

**MIKLÓS ZRINYI NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY
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**China's Role in Nuclear Non-proliferation,
Especially in the Far East**

PhD dissertation

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The background and the aim of the study

In recent years, the international community is faced with many new problems and challenges in nuclear non-proliferation. And the international attempt in nuclear non-proliferation is jammed, especially in the Asia, where a nuclear crisis belt has appeared or is emerging. In the north east, the nuclear issue of North Korea is the starter of the belt. Next, in the south, come the nuclear tests in India and Pakistan and underground nuclear smuggling. And in the west, the nuclear issue of Iran may be regarded as the end of the crisis belt. China is one of the five nuclear powers in the world and one of the permanent states in the UN Security Council, which, in recent years, assumes the fastest growing economy among the developing countries. Geographically, China is in the Far East, located in the middle of the semi-circle nuclear crisis belt. Therefore, it is of great practical significance to study the role of China in nuclear non-proliferation in the world, especially in Asia. The very aim of my study is just to approach to the issue specified in the title of my thesis.

Methods of investigation

The issue of nuclear non-proliferation is an issue of security after all. The existing nuclear non-proliferation mechanism established in 1960s aims right at the issue of security. In the past more than 30 years, this mechanism effectively prevented nuclear proliferation. It may be said that such mechanism provided an undeniably effective solution to the problem of global and regional

security. However, this mechanism is undoubtedly faced with unprecedented situations and challenges now. What are the challenges? What are the defects of this mechanism? How to solve these problems? Bearing these in mind, I attempt to combine the issue of nuclear non-proliferation with the situation in China. In this thesis, I summarize the foreign policies and practice of China in the past 50 years or more since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, and analyze China's participation in international mechanism and international affairs. Then the emphasis is laid on China's policies and practice for nuclear non-proliferation and her measures at home and abroad. Finally, analysis goes to China's policies and efforts to solve the Korean nuclear crisis.

Description of research by chapters

In chapter one:

The existing nuclear non-proliferation mechanism was established in 1960s. It underwent a process of perfection, during which Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was signed and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was set up, which constitute the core of the nuclear non-proliferation mechanism. This mechanism is the most internationally representative existing nuclear non-proliferation mechanism. Yet the problem is: Why should such a representative mechanism fall into difficulties now? I think two reasons account for this. First, Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) failed to keep their promise to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons. Second, Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS) failed to fulfill their obligation of not seeking nuclear weapons. To get rid of these difficulties, it is required that different states should change their notion of security, and world powers or regional powers should take the lead.

In chapter two:

The People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. In the following 56 years, China became a legally Nuclear Weapon State from a Non- Nuclear Weapon State and one of the permanent states in the UN Security Council from a state isolated from the international community, hence a responsible state for the international community. Considering the talent of Chinese people in numbers (for example, most championships went to Chinese candidates in recent years' international maths Olympics), I try to summarize, with numbers, the foreign policies and practice of China in the past 56 years, that is "leaning to one side" in the 50s, "two middle zone" in the 60s, "one line" in the 70s, "two important changes" in the 80s, the "20-character policy" in the 90s and the "holistic diplomacy" since 1997.

In chapter three:

Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, historical periods have shown that the process of China's participation in international mechanism and international affairs is a process of non-participation to passively partial participation to actively holistic participation. To be more exact, that is "minimal non-active participation" in the 50s and 60s, "minimal participation" in the 70s, "partially practical participation" in the 80s, "holistically practical participation" in the 90s and "holistically active participation" now. China is a critical coordinating force in global and regional affairs now, which is playing a more and more important role. Apart from traditional influence, China is exerting its influence on the whole international community, which is initiative, constructive, practical, flexible and responsible.

In the fourth chapter:

China joined International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1984, Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1992, and signed Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in 1996. Up to now, China has joined all the international treaties and agencies relevant to nuclear non-proliferation. Practices since middle 1980s suggest that China's policies and measures in nuclear non-proliferation are active as well as effective. And China's role in this field is self-evident. I think her role is demonstration and constructive. China's demonstration role consists in her use of nuclear weapons, her reduction and nuclear non-proliferation policy and her policy on peaceful use of nuclear energy. China's demonstration role also consists in her active participation in international efforts in nuclear non-proliferation and her strict regulations, laws and measures relevant to nuclear export, which aim at nuclear non-proliferation. And China's constructive role consists in her efforts in proposing solutions to help the current international nuclear non-proliferation mechanism get rid of difficulties.

