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School of Social and Health Sciences

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Supervisor: Jonna Johansson

Student Name: Weirun Chen

**The People's Republic of China's foreign Policy towards the
Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

**-From issue areas of the nuclear weapon, the
possible reunification of two Koreas and the changed leadership in
the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to analyze the People's Republic of China's foreign policy towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In order to analyze the People's Republic of China's foreign policy towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the author will take advantage of the constructivist approach and from that view the author will give the three specific issue areas to look at the People's Republic of China's foreign policy towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the nuclear weapon program, the possible reunification of two Koreas, the changed leadership in North Korea, respectively. Through these three specific issue areas, we can go to have a general understanding about what is the People's Republic of China's governments' foreign policy towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The conclusion will be made on the basis of the three specific events and through that we can realize and conclude the standpoints of the People's Republic of China's foreign policy on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Key words: China, North Korea, the constructivist approach, nuclear weapon program, the possible reunification of two Koreas, the changed leadership in North Korea.

1.1 Introduction

The People's Republic of China (the PRC, referring to as China in below) is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (the DPRK, referring to as North Korea in below)'s best ally, and also the biggest supplier of food and industrial machinery to North Korea, which makes China have a great influence on Pyongyang(Nanto & Manyin, 2010). On the other hand, China is also the host of the Six-Party Talks (including China, North Korea, Russia, the United States America, the Republic of Korea and Japan) about the issue of North Korea's nuclear weapons program. The closest relationship between China and North Korea that makes China play a significant role in the Six-Party Talks to persuade North Korea gives up the nuclear weapon program and prevent the nuclear proliferation (ibid). Furthermore, the North Korea's nuclear weapon also concerns the stability of Korean Peninsula and the possible reunification of the two Koreas. If North Korea gives up the nuclear weapon program, and it will decrease the conflict between North Korea and the Republic of Korea (the ROK, referring to as South Korea in below) and also bring the stability in the Korean Peninsula. On the basis of the stability of Korean Peninsula, the possibility for the reunification of two Koreas may also be increasing. In terms of China, whether the two Koreas can be reunified that may relate to China's interests in the Korean Peninsula, which means how the divided Koreas or the reunified Koreas influence China's interests in the Korean Peninsula respectively. Moreover, on 19th December 2011, Kim Jong il who was the former leader of North Korea had died of heart attack when he was at the age of sixty-nine("North Korean Leader Kim Jong il dies of heart attack", 2011). After the death of Kim Jong il, the domestic situations in North Korea has changed a lot, especially the leadership transition in North Korea, Kim Jong Un who was the third son of Kim Jong il has become a new leader of North Korea, who has also become the third generation leader in North Korea after his grandfather (Kim il Sung) and his father (Kim Jong il). For this study, it will be interested in studying and analyzing China's standpoints about Kim Jong Un became the new leader of North Korea.

In here, I will give the map of the main Northeast Asian countries (China, Russia, Japan, North Korea and South Korea). Through this map, as the readers can have a good understanding of the geography situation of Northeast Asia and the Korean Peninsula, especially realize the situation of two Koreas. The 38th parallel (is a depth color and curved line on the Korean Peninsula in the map) divided into two Koreas before the Korean War, the northern of the 38th parallel dominated by the North Korea, and the southern of the 38th parallel dominated by the South Korea.

Figure 1



1.2 Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the China's foreign policy towards the North Korea through some China's official discourse. The main goal of this thesis is to focus on the role of Chinese national interests in the process of making their foreign policy towards North Korea. Some national interests of China may be the same as the other great powers (such as Russia and Japan) in the Korean Peninsula, other national interests of China may not be consistent with other great powers (such as USA) in the Korean Peninsula or both North Korea and South Korea, which just fits with China's own national interests. Therefore, the national interests play a key role in China's foreign policy making towards North Korea and Korean Peninsula, as the international environment or order changes, and the China's national interests in the North Korea and Korean Peninsula will be also changed. Furthermore, through China's official discourse, we can find out some common interests between China and other great powers and China's own national interests in North Korea and in the Korean Peninsula. The most important is that the national interests will directly influence how a nation's foreign policy making towards or regards another specific nation as a friend or a foe. Thus, this study will give the research question as follows:

Does the official discourse of the People's Republic of China identify the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as a friend or a foe?

In order to answer the research question, this study has chosen to look at three specific issue areas, such as the nuclear weapons program of North Korea, the possible reunification of two Koreas and the changed leadership in North Korea.

1.3 Background

1.3.1 The Nuclear Weapon

At the end of the Cold war, the North Korean nuclear has become a regional security issue which persisted and even continued to threaten the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia. Since the first outbreak of North Korean nuclear crisis, the North Korean nuclear issue has been plagued for nearly 20 years of the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia. North Korea has experienced the first nuclear crisis in the 1990s and ended with <the DPRK nuclear issue Framework Agreement> in 1994 (the North Nuclear Crisis: five guiding principles, 2009). Under that circumstance, China organized the Six-Party Talks until started in Beijing in August 2003. The Six Party Talks includes six states, China, North Korea, Russia, South Korea, USA and Japan respectively (Chu & Lin, 2008). The issue of the Six Party Talks is to prevent North Korea to develop the program of the nuclear weapon through the multilateral dialogue and negotiation, with the main purpose of that to bring the security and stability to the Korean Peninsula. Furthermore, and all of the six parties in the process have devoted themselves to the aim of denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula (ibid). Therefore, all of the six parties, the other East Asian states or some organizations of international community all hope that the Six Party Talks will be successful in achieving the expected outcome. China is not only the organizer but also as the host of the Six-Party Talks, which plays an important role in the process of the Six-Party Talks.

1.3.2 The Possible Reunification of Two Koreas

On one hand, from the geography of the Korean Peninsula, it is a peninsula located at the Northeast and surrounded by the Yellow Sea, Korea Strait and Japan Sea. On the other hand, the Korean Peninsula is also surrounded by the four powers; USA, China, Russia and Japan respectively (Bae, 2011). In addition, the most important is that the conflict, especially the military friction or conflicts, between the two Koreas has become a global issue; and the issue which has significantly related to the interests of the some great powers. Under that situation, the two Koreas must try hard to ensure that they will not toward the complex of world politics and dominated by the various

powers. Because of that background, both North Korea and South Korea should seek for the reunification of the Korean Peninsula to construct a “Great Power Korea” in the 21st century (ibid). Of course, as we all know that the Korean Peninsula is not unified now, as Bae discussed that some great powers surrounding the Korean Peninsula have their own interests in the Peninsula, China as one of the greatest powers also has their interests in the Korean Peninsula, so it is very interesting to study and analysis what will China think about a reunified Korea or a divided Korea as status quo.

