's a shocker. But, yes, we had a—he just left a little while ago, just prior to meeting the President.
35	EUA	13.07.2018	Política externa	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres Well, maybe I'll go first, because I didn't criticize the Prime Minister. I have a lot of respect for the Prime Minister. And unfortunately, there was a story that was done, which was generally fine, but it didn't put in what I said about the Prime Minister. And I said tremendous things. And fortunately, we tend to record stories now, so we have it for your enjoyment if you'd like it. But we record when we deal with reporters. It's called fake news. You know, we solve a lot of problems with the good, old recording instrument. But what happens is that—look, the Prime Minister, as I really just said, she's going to make a decision as to what she's going to do. The only thing I ask of Theresa is that we

				make sure we can trade, that we don't have any restrictions, because we want to trade with the U.K., and the U.K. wants to trade with us. We're, by far, their biggest trading partner. And we have just a tremendous opportunity to double, triple, quadruple that. So if they're going a slightly different route—and I know they do want independence. It's going to be independence; it's just your definition. But if they're going to go a certain route, I just said that I hope you're going to be able to trade with the United States. I read reports where that won't be possible, but I believe after speaking with the Prime Minister's people and representatives and trade experts, it will absolutely be possible. So, based on that, I—and based on just trade in general, and our other relationship—which will be fine—but the trade is a little bit tricky. We want to be able to trade, and they want to be able to trade, and I think we'll be able to do that. Okay? And I think she's doing a terrific job, by the way.
36	EUA	17.08.2018	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres There's no silence. If anything, I'm giving them a bigger voice. Many people don't even know who he is, and now he has a bigger voice. And that's okay with me, because I like taking on voices like that. I've never respected him; I've never had a lot of respect. And Senator Burr said it best: "If you knew anything, why didn't you report it when you were before all of these committees?"—including their committee. So he had a chance to report; he never did. This was just—came up lately, and it's a disgusting thing, frankly. Look, I say it. I say it again: That whole situation is a rigged witch hunt. It's a totally rigged deal. They should be looking at the other side. They should be looking at all the people that got fired by them. All of the people that got fired. They should be looking at Bruce Ohr and his wife Nellie for dealing with, by the way, indirectly, Russians. They should be looking at Steele. They should be looking at all these FBI guys who got fired and demoted. It's a really—it's not us. It is a rigged witch hunt. I've said it for a long time.

37	EUA	05.09.2018	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	I read another phony thing in the book about a trade deal that certain people didn't want me to look at. We've made a deal with South Korea. It may be signed during the United Nations conference in a couple of weeks. The deal is done. It's been done with South Korea for a long time. It's been done for about 2 months. And we'll do a ceremonial signing over the next very short period of time. But that was another thing in the book that was just totally false. I mean, there was no—it was actually a very reasonable deal and a fairly easy deal to make. It was a horrible deal to start off with for the United States. It was made by somebody that I happened to be running against at the time. And she made a deal that took a lot of jobs out of the United States, and we're making a deal that's going to bring a lot of jobs to the United States. But I've concluded the deal in South Korea, which is the deal that was referred to. And I think it's going to be a great deal. Hopefully, it's a great deal for them, but it's going to be a fair deal for us. Very, very big improvement over what we had, because what we had was unacceptable. Thank you very much, everybody.
38	EUA	09.10.2018	Política externa	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Yes, probably. I mean, there could be. But you know, a lot of those were paid protesters. You saw that. They were all unhappy because they haven't been paid yet. I've been calling it. They were paid protesters. That was professionals. That was orchestrated, when you look in the halls of Congress, and you see screaming like that. And it's like chimes: one goes; the next goes. These are paid protesters. I don't know that their energy is great. I can tell you, the energy on the Republican side, I don't think it's ever been greater—maybe 2016, where, as you remember, the energy was very good. My man.
39	EUA	29.11.2018	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	So Michael Cohen has made many statements to the House, as I understand it, and the Senate. He put out a statement talking about a project, which was essentially, I guess, more or less of an option that we were looking at in Moscow. Everybody knew about it. It was

					written about in newspapers. It was a well-known project. It was during the early part of '16 and, I guess, even before that. It lasted a short period of time. I didn't do the project. I decided not to do the project. So I didn't do it. So we're not talking about doing a project; we're talking about not doing a project. Michael Cohen, what he's doing is—he was convicted, I guess. You'll have to put it into legal terms. But he was convicted with a fairly long-term sentence on things totally unrelated to the Trump Organization: having to do with mortgages and having to do with cheating the IRS, perhaps, a lot of different things. I don't know exactly, but he was convicted of various things unrelated to us. He was given a fairly long jail sentence. And he's a weak person. And by being weak, unlike other people that you watch—he is a weak person. And what he's trying to do is get a reduced sentence. So he's lying about a project that everybody knew about. I mean, we were very open with it. We were thinking about building a building. I guess we had—in a form, it was an option. I don't know what you'd call it. We decided—I decided ultimately—not to do it. There would have been nothing wrong if I did do it. If I did do it, there would have been nothing wrong. That was my business.
40	ARGENTINA	01.12.2018	Política externa	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	We will be meeting with President Xi tonight. I will be, and my group—small group. And he will have a small group of representatives, and we'll be talking about a thing called trade and probably other things also. But primarily trade. And it's a very important meeting. But again, the fact that we lost a President who truly was a wonderful person, a wonderful man, a great man, it really puts a damper on it, to be honest with you. So we're going to have the meeting tonight, and then I'll be going back to Washington. And we can all meet sometime during the week or shortly thereafter. Thank you all very much. Thank you.