In the fifth chapter :

The second North Korea nuclear crisis broke out, just sharing the same reason with the international non-proliferation mechanism's deep end, some of the parties fail to fulfill their obligation. While North Korea nuclear crisis was just a new presentation of North Korea issue. By the end of 2002, when the second North Korea nuclear crisis started, China immediately announced its stand by three opinions (namely, keeping the Korean peninsula's peace and stability, Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in the Korean Peninsula and striving for solving the disputes by peaceful

dialogue). According to such a policy, China conducted a hard and painstaking diplomatic mediations, holding quite a lot of negotiations and consultations to promote the peaceful dialogue. From Jan. of 2003, China held one Beijing Three-Party Talk and several rounds of Six-Party Talks. In the process for seeking the resolving of the North Korea nuclear crisis, we can see clearly the unique demonstration and constructive role played by China in Far East region's non-proliferation area.

New scientific achievements

I have assessed as a new scientific result of current research as follows:

- 1./ First, in the article, I conducted a detailed analysis on the non-proliferation policy from the political and diplomatic angles, and had a deep and complete analysis on all the measures adopted by China and all the international efforts made by China, as a result, for the first time, I summarized, discussed and drew the final conclusion, which showing China's demonstration and constructive role in safeguarding the world non-proliferation process.

- 2./ Secondly, Based on the comprehensive analysis on all the talks held in Beijing for solving the Korea nuclear crisis, for the first time, I have gave an concrete and detailed introduction on the unique demonstration and constructive role of China in far-east nonproliferation area, and one of the most important result is the six-party talks had made some progress in terms of certain phases.

- 3./ Thirdly, based on summarizing the past three decade's non-proliferation mechanism development process, the article conducted a deep analysis into the current stagnation, for the first time, I demonstrated and drew the conclusion: the basic way out for nowadays international non-proliferation deep end lies in the concept changing of all the international community. And this will call for all the country in the world to re-assess and re-recognize nowadays security issue, and taking every country's own national security as an integral part of the whole global community security.

- 4./ Fourthly, while summarizing, studying and analyzing of different periods of China's diplomatic situation since its founding, in Hungry, for the first time, I provided the possibility of helping Hungarians know the current peaceful rising process of China from a close distance and which is conducive to understanding the substantial content and its reason.

- 5./ Fifthly, while summarizing China's participation in the international mechanism and international affairs, in Hungary, for the first time, I provided a fundamental material for Hungarian readers, which also provided a possibility, for them to understand China's situation, its role and implications in taking part in international mechanism and international affairs, and to know more about China's initiatives of the essentials of new security concept and China's existing practice.

Suggestions

My studying result, not only in PhD Institute of ZMNE, but also in the whole Hungary, is a blank topic before. And all the studying results, especially the analysis and demonstration in diplomatic area, can serve as a fundamental reference for ZMNE or other Hungary higher education department, the China issue related teaching and studying activity, Hungry government and relative studying institutes involving studies of diplomatic relation with China or China's issue.

New Publications

1. Az atomnagyhatalmok nukleáris fegyverarzenálja., „Elektronikus publikáció ZMNE-KMDI Fialat kutatók írják”, 2004.10.
2. Az atomfegyverek birtoklására irányuló törekvések., „KARD ÉS TOLL”, 2005.01.
3. Az észak-koreai atomfegyverkezésről – egy kínai főtiszt szemével., „Elektronikus publikáció ZMNE-KMDI Fialat kutatók írják”, 2005.01.
4. A Kínai Népköztársaság jelenlegi biztonsági helyzete és biztonságpolitikája., „Elektronikus publikáció ZMNE-KMDI Fialat kutatók írják”, 2005.01.
5. Hatoldalú Tárgyalás az északi-koreai nukleáris kérdésről., „Elektronikus publikáció ZMNE-KMDI Fialat kutatók írják”, 2005.04.
6. Nuclear Power in the People's Republic of China, 2004. 09.
7. Natural and Human Sources Theatening Environment in China, 2005. AARMS, Bp. ZMNDU
8. Prospect of Nuclear Power Development in China, 2005. 06.