1.3.3 The Changed Leadership

Kim Jong il, who was the former leader of North Korea, had died of the heart attack on 19th December 2011 when he was at the age of 69 (“North Korean Leader Kim Jong il dies of heart attack”, 2011). The news of Kim Jong il’s death was officially announced by their state media. From the international perspective, after knowing the Kim Jong il’s death, the international community has shifted their attention to the North Korea again. From the domestic perspective of North Korea, as the election of political leader also processes in North Korea after the death of Kim Jong il; until 12th April 2012, Kim Jong Un, who was the third son of Kim Jong il, has named the supreme commander of the North Korean People’s Army, the chairman of the Party’s Central Military Commission, and a standing member of the Politburo (“New titles for North Korean leader”, 2012). From that, we can see Kim Jong Un has become the new leader of North Korea, who will be the third generation leadership of North Korea after his grandfather(Kim il Sung) and his father(Kim Jong il). North Korea will enter into the Post Kim Jong il’s era. On the one hand, it is reported by South Korean scholar that China was the first country to express the condolence to the death of Kim Jong il; on the other hand, and as Chinese official reported that China also sent the congratulation to the Kim Jong Un becoming the supreme leader of North Korean People’s Army after the death of Kim Jong il. Thus, we can see that China was very actively in the issue of North Korea during that time period from the death of Kim Jong il to Kim Jong Un becoming the new leader of North Korea. For me, I am very

interested in why China is so actively in those events, and how will affect China's interests after Kim Jong il's era which is under the Kim Jong Un's administration in the future. In other words, what plans does China do for the Post Kim Jong il's era.

1.4 The Structure of the Thesis

After this part, I will also go to look at what previous academic research about China's foreign policy towards the North Korea has been done especially on those three specific events. In the theory chapter, I will overview the major ideas of constructivist approach, and how the constructivist approach in analyzing the importance of common interest and national interests when a country makes a foreign policy decision towards another country. In the methodology chapter, I will go to interpret and argue for my choice of the method for this thesis. On the other hand, I will also explain what kind of materials that will be used in this thesis. Then, I will give the delimitations of this thesis which I have for this research. In the analysis chapter, I will focus on the three specific events to analyze the how China's foreign policy towards the North Korea and find out the answer for the sub-questions and research question. In the conclusion part, it will contain my conclusions made from my analysis and also some discussion for the future research.

1.5 Previous Research

The topic of China's foreign policy towards the North Korea was very interested to many political scientists and scholars. First, North Korea was the first country to establish the diplomatic relationship with New China on 6th October 1949 (kp.china-embassy.org), which enhanced the friendship between China and North Korea. Second, after the Korean War broke out in 1950, according to the requirements of North Korea, China dispatched the Chinese Voluntary Arm to North Korea against USA and South Korea. In the next few decades, China also helped North Korea a lot in the aspects of political and economic (ibid).

For all these reasons, many Western scholars and South Korean scholars are interested

in studying China's foreign policy towards the North Korea in the recent years. Before I decide to choose this topic, I have looked and read the articles and books much about China's foreign policy towards North Korea during the period of 2002 to 2012. The articles are mostly written by Western scholars and South Korean scholars, and they are better in elaborating China's standpoints in many issues of North Korean, especially the nuclear weapon program, the possible reunification of two Koreas and the changed leadership in North Korea. Bates Gill is a specialist on Chinese foreign policy, also the director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, he wrote about the article 'China's North Korea Policy-Assessing Interests and Influences' (Gill, 2011) He argued that China as North Korea's most important economic and political partner, China has influenced North Korean choices and will influence China's own foreign policy making, furthermore, he argued that China has economic interests and security interests in North Korea and also wanted North Korea keep stability at home and Korean Peninsula, which is good for Chinese government. Bonnie S. Glaser is a senior fellow with the Center for Strategic and International Studies Freeman Chair in China Studies; she was interested in researching the China's official response to North Korea's nuclear weapon program focused on the Second Nuclear Test of North Korea in 2009(Glaser, 2009). She disputed that the second nuclear test of North Korea has enraged Chinese government, because Chinese government firmly pursues the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. China's core interests on the Korean Peninsula are stability and no nuclear weapons. The nuclear weapons will take the instability and unpeace in the Korean Peninsula, which is not consistent with China's core interests in the Korean Peninsula. Maintaining the peace is the highest priority (ibid). Sunny Lee is a South Korean scholar and also a correspondent for the Korean Times and Columnist for Asia Times. He is very interested in the topic of 'China's perspectives on North Korea and Korean Reunification' (Lee, 2012). Particularly on the issue of China's perspectives on the Korean Reunification, he not only good analyzed how the divided Korea and reunified Korea affects China's interests respectively, but also he did the survey from Chinese people, how the Chinese people think of the issue of Korean Reunification in

the future. In this thesis, I will take advantage his articles to help me to interpret how the two different situations of Korean Peninsula, divided or reunified influences China's interests on the Korean Peninsula. After Kim Jong il died in December 2011, many scholars have begun to study China's foreign policy towards the Post Kim Jong il's era. According to South Korean reports, since Kim Jong il died on 17th December 2011, China as the first country to send condolence to North Korea, the president of China Hu Jintao went to the North Korean Embassy in Beijing to express the condolence on 20th December 2011. From that, we can see the leader of Chinese government respects for the former North Korean leader very much in the aspect of diplomatic. On the other hand, we also can see that the good friendship between China and North Korea. Scott Snyder and See-won byun are two scholars; they work at council on Foreign Relations/Pacific Forum CSIS and George Washington University respectively. They were better in analyzing the China's foreign policy towards the Kim Jong il's era first, and then interpret and predict the new challenges in the Post-Kim Jong il's era between China and North Korea relations (Snyder & Byun, 2011). From their analysis, on one hand, China will continue to devote to persuade North Korea to give up nuclear weapon for achieving the denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula, on the other hand, China will continue to enhance the trade, investment and economic ties with North Korea, maybe China can led North Korea to open the door to outside world.

2.0 Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this thesis I will choose to use the constructivist theory which emphasizes the interests and identities of states as the important parts formed by the social structures (Shambaugh & Yahuda, 2008). This research works within a constructivist framework and the three specific issue areas will be applied. This part first will give a short presentation about the constructivism and continues with a closer look at the importance of constructing the states' interests and identities.

2.1 Constructivism

During the last one decade, the constructivism has been a much discussed topic and theory in the study of international relations (Adler, 2002; Hopf, 2002). This chapter will offer a general introduction about the constructivist theory, especially point out how the interests and identities are constructed.

For the simple understanding of the constructivism, the constructivists look the world as socially constructed (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2008). 'Socially' means that the social is borne the larger weight by the constructivists. 'Constructed' means that the world as produced by a course of interaction between individuals and states, and the structure of their environment. For example, suppose that a particular foreign policy factor has its own interests, as the constructivists will attempt to search for the question about how the interests are produced through the course of reciprocity within the certain environment (ibid). Furthermore, constructivists also try to examine the role of social norms, which is common understanding of a quality of duty-'identity'-'who we are' in forming the results of the international or a state's foreign policy. From these viewpoints of constructivists, we can see that they are interested in finding the causality between actors, interests and identity. In addition, for the constructivists, the effects of rules and norms are very significant in understanding the international relations. For the actors, every action or interaction of his own all must be significant. Thus, actors constantly construct their interests and identities (Wyk, Kinghorn, Hepburn, Payne, Sham, 2007).