41	EUA	06.01.2019	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres So the job numbers were fantastic, the best numbers we've had in many years. It shocked Wall Street analysts. It didn't shock me. I know what's going on. But the job numbers were beyond anybody's expectations, really, hundreds of thousands more than your top picks. So that was a great thing. One of the elements of job numbers is, if you remember, the past administration said you'd need a wand to bring back manufacturing jobs. Well, manufacturing jobs are coming back at a very high level. We had a tremendous manufacturing jobs report, and we're very happy to see that. We've worked very hard. We have many companies coming back into the United States, many car companies going to Michigan, going to Pennsylvania, going to Ohio, and other places. But they're coming back into the United States. In most cases, they've left, and now they're coming back in. So we're very happy about that. I'm going to Camp David. We'll be discussing many topics: North Korea; the China trade deal, which is coming along very well. Both of those subjects coming along very, very well. We'll obviously be discussing the wall, which is desperately needed, even if you read some of the papers that don't report accurately—of which there are many, but a couple in particular—they say that the surge to come into our country has never been stronger. And it's very unfair to people that want to come in legally. But the surge has never been stronger. And we have to build a wall, or we have to build a barrier. The barrier, or the wall, can be of steel instead of concrete if that helps people. It may be better. But I'm willing to do that so our great steel companies—which are now back in business—they were very, very—they were doing very poorly when I took office, and now they're doing very well. A lot of steel workers working that never had a chance of getting a job in the steel industry again. Our steel industry was dying, and now it's very vibrant. I intend to call the head of United States Steel and a couple of other of our great steel companies to have them come up with a plate or a
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					design of a beautiful steel product, which we now make here, and we'll use that as our barrier. So we're trying to do everything possible to get money to our incredible people, but many of those incredible people agree with me, and they say, "Make sure you win this battle." This is a very important battle to win, from the standpoint of safety, number one; defining our country and who we are; also from the standpoint of dollars. This wall will pay for itself many times during the course of a year. The money we're talking about is very small compared to the return. You'll receive a return many times during the course of the year. That's the kind of numbers we're talking about. But most importantly, it's about safety; it's about security for our country. It's about stopping human traffickers. It's about stopping drugs. So we have to have it. Got to have it. But we have no choice. It's not a question. You think I like doing this? I don't like doing this. But we have no choice. We have to have it.
42	EUA	13.02.2019	Relações bilaterais	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, they have to be able to let the food in. And, in many cases, it's getting in. They blocked one of the bridges, but they haven't been able to block the others. They'd like to try. I think he's making a terrible mistake by not allowing that to happen. It's showing bad things. And really, we're trying to get food to people that are starving. You have people starving in Venezuela, and it just shows what can happen with the wrong government. You have the wrong government; bad things happen. But you have many, many people that are in, really, trouble for just hunger. And so we are delivering, and we're sending tremendous amounts of food and other things, supplies.
43	VIETNÃ	28.02.2019	Relações bilaterais	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, Sean, I don't want to say it was my decision, because what purpose is that? I want to keep the relationship, and we will keep the relationship. We'll see what happens over the next period of time. But, as you know, we got our hostages back. There's no more testing. And one of the things, importantly, that Chairman Kim promised me last night is, regardless, he's not going to do testing of rockets and nuclear. Not

					going to do testing. So you know, I trust him, and I take him at his word. I hope that's true. But, in the meantime, we'll be talking. Mike will be speaking with his people. He's also developed a very good relationship with the people—really, the people representing North Korea. I haven't spoken to Prime Minister Abe yet. I haven't spoken to President Moon of South Korea. But we will, and we'll tell them it's a process and it's moving along. But we just felt it wasn't appropriate to sign an agreement today. We could have. I just felt it wasn't very appropriate.
44	EUA	08.03.2019	Economia nacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Well, the economy is doing very well. We're seeing wages rise more than they have at any time for a long, long time. Wages are going up, first time for many years—I talked about it during the campaign—for over 20 years. So I'm happy about that. The economy is very, very strong. If you look at the stock market over the last few months, it's been great. And certainly, since my election, it's up—getting close to 50 percent—the stock market. So we're obviously very happy with that. We will—I think as soon as these trade deals are done, if they get done—and we're working with China; we'll see what happens—but I think you're going to see a very big spike. A lot of people are waiting to see what happens with the China deal. Mexico, Canada is done. We'll be submitting to Congress very shortly. And that's a great deal for the United States, so we're very happy about that. And I am now, as you know, going to Alabama. Some of you are joining me. But I look forward to it. I'll be meeting with Governor Ivey. The people of Alabama, they got hit very hard by the tornadoes. We're stopping there; then, we're going to Florida. And we're going to do a lot of work. We'll be working very hard.
45	EUA	19.03.2019	Economia internacional	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, we have—we're working on different military sites and military options. We're working on visas and going in a much easier fashion. All of that is good. And we have many things that Brazil would like, and I think we're working on those things. One of the big elements of the relationship is trade. Brazil makes

