



CHINA AND THE NORTH KOREAN SUCCESSION

CHINA-NORTH KOREA DOSSIER #1

EDITED BY
ADAM CATHCART

SINONK.COM

**CHINA-NORTH KOREA
DOSSIER
No. 1**

*China and the North Korean
Succession*

Edited by Adam Cathcart

January 2012

China-North Korea Dossier No. 1
China and the North Korean Succession

Edited by Adam Cathcart
January 16, 2012

Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>	1
PART I Initial Outside Assessments	3
PART II Official Statements and Visits by Chinese Officials	5
PART III <i>Huanqiu Shibao</i> (Global Times) Editorials	23
PART IV PRC Think Tank Analysis by Scholars in the PRC	27
PART V Hu Xijin's Response	38
PART VI KCNA China Items	41
<i>Additional Readings</i>	73
<i>Editor biography</i>	75
<i>Call for Applications and Essays</i>	75

Preface

Sources

This dossier, the first in an ongoing series of **SinoNK.com** digests on relations between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), draws upon a number of open source Chinese materials to provide a clearer sketch of the Sino-North Korean relationship during the eight days following the announcement of Kim Jong-Il's death.

This dossier represents the tip of the iceberg when it comes to Chinese interactions with and analysis of North Korea in this period. A careful approach to the documents selected, rather than an attempt at true comprehensiveness, was favored. Several of the sources featured in this dossier are being made available for the first time in English. These include dispatches from the Chinese Embassy in Pyongyang, more accurate translations from state media stories of Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao's visits to the DPRK Embassy in Beijing, and editorials from *Huanqiu Shibao* [环球时报 / Global Times] and important "think-tank intellectuals" in China. Also included is a sample of what Kim's death looked like from the perspective of one rather active corner of the microblogging site Sina Weibo.

On Translations and Format

What Chinese leaders actually say, and how they portray themselves, often differs from what official English language press releases suggest. Much is lost in translation, probably purposefully. When Hu Jintao is described with his various Chinese titles as "General Secretary of the CCP" and "Chair of the National Defense Committee" rather than in the U.S. parlance as "President Hu," one can see Kim Jong-il as having been in fact Hu's precise bureaucratic homologue: head of his Party and Chairman of the National Defense Commission. When the North Koreans code their speech with references to "the Party and nation," the distinction is deliberate, and it represents a minor concession to Chinese ways. To miss the means by which these socialist states communicate with one another and how they depict themselves is to miss an essential and enduring similarity between the two states and systems, as well as one of the many keys to understanding why China behaves as it does toward North Korea.

Although many major U.S. media outlets continue to quote or paraphrase Chinese websites or statements without linking to the actual document being quoted, an effort is made in this dossier to

hyperlink all documents back to their Chinese original. Simply place your cursor over a document title and double-click to open up the original article.

On Commentary

Brief commentary and context is provided in italics before each document.

On Terminology

In the Chinese language, North Korea, or the DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea), is referred to as “*Chaoxian*” (朝鲜), and is sometimes shortened further still to “*Chao*” (as in *Zhong Chao guanxi* [中朝关系 / “Sino-North Korean relations”]). Occasionally one will see references to “North Korea” (in Chinese, *Bei Chaoxian* [北朝鲜], or, far less often, *Bei Han* [北韓]). In translating the term “*Chaoxian*,” the editor of this dossier has elected to use the term “North Korea” primarily for convenience, and, when appropriate, has substituted in the term “DPRK.”

On the North Korean Official Response

Clearly China's relations with the DPRK do not take place in a vacuum, and what the North Koreans say, both in private and public, to their Chinese partners has some analytical value. Although the emphasis of this dossier is on Chinese sources, the staff at our website has compiled the complete China-related dispatches from the English-language Korean Central News Agency from the period after Kim's death; these dispatches have already been aggregated and analyzed in their full English text on SinoNK.com, but they are included here for the convenience of readers.

Although every effort has been made to assure accuracy of translations, there is likely to be within this dossier a questionable interpretation or infelicitous rendering of a Chinese phrase. Comments or suggestions should be directed to me at cathcaaj@plu.edu.

Adam Cathcart, editor and translator
16 January 2012
London, England

PART I
INITIAL OUTSIDE ASSESSMENTS

The North Korean government has a long history of not informing its Chinese ally before undertaking major or potentially “shocking” actions—the outbreak of the Korean War being the most significant, but far from the only, case in point. In this following document, the Chosun Ilbo suggests that the Chinese state response on December 19 indicates that the Chinese government had not been forewarned of Kim’s death by the DPRK. Barbara Demick in Beijing, however, disputed the notion of a lack of forewarning for China citing an unnamed “Chinese source” that “Beijing is said to have gotten the word [of Kim’s death] three hours earlier” than Seoul and Washington.¹

DOCUMENT No. 1

“China Slow to Respond to Kim Jong-il's Death,” *The Chosun Ilbo*, December 20, 2011.

China's state-run media were quick to report the death of North Korean leader Kim Jong-il but Beijing took a long time giving an official response. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Ma Zhaoxu issued a statement at around 4 p.m. Monday, almost four hours after the death was announced and only in the form of answers to questions from reporters during a regular press briefing.

"We express our deep condolences and offer our sincere consolations to the people of North Korea," Ma said and urged North Korea to strengthen its traditional partnership with China to contribute to stability on the Korean Peninsula.

Observers say it is rare for China's Foreign Ministry, rather than the external liaison office of the Communist Party, to issue a comment on a matter of importance involving North Korea, where inter-party relations are the foundation of bilateral ties. There was also no mention of Kim Jong-un, the son and heir apparent.

The official statement of condolence from China's Communist Party was only released on state-run CCTV at 8:15 p.m., eight hours after the announcement of Kim's death [whose] reference to "the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong-un" was interpreted as support for the heir.

¹ Barbara Demick, “China praises Kim Jong Il despite sometimes strained ties,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 2011, <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/dec/23/world/la-fg-china-north-korea-20111224>.

But experts in China interpret the eight-hour delay as hinting at a significant degree of uncertainty over what position to take.

Some believe Pyongyang did not notify China of Kim's death before the official announcement was made on Monday. Chinese President Hu Jintao met with Kim Jong-il on each of his three visits to China last year and this year and urged him each time to improve communication about important matters in bilateral relations. Hu was probably thinking of North Korea's first nuclear test in 2006, when Beijing was notified just half an hour before the event. The delay in Beijing's official statement suggests Pyongyang probably failed to inform China in advance again.

When former North Korean leader Kim Il-sung died in 1994, Kim Jong-il was officially anointed as his successor. But Kim Jong-un has not, which might be what caused Chinese officials to hesitate in endorsing him, other experts say. Kim Jong-un is a general in the North's military but has no rank in the National Defense Commission, which is the country's highest organ. China may have been concerned that it could be seen as acknowledging the North's dynastic power succession, which has caused an international outcry.

However, Beijing appears to have accepted the fact that Jong-un is the official heir after seeing his name on top of the North's funeral committee list.