2.2 Constructivism and the creation of identity

On the basis of the basic principles of the constructivist theory, the actors or the states towards the things and their aims should be in view of their values. Hence, even though the existing power and ability distribution influence the foreign policy decision making of states, and the decision making and ability rely on an inter-subjective understanding that is constructed by relationship among the states and shape their concepts of self and others(Shafae, 2010). The common interaction and inter-subjection implications form the conceptional structures which frame interactions of the states' foreign policy.

By attending in these implications and conceptional structures, as the actors will construct and obtain their identities, and the constructed identities that have been formed by the significant interactions or relationship take turns construct the foundations of the interests.

Firstly, because the conceptional structures now have an essential role in constructing our identity and interests, and according to that principle, the character of actors and states' relations with others has determined the actors and states' identity in the inter subjective environment(ibid). Secondly, it also fits that the inter-subjectively constructed identity determined the national interests. The actors don't have the given or congenital interests stood alone from social mutual effect and relations. Furthermore, they construct their interests in the course of struction theory and construct their identity pass through mutual effect and relations with the other actors (ibid).

From above analysis, we can see that the constructivist approach is different from the other main theories of international relations research and foreign policy, such as realism, liberalism and other mainstream theories. One of the famous constructivist theorists who is Wendt, he points out that the main approach of international relations thinks that identities and interests as a congenital, given and some objective issues (Wendt, 1995). By the external objectivist approach, the main studies of foreign

policy often neglect the issues of identity and interests, and the research of foreign policy briefly try to interpret how the actors and agents' actions lead to different results in international relations and foreign policy. Through regarding the identities and the interests as external and given issues, the constructivist approach shows the disadvantage of main foreign policy research in representing and interpreting the states' action in the international arena.

Moreover, taking into consideration of the identity and action of a state as social and relative constructs engendered by a structure of meaning and related to others that offers us a theoretical basis for us to better realize the action of states' foreign policy like China. Moshirzadeh argued that taking the place of concentrating on what the states have capability to do that should depend on their assumed rationality and position in the international structure, and the constructivist approach interprets what the states want to do in view of how they go to guess and understand themselves and construct and delimit their identity and interests in relation to others (Moshirzadeh, 2007). Therefore, this study makes use of the constructivist approach, the sense, system and conceptional structures are the foundation for interpreting the China's foreign policy towards the North Korea.

On the one hand, the constructivists never regard that the identity as self-indicating but look it as relative and known as different to others (Schmidt in Cox & Stokes, 2008). The most important for the identity is when analyzing the foreign policy is taking into account the identity is the base of interests, which can affect the states' foreign policy making. Because as the foreign policy maker has different kinds of ideas about his or her own country constructs the base of what will become the national interests. When we are using the constructivist approach to analyze the foreign policy, we have to consider about the fact that the foreign policy can always change because of the ideas and identities are flexible. The ideas and identities occur in the social interaction inside and outside the states' government. On the other hand, the states are the sorts of the substances with identities. The national identity is a

premise the foreign decision making of a nation policy (ibid).

Lastly, because of the constructivist concentrate on the effect of international conceptional structures in creating the states' identities. It may look like that constructivism usually does not think over the other roles for domestic structures in the social construction of foreign policy inside the state. Moshirzadeh argued that there is no theoretical restraint in constructivism that restricts this approach to international structures and neglects the elementary role of domestic conceptional structures in creating a states' identity and its foreign policy decision making(Moshirzadeh, 2007). That is to say, in the environment of constructivism, identities and interests are not formed by just by relations and interactions in the international society; certainly, the basic elementary characteristics of a state by a structure are created by the domestic society before the states interacting with other states (Wendt, 1995).

2.3 Constructivism with identity and interests

From the previous section, we can see that the identities and the interests are inter-subjective constructs, and they can be better understood in the environment of mutual effect between the different actors and the different states. That is to say, in this research that the identity and interests of China is being constructed due to the inter-subjective interactions, which will determine China's foreign policy decision making towards North Korea.

The identities and interests are social constructs through inter-subjective mutual effect under the context of successive reconstruction; they are therefore influenced by normal interaction and socialization among actors and states. The procedure that is interaction among states and actors forms a learning process by way of the understanding of the other's concepts and the interests increase. It is certainly that the misunderstanding among states also will be reduced.

The identities and the interests are interlinked, which means the states or the actors'

social identities inform the construction of interests. As Wendt debated that the identities are the foundation of the interests. Actors don't have interests that carry on independent of social environment; however, they define their interests in the course of defining situations (Wendt, 1992). Thus, in this study it is very important to understand how China identification as North Korea as a friend or a foe that will influence how China thinks about itself, identity and interests towards North Korea.

In addition, when some nations cooperate with each other through mutual interaction in the specific process; their own interests are also constructed. They will pay more attention to what the interests for them that can achieve and even negotiate with each other in order to seek for their collective values especially in the aspect of the security issue, war and peace.

More concretely, standard and conceptional structures form the actors or the states' identities and interests by the mechanism of imagination and constraints (Reus-Smith, 2005). The imagination focuses on what is treated as being in the field of possibility, which means 'how they consider they should act, what the limitation of their actions are and what the strategy they should act in order to obtain their aim(ibid). The constraints focuses on how the concepts and ideas force acceptable behaviors. In this study, China has constructed constraints about how they can display on the issue of North Korea, such as in the aspects of nuclear weapon, the changed leadership after Kim Jong il's era.

3.0 Methodology

When we explore to about the political event, process or others, we will be inevitably asking the questions about how or why they come into being, by using the qualitative methods is one of the ways to answer those questions(Marsh & Stocker, 2010). In this thesis, I have put forward research questions in order to analyze the China's foreign policy towards the North Korea. Furthermore, through using the qualitative methods to answer the research questions that will be great different from the quantitative method, because the quantitative method will concentrate on the questions of 'how many' to deduce the cause and effect by analyzing a series of collected data, but the qualitative method will be focus on the detailed material and based-text for the political science study, and the answers usually historical or the personal and group response from participants in the event or process of political science(ibid). The aim of the qualitative method is to obtain a more integrated picture of a specific situation, event or process, therefore the authors have to look at many alternating quantities to understand the complicity of the specific event or process. In this study, as mentioned above there are three specific issue areas that will be looked at and analyzed. After that, the listeners can better understand how or why the specific issue areas come about and develop. In addition, it is proved that the quantitative approach is usually used by economists, it consists of a great ratio of articles published in some famous magazines, and the qualitative method is often widely used by many political scientists (ibid, pp 250). As the above, this study will choose the qualitative method to look at the China's foreign policy towards the North Korea with a focus on three issue areas. On the other hand, according to the idea of Jacobsen, he argued that the qualitative method is the most appropriate when the text plans to get a better understanding of the specific event or phenomenon, like in my this thesis.(Jacobsen, 2002). Therefore, I believe that the choice of method about the qualitative method is the best appropriate for my research to analyze whether China identify North Korea as a friend or as a foe.