					great product, and we make great product. And our trade has been never as good as it should be in the past. And in some cases, it should be far, far more. So I think our trade with Brazil will go substantially up in both directions, and we look forward to that. And that's one of the things that Brazil would like to see.
46	EUA	20.03.2019	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	No, no. We're—in Syria, we're leaving 200 people there and 200 people in another place in Syria, closer to Israel, for a period of time. I brought this out for you, because this is a map of—everything in the red—this was on election night in 2016. Everything red is ISIS. When I took it over, it was a mess. Now, on the bottom, that's the exact same. There is no red. In fact, there's actually a tiny spot, which will be gone by tonight. So that's ISIS—red, right there—and the bottom one is how it is today. This just came out 20 minutes ago. So this is ISIS on election day—my election day—and this is ISIS now. So that's the way it goes.
47	EUA	02.04.2019	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Sure. It's going to be—have a negative impact on the economy. It's one of the biggest trade deals in the world that we've just done with the USMCA. It's a very big trading partner. But to me, trading is very important, the borders are very important, but security is what is most important to me. I have to have security. This is what this gentleman is all about—to my right. And we're going to have security in this country. That's more important than trade. Hey, all you hear me talking about is trade. But let me just give you a little secret: Security is more important to me than trade. So we're going to have a strong border, or we're going to have a closed border. And you know, when we close that border, we will stop hundreds of millions of dollars of drugs from coming in, because tremendous amounts of drugs come through our southern border. And so that's one of the benefits. So I'm totally prepared to do it. We're going to see what happens over the next few days.

48	EUA	05.04.2019	Segurança nacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	I never changed my mind at all. I may shut it down at some point, but I'd rather do tariffs. So Mexico, I have to say, has been very, very good—you know that—over the last 4 days, since I talked about shutting down the border. If they continue that, everything will be fine. If they don't, we're going to tariff their cars at 25 percent coming into the United States. So every time they make a car, it's a 25-percent tariff. That means we make money as opposed to lose money. We'd probably bring those car companies back into the United States. But if, on the other hand, it doesn't work—which it will, a hundred percent—the tariffs will work just like they've worked with steel. Our steel industry is so hot right now because of what I did with tariffs. Same thing with aluminum. They'll work. But if it didn't work, I will close the border. I am also—I'm looking at an economic penalty for all of the drugs that are coming in through the southern border and killing our people.
49	EUA	27.04.2019	Relações bilaterais	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	I'm heading out to Wisconsin right now. We have a lot of people, and they've been lined up for a day already. And I look forward to that. I just left—as you probably know, I just left with Prime Minister Abe of Japan. We had great talks. This morning we played a very fast round of golf. We had a meeting afterwards. And it looks like it's doing well: our trade deal, our relationship, our military ties. Japan has agreed to buy a tremendous amount of military equipment. I mean, they're buying the best you can buy. We make the best, and they're buying the best. But they're buying a lot of it. Our trade relationship with Japan is very good. There's been some weaknesses in it for many years, and we're getting those weaknesses straightened out. And, again, my deepest sympathies to the people and families—everybody affected by the shooting at the synagogue in California. And thank you very much.
50	EUA	03.05.2019	Política interna	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com	Yes, I had a very good talk with President Putin—probably over an hour. And we talked about many things. Venezuela was one of the topics. And he is not looking at all to

				vários repórteres	get involved in Venezuela other than, he'd like to see something positive happen for Venezuela. And I feel the same way. We want to get some humanitarian aid. Right now people are starving. They have no water; they have no food. This is, Mr. Prime Minister, one of the richest countries in the world 20 years ago, and now it's—they don't have food, and they don't have water for their people. So we want to help on a humanitarian basis. And I thought it was a very positive conversation I had with President Putin on Venezuela.
51	EUA	13.05.2019	Economia internacional	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	I think the message is that there has never been anybody that's been so tough on Russia, but at the same time, we're going to end up getting along with Russia. It makes sense to get along with Russia. Nobody has sanctioned Russia like I have. Nobody has talked about the pipeline going to Germany and various other places like I have. I said it's very unfair, having to do with the United States and NATO. There has been nobody that's ever done—and if you really look at something big, our energy business—we're now the biggest in the world. We're bigger than Russia. We're bigger than Saudi Arabia. We're bigger than anybody. That it all happened since I've become President, because I've made it so that you can do that. And we're taking in a lot of money. Look, our country is doing really well. We've probably never done this well before, and it's going to continue. We have tremendous signs. As far as the deal with China is concerned, believe it or not, it's very important, but it's a very, very small part of the kind of numbers that we're doing right now, since my election.
52	EUA	02.06.2019	Política externa	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	They have to stop the illegal flow—the flow of drugs; of immigrants, illegal immigrants—people that have not gone through the process. We have people—we want people to come into our country, but they have to come in legally. We have a list of people—literally, millions of people—applying for membership and citizenship to our great country. These people walk in; nobody knows who they are. They don't know the problems. We have a lot of crime that's able to walk in. Our Border

					Patrol has apprehended record numbers of people. They're doing an incredible job. We're starting, as you know, the process. We're getting them out. So they may think they get in because the laws are no good, but they're getting out. And for that, the laws are very good. So we're taking them out almost as fast as they come in. But it's a big, big job. And if the Democrats would wise up and give us the proper laws—the proper immigration laws—we could solve the problem in 1 day. But, in the meantime, Mexico can do it. And by the way, beyond the immigration laws, Mexico should be doing it. What Mexico has been doing to this country for so many years—like 25 to 30 years—with drugs and human trafficking and illegals all pouring through Mexico—no good—and caravans. No good.
53	REINO UNIDO	04.06.2019	Política externa	Não identificado - Entrevista coletiva com vários repórteres	Well, I don't know Jeremy Corbyn. Never met him. Never spoke to him. He wanted to meet today or tomorrow, and I decided that I would not do that. I think that he is—from where I come from—somewhat of a negative force. I think that the people should look to do things correctly as opposed to criticize. I really don't like critics as much as I like and respect people that get things done. So I've decided not to meet. As far as the protests, I have to tell you, because I commented on it yesterday: We left the Prime Minister, the Queen, the Royal Family; there were thousands of people on the streets cheering. And even coming over today, there were thousands of people cheering. And then, I heard that there were protests. I said: "Where are the protests? I don't see any protests." I did see a small protest today when I came, very small. So a lot of it is fake news, I hate to say. But you saw the people waving the American flag, waving your flag; it was tremendous spirit and love. There was great love. It was an alliance. And I didn't see the protesters until just a little while ago, and it was a very, very small group of people, put in for political reasons. So it was fake news. Thank you.

