

New Developments of 3rd edition China Foreign Policy and Its Influence on Korean Peninsula's Peace Process

Bo Tu 신라대학교

논문 요약

“시진핑 신시대 중국특색 사회주의(Xi Jinping new era’s socialism with Chinese characteristics)” 배경 하에 중국의 외교정책은 3.0시대로 진입했다. 3.0시대의 중국외교정책은 2017년 이후에 두 가지 새로운 발전(New developments)을 추가로 제시하였다. 첫째는 중공 19대 회의에서 “주변외교방침”(Neighborhood diplomacy)을 강조하였고, “일대일로”(the Belt and Road Initiative)를 당장(Party constitution)에 넣었다. 둘째는 중국의 헌법에 “평화발전도로를 견지한다”, “호익공영개방전략을 견지한다”, 및 “인류운명공동체를 추진한다” 3가지 내용을 추가하였다. 중국이 아시아의 중요한 나라 중의 하나로서 3.0시대 중국외교정책의 이러한 새로운 발전변화는 주변국가에 많은 영향을 줄 것으로 판단된다. 본 논문은 문헌연구를 기반으로 중국 3.0시대 외교정책의 새로운 발전변화를 파악하고 이들이 한반도 평화과정에 어떤 영향을 미칠지 분석하고자 한다. 연구결과로 중국의 3.0시대외교는 동북아시아, 특히 한반도의 비핵화 및 평화프로세스를 중점으로 두고 있다. 한반도의 평화 및 발전은 중국의 국익(National interest)과 일치하며, 중국은 관련 국가들과 함께 한반도의 평화를 위해 노력할 것이다. 또한 중국은 향후에 “일대일로” 및 “인류운명공동체” 측면에서 볼 때 남북한과 지역발전전략 연계(Docking)를 통해 한반도 발전에도 큰 도움을 줄 것이다.

핵심어 : 중국, 3.0시대 외교정책, 새로운 발전, 한반도, 평화프로세스, 일대일로

I. Introduction

People's Republic of China(hereinafter called China), ever since its founding in 1949, has always stuck to the independent foreign policy of peace and regarded the five strategy of peaceful coexistence as foundation of foreign affairs. The opening-up strategy was complemented by the Communist Party of China (CPC) with Deng Xiaoping at its core. Meanwhile, the "non-alliance" policy and the strategy of "hiding our light under a bushel" were established over time. Under the leadership of CPC with Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping at its core, China's diplomacy has shifted sharply from the "revolutionary diplomacy" to the "construction diplomacy 1)" (Wang 2012, 126). The 21th century witnessed changing factors, international and regional alike, that affect China's foreign policies: On the one hand, The domineering America feels hostile towards China by bracketing China's rise as one of major geo-strategic challenges(Bader 20+12, 2). as actions to exert more influence on south Asia, Obama government weighted its strategy towards Asia-Pacific regions and relied on the "re-balance of Asia-Pacific strategy." Moreover, the new president Trump attempted to constitute another "Indo-Pacific strategy" to deter China from "eastern advance." On the other hand, Chinese president Xi Jinping proposed the "Belt and Road" Initiative on the basis of community of shared destiny and pledged that China will deep relations with its neighboring countries in accordance to the strategy of "amity,

1) Some scholar called it "development diplomacy" (Zhao 2013, 4)

sincerity, mutual benefits and inclusiveness” and the police of forging partnership and friendship with its neighbors. It is President Xi Jinping who ushered Chinese foreign policy to the 3rd edition one.

The first nuclear test in North Korea has cast shadow of nuclear war over the Korean peninsula. Since the reign of Kim Jongun in 2010, nucleus-related activities, like nuclear tests and missile tests, have been regarded as weapons for self-defense, which results in the constantly deterioration South Korea. In 2017, the 6th nuclear test engineered by North Korea put South Korea in peril. Points from scholars have been that the situation of the nuclear issue in North Korea has come to a crucial node.

The ROK president Moon Jaein strengthened its military ally with US in an attempt to counter against North Korea’s nuclear tests; conversely, he pursued “Sunshine Policy” aiming to mend relation with North Korea and create chances for dialogue in-between. Despite such gentle remarks as “Berlin’s Peace Plan”, “the Situation of DRPK” and “the Driver Theory”, the actual catalyst lay in the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang. As the host of 2018 Winter Olympics, South Korea took this advantage to conduct Olympics diplomacy, touching the chord of national interest of both sides. Such a move encouraged people of both sides to take part in the games and prolong the conversation in between. The date, April 27, marked the historical Panmunjom Meeting and a joint communique.