PART II
OFFICIAL STATEMENTS AND VISITS

DECEMBER 19

Kim Jong-il's death was announced at 11:30 a.m. on Chinese Central Television. Although the reaction on the Chinese internet by certain influential state journalists was essentially instantaneous (see Part V of this dossier), the PRC government was much slower to respond. Even if the North Koreans had not told China that Kim had died, it seemed clear that, like the ROK, the Chinese government did not have knowledge of Kim's death through their own intelligence services. The Chinese Embassy in Pyongyang also showed no signs of a rapid response. In terms of intelligence capabilities or personnel at that Embassy, it may be noteworthy that the Embassy had in the month prior experienced a changing of the guard in the post of military attaché.² More to the point of immediate press releases or rapid responses from the Embassy, the death on November 26, 2011 of seven Chinese tourists outside of Pyongyang had been reported very quickly by the Embassy. Yet, on December 19, the only press release issued by the Chinese Embassy in Pyongyang dealt with an event that had happened on December 15: Ambassador Liu's wife, who has been an increasingly visible personality in Sino-North Korean relations, had spent December 15 liaising with North Korean women's groups in honor of national symbolic matriarch Kim Jong Suk's 94th birthday.³ Finally, by way of notification, it may be worth noting that Dai Bingguo, one of the principle CCP leaders on the North Korea issue, was in Myanmar on December 19 (and December 20), but most of the rest of the central leadership appeared to be in Beijing. It would be a relatively simple matter to check if the CCP Standing Committee members were engaged in other public events on the afternoon of December 19 or December 20, thus speaking to the likelihood of a meeting, or lack thereof, on the subject of North Korea (a transcript of which is likely to be made available fifty or sixty years from now).

² "Ambassador Liu Holds a Farewell Banquet in honor of Defense Attaches Sun Yanfeng and Zhang Ping [刘大使为孙延风和张平国防武官举行离到任招待会]," Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, December 8, 2011, <http://kp.china-embassy.org/chn/dshd/dshd/t885319.htm>.

³ "A Women's Team from the Embassy in the DPRK Visited a Pyongyang Textile Mill [驻朝使馆妇女小组参观平壤纺织厂]," Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, December 19, 2011, <http://kp.china-embassy.org/chn/zxxx/t888370.htm>.

DOCUMENT No. 2

“Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Responds to Questions about the Death of Kim Jong-il and Developments in Syria [外交部发言人就金正日逝世、叙利亚局势等答问],” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, December 19, 2011.

Q: Reports state that the North Korean supreme leader Kim Jong-il passed away on December 17. Does the Chinese side have any comment?

A: Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu has just made remarks on the passing of the supreme leader of the DPRK Kim Jong-il. I would like to restate it to you:

Shocked [惊悉 *jingxi*] to learn that the supreme leader of the DPRK Comrade Kim Jong-il passed away, we express our deep condolences over his passing and extend our sincere sympathy to the DPRK people. Comrade Kim Jong-il is a great leader of the DPRK people and a close friend of the Chinese people, making significant contribution to the DPRK's cause of socialism and the development of China-DPRK good-neighbourly, friendly and cooperative relations. We believe the DPRK people will turn sorrow into strength and unite as one to carry forward the DPRK's cause of socialism. China and the DPRK will work together to consolidate and develop the traditional friendship between the two parties, two countries and two peoples and make active contribution to peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula and the region as a whole.

In English, see “Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Liu Weimin's Regular Press Conference on December 19, 2011.”

At 3:30 p.m. on December 19, two Xinhua reporters in Pyongyang published a story which for the first time in Chinese revealed excerpts from the North Korean circular to “all officials” which had been secretly sent out after Kim Jong-il’s death and was published by KCNA on December 19. Chinese reporters are sometimes given access to KCNA or Rodong Sinmun dispatches before Western agencies in the city like Associated Press, but this does not appear to be one of those instances. The CCTV reports from Pyongyang, Zhang Li over a rainy telephone line, gave none

of the later more stereotyped and carefully crafted messages about Kim Jong Un and future economic development, and were mainly about people mourning in the streets.

DOCUMENT No. 3

Xinhua in Pyongyang (Zhang Li and Zhao Kai), “North Korea’s Supreme Leader Kim Jong-il Has Passed Away [朝鲜最高领导人金正日逝世],” Chinese Central Government Web, 3:29 P.M., December 19, 2011.

Reports stated that Kim Jong-il was suffering from heart and cerebrovascular disease, and had been undergoing treatment for the conditions for a long time. On December 17, Kim Jong-il suffered excessive fatigue while on the way to an inspection, and, on his train, had a severe cardiac shock / acute myocardial infarction. He died on the 17th, at 8:30 a.m. local time, on his train. On the 18th, an autopsy was conducted to confirm the diagnosis of these diseases.

Reports stated that the Korean Workers’ Party Central Committee, the WPK Central Military Commission, the DPRK National Defense Commission, the Supreme People’s Assembly Standing Committee, and the Cabinet had issued a “Notice to all party members, the People’s Army soldiers and the people [《告全体党员、人民军官兵和人民书》].” This document said that the sudden death of Kim Jong-il was “the greatest loss to the North Korean Party and revolution, and puts the Korean people and the entire race [民族/ *minjok*] into the greatest grief.”

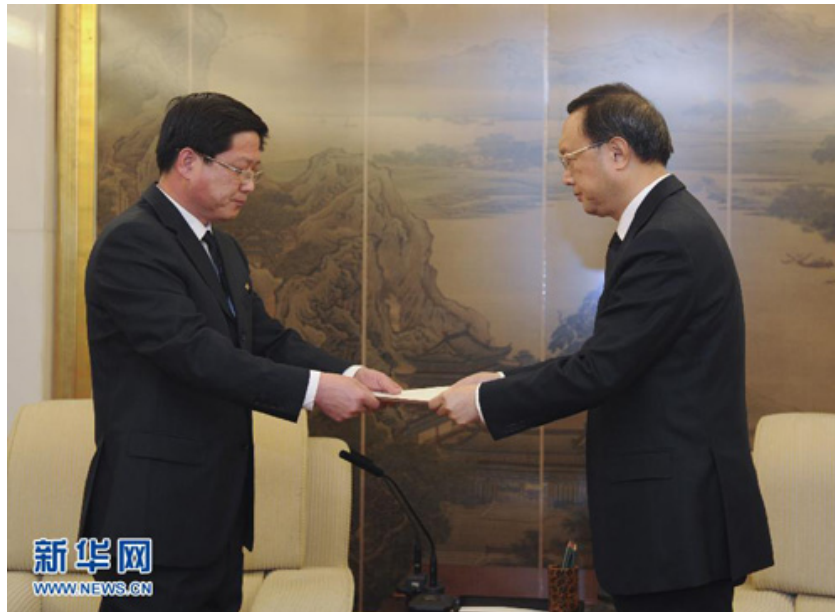
The Notice further stated that, under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong-un, North Korea would turn grief into strength and courage to overcome the current difficult situation, and that all party members, the Korean People’s Army soldiers and the people would unite with one heart around “The loyal and precious leadership of Comrade Kim Jong-un [忠于尊敬的金正恩同志的领导].”

After 8 p.m. the Foreign Ministry published Yang Jiechi’s condolences to the Chargé d’affaires of the DPRK Embassy in Beijing (indicating China’s knowledge that the regular DPRK Ambassador had returned to Pyongyang). Yang’s acceptance of Kim Jong Un’s ascension is paired with an obligatory nod to the

*importance of role of the Korean Workers' Party.*⁴

DOCUMENT No. 4

Xinhua, “Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi Meets with Chargé d’affaires Pak Myong-ho [外交部长杨洁篪会见朝鲜驻华使馆临时代办朴明浩],” Chinese Central Government Web, 8:18 P.M., December 19, 2011.

