

Jang Song Thaek Incident's Impacts on Sino-DPRK Relations and Sino- ROK Relations

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Relations

I. Sino-DPRK Relations in Brief

- Friendly period 1950-1966
 - China was involved in the Korea War (1950-1953) for supporting N. Korea to ensure China's security
 - After the war, China provided extensive economic assistance to Pyongyang to support its reconstruction and economic development
 - In 1961, two countries signed the Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty,
 - China pledged to provide military and other assistance by all means to DPRK against any outside attack.
 - This treaty was prolonged twice, in 1981 and 2001, with a validity until 2021
 - China and DPRK also became ideological alliance against the Soviet Union after Sino-Soviet relations broke up
 - But Kim Il-sung did not trust China completely
 - Yan'an faction (pro-China) was purged from the Party
 - It made China discontent with Kim

- Frictional period from 1966 to 1970
 - Kim Il-sung claimed sovereignty over great part of China's territory in Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang Province
 - It was rejected by China
 - During the early Culture Revolution
 - Red Guard movement accused and criticized Kim
 - Kim ordered some people to destroy the monuments to Chinese Volunteers died in the Korea War
 - Improvement of relations between the Soviet and DPRK made Sino-DPRK relations more deteriorated
 - Kim began to improve relations with the Soviet Union to be against China
 - The Soviet Union provided great deal of economic aid to DPRK
 - Various military conflicts took place in border areas between two sides
 - The bilateral relations hit the lowest point

- Normalization of bilateral relations in 1970s
 - In 1970, Zhou Enlai and Kim Il-sung exchanged visits
 - With growing of mutual understanding, Kim rebuilt the monuments
 - Kim Il-sung almost annually visited Beijing
 - China supported DPRK reunification with S. Korea by peaceful means
 - The North and the South began to contact
- Differences period again in 1980s and 1990s
 - China carried out reform and opening up policy
 - It was accused of going capitalist way
 - “China betrayed communism”
 - But in 1990s when China’s reform reached achievements Pyongyang began to change views on China’s reform
 - Tried to build special economic zone
 - China established diplomatic relationship with ROK in 1992
 - It was criticized as betraying DPRK
 - China refusing to return to Pyongyang betrayed N. Korean officials made Pyongyang discontent

- Current China's DPRK policy and Pyongyang's reaction
 - Beijing's policy towards the N. Korea
 - To maintain N. Korean stability so as to prevent its collapse which will caused refugee problem
 - So China provided support for DPRK in food, energy
 - To encourage Pyongyang to conduct market reform to develop economy
 - To encourage Pyongyang open to outside and join international community
 - By this way make it a responsible regional player
 - To ensure N. Korea as a buffer zone between China and the US- S. Korea military alliance
 - So China still keeps military alliance
 - China also wants to constrain Pyongyang by the alliance
 - To support N. Korea and S. Korea to reach reunification peacefully and independently
 - Denuclearization on Korean Peninsular
 - To resolve the nuclear issue, China sponsored six party talks

- Pyongyang's response to China's policy
 - “Military first” policy
 - It was put forward by Kim Jong-il and stressed by Kim Jong-un
 - » It means to make efforts to develop national defence industry and boost the army's combat capability
 - Because it fears that the U.S. launches military strike on it like Iraq
 - Developing Nuclear weapons and missiles
 - It is part of Military first policy
 - To build nuclear deterrent force to enemy
 - To be nuclear state to have much leverage at negotiation table with the U.S.
 - For economic reform, it is still hesitated
 - Pyongyang understood that economic development was important
 - » Built special economic zone
 - » Kim Jong-il visited Shanghai
 - But priority was still given to military industry
- Both sides' policies to each other were so different