Considering assorted China-centered intrigues hatched now and then by America and other countries alike, and the

changing situations in China's neighboring countries, the 3rd edition of China's foreign policy is undergoing constant changes and improvements. The detente in Korean peninsula and the amended relation of DRPK and ROK means a lot to China. These will not only energize the cross-border trade of both north part and north-east part of China, but introduce new opportunities to the "Belt and Road" initiative. American blackout being broken, China is able to embrace strategic benefits of great significance. Ergo, China's position for the denuclearization on Korean peninsula and the negotiation process is firm and clear cut. This paper aims to figure out following questions. Are there any newly-emerging merits of China's foreign policies amid changing situations at home and abroad? How will the developments of China's foreign policies affect its neighboring countries, and the Korean peninsula in particular? Can China's foreign policies ramp up the peace process between North and South Korea? On the basis of literature review method and regarding the potential influence of the 3rd China's foreign policy on the peninsula as a thread running through the paper, this thesis as its first step discusses the theoretical deduction measures conducted by related scholars in the respect. Then the thesis sorts out specific development features of China's 3rd edition foreign policy. As the last step, analyses in depth are conducted and conclusion is given concerning such an issue as what influence will be exert on Korean peninsula.

II. Theoretical Deduction: Power Transition Theory, Hedging Strategy, or Network Theory of Power

Scholars from assorted nations embrace bumper harvest in analyzing this topic and gradually develop theoretical methods of their own, among which such methods as power transition theory, hedging strategy and network theory of power stand out. In the 1950s, A.F. Kenneth Organski, a professor of the University of Michigan initiated the power transition theory and improved it afterward. Such incidences as the dissolution of Soviet Union and China's rise prompt the Occident led by US to blame China for US recession and preach "China threat". China is in Washington's eyes the most powerful country that intends not to be free in this planet (White 2007). Which way will China take to develop itself? War, or peace & win-win? One nation varies another in this matter. It is, however, Thucydides' Sino-American relation (Allison 2017). Conclusion has it that less possibility of war may exist between these two countries from the perspective of Thucydides' (Harcourt 2013). Besides, as for China (Toje 2018). While Asian scholars also count on power transition theory to analyze politic activities of major countries and the countermeasures of less powerful countries alike, say, the countermeasure of South Korea amid the landscape of China'-American relation.

Hedging strategy refers to that one country takes certain strategy against another so as to reduce loss and defuse risks. As the name suggests, a hedge means one country takes a two-pronged policy aiming to take the heavy end of

interest (Si 2013, 23). There are numerous papers counting on hedging strategy to explain international politics. How hedging strategy affects international politics of great powers, for example (Salman and Geeraerts 2013, 13). Some papers pointed out that, to deal with the challenges of China'"" (Smith 2012, 3). Some other thesis recognized that hedging strategy is of great significance to the future of Asia-Pacific (Medeiros 2005). China and the US were the countervailing forces to each other, shaping the basic territory in Asia. Under such circumstance, nations in Asia, without counting in Russia who broke blockades of Europe and America by intensifying political and economic relation with China, expanded the popularity of hedging strategy. Besides, typical character can be found in Sino-Pakistan cooperation to respond to India (Subrahmanyam 2010). Australia has also shown a more obvious hedge against China, strengthening its political and economic ties with China and deepening its security alliance with the United States (Wei 2015, 54). In South Korea, the academic circle analyzed the new diplomatic security strategy of the central axis and South Korea (Lee 2011, 1).

On the other hand, the theory of network power takes the state as the basic unit, and takes the action of each country (node) into consideration. As early as the 1970s, Freeman studied the properties of nodes in the network (Freeman 1977, 36). In the theory of network power, David Sing Grewal used network power to explain the phenomenon of globalization (Grewal 2008). Through the incisive analysis of the age of information and the social change of economic activity, Casstells (Casstells 1996) floated the idea that the world would become

more networked. This has promoted the extensive application and perfection of network power theory in political and economic fields (Kim and Moon 2015). The Theory of Network Power continues to develop as the research on diplomatic strategy of middle powers through the theory of network power goes on. Particularly, attention has been paid in recent years to the analysis of the three capabilities of small countries using nodes on the global stage (namely, architectural power, positional power, and social power). The theory of network power has made great progress, especially in Korean academic circles. The relevant scholars have analyzed the intelligent power from the perspective of network power theory of middle powers (Kim 2009). This paper, going beyond the elements, characteristics, functions or forms of liberalism, made a cluster analysis of the diplomatic ability of middle powers (Kim 2014). Guided by the theory of constructing blank and theory of position rights, analyses concerning diplomatic strategies of middle powers were conducted (Kim 2011). There were researches on the changes of network power and power competition in China (Kim 2015). Also Laos-centered analyses on the participation of backward nations' (Kim and Moon 2015). Through the theory of network power, analyses were conducted to figure out how China-Brazil economic corridor affects power pattern in South Asia (Tu and Won 2017).