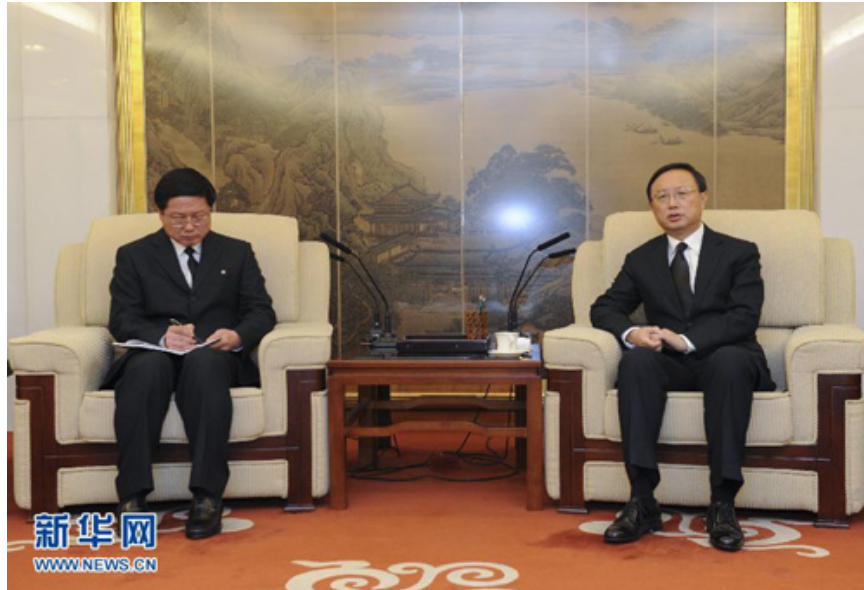


On December 19, 2011, Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi met with [约见] Pak Myong Ho, chargé d’affaires [临时代办] of DPRK Embassy in Beijing. Yang conveyed messages of condolence from the Central Committee of the Communist Part of China (CPC), the National People's Congress Standing Committee, the State Council and the Central Military Commission to the WPK Central Committee and its Central Military Commission, DPRK National Defence Commission, the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and the DPRK Cabinet.

Yang emphasized that Comrade Kim Jong-il was a great party and state leader of the DPRK and had dedicated the whole of his life and rendered immortal efforts [不朽功勋] to the DPRK's socialist revolution and construction. The Chinese government and people were deeply saddened by the demise of "close friend [亲密朋友]" Kim Jong-il, who would be remembered forever by the Chinese people.

⁴ See Rudiger Frank, “The Party as Kingmaker,” Nautilus Institute, December 22, 2011, <http://38north.org/2011/12/rfrank122111/>.

Yang expressed the belief that the DPRK people would definitely remain united as one under the leadership of the WPK and comrade Kim Jong Un, turn their sorrow into strength, achieve new progress in socialist construction, and make new contribution to realizing the sustainable peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula.



The DPRK side expressed thanks for the condolences from China, saying that the demise of comrade Kim Jong-il was a huge loss for the WPK and revolution, and the DPRK people would closely unite around the WPK and comrade Kim Jong Un to continuously advance the DPRK's socialist cause.

In English, see “Yang Jiechi Meets with Pak Myong Ho, Chargé d’affaires of the DPRK Embassy in Beijing,” December 19, 2011.

DOCUMENT No. 5

Xinhua (Beijing), “The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Sends its Condolences On the Death of Kim Jong-il [中共中央电唁金正日逝世],” Chinese Central Government Web, 9:03 P.M., December 19, 2011.

China on Monday sent condolences to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) over the death of DPRK top leader Kim Jong-il.

"We are shocked to learn that general secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK), chairman of the DPRK National Defense Commission and supreme commander of the Korean People's Army (KPA) comrade Kim Jong-il passed away and we hereby

express our deep condolences on his demise and send sincere regards to the DPRK people," said the condolence message.

The condolence message, sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the National People's Congress Standing Committee, the State Council and the Central Military Commission to the DPRK's WPK Central Committee and its Central Military Commission, DPRK National Defense Commission, Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and the DPRK Cabinet, called Kim Jong-il a great leader of the DPRK people and a close friend of the Chinese people.

The message said comrade Kim Jong-il had dedicated the whole of his life and rendered immortal service to the DPRK's socialist revolution and construction.

It noted that the late DPRK leader, a close friend of the Chinese people, had carried on and further developed the traditional friendship between China and DPRK. The Chinese government and people were deeply saddened by the demise of Kim Jong-il, who will be remembered forever by the Chinese people.

The Chinese side believed that the DPRK will remain united as one with the leadership of the WPK and comrade Kim Jong Un, and turn their sorrow into strength, continuously advance towards the goal of building a strong and prosperous socialist nation and achieving sustained peace on the Korean Peninsula.

China and the DPRK are close neighbors and stand together in good or bad times. The CPC and the Chinese government have always adhered to the policy of continuously consolidating and developing their traditional friendship with the DPRK, said the condolence message.

The message added that the traditional party-to-party, state-to-state and people-to-people friendship between the two countries will be carried on and further developed.

In English, see "China sends its condolences over death of DPRK top leader," December 19, 2011.

Summary of relevant events on December 19, 2011:

- *The initial announcement of Kim Jong-il's death is broadcast by CCTV at 11:30 a.m. Beijing time.*
- *An MFA press conference is held at approximately 3 p.m. which Kim Jong Un nor the question of any successor or government was mentioned.*
- *A Xinhua dispatch is published from Pyongyang at 3:30 p.m. quoting DPRK government communication referring to Kim Jong Un, but with no Chinese official confirmation or commentary of the succession.*
- *Yang Jiechi appears to summon Park Myung-ho, the DPRK Charge d'affaires in Beijing, to the Foreign Ministry, where Park is given the first official Chinese confirmation of succession; this event is publicized at 8:19 p.m.*
- *A Central Committee statement is conveyed to the DPRK and released at 9 p.m., confirming Kim Jong-Un and Korean Workers' Party joint rule.*

DECEMBER 20

On December 20, Hu Jintao visited the DPRK Embassy in Beijing. Perhaps of interest here is who greets Hu Jintao – it is not the Ambassador but the relatively young chargé d'affaires: both, perhaps, an intentional signal that the youth guard is taking over, and also further confirmation that the DPRK Ambassador to China is in fact back in Pyongyang. Pak was not identified in the initial Xinhua Chinese dispatch, perhaps leaving Chinese readers wondering precisely to whom their head of state was offering condolences.

DOCUMENT No. 6

Xinhua (Beijing), “Hu Jintao Visits the North Korean Embassy in Beijing to Pay His Respects to North Korea’s Supreme Leader Kim Jong-il [胡锦涛等赴朝鲜驻华使馆吊唁朝鲜最高领导人金正日],” Chinese Central Government Web, December 20, 2011.⁵

On the morning of December 20, the General Secretary of the CCP, National Chairman, and Chairman of the National Defense Committee Hu Jintao went to the North Korean Embassy in China to offer his deep grief and respect [沉痛吊唁] at the passing of the General Secretary of the Korean Workers’ Party, Chairman of the National Defense Committee, and General of the Korean People’s Army Kim Jong-il. Wu Bangguo, Li Changchun, Xi Jinping and others paid their respects together.

⁵ Dispatch written by Xinhua reporter Liu Dongkai [刘东凯]. The PLA General standing under the portrait of Kim Jong Il in the above photograph is Guo Boxiong; see Adam Cathcart, “Gen. Guo Boxiong at the DPRK Embassy, Dec. 20,” January 2, 2012, <http://sinonk.com/2012/01/03/mystery-man-gen-guo-boxiong/>.



President Hu Jintao conveys his condolences on Tuesday to Pak Myong-ho, chargé d'affaires at the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) embassy in Beijing, over the death of DPRK leader Kim Jong-il. [Photo/Xinhua]

Just after 10 a.m., Hu Jintao and other Chinese leaders arrived at the mourning hall at the North Korean Embassy in Beijing. In the mourning hall, there was a portrait of of Comrade Kim Jong-il. Hu Jintao, Jiang Zemin, Wu Bangguo, Li Changchun, and Xi Jinping all offered wreathes before the portrait.

Hu Jintao and others walked to Comrade Kim Jong-il's portrait to pay their respects, and bowed three times toward it [胡锦涛等走到金正日同志遗像前驻足默哀，并向遗像三鞠躬].