As I have confirmed that I will choose the qualitative method for my research in this

study, and the qualitative method includes the case studies, the interviews, text analysis and historical analysis (Marsh & Stocker, 2010). On the one hand, many researchers trend to focus on one single or some more cases when they choose and make use of the qualitative method to analyze their questions so as to be achieving the better understanding of their research purpose. On the other hand, Mahoney and Goertz suggested that qualitative research attempts to interpret the consequences in some individual cases after comparing the qualitative method and quantitative method. For example, we can go to see some main events or issues to interpret how or why the specific event took place at the particular time, but as the quantitative research tries to evaluate the average effect of some reasons through all of the cases (ibid). Case studies trend to contain the exhaustive qualitative study of lived human experiences by using the some interviews or some document analysis. Except that, the case studies also have the other advantages. First, the case studies is a good and strong way for testing, because the theories usually have made for the specific cases; second, when the author plans to define how the one variable arouses another, it is much easier in a case study than in the large tests (Van Evera, 1997). Hence, I argue that the case study will be the most appropriate survey for this research.

For doing the case study about China's foreign policy towards the North Korea I have looked at and chosen the three specific issue areas in this research; the nuclear weapon program, the possible reunification of two Koreas, and the changed leadership in North Korea respectively. Through analyzing the three specific cases, this research can find the answer to the research question about how China identifies North Korea as a friend or a foe.

3.1 Material

When the qualitative method decided that will be used in this study, the next step will choose what kind of material will be fit to answer the research question. In this study, I have used both the primary data and the secondary data to look at the research question. Before using the primary data and the secondary data, one must distinguish

the difference between them. According to ithacalibrary.com, the primary data is often a target or document, which means the original material is the first-hand information. In the social science study, the primary data are usually empirical researches, the results of the empirical researches are representatively founded in papers or conferences (ithacalibrary.com 2011-12-13). Secondary data is written or published on the basis of the primary data, we often think the secondary data as second-hand information. The secondary data can be articles, books, magazines or scholarly journals that talk over others' original research (ibid).

Primary Data

On the one hand, the primary data are also a document about the research object that we will study, and these documents are directly related to the events or people personally participate in researching (Concordia.edu/library). On the other hand, most of primary data are original documents which produced by political actors, main ministries of governments or the agencies of policy-making (Marsh & Stocker, 2010). The primary data often include data and original research, speeches and interviews, government documents, organizational records, and so on. In the analysis chapter, I will use the primary data to see the research questions about does the official discourse of the PRC identify the North Korea as a friend or a foe.

In the analysis chapter, as mentioned above this study will use the primary data about the nuclear weapon program, possible reunification of two Koreas and the changed leadership in North Korea from that can answer the research question. Hence, I have founded some speeches and interviews from Chinese famous politicians or government official, and also with the government documents in the website of Chinese foreign affairs ministry. First, for the first specific issue area about nuclear weapon program of North Korea, I plan to use some Chinese government documents to analyze China's standpoints towards the North Korea's nuclear weapon program, including the interview and statement, such as 'Interview Given by Chinese premier Wen Jiabao to Media of Finland, the UK and Germany', "Foreign Minister Yang

Jiechi meets Chief Negotiators of the Six-Party Talk”, “Vice Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo is interviewed on the Korean Peninsula North Korea issue” and “Statement by the Chinese Representative on the DPRK Nuclear issue at the IAEA Board of Governor Meeting”. For the specific issue area of possible reunification of two Koreas, I will use the speeches from the spokesman of Chinese foreign affairs ministry, because their standpoints also represent the Chinese government’s viewpoint towards the issue area of possible reunification of two Koreas, except that I will also use the ‘China-ROK Joint Statement’ in May 2008 when the president of South Korea Lee Myung Bak visited China. The possible reunification of two Koreas in relation to North Korea and South Korea, so China as the middleman and its foreign policy towards this specific issue area also can reflect the Joint Statement between China and South Korea. For the specific issue area of the changed leadership in North Korea, I will use the Chinese official responses as well since from Kim Jong il died in 17th December 2011. I have chosen some official news about Chinese responses to the North Korea after Kim Jong il died, such as “Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Sends the Messages of Condolence over the Passing Away of Kim Jong il” , “Hu Jintao Congratulates Kim Jong Un on Becoming Top military Commander of the DPRK” and so on.

Secondary Data

The secondary data is the document that created at a later time than the event or the process being researched, and the person who writes or publishes something about the said event he or she didn’t experience it (Concordia.edu/library). The secondary data can often provide the commentary and criticism.

In this study, I have used the secondary data in the introduction chapter. My secondary data mostly include the articles and journals. In the introduction chapter, this study has used some articles and journals to introduce the brief relationship between China and North Korea from the perspectives of the political and economy, such as Nanto & Manyin’ s articles. In the section of background of three specific issue areas, this

study has used some scholars' articles to give the brief introduction about the nuclear weapon program, the possible reunification of two Koreas and the changed leadership in North Korea, including some Chinese scholars and South Korean scholars, such as Chu & Lin's article, and Bae's journals. Furthermore, in the section of previous research, I have also read many articles and journals about China's foreign policy towards North Korea focus on those three specific issue areas. Some scholars like, Gill. B, Glaser. B.S, Lee.S, and Snyder & Byun. Those scholars who I quoted in the section of background and previous research are mainly better in researching Chinese foreign policy towards the three specific issue areas. The scholars have been made use of more often than others and I have attempted to use their materials written by internationally acknowledged academics within the fields of research.

In the theoretical chapter about the constructivism, I often refer to articles and books written by Alexander Wendt, who is one of the main constructivist scholars in the field of theories of international relations. He did much better in analyzing and discussing the main concepts of constructivist approach and the identity construction. Furthermore, this study has also used the other scholars' articles in discussing about the creation of identity and interests, such as Shafae, who emphasis on that the importance of conceptional structures in constructing the identity and interests and the constructed identity determined the national interests. In addition, this study also used Moshirzadeh's articles to interpret and analyze about constructing the identity and interests in the constructivist approach.

In the analysis chapter, most of primary data will be used, but I will also combine some secondary data to analyze the three specific issue areas. The secondary data are mostly from the scholars' articles and books and some latest news from BBC or China in the analysis chapter. In here, I will not specifically introduce much about what the articles will be used in the analysis chapter, because some of them I have used in the introduction chapter.

I believe that combine primary data and secondary data will give a very detailed and persuasion analysis in the whole thesis.

3.2 Delimitations

For this thesis, I will go to point out some delimitation what will be emerging in the whole thesis.

First, for the time period in this study, I focus on the time period from 2002 to 2012, which is also the era of Hu Jintao(the president of the PRC)'s administration in China. But one of the three specific issue area is Nuclear Weapon Program of North Korea started earlier than the year of 2002, when is at the beginning of the 1990s. Hence, in this study, it will not research the China's foreign policy towards the nuclear weapon program in the period from 1990 to 2001. In addition, at that time period, it was also the era of Jiang ZeMing(the former president of the PRC)'s administration in China. If this study researches the China's foreign policy towards the North Korea from the era of Jiang Zeming, it will waste much sources and it will make this thesis confusion, because different leader has different foreign policy decision making towards another state in China. Moreover, some readers will be very interested in the Korean War between 1950 and 1953. But I have not introduced more and particular about it and the 38th parallel in the introduction chapter, because my thesis focus on the era of 2002 to 2012 rather than focus on before the Korean War and post the Korean War.