54	EUA	12.07.2019	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	I think he was a great Labor Secretary, not a good Labor Secretary. He's done a fantastic job. He's a friend of everybody in the administration. And I got a call this morning, early, from Alex. And I think he did a very good job yesterday. Under a lot of pressure, he did a fantastic job, and he explained it. I mean, he made a deal that people were happy with, and then, 12 years later, they're not happy with it. You'll have to figure all of that out. But the fact is, he has been a fantastic Secretary of Labor. And Alex called me this morning and he wanted to see me. And I actually said, "Well, we have the press right out here, so perhaps you just want to say it to the press." But I just want to let you know, this was him, not me, because I'm with him. He was a—he's a tremendous talent. He's a Hispanic man. He went to Harvard, a great student. And in so many ways, I just hate what he's saying now, because we're going to miss him.
55	EUA	01.08.2019	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	No, I don't know. I think President Xi, who's somebody I like a lot, I think he wants to make a deal. But frankly, he's not going fast enough. He said he was going to be buying from our farmers; he didn't do that. He said he was going to stop fentanyl from coming into our country—it's all coming out of China—he didn't do that. We're losing thousands of people to fentanyl. And this was time. And very importantly, for many years—you know this better than anybody; you've been covering it for a long time—for many years, China has been taking out hundreds of billions of dollars a year and rebuilding China. It's time that we rebuild our country.
56	EUA	09.09.2019	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	They're dead. They're dead. As far as I'm concerned, they're dead. They thought that they had to kill people in order to put themselves in a little better negotiating position. When they did that, they killed 12 people. One happened to be a great American soldier, a wonderful young man from Puerto Rico. Family is from Puerto Rico. And you can't do that. You can't do that with me. So they're dead, as far as I'm concerned. And we've hit the Taliban harder in the last 4 days than they've

					been hit in over 10 years. So that's the way it is.
57	EUA	28.10.2019	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	Well, I guess the only thing is they were talking about why didn't I give the information to Adam Schiff and his committee. And the answer is: Because I think Adam Schiff is the biggest leaker in Washington. You know that. I know that. We all know that. I've watched Adam Schiff leak. He's a corrupt politician. He's a leaker like nobody has ever seen before. We had a very good conversation with the Ukrainian President. The conversation was perfect. They don't ever talk about the conversation. It started with the whistleblower; now they don't want the whistleblower. Then, they had a second whistleblower; now they don't want the second whistleblower. The reason is that when the whistleblower—when they saw what the whistleblower wrote, and then when I released the conversation, which bore no relationship to what the whistleblower saw, they said their case was out the window. And I think it's a disgrace. And frankly, I told Republicans, who are really being taken advantage of—they're really being maligned—and I think it's a horrible thing. They're really looking to hurt the Republican Party, and it's turning out to be just the opposite. So one thing I said: I'd rather go into the details of the case rather than process. Process is wonderful. We already have 50 Republican Senators—I never called one of them—sign up. Fifty. Out of 53, 50. And perhaps the other ones will do it too. But process is good. But I think you ought to look at the case. And the case is very simple; it's quick. It's so quick. I had a great conversation with the Ukrainian President. I had another conversation with him also, I think before that, which was the same thing. It was nothing. They tried to take that conversation and make it into a big scandal. The problem was, we had it transcribed. It was an exact transcription of the conversation. So, in a nutshell, a whistleblower wrote a false narrative of the conversation. Now they don't want to talk about the whistleblower, because they didn't think I was going to release the

					conversation. When I released the conversation, I blew up Schiff's act. And just to put topping on it, the Russian—as you know, the new Russian President, a good man, made his statement. There was no anything. There was no pressure put on him. No anything. The Foreign Minister of Ukraine made his statement. There was absolutely no pressure put on. They didn't even know what we were talking about. And just to finish it off, Adam Schiff went up before Congress, and he made my words. He didn't copy what I said. He didn't know them, probably, at the time. Nobody thought I was going to release the conversation. I got the approval from Ukraine. Once I released the conversation, this thing all died. And that's what they should be looking. And Adam Schiff went before Congress, and Adam Schiff, what he did, will never be forgotten. He made up a conversation that was a phony fabrication. It was a fraud. And people shouldn't be allowed to get away. They say he has immunity because he's a Member of Congress. People shouldn't be allowed to do that. That's a criminal act. What he did is a criminal act. Thank you.
58	EUA	04.11.2019	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Yes. I think that the whistleblower gave a lot of false information. And you have to see who the whistleblower is. Once I released the transcript, which was almost immediately, the whistleblower's report was very wrong, because as you know, the whistleblower covered mostly my transcript—my call—my call with the President of Ukraine. So once I released that call—I released a very detailed version of that call—all of a sudden, the whistleblower's report was incorrect. And the whistleblower seems to have disappeared. And I also wonder what happened to the second whistleblower and what happened to the informant. They all disappeared once I released the report. The fact is, nobody thought I was going to release the report. And then, in addition to the report, the Ukrainian President made a very strong statement that there was no pressure, there was no anything. And the Foreign Minister from Ukraine