- The bilateral relations are getting strained due to Pyongyang's three nuclear tests
- Shifting of China's position to nuclear tests
 - From opposing to favoring sanction against Pyongyang
 - In October 2006, Pyongyang tested a nuclear weapon
 - China agreed to UN Security Council Resolution 1718, which imposed sanctions on Pyongyang.
 - After the second nuclear test in May 2009,
 - China also agreed to stricter sanctions.
 - After third test In February 2013
 - Beijing expressed “strong protest” against Pyongyang
 - issued a call for Pyongyang to return to the denuclearization talks.
 - Beijing failed to agree to invite Kim Jong-un to visit Beijing as he required
 - Beijing kept silent when Jang Song-thaek required Beijing to invite Kim Jong-un to visit Beijing last August when he visited Beijing
 - Because of nuclear tests

– Beijing's sanction measures

- On May 7, 2013 Bank of China closed the North Korean Foreign Trade Bank accounts.
- China-DPRK trade declined by 6 percent year-on-year during January-June 2013 to \$2.95 billion
 - with a 15 percent decline in imports of Chinese crude oil to 250,000 tons and a drastic 65 percent decline in Chinese food imports to 120,000 tons.

– The relations became worse after Kim Jong Un came to power in December 2011

- Pyongyang did not give advance notice before satellite launches or nuclear tests
- Kidnapping of Chinese fishermen
- North Korea doesn't allow China—a defense treaty ally—to observe its military exercises.
- The most serious action to China taken by Kim Jong-un is the fact that Jang Song-thaek, No.2 leader of N. Korea China trusted most was executed by Kim Jong-un last month

II. Sino-ROK Relations in Brief

◆ Rapid development of bilateral relations

◆ Economic relations

◆ China passed the United States in 2003 to become S. Korea's largest trading partner

◆ Bilateral trade has increased almost 50 times in past 20 years and reached 256 billion U.S. dollars in 2012

◆ In 2012, China ranks as S. Korea's most important export and import market by a wide margin.

◆ Total trade between the two countries has ballooned to \$220.6 billion in 2011, more than the combined total of S. Korea's trade with the United States and the EU.

◆ In 2012, more than 20,000 Korean businesses have invested in China

◆ For every percentage point drop in Chinese economic growth, Korea's economic growth slows of by 0.4 percent annually.

◆ Personnel exchange

◆ China: a primary source of foreign tourists in S. Korea

◆ In 2000, Chinese tourists to S. Korea: 443,000

◆ In 2011, more than 2.2 million Chinese

◆ Korean tourists in China have grown much more rapidly

◆ From 1.43 million in 2000 to 4.18 million in 2011.

◆ Chinese students studying in Korea

◆ In 2013, Chinese students studying in S. Korea reaches 63 thousands, accounting for 84% of foreign students in S. Korea

◆ Korean students studying in China has grown from 4000 in 1992 to 63,000 in 2012, which is 21 percent of the foreign students currently studying in China and only about 10,000 less than studied in the United States that same year

◆ 780,000 Chinese working in South Korea in 2012, which accounts for over half of the country's 1.4 million foreign residents.

◆ The number of South Koreans working in China has reached a historical record of 1 million at same time

- Non-stable political relations
 - Both publics have no mutual political trust as surveys show
 - Recent survey.
 - Among 1,500 adult Koreans surveyed, 19.1 percent stated their dislike of China.
 - This survey eventually put China as the second most disliked country to South Koreans, only behind Japan.
 - The survey also noticed that this negative impression of China has been rising.
 - 61% of correspondents: China is biggest threat to united Korea
 - A recent poll by the Chinese newspaper International Herald Leader found
 - around 40 percent of Chinese respondents had reservations about South Korea.
 - These emotions will no doubt bring a huge impact to the two countries' relationship if they are allowed to spread freely.

– S. Korean governments' unstable China policy

- Different China policy between President Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2008)and President Lee Myung-bak
- President Roh,
 - Moderate policy : supporting “sunshine” policy
 - recognizing China's growing power accommodated China
 - maintained some diplomatic distance from the United States.
 - For most of Roh's tenure, South Korea enjoyed intimate bilateral interactions with China, but it suffered severely from the resulting complications in its security cooperation with the United States.
- Lee Myung-bak
 - Hardline policy to the North
 - strengthening the ROK-U.S. alliance
 - advanced South Korea's relationship with the United States into a more comprehensive, multidimensional "strategic alliance."
 - China-S. Korea relations were cooler than before