Second, for the specific issue area of the changed leadership in North Korea, I can just focus on the Hu Jintao's administration towards the North Korea since from Kim Jong il died in December 2011, for the future of China's foreign policy towards North Korea, I can only predict according to the historical experiences between China and North Korea, because Hu Jintao will retire after the 18th National People's Congress of Chinese Communist Party in the next half year 2012, and we will not know how China's foreign policy towards North Korea under new leader's administration in China after 2012. Furthermore, some readers may know that Kim Jong il has three

sons, and they will be interested in why the third son Kim Jong Un can become the new leader of North Korea after the death of Kim Jong Un. Thus, in this research, I will not give the detailed introduction and background of Kim Jong Un. If I go to deep study the background of Kim Jong Un from his childhood until he became the new leader of North Korea now, it will waste so much sources and time. I just want to say Kim's family is very complex, as our scholars can't make clear about how their family control the leadership transition in North Korea.

4.0 Analysis

In the analysis chapter, I will go to look at Chinese official discourse to analyze the three specific issue areas during the period of 2002 to 2012 and attempted to identify that the constructivist approach emphasizes on the construction of identity and interests.

My purpose is to answer the research question:

“Does the official discourse of the People’s Republic of China identify the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea as a friend or a foe?”

In order to answer the research question, the three specific issue areas (the nuclear weapon program, the possible reunification of two Koreas, the Changed leadership in North Korea) will be discussed and analyzed respectively on the basis of the China’s official discourse. Through analysis, this study can know about how China’s foreign policy towards North Korea under the Hu Jintao’s era.

4.1 The Nuclear Weapon Program

In the introduction chapter, I have given a brief and clear background of the North Korea’s nuclear weapon program, and since from 2003, China organized the Six-Party Talks in Beijing and the purpose of the Six-Party is to achieve the denuclearization in the Korean Peninsula. In this part I will give some important speeches or interviews from some famous current Chinese politicians, how they think of the nuclear weapon of North Korea and how does China do in the Six-Party Talk.

4.1.1 Interviews and Speeches from Chinese Politicians about the Nuclear Weapon Program of North Korea

First, I will look at the interviews from the Wen Jiabao who is the Chinese premier now. The interview was given on 6th September 2006, when Wen Jibao visited the Finland, and the journalist who interviewed Wen Jiabao was from Helsingin Sanomat.

One of the questions the journalist put forward was about:

“My question is on China’s relations with Iran and DPRK. Will China oppose sanctions against those countries even if they fail to accept Security Council Demands? And also, China will use its economic ties to persuade the DPRK to return to the Six-Party Talks?” (Fom the official website of the PRC foreign affairs ministry)

In here, I will not give all the answers when Wen Jiabao answered this question, and I will give the main parts of answers from Wen Jiabao, now let us look at how Wen Jiabao answers it:

“The Chinese Government consistently calls for making the Korean Peninsula nuclear free through dialogue and negotiation and maintaining peace and stability on the peninsula. This is also the consensus reached by the parties concerned and what the international community hopes to see. We hope all parties will work towards this objective. Given the sensitivity of the situation on the Korean Peninsula, all the parties concerned should be cool-headed and exercise restraint, refrain from making statement or taking moves that will escalate tension, and work to create conditions for resuming the Six-Party Talks at an early date.” (ibid)

From the answer of Wen Jiabao, we can’t not realize too much about how China’s specific behavior will toward the North Korea’s nuclear weapon through the Six-Party Talks. Wen Jiabao just points out that we all the parties should work together to achieve the nuclear free in the Korean Peninsula.

On one hand, in July 2006, North Korea test launched many missiles into the Sea of Japan even though Japan, China and South Korea requested North Korea to cancel the launch before testing (International Crisis Group 2009b). The UN Security Council conformably voted to force sanctions on North Korea including China. From that, we can know the behavior of North Korea made China embarrassed in front of the world, and also changed the China’s approach towards North Korea (Sino-North Korean

Relations, July 2006-June 2007). The main change of China's approach to North Korea is that China decided to support UN Security Council to force financial and food sanctions on North Korea (Security Council Resolution, 2006).

From the perspective of international political level, we can see that China interacted with the other states in the process of the Six-Party Talks, and their shared concept or idea is sequentially constructed stage by stage. Meanwhile, the inter-subjective interactions have also internalized these shared concepts or ideas, which means constructing the conceptional or ideal as mentioned in the theoretical chapter. As the international shared concept or idea constructed, and it will influence China's national shared concept or idea. Therefore, in the process of the Six-Party Talks, it constructs China's identity. While in the process of constructing China's identity during the Six-Party Talks, the action of North Korea's test launched the missiles that changes China's approach to North Korea, as the North Korea, they did not take into consideration all about China's interests. When in the process of constructing identity, and China's interests is also constructed by the international factors. China and other states have the common object which persuades North Korea to give up the nuclear weapon program, and that China's own and other states' interests will not be influenced by North Korea.

Second, I will give the speeches from the Chinese Foreign Minister who was Yang Jiechi, he gave the speeches when at the "Six-Point Consensus Reached at the Informal Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Six Parties on the Korean Peninsula Nuclear Issue" on 24th July 2008.

"Yang pointed out that the six party talks now stand at a turning point of moving into the third phase and face important chances of making new progress. Meanwhile difficulties may also arise on the way ahead, which calls for efforts of all parties to endeavor to meet half way, increase consensus, resolve mutual concerns and implement the remaining action of the second phase at an early date in a

comprehensive, balanced way. So long as all parties show political will and determination, the targets in the September 19 Joint Statement will surely be fulfilled. China, chair of the six-party talks, will continue to make constructive contributions to the realization of all the targets in the joint statement.” (ibid)

From his speech, we also can see that China is not only the host of the Six-Party Talks, but also the mediator and facilitator of negotiations and communications between other parties to devote to resolving the nuclear weapon program of North Korea. During Yang's speech, it showed that he emphasized the constructive role of China in the Six-Party Talks. Without China's support, any of the other parties will be very difficult or successful in negotiating with North Korea. If Pyongyang considers that China is on the other party's side, it will not be willing to stretch a point. Hence, China has to work as a significant and effective mechanism for the conflict prevention; otherwise it will make the other parties military confrontation to the North Korea.

Furthermore, China also has to make the other parties understand each other's interests and actions. Only if each party understands their interests in the Korean Peninsula, their actions will also be vary according to their own interests. For China, they also have their interests in the Korean Peninsula, after creating the shared ideas and identity, China is the host of the Six-Party Talks, it should make every party to understand their own interests, and then can achieve the common object in the negotiations of the Six-Party Talks.

After looking at the interviews and speeches from two Chinese current famous politicians, now this study will further go to discuss and analyze China's constructing identity and interests in the process of the Six-Party Talks.