Hu Jintao made a statement:

"We believe that the North Korean people must continue to recognize and carry on the task bequeathed by Comrade Kim Jong-il, and closely unify around the Workers' Party of Korea, and under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong-Un, turning their sorrow into strength in order to construct a more powerful socialist state which will maintain peaceful stability on the Korean peninsula through unremitting efforts [实现朝鲜半岛的持久和平稳定而不懈努力]," Hu said.

Hu Jintao emphasized: "The unalterable direction of the Chinese Party and Government is to unceasingly consolidate and develop the traditional friendship and cooperation between China and

North Korea [不断巩固和发展中朝传统友好合作关系是中国党和政府坚定不移的方针].”

“We want to work hard and in common [携手努力] with our North Korean comrades to well-stabilize, well-construct, and well-develop the traditional friendship and cooperation between China and North Korea.”

Chargé d'affaires Pak Myong-ho stated his heartfelt thanks to Hu Jintao and the other Chinese leaders for coming to pay their respects. He said: “Comrade Kim Jong-il made huge efforts and scored huge achievements in developing the friendship between North Korea and China. The sudden departure of Comrade Kim Jong-il from this world is the biggest lost for the North Korean Party and Revolution, and also the greatest tragedy for the whole body of the North Korean people and race [朝鲜全体人民和全民族的最大悲痛]. Under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Un, we will turn this sorrow into power and courage, facing all the difficulties, in order to advance our efforts and struggle toward the development of North Korean socialism. The North Korean side wants to take the same path as the Chinese side [朝方愿同中方一道]: take a powerful step forward in the North Korean-Chinese relationship, and develop the traditional friendship and cooperation between North Korea and China.”

DOCUMENT No. 7

Xinhua (Beijing), “Hu Jintao Visits the North Korean Embassy in Beijing to Pay His Respects to North Korea’s Supreme Leader Kim Jong-il [胡锦涛等赴朝鲜驻华使馆吊唁朝鲜最高领导人金正日],” Chinese Central Government Web, 8:30 A.M., December 20, 2011.

“...Foreign Ministry spokesman Liu Weimin [*pictured below – Ed.*] said on Tuesday that China is open for the DPRK’s new leader to visit, noting that China maintains high-level exchanges with the DPRK.”

“We would welcome the DPRK leaders to visit China at their convenience,” Liu said.



After Hu Jintao met the North Korean Chargé d'affaires in Beijing, Chinese ambassador Liu Hongcai was busy in Pyongyang, making arrangements to lay flowers at the statue of Kim Il Song. Of interest is with whom Liu met: it was not Kim Yong Nam or other significant personage, but instead Kim Song Ki [김승기/金成基], the Vice Foreign Minister and official liaison who had already been meeting regularly with Ambassador Liu as a liaison between North Korean bureaucracy and the Embassy, as well as CCP delegation leaders like Li Keqiang, well before Kim's death. If North Korean leaders at a higher level wanted to send China or the outside world a public signal about elevated receptivity to or the need for Chinese influence, they declined the opportunity.

Also of interest in the following document is what is said and not said: Ambassador Liu mentions the North Korean "cabinet", uses the phrase "North Korean-style socialism" in an echo of the Dengist reformist lexicon (e.g., where capitalist reforms are euphemized as "Chinese-style socialism"), and appears to privilege the Korean Workers' Party over Kim Jong Un in the North Korean power structure and the symbol around which the North Korean people should direct their loyalties and efforts (as opposed to their grief). In response to Ambassador Liu's call for "North Korean-style socialism," Kim Song Ki voices North Korea's determination to "follow the road of revolution."

Incidentally this meeting was covered only very briefly in KCNA, which subsequently did not cover the Embassy's repeat public event on December 21 and, to our estimation, has not mentioned Ambassador Liu since.⁶ The Chinese Embassy website in

⁶ See "Updated KCNA-China File," January 1, 2012, <http://sinonk.com/2012/01/01/updated-kcna-china-file/>.

*Pyongyang posted nothing between December 24 and January 4; the Ambassador was finally met by a North Korean senior official, Kim Ki Nam, on January 11, 2012.*⁷

DOCUMENT No. 8

“Ambassador Liu Hongcai Offers Flowers and Condolences at the Death of Kim Jong-il [刘洪才大使就金正日逝世献花致哀],” Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, December 20, 2011.

On the afternoon of December 20, PRC Ambassador to North Korea Liu Hongcai and his wife led a group of diplomats from the Embassy to lay flowers before the statue of Kim Il Song at Pyongyang’s Mangyongdae in order to express grief at the death of North Korea’s supreme leader Kim Jong-il. North Korean Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Kim Song Ki and others accompanied them.

Liu Hongcai stated: “The CCP Central Committee, the National People’s Congress, the State Council and the Central Military Commission have already expressed their grief about Comrade Kim Jong-il’s death to the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party, the Party Central Military Committee, the National Defense Commission, the Highest People’s Congress [最高人民会议常任委员会], and the cabinet [内阁], expressing complete and deep sorrow and the highest comfort and sympathy to the North Korean people [向朝鲜人民致以最深切的哀悼和最诚挚的慰问]. Secretary Kim Jong-il was the great leader of the North Korean people, and a close friend of the Chinese people, with superhuman efforts [毕生精力] he gave great achievements to the North Korean people in the construction of North Korean-style socialism [朝鲜式社会主义] and the construction of a powerful nation. He also continually developed the traditional friendship and cooperation between, producing great contributions in that area. We believe, that the whole body of the North Korean people will unite around the North Korean Workers’ Party, and under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Un transform their grief into strength in order to construct a socialist and powerful nation [为建设社会主义强盛国家], promoting the maintenance of stability of the Korean peninsula. The Chinese people and the North Korean people will eternally stand together.

⁷ Adam Cathcart, “Ambassador Liu Reappears, or, Why Opera Matters,” January 13, 2012, <http://sinonk.com/2012/01/13/ambassador-liu-reappears-or-why-opera-matters/>.



Kim Song Ki thanked the Chinese Party, government, and people for its complete grief and comfort to the North Korean Party, Government and People. He thanked Ambassador Liu Hongcai, his wife, and the diplomatic delegation for their flowers and grief at the death of the great leader Kim Jong-il. Kim Song Ki stated that the North Korean side takes meaningful and deep support and encouragement from the grief and comfort of the Chinese side [深有感触并深受鼓舞], and that, under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Un, turn the grief one million-fold into strength, continuing to advance down the road of revolution [继续在革命道路上前行].



That day, tens of thousands of North Korean masses went to lay

flowers at the statue of Kim Il Song in order to express their grief at the death of Kim Jong-il.

By this time North Korea's Ambassador to China appeared to be back in Beijing, and Dai Bingguo was back from Myanmar.

The slightly unusual optic of China's head of state meeting the prior day with a lower-level embassy official was rectified on December 21. Wen Jiabao, who tends to engage the North Korea portfolio more actively than Hu Jintao (as seen in the choice of Wen to head the most important delegation to Pyongyang in years, in October 2009), could now discuss more substantive issues with the Ambassador. Zhou Yongkang's presence also would indicate as much; dealing with internal and border security being more in his portfolio. It would be logical that more in-depth discussions took place on this day, but no public information is available on how long Wen Jiabao and his colleagues stayed at the Embassy or if the Ambassador returned with them to Zhongnanhai.

Document No. 9

“Wen Jiabao, Jia Qinglin, Li Keqiang, He Guoqiang, and Zhou Yongkang visited the Embassy of North Korea in China to offer their condolences for the death of Kim Jong-il” [温家宝贾庆林李克强贺国强周永康等赴朝鲜驻华使馆吊唁金正日逝世], Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, December 21, 2011.