In retrospection, the above-mentioned theories and literature on diplomatic means deducted and make it clear complicated and intriguing international relations, and quickly ramp up the developments of diplomatic practices. Although all diplomatic

phenomenons were explained in the sphere of theory, all theories covered only partially not holistically. Power transition theory showed the interplay between the US and China, while leaving out less powerful nations. And hedging principle analyzed hedges between two countries to the exclusion of the organic integration in which all nations are correlated with each other. Furthermore, the theory of network power focusing on small- and medium-countries is conducive to analyzing the benefits and actual global affects a country can gain by joining in the establishment of network in international community. However, such a theory failed to tell a specific influence on a certain region brought by the changes in diplomatic policy.

III. New Developments of 3rd Edition of Chinese Foreign Policy

From 1949 to the 1970s, Mao Zedong proposed the diplomatic strategy of "starting another stove", "cleaning the house for another treat" (Wang 2011, 9), and the five principle of peaceful coexistence. During this period, China adopted a self-sufficient planned economic development approach, which, with the passage of time, exposed serious shortcomings and did not get rid of the principle of drawing lines by ideology (Wang 2012, 120). As the successor of Mao's post, Deng Xiaoping developed a market economy and formulated a strategy of opening up to the outside world. From the reign of Mao Zedong to that of Deng Xiaoping, China has realized the

transformation from "revolutionary diplomacy" to "construction diplomacy" (Wang 2012, 126). Subsequently, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao inherited and carried forward these foreign policies, and successively put forward the new concept of security, the road of peaceful development and the concept of a harmonious world. Scholars refer to China in 1949-1979 as China's 1st edition of revolutionary diplomacy and 1979-2009 as China's 2nd edition of development diplomacy (these two stages were strength-hiding periods). Since then, Xi Jinping came to power and issued foreign policy initiatives and concepts characterized by the "Belt and Road" initiative and "New type major power relations". Relevant scholars referred to such a foreign policy as the 3.0 edition of China's Foreign Affairs (Zhao 2013,4). Compared with the previous period of "hiding one's strength", the main tone of China's diplomacy was "striving for success" during the period of Xi Jinping administration. Therefore, 3rd edition diplomacy is also called "endeavour" diplomacy by Chinese academia²⁾. At a forum on peripheral diplomacy held in October 2013, Xi Jinping said: "We should make greater efforts to promote peripheral diplomacy, strive for a good surrounding environment for the development of our country, and enable our development to

2) Talking about "strength-hiding and striving for success" periods, there are hot debates, European and American academia tend to belittle more than praise. Refer to follow sources as: Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009; FY04 Report to Congress on PRC Military Power: Pursuant to the FY2000 National Defense Authorization Act, <http://www.defense.gov/pubs/d20040528prc.pdf>; July 2002 Report to Congress of the U.S.-China Security Review Commission, http://www.Uscc.gov/researchpapers/2000_2003/reports/anrp02.htm.

benefit our neighboring countries and achieve common development"(Xi 2013). Since 2013, the Xi Jinping government has proposed a series of diplomatic initiatives and concepts like "Chinese Dream", "Community of Shared Destiny", the "Belt and Road" initiative, "Asian Security Concept", "New Model of Major Country Relations" and "Periphery Diplomacy", and the principle of "amity, sincerity, mutual benefits and inclusiveness" (Zhao 2014). The 3rd edition Foreign Policy takes its shape in this process. And after 2017, China's foreign policy continues to show new development. See table 1:

Table1: New Developments of 3rd Edition of China's Foreign Policy

	Date	Congresses	emendation
1	October, 2017	The 19 th CPC National Congress	The principle of China's periphery diplomacy characterized by "amity, sincerity, mutual benefits, and inclusiveness" and the principle of forging partnership and friendship with its neighbors will be earnestly complemented.
			The idea of community of shared destiny and the "Belt and Road" initiative were listed into the Constitution of the CPC.
2	March, 2018	The 13 th CPC National Congress	The determination that China will unswervingly follow the path of "peaceful development" was added to the preface of the Constitution.
			The win-win strategy of opening-up was listed on the preface of the Constitution.
			The ambition of contributing to build community of shared destiny was added to the preface of the Constitution.

Constitution and Constitution of CPC so as to consolidate and highlight the historical statue of “Xi-style diplomacy” and ramp up common development of neighboring countries by furthering the integration of the “Belt and Road” strategy into periphery diplomacy. The amended Constitution on the 13th CPC National Congress in 2018 complemented for the first time since the debut of the Constitution in 1982 content concerning foreign policy. Two adjustments not only defined the highlights of 3rd edition of China’s foreign policy but underlined fresh features of diplomatic guidelines under Xi Jinping government. Specifically, while taking into Europe and US, China will continue to weight its diplomacy towards its neighbors so as to boost them up. When it comes to new mechanism of Asian politics and economy, China pays more attention to work with its neighbors in terms of infrastructure construction and economic contact. Furthermore, China seeks to create a peaceful landscape in surrounding areas in the light of the idea of “community of shared destiny.”

