

MVZ-207
Chinese Foreign Policy
since 1949

Mgr. Jan Polišenský
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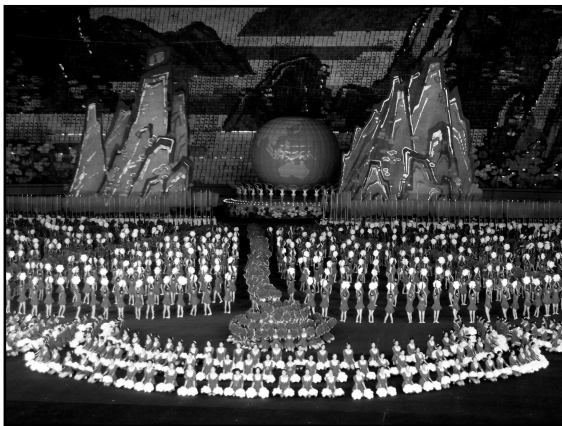
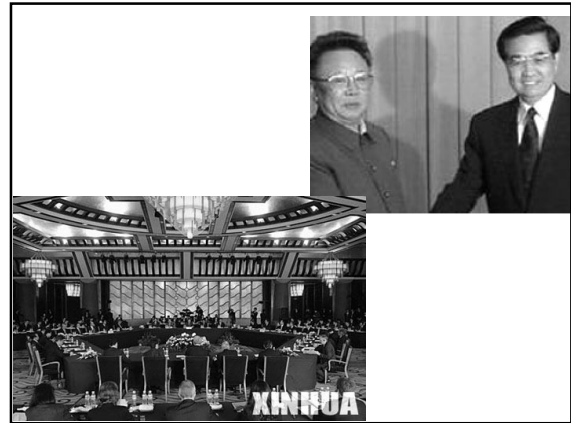
Week 9: Domestic Determinants and
Foreign Policy Making

North Korea's nuclear program
and traditional security issues

- Heightened tensions over the Korean nuclear issue, and the first round of Six-Party talks took place in August 2003 North Korea
- An Uneasy relationship with Pyongyang: political, geostrategic, economic, border, ethnic
- Considerations over China's priorities
- Will North Korea ever give up nuclear capabilities?
- Will China ultimately have to accept this reality?

The Korea Trap

- Why does China's attitude toward the DPRK seem to have changed?
- Pyongyang's succession puzzle and speculation
- North-South relations soured



North Korea needs China

- China – most important ally (food, energy, arms)
- China – Sustaining regime
- Trade between N. Korea and China – 90 % of energy imports
- N. Korea imports - 80% of consumer goods
- N. Korea imports - 45% of food
- 1961 – Sino-North Korean Treaty of Friendship, cooperation and Mutual Assistance – obligated to defend N. Korea

Evolution of relations

- Pre 1989 – close ally
- 2006 October – Nuclear test - China included pressure and inducements to the Foreign policy. Signed UN SC sanctions
- April 2009 – Failed Satellite launch
- May 2009 – Nuclear test - complicated its relationship. Stricter sanctions.
- March 2010 – president Hu Jintao – to restrain future provocations and insisted market reforms
- March 2010 – Sinking of Cheonan

Six Party Talks

- Started in August 2003
- North Korea, USA, South Korea, China, Japan, Russia
- Aim to prevent N. Korea from developing nuclear weapons
- N.Korea committed itself to the goal of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula
- SPT – major issue of Chinese FP
- Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao
- Chinese gov't commitment to the SPT

Chinese determinants in SPT

- Neighboring areas - (1300-1900)
- Chinese rise and “International responsibility”
- Improve Sino-US relations
- Chinese security
- Northeast Asia security
- Six party talks

Role of USA

- Tends to overestimate Chinese influence
- Reluctant to the six party talks (Russia)
- N. Korea – supporting terrorists
- N. Korea needs – break the isolation, trade, foreign aid, formal diplomatic relations, regime security
- “Axis of Evil” - preventive strike – Iraq
- Reluctance to negotiate
- US-ROK joint military drills in the Yellow Sea.
- US criticism of China

- Bill Clinton visited Pyongyang, bringing back two U.S. correspondents
- Policy analyses of the six parties over the nuclear issue



Sinking of Cheonan

- 26 March 2010 – sinking of Cheonan
- "no indication of North Korean involvement"
- 15 April 2010 – Recovery
- Investigations - international experts from Australia, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States
- West vs. East

South Korea's strategy

- Sunshine policy - 2000, Kim Dae Jung - Nobel Peace Prize
- No armed provocation by the North will be tolerated.
- The South will not attempt to absorb the North in any way.
- The South actively seeks cooperation.