Xinhua Beijing 21 December Dispatch (Reporter: Tan Jingjing [谭晶晶])—on the morning of 21 December, Wen Jiabao, Member of the Politburo Standing Committee of the CCP and Premier of the State Council, Jia Qinglin, Member of the Politburo Standing Committee of the CCP and Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, Li Keqiang, Member of the Politburo Standing Committee of the CCP and Vice-Premier of the State Council, He Guoqiang, Member of the Politburo Standing Committee of the CCP and Secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, and Zhou Yongkang, Member of the Politburo Standing Committee of the CCP and Secretary of the CCP Central Political and Legislative Committee, traveled together to the Embassy of North Korea in China to offer their deepest condolences over the passing of Kim Jong-il, General Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party, Chairman of the National Defense Commission, and Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army.

Wen Jiabao expressed his deep condolence over Comrade Kim Jong-il's unfortunate death resulting from illness and offered his

sincerest sympathies to the Korean people. Wen said that Comrade Kim Jong-il was a great leader of the Korean party and state and an intimate friend of the Chinese people. [Wen added that] Kim had made important contributions to the development of friendly and cooperative relations between China and Korea for quite a long time, and that we [the Chinese people] believe that, under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and Comrade Kim Jong Un, the Korean people would turn grief into strength and achieve new successes towards the cause of socialist construction. [Wen remarked that] China is willing to work together with North Korea to further consolidate and develop the traditional friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The North Korean Ambassador to China Chi Chae-yong (Ji Jae Ryong) (지재룡/池在龍) thanked Wen Jiabao and the other Chinese leaders for coming to offer their condolences.

Ma Kai, State Councilor and Secretary General of the State Council, and Dai Bingguo, State Councilor, also attended today's events.

Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi, Minister of Commerce Chen Deming, Minister of Culture Cai Wu, and Beijing Mayor Guo Jinlong also took part in the memorial activities.

In English, see "Chinese leaders pay respect to Kim," December 22, 2011, China Daily.





The difference between this event and the prior ones: Ambassador Liu now leads all members of the Embassy in a larger show of numbers.

DOCUMENT No. 10

“The Central Committee of the CCP, the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council, the CPPCC, and the Central Military Commission Laid a Wreath before Kim Jong-il” [中共中央、全国人大常委会、国务院、全国政协、中央军委向金正日灵前献花圈], Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, December 21, 2011.

On the afternoon of December 21, Ambassador Liu, his wife, and all officials at the PRC Embassy in North Korea went to the Kumsudae Memorial Palace [锦绣山纪念宫] in order to honor the spirit of Kim Jong-il, laying wreathes on behalf of the CCP Central Committee, the National People’s Congress, the State Council, the National Political Bureau, the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council, and the National Military Commission, and also on behalf of the Chinese Embassy, in condolence for the late North Korean supreme leader Kim Jong-il. They were accompanied by the DPRK’s Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Kim Song Ki .

Ambassador Liu said: “In recent days, General Secretary Hu Jintao and other Chinese Party and state leaders had gone to the to the DPRK embassy to offer condolences, expressing the deep grief of the Chinese party, government and people at the death of Kim Jong-il. Today, we again ordered that wreathes be presented on

behalf of the CCP Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council, the CPPCC National Committee, and the Central Military Commission. It is the unswerving policy [坚定不移的方针] of the Chinese party and government to consolidate and develop the traditional friendship and cooperation between China and North Korea. We must take the traditional Sino-North Korean friendship and pass it along from generation to generation, strengthening it well, building it well, and developing it well. The Chinese Embassy and the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs will strengthen communication and cooperation [中国大使馆将和朝鲜外务省加强沟通与合作].

Kim Song Ki thanked Chairman Hu Jintao and other leaders of the Chinese Party and people for their expression of condolences at the PRC Embassy in Pyongyang. He thanked the CCP Central Committee, National People's Congress, State Council, the National Political Bureau, the Central Military Commission for their sending of wreathes in honor of Comrade Kim Jong-il's spirit. He stated: "It is obvious that the Chinese Communist Party, government, and people are truly generous in their friendship. We want to maintain close cooperation with the Chinese side in order to continue our efforts to solidify and develop [巩固和发展] North Korean-Chinese friendly and cooperative relations."

DOCUMENT No. 11

“The Consul General in Chongjin Participated in Memorial Activities for the North Korean Leader Comrade Kim Jong-il”
[驻清津总领事馆参加朝鲜领导人金正日同志吊唁活动],
Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, December 23, 2011.

On the afternoon of December 22, at the arrangement of the North Hamgyong Province Foreign Affairs Office, our [e.g., China's] Consul General in Chongjin, Tian Baozhen [田宝珍], led all of the Consulate's staff to the place of mourning in front of Chongjin People's Committee Building to lay a wreath, extending profound condolences at the loss of the great leader of the North Korean party and the country, and the intimate friend of the Chinese people, Comrade Kim Jong-il. Consul General Tian Baozhen expressed his deep grief at the tragic death of Kim Jong-il to Kim Kyung Soo [김경수/金京洙], the Secretary and First Vice Chairman of the North Hamgyong Province People's Committee.



Tian Baozhen, PRC Consul-General in Chongjin, at a meeting with North Korean officials in Pyongyang, December 3, 2011. Kim Song Ki, who was just back from a trip to Hong Kong, is on the right.

The Participating also in the memorial activities was the Overseas Chinese Association of North Hamgyong and more than 100 overseas Chinese residing in Chongjin who frequently engage in Sino-North Korean cooperation projects such as Chinese technicians [中方技术人员] and others.

The past few days, the masses from all parts of Chongjin have steadfastly kept themselves at work, going bit by bit from different parts within the city to the now-established memorial hall.

An interesting sideline of Chinese influence in North Korea has been the Rason port deal. In early December, 2011, Tian Baozhen arrived in Pyongyang for talks with North Korean counterparts. Like Dai Yulin, the Party Secretary of Dandong,⁸ Tian is a person of interest to the further development of the border region.

⁸ Adam Cathcart, "Notes on the Dandong Leadership," *Sino-NK*, December 25, 2011, <http://sinonk.com/2011/12/25/dandong-leadership/>.

PART III
HUANQIU SHIBAO (GLOBAL TIMES) EDITORIALS

DOCUMENT No. 12

“China Must Be the Reliable Backup for North Korea’s Peaceful Power Transition [中国是朝鲜平稳过渡的可靠后],” *Huanqiu Shibao*, December 21, 2010.

Underlined text does not appear in the newspaper’s own English translation of the editorial.⁹ Further changes have been made to the English to better reflect the meaning of the Chinese original. This represents the only complete available English translation of the Chinese editorial.

North Korea's highest leader Kim Jong-il has suddenly died, and China quickly expressed its grief. This is a crucial issue for Northeast Asia. No matter how the transition of power will be realized within North Korea, some countries will take it as an opportunity to change the strategic pattern of the region. North Korea’s stability, and the strategic stability of the region, will both be tested.

China's attitude is very important at this moment. China must clearly signal that it will protect North Korea's independent self-rule, guarantee North Korea's transition of power from external interference, and guarantee North Korea's freedom to choose its own national way.

Because North Korea's next leader Kim Jong Un is relatively young, some countries expect drastic change to take place in North Korea, and may even provoke various actions and activities to achieve it. Being a small country, if North Korea were to be released to be under normal political [放在普通的地缘政治条件下], it could be very difficult for the North Korean system to accept the pressure.

China should be a powerful and secure backer for a smooth transition of power in North Korea. A clear and decisive Chinese attitude will contribute to maintaining the confidence of North Korea.

China must establish an equal balance between the external

⁹ “China Must Ensure Smooth NK Transition,” *Global Times*, December 20, 2011, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/689083/China-must-ensure-smooth-NK-transition.aspx>.

countries' pressure and North Korea to be the secure power upon which North Korea's stable power transition can rely at this key moment of storm and stress. China's clear attitude and production of power, without any doubt, helps North Korean society keep strategically confident during the transition of power.