IV. Important International Support for the Peace Process on Korean Peninsula

Undoubtedly, China with its position as one of major countries in the world and new developments in its foreign policy will exert great influence on its neighbors, among which Korean peninsula stands out remarkably. The previous 1st and 2nd versions of China have proven that new developments in China’ve been achieved in China-South Korea relation; rapid

progression has been made economic contacts in between and China has long been occupying the trading contribution of South Korea. In contrast, China-North Korea relation - the once appreciated brotherly relationship⁴⁾ established during the fight against US almost at its lowest level in the course of China-South Korea relation was trapped in fluctuation and would not be eased until the high-level visit of both sides in 1999. North Korea relies so much on China as a friendly partner⁵⁾ since long time ago, has always helped North Korea when needed. The 3rd edition of China's foreign policy taking it shape, China still remains an indispensable force for Korean peninsula. Before North and South Korea dialogue and North Korea-US dialogue, China kept communicating with the US and was timely informed of what was under way by South Korea. Besides, leader of North Korea Kim Jongun met with Chinese President Xi Jinping in March, 2018 and inform him of South Korea's relationship with North Korea. A month later, Kim Jongun disembarked in Dalian, China and talked with President Xi concerning the issue of peace process on Korean peninsula. All these well prove that China is of great significance to Korean peninsula. Besides an important force for North Korea to maintain its regime, China gives great support for North Korea's consultation with the US, South Korea and other countries on denuclearization. The following

4) This relationship is also described as "blood alliance" in South Korea academia.

5) This relationship is adduced from the official website of Chinese Embassy in Pyongyang. <http://kp.china-embassy.org/chn/zcgx/zcgxgk/> (browsing date : 2018/03/24)

part concerns how will new developments of China's foreign policy affect the peace process on Korean peninsula.

1. Can China-US Efforts by Following the Path of Peaceful Development Drive forward Peace Process on Korean Peninsula?

Hegemonic politics has long existed in the old world order. Western countries believe in the theory of power transfer; mainstream scholars in the US and other countries challenge China's peaceful development, preaching that China's rise will change global power pattern and that the US should at any cost defend its hegemonic position(Kagan and Kristol 2000, 59). But human beings are doomed to extinction through non-peaceful rise in such a world where great powers have their capabilities to use nuclear weapon--which the theory of power transfer fails to recognize. Peace and development is respected as the theme of the world in the 21th century; while the hegemony is an abandoned goal for development. China pursues the path of peaceful development while renounces fighting for hegemony with the United States which is inconsistent with China's fundamental interest. During the development, China will remain a both competitor and partner to the US. It is unlikely that China will follow a non-peaceful development. Since the 2nd edition of China's foreign policy, China has always kept a cautious approach to deal with international affairs, and defused deputed and resolved conflicts in a peaceful manner. Hence, we can recognize "the path of peaceful development" reports of 17th, 18th, and 19th CPC National Congress, and the Constitution

at the 13th NPC in March, 2018. Diplomatically, scholars pointed out that there should be more continuity than change in China-US relation(Zha 2017, 713). China side will manage and control contradictions and deposes through negotiations and sustain China-American diplomacy characterized by common benefit over conflict and cooperation over competition. When it comes to the nuclear issue on Korean peninsula, the China-US relation will remain to be competing while cooperating. To some extent, China stands on a piece of interest ground different from the US, but share common interest concerning stability and denuclearization on Korean peninsula. Meanwhile, what attitude and manner of cooperation these two countries take will directly affect the peace process on Korean peninsula.

On the American side, it is an important goal for the US to eliminate potential nuclear threat through denuclearization on Korean peninsula. And it does not matter at all whether it was at the cost of the regime collapse of the North Korea or it was done by integrating North Korea into South Korea. What matters is that the turbulence on Korean peninsula put American security at stake and such a threat can only be done by stabilizing Korean peninsula. While on the China side, the reason why China advocates the denuclearization and peaceful development on Korean peninsula lies in the fact that such a move accommodates the strategic interest of 3rd edition of China's favorable environment for China'10. The continued existence of the Korean regime and the stability on the peninsula can safeguard China's major strategic interests.

China highlights the periphery diplomacy of “amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness” and pursues the principle of

forging friendship and partnership with its neighbors. Such principles alike demonstrate China's concern for its neighbors and Korean peninsula in particular. In terms of the situation on Korean peninsula, China repeatedly suggested that the nuclear issue on this region cannot be done through unilateral sanctions (Piao, Wang and Luo 2017, 85). As an important third party, China leads the Six-Party talks and puts forward the ideas of "two-track parallel" and "double suspension" to show the attitude of resolving contradictions through negotiation. President Xi Jinping has been communicating with the countries concerned, especially in 2017 when Kim Jongun and Trump were "angry" with each other. Xi admonished the United States and North Korea to remain calm and not to further stimulate actions that deteriorate the situation.