The identity of a nation is constructed; and we can regard it as national identity. The constructivists treat the national identity as a good tool to begin with analyzing any foreign policy, and Wendt regards the national identity as “a property of international

actors that generates motivational and behavioral dispositions (Wendt, 1999: pp 224). In this part, we can consider that after China constructing and knowing his own national identity, they will make the foreign policy decision-making towards the North Korea in the process of the Six-Party Talks. As mentioned in the theoretical chapter that the identity is the base of interests, therefore the China's national identity will affect their own foreign policy towards the North Korea on the issue of nuclear weapon program.

On the other hand, the constructivists argued that the national identity will construct the national interests, and the nations pay more attention to the common interests that they can achieve through the interaction with other nations. Before the era of Hu Jintao, China implemented the foreign policy of 'maintain a low profile', which made China spend time on their domestic affairs (Chen, 2010). When under the era of Hu Jintao, China as a rising national power, their national interest has spread to all over the world. In the specific issue of the Six-Party Talks, China actively organized and participated in the Six-Party Talks, which offers the platform to the USA and North Korea negotiate with the issue of the denuclearization of North Korea. Furthermore, as the issue of globalization continuously promotes, some international issue or event can not be dealt with by the single nation. Under that international background and also China under the leadership of Hu Jintao, Beijing sees themselves as a responsible and active great power in participating the international community, and Beijing seeks to cooperate with some great powers in the current world, especially with USA(ibid). In the process of the Six-Party Talk, except China; USA, Russia and Japan are all great powers in today's world, from that we can see China would be willing to cooperate with all the parties, especially USA and Japan, to deal with the issue of North Korea's nuclear weapon program, and realize the denuclearization in the Korean Peninsula. The development of nuclear weapon of North Korea related to the other five parties' interests. From above analysis, we can see that the common interests of five parties concerned for them are the security interests. If North Korea develops the nuclear weapon successfully, this must bring the threats to the

neighboring countries and affect their security interests. Especially for the USA, as we know USA has a large strategy programs and interests in the East and Northeast Asia, if North Korea developed the nuclear weapon successfully, it will not only threat their strategy programs or interests in the East Asia, but also will threat their own country's security. For South Korea, the nuclear weapon of North Korea holds may make South Korea worry about that North Korea will threat them and may invade them again in order to reunify the Korean Peninsula by the North Korea. For the Japan, until now Japan and North Korea does not establish the diplomatic relationship, and the anti-Japanese sentiment is very seriously in North Korea because of the historical reason, thus Japan also worries about North Korea may attack them one day if they develops the nuclear weapon successfully. For China and Russia, although they are all the so called 'good friend' of North Korea in the international community, of course someone will say as China and Russia do not need to worry about that, but from the international political view, we can not predict what or how will North Korea do towards his best friends as long as they develop the nuclear weapon successfully. Because North Korea has tested the nuclear for some times, which has threatened the Northeast Asians' regional security and also negatively influenced China's own national security interests (Shambaugh & Yahuda, 2008). Therefore, China and Russia as well as the other three parties all cared about the issue of North Korea's nuclear weapon; it may or must threat their national security interests. Under those circumstances, as China actively organizes the Six-Party Talks, and negotiates with each other to persuade the North Korea to give up developing the nuclear weapon.

4.2 The possible reunification of two Koreas

In this part, this study will go to analyze the China's foreign policy towards the second specific issue area that is the possible reunification of two Koreas focus on the side of North Korea. As we all know that the Korean Peninsula is not unified now, as I have mentioned in the introduction chapter that the four region powers surrounding the Korean Peninsula is a main factor determining whether the Korean Peninsula can be reunified or not. China as one of the four regional power plays a significant role in the issue of Korean Peninsula. The future of Korean Peninsula is full of variables, and I am interested in how Chinese government thinks of situation of the Korean Peninsula, unified or divided, in the future? Because regardless of a unified Korea or a divided Korea can affect the Chinese national interests on the Korean Peninsula. Thus, I will discuss and analyze from two different perspectives that is from 'how a unified Korean affects the China's interests on the Korean Peninsula and how a divided Korean affects the China's interests on the Korean Peninsula?'

4.2.1 A Unified Korean in the future with the China's interests on the Korean Peninsula

From Chinese official standpoints on the event of Korean Peninsula Reunification, it shows that China supports the Korean Peninsula can be reunified at an early date through the peaceful way, like the dialogue and negotiation between the South Korea and the North Korea (China-ROK joint statement, 2008).

First, if the Korean Peninsula is unified, as this study mentioned above that the Korea will become a very stronger state, and the unified Korea may change their attention to some unhappy issues such as Korean interests in combining parts of Chinese territory, including the Baekdu Mountain and the area of the Manchuria where lived many Korean ethnic populations (China and the Korean Peninsula: Beijing's Pyongyang Problem and Seoul Hope, 2004). So, from that, I think the unified Korea will affect or threat China's fundamental interests, especially the China's territorial will feel threats from the unified Korea. As the Chinese politicians and experts have to think about this

factor if Korea is unified one day.

Second, a reunified Korea will be friendly toward China, because the United States Forces Korea (USFK) will be evacuated from the Korean Peninsula, and at the same time Korea will also keep the appropriate distance from Japan (Bae, 2011). But the most important is that as Chinese government hopes the reunification can be obtained by the peaceful way and through the common efforts between North Korea and South Korea, limiting the minimum intervene from the outside factors. Otherwise, the Second Korean War may break out again for the reunification, and it will influence China's fundamental interests and generates the new problems(ibid), such as China is the closest ally of North Korea, they may have to think whether they should give the assistance to North Korea and join the Korean War again like in the first Korean War during the 1950 to 1953, and from the domestic perspective, if the Korean War breaks out again, many North Korean refugees will flood in the northeastern of China where is the border between China and North Korea. Chinese government will have to feel the largest pressure from the North Korean refugees, and the phenomenon must affect China's domestic interests, because they will think about that the large refugees into China will influence the social stability of Chinese domestic.

Third, if Beijing wants to achieve the aim of securing an advantageous position in the Northeast Asia going after the Korean Peninsula reunified, as China will have no other choice but to keep the cooperative relationship with the South Korea(ibid). This is a China's strategic inevitability. From the perspective of South Korea, South Korea realizes that Beijing's long support of Korean Peninsula Reunification will play out obstruct it expects, because Beijing plays an important role in pressuring on the structure and timing of the North Korea's collapse. On the other hand, China is in the best location to help both North Korea and South Korea to achieve the Korean Peninsula Reunification because of China's large economic power (ibid). Under that situation, as China's leadership will consider carefully about the factor of North Korea whether China should participate in and help the South Korea to achieve the Korean

reunification under the Seoul's control at an early date. Because as Seoul itself wants to take over the administration of the entire Peninsula after Korea is reunified (China and the Korean Peninsula: Beijing's Pyongyang Problem and Seoul Hope, 2004). If China participates in, the behavior of China in the process of Korean Peninsula Reunification may lead to their interests in both North Korea and South Korea.

4.2.2 A divided Korean as status quo with China's interests on the Korean Peninsula

In this part, this study will go to analyze the relationship between a divided Korean and China's interests on the Korean Peninsula, the divided Korean also means maintaining the status quo like now. North Korea does not invade South Korea for reunification and South Korea also does not attack North Korea for reunification. Under that situation, this study is very interested in how China's interests will be related to the status quo of a divided Korea, which is also my question about 'how a divided Korea affects China's interests on the Korean Peninsula.