New Crisis in early 2010 – unprecedented since 2001

- Hot debates on climate change in Copenhagen, December
- Arms sales to Taiwan and China's punishment
- The Google Crisis in January 2010
- Iran Issue
- Dalai Lama visit to the White House
- Renminbi Exchange Rate and trade frictions

China-US Relations

- Hu went to Washington on April 12 for the nuclear security summit meeting
- Barack Obama's approach to China
- Faced with financial crisis
- Hillary Clinton and Timothy Geithner visited China in February and June 2009
- London G20 Summit in April 2009



- China-US Joint Statement
- China thought the most significant phrase is "respect each other's core interests"
- Positive, cooperative, and comprehensive relationship
- Many specific issues of cooperation are included, especially finance, energy and climate change

USS Kitty Hawk and USS Nimitz Visits

- Angered by Bush's treatment of the Dalai Lama and US arms sales to Taiwan
- China blocked a long-planned Thanksgiving visit to Hong Kong in November 2007 by a U.S. aircraft carrier group
- Kitty Hawk then refused to dock and instead sailed through the Taiwan Strait.
- In Feb. 2010, USS Nimitz visited Hong Kong.



The USNS *Impeccable* Incident

- China accused a U.S. Navy ship of violating international law during a tense confrontation near a secret Chinese submarine base on March 10, 2009
- The Pentagon said five Chinese vessels blocked and surrounded a U.S. surveillance ship, the **Impeccable**. One of the ships came 8 meters, of the U.S. boat



- US and other countries consider most of the South China Sea to be International waters
- China claims an economic exclusion zone extending 200 nautical miles, or 230 miles, from its coastlines

What does “Peaceful Development” mean?

- President Hu Jintao stated in Sweden on June 10, 2007:
- "The message that I wish to send to you is this: China is firmly committed to peaceful development. ...It concentrates its efforts on development at home and endeavors to uphold world peace and common development internationally."

“peaceful development”

China’s path of peaceful development is assured because of

1. A generally favorable international environment
2. China’s good intentions and policies to maintain peace
3. preoccupation with domestic issues and little energy left for outward expansion
4. China’s cultural traits
5. Limitations to its capabilities of expansion
6. Its development strategy that will insure peaceful means to procure resources

Domestic determinants

- Consistent Sense of insecurity, vigilance against foreign interference
- *fan-hua* (anti-China), *xihua* (Westernize) and *fenhua* (split off or divide), “peaceful evolution,” alleged Western support of dissidents, Tibetan and Uigur separatists

Domestic determinants

1. Formal Ideology
 - Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, “Three Represents,” and Scientific Outlook on Development, Four Cardinal Principles

Domestic determinants

2. Informal Ideology – Thoughts that influence foreign policy thinking
 - Nationalism/patriotism and collective memories, with newly gained pride
 - West’s schemes of demonizing China, containment, keeping China down
 - Expectations among some elites for democracy
 - The China Model and Beijing Consensus

Domestic determinants

- 3. Leadership
 - Paramount leaders, their charisma, and authority
 - Individual leaders' propensities and policy preferences
 - Party factions and internal tensions

Domestic determinants

- 4. General trend of domestic policies
 - Mao: internal-external enemies, class struggle, anti-revisionism
 - Deng: reform within and opening to the outside
 - Jiang: economics as the central task - WTO accession
 - Hu: scientific outlook on development; people-first, and harmonious society/world; transformation of the mode of economic development

Domestic determinants

- 5. Issues related to national unity and cultural identity
 - Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau
 - National minority issues, especially those in Tibet and Xinjiang
 - Religious issues (Vatican and other foreign religious groups)

Domestic determinants

- 6. Specific political and economic circumstances that dictated adjustments
 - Domestic crises like the Great Leap Forward and Tiananmen
 - Drastic international events like the collapse of the USSR, 9/11, and global financial crisis

- Different claims over the South China Sea



- A standard PRC official map