Meanwhile, Leader of South Korea Moon Jae-in, by taking advantage of the Pyeongchang Winter Olympic Games, successfully carried out the Olympic diplomacy and continued the inter-Korean dialogue. Besides, an agreement has been made to hold a DPRK-ROK summit. It is hoped that there would be DPRK-US dialogues to come. China is "glad to see that a mitigated situation on Korean peninsula and constructive dialogues in between. China is committed to the peace process on this region and ready to play its role in resolving disputes (Yan 2018)." President Xi Jinping later issued an invitation to Kim Jongun to come to Beijing and pointed out that "both China and North Korea should work jointly for the sake of peaceful development" and that China wish to work with all parties involved and play a constructive role in making this region a more stable (Xi 2018). When Kim returned to North

Korea, China side sent emissaries to South Korea to discuss issues. The Panmunjom talk over, Secretary of Foreign Minister Wang Yi got an invitation to visit North Korea. President Xi also talked more than once with US President Trump in terms of such an issue as the peace process on Korean peninsula. All these gave expression to the path of "peaceful development" that guided the direction of peace process on Korean peninsula. China is, of course, the catalyst rather than a core interest robber or a big-headed leader. By following the path of "peaceful development", China works to find a common ground for China and the US so as to realize denuclearization and peaceful development on Korean peninsula.

2. Can China-South Korea Joint Dock Be Realized through the "Belt and Road" Initiative and the Win-Win Strategy of Opening-up?

Such problems as the lack of impetus for economic growth, the increasing gap between the rich and the poor, anti-globalization and emerging of protectionism, Countries are faced with the choice of win-win development or zero-sum game, and the choice of "hedging" or "docking". Such a doing of hedging is out of the interests of one's docking is, through cooperation, for the sake of benefits of both parties. The world is now undergoing both great developments and profound changes. All nations in the world where multi-polarization and economic globalization is gradually deepening are increasingly interdependent. There is remarkably clear evidence that the peace process and development are pushed forward through

inter-state docking. Since 2013, China has launched the Belt and Road Initiative. It did not include the Korean Peninsula when it was originally designed, which is due to the unstable situation on the peninsula and American forces preventing China from "moving eastward". Given the chance to introduce "Belt and Road" initiative to the Korean Peninsula, there is possibility to increase the free flow of various elements between Northeast China and Russia, North Korea, South Korea, and other countries, to promote the opening of markets to each other and to boost economic development. At the same time, prospect also goes to the "eastward progress" and the breakdown of "strategic blockade" of the US. The Belt and Road initiative develops Regional Cooperation by promoting Infrastructure Construction, and the goal of achieving interconnection is also an important opportunity for inter-Korea docking and for trade and economic cooperation. For North Korea, such a move can change the economic backwardness that has been caused by the sanctions imposed by the international community for many years. The living standard of the Korean people can be improved through border trade, and the goal of maintaining the security of the Korean regime can be further achieved (Qiu 2013). Kim Jongun has expressed at the Panmunjom meeting his willingness to actively develop North Korea's economy and trade. For South Korea, whose foreign trade accounts for 88.1% (Seoul news 2017), it is of great significance to change the not-actually-connected situation on Korean Peninsula and to find a new economic growth pole. Therefore, the Belt and Road initiative and the inter-Korea docking fit the benefits and bring win-win developments to countries involved.

This, of course, is based on the stability of the Korean Peninsula and respects negotiation as the basic prerequisite for peace and development. At present, the Korean Peninsula is still far from achieving peace. North Korea has not officially said anything about the "Belt and Road" initiative, but Leader of South Korea has shown a positive attitude during a visit to China on December 13, 2017 (Moon 2017). There are also four programs on docking Chin' (Yonhap news 2017). Scholars from all walks of life in China and South Korea have been actively studying the application of "Belt and Road" to the Korean Peninsula (Won 2015, 286; Tu and Won 2017, 98). Despite more hedging against China and the United States alike (Huang 2013, 69) from the perspective of strategic hedging, South Korea may also be constrained by American factors during the "Belt and Road" docking. However, under the circumstances of the DPRK's initiative to announce the cessation of the nuclear missile test and the successful holding of the inter-Korean summit, it has been the talk of the world that the "New North will dock with New South after the channel of economic and trade on Korean Peninsula is opened, and after the Belt and Road initiative is introduced. At the same time, China has demonstrated its attitude in this respect through such acts as the inclusion of "Belt and Road" in the China's Constitution and the pursuit of "win-win result of opening-up."