					made an equally strong statement that there was no pressure. So look, nobody thought I was going to issue the report. And I hate to do it, because I don't like to issue conversations with foreign leaders. Not fair to them. But we sought their approval. We got their approval. We issued it. And that was it. So I was happy about it.
59	EUA	07.01.2020	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	Well, it's something that I want too. I mean, eventually, they have to be able to defend themselves and take care of themselves. And it's something, ultimately, that I want to see. We don't want to be there forever; we want to be able to get out. I didn't want to be there in first place, to be honest, and everybody knows that. That was when I was a civilian, I said it. But we were there, and they made a decision, and I disagreed with that decision very strongly. But we're there now. We've done a great job. We've gotten rid of the caliphate. A hundred percent of the caliphate is gone, and—which is ISIS. We have thousands of ISIS prisoners that we're keeping right now under lock and key. And we want Europe to take many of these prisoners, because they came from Germany, France, and other places, probably a few from Greece, in all fairness. We'll have to talk to you about that.
60	EUA	13.01.2020	Segurança internacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Well, first of all, I think it's been totally consistent. But here's what's been consistent: We killed Soleimani, the number-one terrorist in the world by every account. Bad person. Killed a lot of Americans, killed a lot of people. We killed him. And when the Democrats try and defend him, it's a disgrace to our country. They can't do that. And, let me tell you, it's not working politically very well for them. So we killed the number-one terrorist in the world—Soleimani—and it should have been done 20 years ago. We'll see you at the game. Thank you.
61	EUA	02.11.2020	Eleições	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	Well, I've been here before. I think we're in a much stronger position than we were 4 years ago. The campaign—I mean, you're a witness to it. The campaign has even more energy. The crowds are much bigger. The—much bigger. And we had the biggest crowds ever, and these

					crowds are much bigger. Nobody has ever seen this. This has never happened before. And there's a tremendous spirit. Even the organic, the—you know, where they have 100 miles of cars, where they have thousands of tractors, where they have 6,000 boats in a lake or in the ocean or in a canal. Nobody has ever seen this before. And you know, I'm honored to be a part of it. I'm just a part of it. I'm representative of it, but I'm really just a part of it, and I'm really honored by it. And I think you're going to see all of those people voting, and it's going to be a wave. And that's my opinion, but I've never seen anything like it either. You go to Kenosha, or you go to Grand Rapids—Grand Rapids, they say it's like an unlimited number of people. Kenosha, they say they've never seen anything like it. We're going to be there in half an hour, so you'll see.
62	SUÍÇA	21.01.2020	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	That whole thing is a hoax. It goes nowhere, because nothing happened. The only thing we've done is a great job. We have the strongest country in the world by far. And it was going in the wrong direction. We have the greatest economy we've ever had in the history of our country. And I'm in Europe today because we're bringing a lot of other companies into our country, with thousands of jobs, millions of jobs, in many cases. So that whole thing is a total hoax. So I'm sure it's going to work out fine. Thank you all very much.
63	SUÍÇA	21.01.2020	Economia internacional	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	We expect to be able to make a deal with Europe. And if they don't make a deal, we'll certainly give that very strong consideration. Okay? But we expect to make a deal with Europe. The European Union we met with, as you know, and we had a very good talk. But if we're unable to make a deal, we will have to do something, because we've been treated very badly as a country for many, many years on trade. And of course, NATO also. If you look at what happens with NATO, we've—we're spending a vast predominance of the money. We're spending money like—for years; this has gone on for years. We're protecting Europe, and that's fine, but they can't do it to us on trade. So they know they have to do

					something. And if they're fair, we're not going to have a problem. Okay? Thank you very much, everybody. Thank you. Thank you.
64	SUÍÇA	22.01.2020	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	No, not at all. I think what is—I think aspects of it are. I think that some people are—they put it at a level that is, you know, unrealistic, to a point you can't live your lives. We want to have the cleanest water on Earth. We want to have the cleanest air on Earth. Our numbers, as you saw—we had record numbers come out very recently. Our numbers are very, very good, our environmental numbers. Our water numbers, our numbers on air are tremendous. We have to do something about other continents. We have to do something about other countries. When we're clean and beautiful and everything is good, but you have another continent where the fumes are rising at levels that you can't believe, I mean, I think Greta ought to focus on those places. But we are doing better right now than we've ever done, in terms of cleanliness, in terms of numbers. We have a beautiful ocean called the Pacific Ocean, where thousands and thousands of tons of garbage flows toward us, and that's put there by other countries. So I think Greta has to start working on those other countries.
65	EUA	27.01.2020	Relações bilaterais	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	We will be reporting on that tomorrow. It's something they should want. They probably won't want it initially, but I think in the end they will. I think in the end, they're going to want it. It's very good for them. In fact, it's overly good to them. So we'll see what happens. Now, without them, we don't do the deal, and that's okay. They're not living well. As you know, we cut off aid to Palestinians, and it's something I don't like to do, but we did that. And we think that there's a very good chance that they're going to want this. I would say their initial—just as great negotiators—and they're great negotiators. Their initial response—and I have no idea what they're going to say—would be, "Oh, we don't want anything." But in the meantime, they'll be negotiating. So let's see how it works. So tomorrow at 12