North Korea is China's special strategic partner. Although the nuclear problem has given China no small troubles, China and North Korea still maintain currently friendly relations. These relations help us with regard to stability on our borders, and play an increasingly critical role in China's strategic initiative in Northeast Asia, and in the whole of East Asia.

In China, there are some people who always think that China has paid too much in maintaining Sino-North Korean relations, and that China should "learn lessons from our predecessors" in experiences of aid to Albania and Vietnam. Relations with North Korea are just a little bit of money in the context of China's rise and great strategic plan.¹⁰ In international relations, epochs of history are not identical. The cost of keeping friendships is high, but it is better than dealing with a worsened strategic environment.

In reality, it has taken several decades for China to achieve today's Sino-North Korean relations. If China were to indulge other countries and allow them to disturb and change the strategic foundation of Sino-North Korean cooperation, all of China's diplomatic effort would be wasted (literally, to "relinquish the gains of past labor [前功尽弃]").

The strategic credibility of a great power is becoming more and more important to China. It should have the courage to protect its friends rather than flinch at the crucial moment. In this way, China will have more and more friends. If [it takes the other path], China will have fewer and fewer friends.

In the long run, China should influence the development of North Korea's politics but not interfere in its internal affairs, trying its best to encourage North Korea in normal ways to take the path of sustainable development and security. Chinese intervention [干涉] in North Korea's internal affairs is a tired and also unreal notion, but for China to give up its influence would obviously severely hamper China's advantages. China has long been the biggest great-power influence on Korea, but at no time did it engage in causing

¹⁰ The *Global Times* English version scraps this sentence altogether in favor of: "This is a narrow-minded view."

chaos in North Korea's internal affairs.¹¹

We suggest Chinese high-level officials visit North Korea as soon as possible to maintain close communication with the new leader and send a strong signal to Pyongyang and the world that, with China's support, that North Korean power transition will be reliable.

China also needs to coordinate with Russia with regard to the Korean peninsula, taking the attitude that North Korea should have increased cooperation with South Korea, the U.S., and Japan.

In the environment of the post-Kim Jong-il era, amid North Korea's construction of political power, China must continually actively position itself, continuing the past special successes of solving problems on the Korean peninsula.¹²

China does not need to worry that its support of a stable relationship with North Korea will cause tensions with South Korea, the U.S., and Japan. China supports stability, and takes an stand clearly opposed to upheaval [反对动荡]. Accordingly the possibility of outside countries having issues with North Korea is accordingly smaller. Similarly, this means that Sino-North Korean friendship cannot be effected by the change of power in North Korea. In a word, Sino-North Korean friendship is the most important cornerstone of today's stability in Northeast Asia.

DOCUMENT No. 13

Editorial: China Gaining “Something” On Every Side [中国 “有所作为” 收获正面效果], Huanqiu Shibao, December 21, 2011.

Having now had the earliest opportunity to observe the geopolitical shape of the post-Kim Jong-il era in North Korea, at least as far as surface appearances are concerned, things are not at all as bad as one had expected. South Korea, the United States, and the United Nations have all expressed their condolences or sympathy over Kim's death, and welcome North Korea's “smooth transition.” On December 19 and 20, China rapidly declared its support for North

¹¹ The original English translators at *Global Times* put it this way: “China should have the most influence on North Korea, but try to avoid any manipulation of its domestic politics.”

¹² *Global Times*: “...North Korea's situation to ensure a positive position in the construction of a regional political pattern in the post-Kim Jong-il era.”

Korea's new leader, taking the lead in supporting North Korea's smooth transition, playing an important role in this multi-faceted situation.

For China's diplomacy in recent years, the above occurrence is indeed a successful "something." Among all the countries in the world, China took the lead in comforting North Korea. Among the leaders of great powers, China's National Chairman Hu Jintao was the first to offer condolences to the Korean missions abroad. China's attitude of support for North Korea's stability was firm and clear, and the attempts of other countries attempting to compress the space in which Chinese diplomacy operates were very few [其他国家逆中国态度行事能外交得分的空间被压缩得很小].

We should be clear: In the world, and especially in the political environment of East Asia, China is already the active shaping power [塑造性力量]. Opposition and resistance to China's attitude would be a waste of effort [毫不费力].

[As a result of its North Korea policy], within the diplomatic sphere of "stakeholders" on its periphery, China has gained much more "something," and accompanying these results should be a wider range of latitude [更宽的丈量尺码]. We want to firmly guide the general political direction on our periphery, and promoting formations on our periphery that advance positive interaction with China. At the same time, it would be incorrect to try to finely manage the details of [things, events, or countries] which genuinely cannot be controlled [by China].

For instance, we support the "smooth transition" for North Korea. However, it does not follow that [China] should [随意引申] arbitrarily extend [support for] the political content [of that transition], which would lock China into future expectations of being North Korea's "exclusive friend [排他性亲中]." on the future of our "exclusive pro 'expectations. This [posture] would be way too difficult, and, moreover, is useless for China. We support the DPRK in protecting their own interests, and these interests are connected to the shaping of the geopolitical environment. Taking North Korea and China's combined interests into account, [China] occupies the dominant position [占支配性地位] in the DPRK's foreign relations. This is enough.

PART IV
PRC THINK TANK ANALYSIS

DOCUMENT No. 14

“Stability First for New North Korean Leadership” [Interview with Han Zhenshe], *Global Times*, 7:33 P.M., 19 December 19, 2011.

[*Global Times*'] Editor's Note:

The death of North Korean leader Kim Jong-il Saturday morning has dominated news headlines worldwide. Will Kim's son, Kim Jong-un, smoothly take over? How will this affect regional dynamics in Northeast Asia? *Global Times* (GT) reporter Chen Chenchen talked to Han Zhenshe (Han), an expert on North Korean studies and retired researcher with the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, on these issues.

GT: Some speculate that Kim Jong-il's death may lead to domestic chaos, since his successor is quite young. What's your view?

Han: We can't completely rule out the possibility of chaos within North Korea at the moment. Kim Jong-il has been in office since 1994. The decision-making mechanism there is that the top leader guides the operation of the entire system. His personal clout is so colossal that other core members of the North Korean government have become used to observing his expressions and chewing over his words before taking any action.

North Korea has severe economic problems. Civil livelihood [民生 *minsheng*] is the most pressing issue on the government agenda, but they are having huge difficulties. Implicit social complaints prevail. With Kim Jong-il's death, ordinary North Koreans may have some expectations of change, though they are not sure where the country will go, and what kind of changes will come yet. Kim Jong-un faces great pressure in maintaining domestic stability.

Though the possibility of turbulence can't be dismissed, I believe North Korea will be more likely to witness practical power transition, without impetuous social shake-ups. I've visited and conducted research in North Korea several times. According to my observations, unlike Middle Easterners who are easily aroused, ordinary North Koreans have high levels of political endurance. I don't think they will immediately stand up and launch large-scale uprisings, as some people are speculating.

GT: Will the next North Korean administration soon begin reform

and opening-up due to economic pressure?

Han: I'm afraid not. Kim Jong-un is just 28 years old. His top priority is certainly to reinforce government legitimacy and try his best to maintain social stability. This takes at least one to three years. I don't think the next administration will give much thought to evident policy adjustments both at home and abroad within this key transition period.

GT: Will the clout of those North Koreans who have studied in the US grow following Kim Jong-il's death?

Han: The strength of this group is quite weak. It will be very hard for them to play a key role or even bring changes to top decision-makers' mentality of governance. Among the North Korean elites who've studied abroad, most of them visited Russia, China or South Korea. This small group of people is not on the central stage at home.