3. Whether the Common Peaceful Development of Network in North-East Asia Region can Be Achieved by Promoting the Construction of the Community of Shared Destiny

If we say that adhering to the road of peaceful development belongs to the political and diplomatic level, and insisting on the strategy of win-win opening-up belongs to economic diplomacy, then promoting the construction of shared destiny community is a comprehensive supplement to China's 3rd edition foreign diplomacy in terms of politics, economy and cultural exchanges. China pointed out that all parties should respect each other, conduct consultations as equals, resolutely reject Cold War mentality and power politics, and embark on a new path of state-to-state relations where dialogue and partnership prevail over confrontation and alliance. We should settle disputes and disagreements through dialogue and negotiation, take coordinated efforts to address traditional and non-traditional security threats and oppose terrorism in all its manifestations. In terms of economy and trade, trade freedom and economic globalization should be pushed forward to see to it that win-win results are to be gained through openness and inclusiveness. And efforts will be made to promote the progress of human civilization, strengthen cultural exchanges. And we must adhere to environmental protection, and jointly address climate change (Wang 2018). The integration of the Thucydides' set by western scholars. China' diplomacy with other states is for the realization of the community of shared destiny, instead of hegemony. At a time of sluggish world

economic recovery and populist tendencies in Western politics, the community of shared destiny has attracted global attention (BBC 2018). Of course, there are also scholars who doubt the true purpose and the way to realize the "community of shared destiny". From the perspective of network power, China is trying to build in the light of the "community of shared destiny" a new global power platform where any nation, regardless of its size and power, can build a network, connect with other nodes and networks, or achieve network expansion. The more active each country is in this platform, the stronger the network is built; the more networks are connected, the greater the network power is. Each node and network on the platform of community of shared destiny intersect with each other, forming more and more close relationship. Therefore, all nations are eventually integrated into a community.

South Korea has always been an active player in the global network. Despite the lack of overwhelming resource advantage, South Korea actively shuttled among the major powers in the world through, thus gaining a high degree of network power. South Korea is located at the intersection with four major powers around it and is an intermediary at the social, cultural and political and economic levels. It can effectively use these favorable position powers to create new added value (Kim 2009, 71). In particular, South Korea maintains its national security by maintaining a strong network of allies with the United States. At the same time, South Korea's cooperation with China in the economic and trade network level has boosted South Korea's economy. In addition, South Korea signed a number of agreements with countries around the world, making it a well-deserved FTA hub in Asia (Hwang et al., 2015). With regard to the

denuclearization on Korean Peninsula and the peace process in that region, the ROK has always advocated the realization of the peace process on the peninsula through consultation and negotiation. During the Panmunjom meeting, Moon Jaein informed Kim Jongun the new economic concept of the Korean peninsula, showing that South Korea already initiated a "community" on Korean peninsula. Against the background of China's Community of Shared Destiny, South Korea, shuttling between great powers and accustomed to using the power of position to create national interests, can build a network from the political, economic, cultural and other levels. For example, it can form a "Peninsula economic community⁶⁾" with North Korea, or it can also build the Northeast Asian Economic Corridor Community based on infrastructure development and logistics and along with the construction of the "Belt and Road Initiative" extended to the Korean Peninsula as well. For the countries (such as North and South Korea, and China) involved in the construction of the network, the construction of these "communities" is conducive to such accomplishments as common interests, common values, peace process and development on the peninsula. However, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the "Community of Shared Destiny" at present is more obviously an ambition or direction ahead, which to some extent handicaps the peace process in this region. It requires many practical efforts to give shape to the community of shared destiny on peninsula and the peace process in this area.

6) The concept of "peninsula economic community" has been proposed by Moon government, and there are voices saying that Korea is stepping into "North-South cooperation era."

V. Conclusion

Since the founding of the people's Republic of China in 1949, China's foreign policy has, by "keeping a low profile", undergone a process of development from the first edition to the second edition. After the reign of CPC with Xi Jinping at its core, scholars believe that China's 3rd edition foreign policy has "made a difference". This third edition of China's Foreign Policy continues to take its shape along with "Chinese Dream", "Community of Shared Destiny", the "Belt and Road" Initiative, the principle of the NPC(National people's Congress). China, the world's major power with a new development in its third edition foreign policy, will have a major impact on the peace process on Korean peninsula.