					o'clock, we'll be announcing a plan, and it's a very big plan. It will be a suggestion between Israel and the Palestinians. It's the closest it's ever come, and we'll see what happens. We have the support of the Prime Minister. We have the support of the other parties. And we think we will ultimately have the support of the Palestinians. But we're going to see. And if we do, it will be a tremendous tribute to everybody. And if we don't, life goes on. Thank you very much, everybody. Thank you. Thank you.
66	EUA	07.02.2020	Política Interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Well, I thought it was a terrible thing when she ripped up the speech. First of all, it's an official document. You're not allowed—it's illegal what she did. She broke the law. But I haven't been asked a question, other than a lot of people that viewed it, they couldn't believe that she did it. I thought it was terrible. I thought it was very disrespectful to the Chamber and to the country. And you know, look, I—people—I got very high marks on the speech. And I didn't know she did it until I was walking out, and some of the Congress men and women were saying, "Can you believe what she did?" But I didn't know she did it.
67	EUA	12.02.2020	Política Interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-reunião, com vários repórteres	They treated Roger Stone very badly. They treated everybody very badly. And if you look at the Mueller investigation, it was a scam, because it was illegally set up. It was set up based on false documentation and false documents. You look at what happened—how many people were hurt. Their lives were destroyed. And nothing happened with all the people that did it and launched this scam. Where's Comey? Why—where is Comey? What's happening to McCabe? What's happening to Lisa and—to Peter Strzok and Lisa Page? What's happening with them? It was a whole setup, it was a disgrace for our country, and everyone knows it too—everyone—including NBC, which gives a lot of fake news. The fact is that Roger Stone was treated horribly, and so were many other people. And their lives were destroyed. And it turns out, if you look at the FISA warrants and what just happened with FISA, where they found out it was fixed, that it was a

					dirty, rotten deal. So when you look at that, and you see what happened to Roger Stone—but think of it: A man leaks classified information—highly classified. They give him 2 months—Roger Stone—for doing—nobody even knows what he did. In fact, they said he intimidated somebody. That person said he had no idea he was going to jail for that. That person didn't want to press charges. They put him in for 9 years. It's a disgrace. And frankly, they ought to apologize to a lot of the people whose lives they've ruined. All right. Next question. Next question, please.
68	EUA	18.02.2020	Política Interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	And I probably wouldn't have gotten here without social media, because I certainly don't get fair press. So I wouldn't have gotten here without social media and, perhaps, with all of the hoaxes. You had the impeachment hoax, you had the Mueller hoax, you had the "Russia, Russia, Russia" nonsense. All are scams. And if I didn't have social media, I probably wouldn't be here. So I'm very happy with social media. But I think he's doing an excellent job. He's a strong guy. I never spoke to him about the Roger Stone situation. Roger Stone, just so you know, never worked—he didn't work for my campaign. There might've been a time—way early, long before I announced—where he was somehow involved a little bit. But he was not involved in our campaign at all. And I think it was a very, very rough thing that happened to Roger Stone. Because when you look what happened with Comey after a 78-page, horrific report, when you look at what happened to McCabe with a recommendation of prosecution, and you look at all of these other people, and then you look at happen—what happened to General Flynn, a highly respected man—look at—I mean, his life has been destroyed. If you're looking at Roger Stone for a tweet and some other things—you take a look at what's happening to these people. Somebody has to stick up for the people. So my social media is very powerful. I guess, Mark Zuckerberg just recently said, "Trump is number one in the world" on social media, which is a very nice

					statement, I guess. Certainly, it's something you can be at least a little bit proud of. But it means I have a voice so I'm able to fight the fake news.
69	EUA	02.03.2020	Eleições	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Yes. Yes, well, he just—Buttigieg just went out and said something. And probably, they'll say, "Hey, look, if I win, I'll put you in the administration." That's called "quid pro quo," right? Quid pro quo. And they probably said, "Hey, listen, if I win, I'll give you an endorsement, but will you take me in the administration?" Now, I'm sure, like—I'm sure nothing like that has ever happened, right? But that's the way it seems to go. But no, it's rigged against Bernie. There's no question about it. Sounds like it's a little bit unfair. I'll see you in North Carolina. Thank you.
70	EUA	03.03.2020	Saúde	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Well, I think there's no question, the establishment—the Democrat establishment—is trying to take it away from Bernie Sanders. There's no question about that in my mind. Now, look, a lot is going to be learned tonight. We'll see how well Biden does. We'll see how well Sanders does. I would have said, 2, 3 days ago, Biden was not looking too good. Now he's looking better. But a lot is going to be known by a certain time tonight—you tell me the time—by, you know, California, we're a little bit—we're a little delayed. So probably by 9 or 10 o'clock tonight, we're going to have some big answers.
71	EUA	27.04.2020	Saúde	Não identificado - Entrevista da força-tarefa para a Pandemia, com vários repórteres	Well, we want them to do it. We recommend that they do it as quickly as possible, but safely. We want everyone to be safe. And I think you're seeing that. You're seeing a lot of Governors get out, and they want to open it up. Many are thinking about their school system. Not a long way to go in the school system right now for this season, for this year, but I think you'll see a lot of schools open up even if it's for a very short period of time. I think it would be a good thing. Because, as you see, in terms of what this vicious virus goes after, young people seem to do very well. Young people seem to do very well. So I know that there are some Governors that aren't necessarily ready to open up their States, but