Kim Jong-il's elder son Kim Jong-nam previously studied in Switzerland, Japan and Russia. It is said that he has absorbed the values of these countries. However, he is excluded from the core of government.

This is also why I don't think Western forces can take advantage of Kim Jong-il's death. They have few collaborators within North Korea.

GT: Will China-North Korea ties witness any changes in the near future?

Han: The next year will be pivotal. A stable North Korea best suits China's interests. We hope North Korea maintains overall stability, and gradually adopts policy adjustments. If North Korea falls into chaos, South Korea will be the first to suffer. China will also bear the burden.

China should try to encourage North Korea to gradually adopt reforms on the basis of stability maintenance. Ordinary North Koreans believe in their government and are in mourning. They believe that North Korea's nuclear capabilities have become a strong backbone for this isolated nation. This belief may continue to hold the society together.

However, the next administration can't just survive on this belief. They have to improve the economy. China will stick to its long-held policy of non-intervention into other countries' internal affairs. But in certain circumstances, Chinese leaders can suggest North Korea to adopt some mitigating social policies. Ordinary

North Koreans can't stand sudden policy shake-ups, but they do aspire to some easing-up of policies and a better life.

GT: How will Kim Jong-il's death affect the dynamics of the Korean Peninsula?

Han: We won't know in the following few months whether the ties between the two Koreas will be improved, whether the Six-Party Talks can be boosted, and whether there's greater hope of solving the North Korea nuclear issue. None of these top Kim Jong-un's agenda.

I believe South Korean and US politicians are waiting to see how the new North Korean administration is going to behave on diplomatic issues. No decision can be made right now. China should sit tight and watch too. It's hard to tell whether Kim Jong-un is going to continue a tough diplomatic line. Other parties in North[east] Asia can't take any measures or respond hastily until the diplomatic mentality of the next North Korean administration is made clear.

DOCUMENT No. 15

Yang Xiyu, "North Korea's foreign policy remains uncertain after Kim's death," *Global Times*, 5:15 P.M., December 19, 2011.

[Global Times editor notes:] Yang Xiyu, a researcher at the China Institute of International Studies has said that North Korea's foreign policy remains unknown following Kim's death.

[Yang Xiyu:] Kim Jong-il's death will likely have two impacts on the DPRK; first, his sudden departure is a big shock for the people of North Korea. The whole country will fall into a great period of mourning, which will have an effect on various industries throughout the country. After transitory condolences and memorial activities take place, work will return to its normal operation in accordance with primary policies. Second, the country's new leader will assume his post ahead of schedule. The new collective leadership will face a major test.

Meanwhile, the direction of the DPRK's foreign policy will face uncertainty. Its domestic policy won't face any big adjustments because it was created by the current leadership. But its foreign policies, especially the [respective] relationships between the DPRK and South Korea and with the US will now face enormous uncertainty. As foreign policy depends on two sides, it is not easy to say the future of the Korean situation will develop in accordance with the same original tension it has always faced.

DOCUMENT No. 16

Zhang Liangui, "Neighboring countries of North Korea will watch for further action," *Global Times*, 5:14 P.M., December 19, 2011.

[Global Times Editor:] Zhang Liangui is Special Researcher at the South Korea Studies Center at Peking University.

[Zhang Liangui:] The repercussion of Kim Jong-il's sudden death may have a huge impact on northeast Asia, and, due to the uncertainties which now exist within its political sphere, North Korea's neighboring countries have yet to immediately respond and will watch closely before leaping to action.

Kim Jong-un, the newly-elected leader of North Korea's ruling party, the Workers' Party of Korea, is expected to hammer out a development plan for the peninsula in the next six months. During this time, other countries will make corresponding policies.

As for South Korea having announced it will remain on alert towards the North, it is nothing more than routine action taken when such an event of this magnitude happens in a neighboring country, and is merely done so in order to avoid confusion and other uncontrollable factors.

Kim Jong-il ruled the country for over 17 years, during which time the tension between the two Koreas tightened. The country was also further isolated from the international community and the nuclear issue drove North Korea even further from global cooperation. The leader's absence shall mark the end of an era. In the post-Kim era, the policies of the new government and how the transition of power is controlled will have a decisive influence on North Korea's future, and on its nuclear issue.

China and other countries should increase their cooperation and communication with North Korea, so as to avoid any disastrous influences from taking hold of the country.

DOCUMENT No. 17

Lu Chao [吕超], "Around the World, It is Already Commonly Recognized that the Stability of the (Korean) Peninsula Must Be Preserved" [维护半岛稳定已成世界共识]," *Huanqiu Shibao*, 7:08 A.M., December 22, 2011.

The author is the Director of the Research Center for Chinese Borderland History and Geography, Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences (PRC).

Abstract: The maintenance of lasting social stability [社会持续稳定] and economic development in North Korea coincides with our country's foreign policy for its periphery and the requirements of the development of the Northeast. Presently, the North Korean party and government needs our [China's] support, both moral and material, and we, along with the morality and justice of the international community, should support and help the North Korean people through financial assistance as they pass through the current difficult stage and firmly safeguard the long-term peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula.

It has been three days since the death of Kim Jong-il was announced by the Korean Central News Agency on December 19. Irrespective of what the reaction has been within North Korea or especially what the reaction has been in Western countries, there are many more people who wish for quiet stability [平静]. The positions laid out by the five foreign ministers of China, America, Russia, South Korea, and Japan all had one thing in common: "maintaining the peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula is of the utmost importance." It should be noted that the position of U.S. Secretary of State Hilary Clinton was one of "extreme restraint" [很克制], while the South Korean National Assembly, after an initial dilemma, finally sent a message of condolence to Pyongyang. These acts illustrate that, since the death of Kim Jong-il, the global consensus has already become for the maintenance of stability on the Korean Peninsula.

In North Korea, the announcement of Kim Jong-il's death was quite detailed, and the time, place, cause, and even pathology were made available in reports to the public. On one hand, this suggests that the North Korean authorities are striving for domestic stability, fearing that false rumors could bring about disturbances; on the other hand, it also illustrates that the North Korean authorities are still fairly confident that they can control the domestic situation.

From the announcement of Kim Jong-il's death on the afternoon of December 19 through December 21, North Korea did not seal the borders or close its ports with China. This is a different way of doing things than past emergency situations in Korea, suggesting that North Korea has faith in China, and that the current economic conditions in North Korea cannot persist without trade with China. We have reason to believe that Kim Jong Un will continue the policy of friendship with China [对华友好政策] from the Kim Jong-il era. China should continue to support the development of state-owned and private economic entities with cooperative economic activities in North Korea.

The crucial point of whether or not North Korean politics can remain peaceful hinges upon the distribution of power among the new leadership. A North Korean state television report said that Kim Jong Un would serve [将担任] as North Korean leader. However, due to the sudden death of Kim Jong-il, [it became evident that] the preparation work by the North Korean regime for succession was incomplete. In the past, the highest leaders were responsible to Kim Jong-il individually and directly. Not only that, but it was under Kim Jong-il's coordination and direction that they cooperated.

How they will now collaborate with each other during the redistribution of power under the coordination of Kim Jong-un has yet to be made clear [在权力重新分配中他们如何在金正恩的协调下合作还有待观察]. In addition, Kim Jong-il's sister, the CPC Central Committee member and Minister of Light Industry Minister Kim Kyo Hui, is an Army commander general.

At the moment, North Korea has food shortages. Outside of Pyongyang, food prices are soaring. This shows that, at present, the food shortage is likely to continue through 2012. However, the current status of North Korea's food shortage is not only far better than the 1990s era of the "Bitter March," it is also slightly better than last year. Accompanied by the recovery of the Korean international exchange and expansion of foreign trade, the food shortage problem is not insurmountable.