Through the channel of literature review method, this thesis selected in a critical manner the appreciated sections of such theories as power transfer theory, hedging strategy, and network theory of power with the end to tell how will the new developments of China's peaceful development of the Korean peninsula are in line with China's long-term interests. In turn, developments in the 3rd edition of China's foreign policy show that China will continue to weigh its diplomacy towards neighboring countries including the Korean peninsula. All these demonstrated that China strives to act as an important international support for the peace process on Korean Peninsula. Efforts to adopt the "Belt and Road" initiative and the "Community of Shared Destiny" will be continued, so that China can establish connections with DPRK and ROK whose

economy will be boosted by such activities. South Korea, North Korea, and the US alike are the ones to take the lion's share; they need to recognize China's indispensable role and use it rationally to promote peace on the peninsula.

<Reference>

1. Books:

- Castells, Manuel. 2010. "The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture." The rise of the network society. 2nd ed. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Asle Toje. 2018. "Will China's rise be peaceful? Security, stability, and legitimacy." Oxford University press.
- Grewal, David Singh. 2008. "Network power: the social dynamics of globalization." Yale University press.
- Graham Allison. 2017. "Destined for war: Can America and China escape Thucydides' trap?" Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. Boston- New York.
- Steven J. Smith. 2012. "Engage but hedge: international relations theory in practice." Air University.
- Fareed Zakaria. 2009. "The Post - American World." New York and London. W. W. Norton & Company.
- John Guen-Murray. 2013. "Thucydides' trap: on the possibility of war between the United States and China." Lake Forest college.
- Jeffrey A. Bader. 2012. "Obama and China's Rise: An Insider's Account of America's Asia Strategy." The Brookings institution press .Washington, D.C.
- Won, Dongwook, Song Woonyoung, Kim, Jaekwan and Bae, Jungi. 2015. "A Geopolitics of International Transport Corridor." KIEP.

2. Article:

- Zhao, Kejin. 2013. "China diplomacy 3.0: the new trend of China's diplomacy after the 18th CPC national congress." *Social science*, no.7, pp. 4-14.
- Yu, Zhengtan. 2007. "America expands its hedging strategy." *International review*. no. 6.
- Wei, Zongyou. 2015. "Australia's hedging strategy to China." *International issue studies*, no. 4.
- Yu, Shaohua,. 2017. "Review the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula." *International issue studies*, no. 2, pp. 58-69.
- Si, Ruikan. 2013. "Analysis of India's hedging strategy to China." *Journal of Contemporary Asia-Pacific studies*, no. 4, pp. 23-53.

- Qiu, Fahua. 2013. "Analysis on the practical needs and institutional obstacles of North Korea's internationalization in the new era." *World economy and politics*.
- Zha, Daojion. 2017. "China-US relations under Trump: more continuity than change." *Asian Perspective*, pp. 701-715.
- Tu, Bo and Won, Dongwook. 2017. "China- Pakistan Economic Corridor's Influence on South Asia's Power Structure: Based on Network Theory." *The Korean Association for contemporary Chinese studies*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 31-69.
- Robert Kagan and Kristol. 2000. "The Present Danger." *The national interest*, pp. 57-69.
- Piao, Longguo, Wang, Jiaxin and Luo, Yongyou. 2017. "The Impacts of North Korea Ballistic Missile Development and Nuclear Tests Escalating in the Korean Peninsula and China's Strategy." *Korean journal of Northeast Asia*, No. 85, pp. 237-249.
- Mohammad Salman and Gustaaf Geeraerts. 2013. "China goes global." pp. 1-15.
- Lynn T .White III. 2007. "America at the Taiwan Strait: Five scenarios." *Asia perspective*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 5-40.
- Linton C. Freeman.1977. "A set of measures of centrality based on betweenness." *Sociometry*, vol. 40, no. 1.
- Lee, Soohyung. 2011. "Axis Middle Power and Korea's New Diplomatic Security Strategy Exploration." Korea peace research academic conference.
- Kim, Sangbae. 2011. "Middle Power's Diplomatic Strategies in the Perspective of Networks: Applying Theories of Structural Holes and Positional Power." *The Korean journal of international studies*, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 51-77.
- Kim, Chiwook. 2014. "Understanding the Institutional Characteristics of the BRICS and Its Implications: A Perspective of Network Theory." *Korean journal of international relations*, vol. 54, no. 3, pp. 247-284.
- Kang, Genhyong and Kang, Byeongcheol. 2016. "Changes in U.S.-China relations and Korea's response." *New Asia*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 83-111.
- Hwang, Wonjae and Lee, Junhan. "Economic integration and political cooperation between South Korea and China: Implications for Korea-Us relations." *Asian Perspective*, pp. 99-120.
- Evan S. Medeiros. 2005. "Strategic hedging and the Future of

- Asia-Pacific stability." *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 145-167.
- Huang, Lihong. 2013. "Korea's hedging strategy analysis among China and the U.S." *Contemporary world*.
- Wang Hongxu. 2011. "The value orientation and strategic choice of new China's diplomacy." *Journal of the institute of international relations*, no. 6, pp. 9-16.
- Wang, Cungang. 2012. "China's diplomatic readjustment - based on the change of economic development pattern." *World economy and politics*, no. 11, pp. 120-160.