First, from the analysis of previous part we can see that a unified Korea may affect the China's interests in terms of the territorial and the domestic interests, because a unified Korea will be stronger that pose a threat to China. A divided Korea has clearly advantages for Beijing. Because the division has guaranteed a weak country on one of China's borders, China does not need to worry about either South Korea or North Korea will be rising soon and threat their fundamental interests in the international level or domestic level (ibid).

Second, from the strategic intention for China, North Korea acts as a strategic chess piece of China against the US-ROK alliance (Coghlan, 2008). Because Beijing has always devoted to the infinite existence of North Korea, although China supports for the peace process in the diplomatic way and China knows that there will be no interests for them if Korea is unified (ibid). On the other hand, under the situation of status quo of a divided Korea, China promises that China will give the economic and

other aid to the North Korea. If China thinks a scenario can't meet its interests, Beijing may protect its interests and influence on the Korean Peninsula. But if China unilaterally interference of North Korea and successful, Beijing will keep the North Korea as his strategic buffer, and control the status quo of a divided Korea between North Korea and South Korea. Only if the Korean Peninsula maintains the status quo as now, with the North Korea was under the effective control of China, China will have two choices: first of all, China can continue to offer the economic assistance to North Korea or introduce the experiences of Chinese economic reform to North Korea to keep North Korea as a perpetual strategic chess piece of China against US-ROK alliance. Secondly, China can also contribute to the final reunification of Korean Peninsula in cooperation with South Korea, but it should be on the term of Beijing (ibid).

Third, from the aspect of Sino-US cooperation on the Korean Peninsula, Washington is shortage of the influence on Pyongyang (ibid). However, China and North Korea have close relationship and trade communication, thus it is very hard for the USA to availably implement the sanction against North Korea provided China does not participate. Under that situation, Washington prefer China plays an important role in the issue of North Korea, and Washington is seeking to cooperate with China and hopes China can persuade North Korea to keep calm especially on the aspects of military friction with US-ROK alliance. Because under that condition, China can contain USA's strategic intention on the issue of Taiwan that compelled USA to seek for the cooperation with China in order to solve the issue of the North Korea. And the issue of Taiwan related to the unification of China, which are core interests of the PRC. China can proper make use of this advantage to limit USA's influence on the issue of Taiwan.

In addition, under the situation of the Korean Peninsula is divided, as the North Korea has the psychological that beware of the South Korea. From the perspectives of China, they may develop the resources of North Korean through making use of the friendship

of the two countries, and China also can develop the market of North Korea, and provide the goods conditions for North Korean domestic development. China's assistance will be very helpful the existence and survival of North Korea, the most important is that can prevent the regime collapse of Kim family's administration.

Lastly, it is very interesting that according to the academic paper series of Korea Economic Institute, they did an interview with Chinese people and Chinese scholars, which concluded that over 80% of Chinese people against the Korean Peninsula reunification and about 50% of Chinese scholars believe a unified Korea seems to pose a threat to China (Lee, 2012). From that, we can know that most of Chinese people do not hope that Korea should be unified, and they hope the status quo of a divided Korea as now.

4.2.3 Discuss and predict the unified Korea or the divided Korea in the future, which one does China prefer?

From the above analysis, we can go to discuss and predict China's foreign policy towards the possible reunification of two Koreas in the future according to the constructivist approach, the unified Korea or the divided Korea as status quo, which one China will prefer.

On the one hand, according to the viewpoint of constructivist perspective, they stress the possibility for identity, culture and mutual interaction to compel China's foreign policy decision making or his behavior in the future (Johnston, 2007). The viewpoint will take the specified regulations potential Chinese foreign policy more earnestly as a pointer of China's actual intensions. On the other hand, which is the most important that the constructivist forecasts rely on assumptions about which factors of Chinese culture and identity matter most in interrupting China's international behavior.

From the viewpoint of historical and culture, China has pursued for ensure that any Korean state should be friendly to the PRC. For many centuries, the Korean Peninsula

was semi-independent on China in handling its foreign policy and affairs and Korea kept stably in Chinese culture scope as a tributary of China (Shambaugh, 2003). For the future of the situation of Korean Peninsula, China should ensure that any single Korean state will keep friendly to China in the future. The Chinese culture will continue to influence the two Koreas in the future according to the historical experience; China will make the foreign policy decision towards the Korean Peninsula according to its large culture influence on the Korean Peninsula. For the stability of the Korean Peninsula even Northeast Asia, China will continue to design their policy towards to facilitate North Korea's survival and reform while enhancing the closer economic relationship with South Korea (ibid).

Furthermore, from now situation, China has shown that they are mostly satisfied with the status quo of a divided Korea and has devoted to decrease the possibility of Second Korean War rather than promoting the Korean Peninsula Reunification. In terms of Chinese national identity and interest, the possibility of the Second Korean War more close and close, it will affect China's interests both in domestic and international. Of course, China does not hope so. Therefore, in the future of China's policy towards the possible reunification of two Korea should be based on China's interests than anything else.

4.3 The changed leadership in North Korea

In this chapter, this study will go to discuss and analyze the Chinese foreign policy towards the changed leadership in North Korea since from the death of Kim Jong il on 17th December 2011. Because this thesis focuses on the time period which is under the era of Hu Jintao from the year of 2002 until in the next half year of 2012. From the specific issue of the changed leadership in North Korea, we can go to look at how Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leaders response the death of Kim Jong il, and how Chinese CCP leaders response the new leader of North Korea Kim Jong Un took over the Kim Jong il's administration and position.

4.3.1 Chinese government responses the death of Kim Jong il

As this study has mentioned in the background of introduction chapter that Kim Jong il died on 17th December 2011 according to the news report of BBC. China as the closest neighbor and ally of North Korea, the CCP Central Committee sent their message of Condolence to the former North Korea leader Kim Jong il on 19th December 2011 (from the website of Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry).

On the other hand, according to the South Korean scholar described that China was the first country to convey the condolences after the death of Kim Jong il (Lee, 2012). On 20th December, the Chinese president Hu Jintao together with some other top Politburo members of CCP visited the North Korean Embassy in Beijing, and paid the condolences to the Kim Jong il's death (Hu Jintao's visiting to the DPRK Embassy in China for condolence of North Korean leader Kim Jong il, 2011). When Hu Jintao visited the DPRK Embassy in Beijing, he emphasized that China believes Korean people will certainly inherit the Kim Jong il's behest, and closely unite around the Korean Labor Party. Under the leadership of Kim Jong Un, North Korean people should make tireless efforts in order to build a powerful and socialist country to achieve enduring peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula (ibid).

From the speeches of Hu Jintao, we can see that China also wants to a lasting peace and stable North Korea in the Korean Peninsula. They don't expect that North Korea

will appear the collapse of Kim family, which may cause the stability in the Korean Peninsula. Because an unstable North Korea is not as China's strategic interests both from the aspects of international and domestic (why does China want to have a stable North Korea after Kim Jong il's Demise, 2011). Moreover, we can see Chinese government believes that the North Korean will keep their Chajusong (independence) through self-reliance, and this corporate identity with the social identity of North Korea will continue to construct their interests.