- Other major negative factors for no-stable political relations
 - Perception of China threat
 - all age groups by 71 percent or more see China's military rise as a threat.
 - Because historically ancient Chinese empires invaded Korea
 - China was seen siding with the North
 - Cheonan ship was sunk in March 2010
 - It was suspected that the ship was hit by a North Korean torpedo
 - when the Cheonan was sunk, it took Beijing a month to issue a statement of regret for the 46 sailors who lost their lives.
 - Later that year, when North Korea shelled Yeonpyeong Island killing two soldiers, as well as two civilians, China again seemed to side with North Korea.

- A poll shows:
 - 69.2 percent of the South Korean public thought China would support North Korea,
 - while 25.8 percent speculated that China would remain neutral.
 - Only 4.2 percent thought China would support South Korea.
- China has been perceived as an obstacle to unification.
- Nationalist controversy on historical events
 - Controversy on ancient Korean kingdom of Koguryo in 2004
 - Controversy on Chinese Duanwu festival
 - **Dano** is a Korean traditional holiday that falls on the 5th day of the fifth month of the lunar Korean calendar designated by UNESCO as a "Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity"
 - Chinese called that cultural invasion

◆◆ New page of Sino-S. Korea relations

◆◆ New President Park Geun-hye in 2012

- ◆◆ She knows China better than any other top leaders.
- ◆◆ She has been very much influenced by Chinese classic works and philosophy.
- ◆◆ She can speak Chinese.
- ◆◆ In her first visit to China as President, Park has built personal relationship with President Xi Jinping.

◆◆ Park's China policy

◆◆ Stressed cooperation and exchange

- ◆◆ She and Xi Jinping have promised to expand cooperation on economic and social issues and to promote contact between two peoples.

◆◆ Jointly promote regional peace and prosperity

- ◆◆ As Park said in her speech, China and South Korea share the same dream, and both strive to promote the peace and prosperity in northeast Asia.

◆◆ More importantly, work with China together to improve cooperation on security issues, historically the weak point in the countries' relations

III. Jang Song Thaek incident's Impacts on Sino-DPRK Relations and Sino-ROK Relations

- Jang Song Thaek was executed last month
 - No. 2 leader of N. Korea after Kim Sung-un
 - He, as Kim Sung Un's uncle was one of important supporters for Kim Sung-un after Kim Sung il's death
 - He was in charge of promoting economic reform and development
 - Special economic zones
 - Trade relations with China and China's investment in N. Korea
 - He kept close relations with China
 - He was only one Pyongyang's high raking leader China trusted
 - Beijing tried to influence Kim Sung-un through Jang

- Jang's execution harmed Sino-N. Korea relations
 - The statement on Jang's charges implicated China three times.
 - Jang was accused of underselling coal and other natural resources for which China was virtually the sole customer.
 - He was also charged with "selling off the land of Rason economic and trade zone to a foreign country for a period of five decades under the pretext of paying debts".
 - Finally, he was accused of selling precious metals, thus disrupting the country's financial stability.
 - In fact, China purchased some of North Korea's gold reserves several months ago.

- China lost the sole trustable N. Korean top official to serve as bridge between two countries
 - China's influence on N. Korea will greatly decline
 - China's suspicion of Kim Jung-un will be increasing
- Jang's execution marks that Kim Jung-un's suspicions of China is growing further
 - Bilateral relations will probably become cold for some period
- Sino-S. Korea relations will be improved by Jang's execution
 - Beijing's and Seoul's positions on Kim Jung-un regime will be more closing
 - Beijing and Seoul will likely work together to duel with Pyongyang if Kim Sung-un takes risk action

Conclusion

- China will likely take more measures to implement UN solutions of sanction against Pyongyang
- China-N. Korea relations have been worse but China has to try to restore and improve the bilateral relations so as to influence Pyongyang
- China-S. Korea relations will be getting more closer not only in dealing with nuclear issue, but also in other cooperation especially in dealing with Japan's challenge to the post-War international order

Thank you all!