3. Website:

- Hua, Jing. 2017. "Why does the concept of "community of shared future of mankind" attract attention," BBC, www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/indepth-38655017 (browsing date: 2019.12.18)
- Yonhap news. 2017. "Moon Jaein made a speech at in china-ROK industrial cooperation forum in Chongqing," chinese.yonhapnews.co.kr/newpgm/9908000000.html?cid=ACK20171216000200881 (browsing date: 2019.12.15)
- Chen, Xiangyang. 2017. "President Xi Jinping made a speech during visit to Mongolia, highlighting the new level of neighboring diplomacy," Renmin net, politics.people.com.cn/n/2014/0826/c1001-25541440.html (browsing date: 2019.11.28)
- Chen, Xiangyang. 2013. "China's new diplomatic level, the communist party of China," new net, theory.people.com.cn/n/2013/1104/c40531-23425165.html (browsing date: 2019.12.18.).
- Chinese embassy in North Korea homepage, kp.china-embassy.org/chn/zcgx/zcgxgk/ (browsing date: 2020.01.12.).
- Chinese foreign ministry. 2017. "Xi Jinping held a meeting with South Korean President Moon Jaein," www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/zyxw/t1519568.shtml (browsing date: 2019.12.22.).
- Zhao, Kejin. 2014. "The main tone of China's diplomacy: make great efforts," Xinhua net, www.xinhuanet.com/world/2014-05/25/c_1110843987.htm (browsing date: 2019.11.10.).
- Foreign ministry. "The China-Pakistan economic corridor has entered a comprehensive implementation stage," Tencent net, news.qq.com/a/20160901/005159.htm (browsing date: 2019.12.26.).
- Wang, Yi. 2018. "Unswervingly follow the path of peaceful development and promote the building of a community of Shared future

- for humanity," People's daily, paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2018-03/14/nw.D110000renmrb_20180314_1-15.htm(browsing date: 2019.12.18)
- Wang, Mengmeng. 2018. "Xi Jinping held talks with Kim Jongun," Xinhuanet, www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2018-03/28/c_1122600292.htm (browsing date: 2019.11.21.).
- Yan Zimin. 2018. "Chinese foreign ministry: China will continue to play a unique role in resolving the nuclear issue on Korean peninsula," Xinhua net, www.xinhuanet.com/2018-03/13/c_1122532377.htm (browsing date: 2019.12.18.).
- Xinhua net. 2018. "Amendment to the constitution of the People's Republic of China," Xinhua net, www.xinhuanet.com/2018-03/11/c_1122521235.htm (browsing date: 2020.02.01.).
- Xi, Jinping. 2017. "A decisive victory for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and wining a great victory for socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era," Xinhua news, www.gov.cn/zhuanti/2017-10/27/content_5234876.htm. (browsing date: 2019.12.16).
- FY04 Report to Congress on PRC Military Power: Pursuant to the FY2000 National Defense Authorization Act , archive.defense.gov/pubs/d20040528PRC.pdf.(browsing date: 2019.12.11).
- Sandeep Unnithan. 2010. "The ChiPak Threat," India Today, <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/the-big-story/story/20101101-the-chipak-threat-744556-2010-10-23>. (browsing date: 2019.12.18)
- Yun, Sujeong. 2016. "Korea's new low tide of economic and trade dependence," Seoul news, www.seoul.co.kr/news/newsView.php?id=20160418014013. (browsing date: 2020.02.01)

투고일 : 2020년 3월 17일 . 심사일 : 2020년 5월 22일 . 게재확정일 : 2020년 5월 24일
--

* Bo Tu is Professor of business administration, Silla University, Distinguished research fellow at Kunming Institute for Adavanced Information Studies, his research interests are international relations, and The "Belt and Road".

<Abstract>

New Developments of 3rd edition China Foreign Policy and Its Influence on Korean Peninsula's Peace Process

Bo Tu
(Silla University)

On the basis of literature review method, this thesis seeks to interpret new developments of third edition of Chinese Foreign Policy, and analyzes what effects this policy will exert on the peace process of Korean peninsula. The third edition of Chinese Foreign Policy demonstrates China's commitments to weight diplomatic activities toward neighboring regions and countries of the peninsula. The peaceful process of the peninsula brings benefits to China's diplomacy. China is ready to work with other major countries to promote such a peaceful state. Besides, efforts will be made to strengthen China's connection with both DPRK and ROK on platforms such as the Belt and Road Initiative, and a community of shared future. China will play its significant role in promoting the peace process on Korean peninsula.

Keywords : China, 3rd edition foreign policy, New developments, Korean Peninsula, Peace Process, The Belt and Road Initiative