A stable Korean border has surely helped China to develop its own economic, from the perspective of regional; especially the issue of the South China Sea has made the border and sea of China challenged by the many Southeast Asian neighboring countries, such as Vietnam, Philippines, and USA. As China does not want to have another border or sea dispute with its Northeast Asian neighbors, because of that, China has always emphasized in developing a traditional and friendly relationship with North Korea (ibid).

From the perspective of domestic economic interests, a stable North Korea will be very important to Chinese own economic interests (ibid). China's large culture influence in the Korean Peninsula, and its constructed identity, will make China construct more interests in North Korea to increase China's domestic economic interests. China is the largest trading partner of North Korea, in the past some years, there were many Chinese investors and businessmen doing investment and business in the North Korea, and the heavy industries were the main parts of North Korea's economy. China is a heavy industry country, if creating more heavy industry factories in North Korea that will be great interests for the general Chinese people, which attracts many usual Chinese businessmen and investors choose the North Korea as their development zone. Furthermore, there is a Korean ethnicity among Chinese people; they almost live in the Northeast of China. These people of Korean ethnicity can share their same language and culture with the North Korea, and recommend the Chinese market economy to North Korea to enhance the living standard of North

Korean people.

4.3.2 China government responses to Kim Jong Un becoming a new leader of North Korea

As this study mentioned that until 12th April 2012, Kim Jong Un has named the supreme commander of the North Korean People's Army, the chairman of the Party's Central Military Commission, and a standing member of the Politburo. On 31st December 2011, Hu Jintao sent the message to congratulate Kim Jong Un becoming the supreme commander of the North Korean People's Army (from the website of Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry). In addition, Hu Jintao also emphasized that the friendly and cooperative relationship between China and North Korea will continue to consolidated and enhanced under the new historical conditions.

From the congratulation of Hu Jintao to Kim Jong Un, Chinese government's standpoints expressed that China supported for the leadership of Kim Jong Un. On the one hand, from the condolence of Hu Jintao's visiting DPRK Embassy in Beijing, we also have concluded that China has begun to recognize Kim Jong Un's administration guiding the North Korean people to build the powerful and socialist country. In terms of North Korea, they have constructed their identity as a 'socialist paradise' on the basis of 'democratic centralism' since from the Korean War (Wyk, 2007). For the construction of its interests, the behaviors of North Korea that want to prevent their people from being attacked by the USA.

From above, we can see that after Kim Jong Un became the new leader of North Korea, China still keeps the good friendship with new administration of North Korea. China hopes that Kim Jong Un's administration can lead North Korean people to build a stronger and socialist country, rather than appear the collapse of Kim's family administration that will influence China's interests in the North Korea. Moreover, Kim Jong Un is a younger leader without much political experience in domestic and international, and China may worry and also does not hope that Kim Jong Un's

administration challenges or against China one day if they develop nuclear weapon successfully in the future, which will also be affecting China's interests in the Korean Peninsula and domestic. Thus, China first off sent the congratulation to Kim Jong Un becoming the new leader of North Korea, China hopes that the third generation leadership of North Korea that is Kim Jong Un's leadership can continue to maintain the traditional and forever friendship with China in the future.

5.0 Conclusion

This research has been very interesting that has learned and analyzed about how the Chinese identity and interests constructed in the process of the three specific issue areas and also has found out the answer to the research question about how the official discourse of the PRC identify North Korea as a friend or a foe. It will be completely concluded in the next paragraph about the research question.

From the three specific issue areas, we can realize that China's foreign policy towards the North Korea is not constant, but sometimes keeps flexible. From the specific issue area of the possible reunification of two Koreas, first from the China-ROK joint statement, we can see that China superficially supports the reunification of two Koreas in the future, but from the reality situation that China has to consider more about their own interests in the future of Korean Peninsula, and their foreign policy towards the Korean Peninsula. As I have analyzed that a divided Korea will not affect China's interests, and China can continue to make use of North Korea to contain South Korea and USA. From the specific issue of the changed leadership in North Korea, from Hu Jintao's speeches and a series of official responses from Chinese government to North Korea, we can see that China more supports the regime of Kim Jong Un, and willing to continue to enhance the good relationship with North Korea. From the specific issue of the Nuclear Weapon Program, the action of North Korea's missile launch makes China angry, and then China supports the decision of the UN Security Council to give sanction to North Korea. From the international pressure, China has no choice but consistent with other countries' action against North Korea. From the national interests, the action of North Korea has threatened China's own interests in the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia, which made China unhappy. To sum up, from the three specific issue areas, we can find that China identifies North Korea as a friend more than a foe in this study although the nuclear weapon program of North Korea makes China angry.

5.1 Predict the future of China's foreign policy towards the North Korea.

In order to predict the future of China's foreign policy towards the North Korea, I have to review the Mao Zedong's era towards the Kim il Sung's administration (Kim il Sung, who was the first leader of North Korea & Kim Jong il's father). In 1958, Mao Zedong sent the telegram to Kim il Sung, and regards North Korea as the ally of China, he said "the Chinese people and the Korean people depend on each other like lips and teeth and will stand together through thick and thin."(China and North Korea after Kim Jong il, 2012). From Mao Zedong's speeches, we can see that the relationship between China and North Korea very tightness, even like the 'brother-relations'. In addition, in 1961, China and North Korea signed the treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the PRC and the DPRK, which has paved the way for two countries' friendly and traditionally development in the future.

For the Kim Jong il's era, this study has also mentioned above that China has given them many assistance in terms of economic, trade, military and so forth. From the perspective of diplomatic, Kim Jong il visited China for many and many times before he died on 17th December 2011(Lee, 2012), which also shows China attaches great importance to North Korea.

For the future of North Korea, China will continue to give them the economic assistance in order to maintain the stability in the North Korea and the Korean Peninsula, so Beijing will continue to enhance the relationship with Pyongyang. From the international perspective, China may cooperate with South Korea and other regional power to resolve the North Korean nuclear weapon program through the Six-Party Talks. From the domestic perspective, China may play an important factor in guiding North Korea to implement the economic reform and open up under the Kim Jong Un's administration.

Lastly, China will also continue to make use of the North Korean card to contain the

USA's strategic for returning to 'East and Southeast Asia' (ibid). Because USA returns to East Asia, it will take the negative affects to China, especially USA interference of the issue of the South China Sea, and regarding some Chinese economic interests.

In the future of China's foreign policy towards the North Korea, which is Post Hu Jintao's era of China, the relationship between China and North Korea will be affected by the many outside variables, such as the relationship between Washington and Beijing, and the relationship between Seoul and Beijing. The president of three states (China, South Korea and USA) all will or may change in the next year of 2012, hence how the new administration of China coordinates with the new administration of USA and South Korea on the issue of North Korea in the future will determine the future of North Korea even the situation of Korean Peninsula. As these three states, they are all the main factors determining the stability of North Korea and the Korean Peninsul.

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