					they may be ready to open up their school systems. We'll see. But that's their choice. But the word is "safety." Okay? Rapid, but safety. Yes, please. Go ahead, please.
72	EUA	05.05.2020	Saúde	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Well, it's a report. And that's a report with no mitigation. So based on no mitigation, but we're doing a lot of mitigation. And, frankly, when the people report back, they're going to be social distancing and they're going to be washing their hands and they're going to be doing the things that you're supposed to do. We won't be going into stadiums full bore yet, you know, for events and soccer and football and all of the different events—baseball. I hope baseball can get going. But they won't be going in full bore yet. At some point, hopefully, in the not-too-distant future. But that report is a no-mitigation report, and we are mitigating.
73	EUA	23.06.2020	Saúde	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Yes, Hogan Gidley—not for that reason, because as you probably have heard, Fox had the highest ratings on a Saturday night in the history of Fox. So that's the ultimate poll, I guess. But the ratings on Saturday night, for Fox, were the highest ratings in the history of Fox News, which is, I guess, it's a long history. So that was the number one Saturday night in history. We actually a nice crowd, and—despite all of the warnings and everything else that other networks were trying to do; despite the fact that we had some pretty bad people waiting there, waiting—they shouldn't have been. Maybe some of the same people I just talked about. We had a nice crowd. But we had the highest ratings in the history of Fox on Saturday night. And online, I heard the record was unbelievable. I heard the numbers were unbelievable. I think you probably know that. What were the numbers online? Do you know?
74	EUA	11.07.2020	Política interna	Não identificado - Breve entrevista, pré-viagem, com vários repórteres	Quiet. Quiet. He had a forewoman—he had a forewoman who was horrendous. She should have never been on the jury. The judge should have so ruled. The judge didn't do that. Take a look at the record. The judge didn't do that. Take a look at the forewoman. He should have had another trial. Roger Stone was

					treated very badly. Now, take a look at Comey, take a look at McCabe, take a look at the two lovers, Strzok and Page. Take a look at all these people that are walking around and they lied to Congress, and they leaked and they did everything else—a lot of other things. Take a look at Biden, Sleepy Joe. Take a look at Obama. And they spied on Donald Trump's campaign. Those are the people—
75	EUA	14.07.2020	Eleições	Não identificado - Coletiva de imprensa com vários repórteres	No, I don't. I think we have a really good poll numbers. They're not suppression polls; they're real polls. You look at the Intracostal in Florida. You look at the lakes. You see thousands of boats with Trump signs, American signs. You've got the Trump-Pence sign all over. You look at what's going on. You look at bikers, for miles and miles, riding up highways proudly with their signs. I have—look, we won a race where it was the same thing: 2016. We had polls that were fake. They turned out to be fake. Not all—a couple of them got it right. Three of them, to be exact. Three of them. One of them was unsuspecting, but they got it right. They were very proud of it. But we had, in 2016, something even more so, but we got in, and we had 306 to, I guess, 223, which was a tremendous margin of difference. You remember, they all said, "He cannot get to 270." I went to Maine a number of times, where we just freed up lobster fishing and fishing. Just—they took away 5,000 square miles from Maine. I just opened it up. And I just got rid of tariffs in China. And we're working on European Union, which charge our fishermen tariffs. And I said, "You're not going to do that." So we freed it up for Maine. But if you take a look, we went up there recently. There were crowds. Thousands of people lined up going over to a factory where we were opening up for—we're making swabs. A beautiful, big, new factory, making swabs. I think that the enthusiasm now is greater—and maybe far greater—than it was in 2016. I think a lot of people don't want to talk about it. I think they're not going to say: "Hey, I'm for Trump. I'm for Trump." They don't want to go through the process. And

					I fully understand that, because the process is not fair. The media doesn't treat us fairly. They never have, and perhaps they never will. But maybe they will when we turn this around for a second time. And it's going to happen very quickly. When we turn it around for a second time, maybe they will. I think we're doing very well in the polls. And I think you have a silent majority the likes of which this country has never seen before. This is a very important election. We've done a great job. We had to turn it off, as I said. Turn it off. And now we've started it again. As you know, they announced 2 weeks ago, record job numbers: almost 5 million people. And that beat the last month, which was also a record: 2.8 million people. Nobody's ever done what we've done, and now we're doing it twice. And I think by election day, you're going to see some incredible numbers. The third quarter is going to be really good. Fourth quarter is going to be great. But next year is going to be one of the best economic years. So hopefully, I'll be able to be the President where we say, "Look at the great job I did."
76	EUA	03.08.2020	Eleições	Não identificado - Coletiva de imprensa com vários repórteres	Well, I think we're doing very well, and I think that we have done as well as any nation. If you really look—if you take a look at what's going on, especially now with all these flareups in nations that they were talking about—and don't forget: We're much bigger, other than India and China. China is having a massive flareup right now. India has a tremendous problem. Other countries have problems. And I notice that in the news, in the evening news, I never read about that. In any of the news, I don't read about the other countries. You're starting to see that other countries are having very big flareups, countries that thought they were over it. Like, we thought we might be over it in Florida, and then, all of a sudden, it comes back. They do come back. But I think we're doing very well. I told Dr. Birx I think we're doing very well. She was in my office a little while ago. She's a person I have a lot of respect for. I think Nancy Pelosi has treated her very badly—very,

					very badly. Very nasty. And I'm just referring to the fact that I thought that, really, they should say the job we've done, whether it's on ventilators or testing—we've tested now over 60 million people. No other country is even close to that. We've tested 60 million people with great—in many cases, about 50 percent now rapid fire, meaning 5- to 15- to 20-minute test, where you get the result almost immediately. Nobody has anything like that. Nobody. And I think we're just doing very well.
77	EUA	01.09.2020	Manifestações sociais	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	Yes, I can tell you that—I can probably refer you to the person, and they could do it. I'd like to ask that person if it was okay. But a person was on a plane, said that there were about six people like that person, more or less. And what happened is, the entire plane filled up with the looters, the anarchists, the rioters—people that obviously were looking for trouble. And the person felt very uncomfortable on the plane. This would be a person you know. So I will see whether or not I can get that person. I'll let them know, and I'll see whether or not I can get that person to speak to you. But this was a firsthand account of a plane going from Washington to wherever. And I'll see if I can get that information for you. Maybe they'll speak to you, and maybe they won't.
78	EUA	19.10.2020	Saúde	Não identificado - Breve entrevista com vários repórteres	—they've been given great protection. And when they take down people like Charlie Kirk—you know, Charlie Kirk is a terrific person. And I was—I just heard that he was taken down. And how can you take down Charlie Kirk? He's mainstream, conservative, but solid as a rock. He represents a point of view, and he's putting up something from the New York Post, which is a respected newspaper. I'll tell you what: The biggest winner in this whole thing is a newspaper called the New York Post, the oldest paper in our country. So what they have done is really—I'm very proud of them.

APÊNDICE G – RESULTADOS DO PROFILERPLUS PARA OS BANCOS DE DADOS

Tabela 11 – Dados processados no software ProfilerPlus - LTA Classic

Pontuações e médias processadas pelo ProfilerPlus – LTA Classic

	Factbase	Casa Branca	Bancos agregados
HD	67	67	134
LD	156	205	361
DIS	0.3004	0.2463	0.2707
HT	144	223	367
LT	152	166	318
TASK	0.4865	0.5733	0.5358
IC	344	360	704
EC	456	566	1022
BACE	0.43	0.3888	0.4079
HB	64	73	137
LB	381	442	823
IGB	0.1438	0.1417	0.1427
HS	220	268	488
LS	253	277	530
SC	0.4651	0.4917	0.4794
HC	575	674	1249
LC	362	408	770
CC	0.6137	0.6229	0.6186
HP	242	222	464
LP	499	631	1130
PWR	0.3266	0.2603	0.2911

Fonte: Autor (2021).

APÊNDICE H – ESQUEMAS DE CODIFICAÇÃO DO PROFILERPLUS - LTA CLASSIC

Tabela 12 – Codificação geral do LTA Classic

Características	Fórmula	Codificações do ProfilerPlus
TASK	$\text{TASK} = \text{HT} / (\text{HT} + \text{LT})$ HT: Count of high task observations; LT: Count of low task observations;	Coding for task orientation, attention focuses on words that indicate work on a task or instrumental activity as well as words that center around concern for another's feelings, desires, and satisfaction. For example, accomplishment, achieve(ment), plan, position, proposal, recommendation, and tactic are task-oriented, whilst appreciation, amnesty, collaboration, disappoint(ment), forgive(ness), harm, liberation, suffering are group maintenance words.
SC	$\text{SC} = \text{HS} / (\text{HS} + \text{LS})$ HS: Count of high self-confidence observations; LS: Count of low self-confidence observations;	Coding for self-confidence focuses on the pronouns "my," "myself," "I," "me," and "mine." When the use of the pronoun reflects that the speaker: is instigating an activity (for example, "I am going to . . .," "That is my plan of action"), should be viewed as an authority figure on this issue (for example, "If it were up to me . . .," "Let me explain what we mean"), or is the recipient of a positive response from another person or group (for example, "You flatter me with your praise," "My position was accepted") self-confidence is indicated.
PWR	$\text{PWR} = \text{HP} / (\text{HP} + \text{LP})$ HP: Count of high need for power observations; LP: Count of low need for power observations;	Coding for need for power focuses on verbs where the author (1) proposes or engages in a strong, forceful action such as an assault or attack, a verbal threat, an accusation, or a reprimand; (2) gives advice or assistance when it is not solicited; (3) attempts to regulate the behavior of another person or group; (4) tries to persuade, bribe, or argue with someone else so long as the concern is not to reach agreement or avoid disagreement; (5) endeavors to impress or gain fame with an action;

		or (6) is concerned with his or her reputation or position.
IGB	$IGB = HB / (HB + LB)$ HB: Count of high ingroup bias observations; LB: Count of low ingroup bias observations;	Coding for in-group bias focuses on words or phrases referring to the author's own group that: are favorable (for example, "great," "peace-loving," "progressive," "successful," "prosperous"); suggest strength (for example, "powerful," "capable," "made great advances," "has boundless resources"); or indicate the need to maintain group honor and identity (for example, "need to defend firmly our borders," "must maintain our own interpretation," "decide our own policies").
DIS	$DIS = HD / (HD + LD)$ HD: Count of high distrust observations; LD: Count of low distrust observations;	Coding for distrust focuses on references persons other than the leader and to groups other than those with whom the leader identifies that convey distrust, doubt, misgivings or concern about what these persons or groups are doing.
CC	$CC = HC / (HC + LC)$ HC: Count of high complexity observations; LC: Count of low complexity observations;	Coding for conceptual complexity focuses on particular words that suggest the author can see different dimensions in the environment and words that indicate the author sees only a few categories along which to classify objects and ideas. Examples of words that are suggestive of high conceptual complexity include: approximately, possibility, trend, and for example. Examples of words that are suggestive of low conceptual complexity include: absolutely, without a doubt, certainly, and irreversible.
BACE	$BACE = IC / (IC + EC)$ IC: Count of internal control observations; EC: Count of low distrust observations;	Coding for belief in control over events focuses on verbs. It is assumed that when people take responsibility for planning or initiating an action, they believe that they have some control over what happens. Action proposed or taken by the author or a group with whom he or she identifies indicates belief in control over events.

Fonte: Autor (2021), com dados de Levine e Young (2014).