Regarding the position of the U.S., Japan, and the ROK at the death of Kim Jong-il, on the one hand, one can understand the political and economic fatigue in the United States toward involvement in external situations; the country is trapped in the chaos of the Middle East. Under these conditions, from the point of view of the U.S., the stability of the Korean Peninsula is essential; it does not want North Korean chaos. On the other hand, we must also see that in the United States, Japan, and South Korea, there are still considerable number of scholars who believe that Kim Jong-un "will not have not a smooth succession," and that their countries must be prepared to deal the situation in the DPRK with both hands [应该有两手准备]. If any external forces have interest in, or take action towards, destroying the stability of the Korean Peninsula, we must resolutely oppose it.

This year, a few South Korean mass organizations (*e.g.*, *NGOs*) repeatedly claimed a plan to set up anti-Kim organizations on the Chinese side of the border. China will never allow tolerate having its territory to be used as the base for actions against a third country; these organizations and other subversive activities must

be harshly cracked down upon by the relevant authorities.

We need to protect the stability of North Korean society and [undertake] economic development in line with the foreign policy on our frontier and the development needs of the Northeast region. At present, the DPRK party and government need our moral and material aid. We should give financial assistance and take part in the international community's moral support, helping the Korean people through the current difficult period and resolutely safeguarding the long-term peace and stability on the Korean peninsula.

DOCUMENT No. 18

Sun Xingjie [孙兴杰], "A Great Power Will Give North Korea Feelings of Security" [大国要给朝鲜安全感], *Huanqiu Shibao*, December 22, 2011.

Whether or not Kim Jong-il's death will lead to overall changes in the situation of Northeast Asia, everyone's assessments of the situation can no longer be the same as before, as when United States regarded Kim Jong-il as to be "hated all the way down to the bone." This statement of the *Wall Street Journal* was very typical: "The dictator who used fear and isolation to maintain power and used nuclear weapons to terrify neighboring countries and threaten the U.S. is dead." This response reflects the gloating mentality of the United States [美国幸灾乐祸的心态]. However, North Korea's change of course [朝鲜的变革] will require a change in the security external environment. White House spokesman Jay Carney said, "We remain committed to maintain the stability of the Korean peninsula, to ensure freedom and security of its allies."

After the end of the Cold War, North Korea lost its Soviet support. Again and again, the country that had created an "economic miracle" was producing only famine [饥荒]. Caught in between great powers [处于大国夹缝之中], Kim Jong-il relied upon waving the big nuclear stick to create international influence, trade for international assistance, and ensure regime stability. Since 2003, Kim was continually playing on the "strategic edge"; he was a first-class tactical expert, wrapping the big countries around his finger.

Kim Jong-il's North Korean diplomatic strategy reflects the geopolitical predicament. On the other hand, it also dragged into the DPRK directly into a security dilemma and a vicious circle. The strategy of "military-first politics" made North Korea a militarized state in which a huge army consumes a lot of resources.

Kim Jong-un wants to open the door to reforms. On the one hand, he needs to get the support of the army, and other hand, he needs to dissolve [裁撤 *cai che*] the army, otherwise, the reform will face the dilemma of "making bricks without straw." In order to dissolve the army, big powers surrounding North Korea need to give it a sense of security, otherwise, [Kim] will continue to strengthen the position of the army, and the window for reform will gradually close.

The Korean peninsula is known as the living fossil of the Cold War [冷战的活化石]. In order to admit North Korea into the regional community, mutual trust needs to gradually be built between the major neighboring powers. However, we need to recognize that achieving this goal may bring [us and/or North Korea] through a considerably long and painful process.

For the United States, Japan, and South Korea, the Kim regime remains an unwelcome idea, especially given the fact that this “fossil” has taken North Korea through three generations of hereditary politics. For these countries, a nuclear-armed North Korea, in the midst of a crisis, were to “plunge Seoul into a sea of fire” is not a scene they can accept. But Kim Jong-il's “military-first politics” have made North Korea into a militarized state. Irrespective of if North Korea has nuclear weapons or not, the regime itself is a nuclear bomb. For these reasons, the White House expressed its commitment to the stability of the peninsula, and, at least in the short term, cannot start a war. If the external pressure were to increase, though, Kim Jong Un could continue down his father's old path, including missile tests, huge military parades and other “muscle-flexing” activities.

For China, a stable and orderly North Korea is the goal. When Kim Jong-il played the “nuclear card,” it made China very passive. On the one hand, North Korea got a lot of assistance, but on the other hand, another result of this game included that China grouped itself with the other powers in the region. For a while, Kim tried to learn from China’s experience of reform and opening up, but it was a situation of “tiger’s head, snake’s tail” [虎头蛇尾, *a process which starts strong but ends weakly* – Ed.). To Kim Jong Un, China needs to actively and steadily promote reform and opening up; a North Korea that joins the market system would be much more rational. U.S. intelligence analysis organizations believe that the growing dependence on China leads Kim Jong-un to feel more pressure. China needs to transform this dependence into momentum for reform in North Korea. A North Korea which moves in the direction of taking forms resembling a normal state would be a blessing for China.

DOCUMENT No. 19

Sun Xingjie [孙兴杰] "The Huge Challenges Facing the Kim Jong Un Era [金正恩时代面临重重挑战]," *Huanqiu Shibao*, December 22, 2011.

Sun Xingjie is identified by Huanqiu as a "scholar of international relations."

On December 19 at noon, North Korean state television released an important message to the world: the country's supreme leader Kim Jong-il had died on the 17th, suddenly, of a heart attack. In a single blink of an eye, with report after report from the world's major media were reported this news: Where will a North Korea without Kim Jong-il go from here? In the post-Kim Jong-il era, North Korea is facing the challenge of change of power, and at the same time, testing the diplomatic wisdom of the great powers.

Kim Jong-un's problem: Reconstructing Authority [金正恩的难: 重建权威]

After Kim Jong-il's death, his son Kim Jong-un smoothly succeeded him. North Korea's official media informed the citizens [朝鲜官方媒体号召国民]: "Under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong-un, we must turn our grief into strength and courage to overcome the difficulties of the moment." In reality, the challenge lies in question of whether or not the young Kim Jong-un is able to establish his own authority. The establishment of political leadership is the largest problem. Political power, naturally, needs to be concentrated in order to be coercive, but it is also true that too much force, especially violent force, can cause rejection of political power.

Well-known German sociologist Max Weber would divide political legitimacy into three types: the charismatic [克里斯玛型], traditional and legal types. The first generation of North Korean leader, Kim Il Sung, can generally be regarded [大体可以算作] as charismatic, this being connected to his person via the myth of his origin and his revolutionary experience, etc. It would be difficult for an ordinary person to equal this type of magic. 2012 will be the 100th anniversary of Kim Il Sung's birth. Kim Jong-il has declared that in 2012 North Korea will "open the gates to a powerful nation" and enter the ranks of developed countries. Another way of saying this is that North Korea's current political legitimacy, to a certain extent, continues to rest on Kim Il Sung's personal charm.

When Kim Jong-il succeeded his father to become North Korea's

supreme leader in 1994, it was difficult for him to rely on his own personal charisma in the rebuilding of political legitimacy. He therefore proposed the "military-first politics [先军政治]" as the national policy, placing the military at the pivot point of all policies. North Korea's population numbers only 24 million people, but it has millions of troops. As Kim Jong-il's put it, famously: "If you can live without candy, cannot live without bullets." Under Kim Jong-il's leadership, North Korea tighten their belts in order to develop sophisticated weapons. In 1998, North Korea's mobile missile, the Taepodong, flew over Japan; on October 9, 2006, North Korea announced a successful underground nuclear test; and on May 25, 2009, North Korea conducted a second underground nuclear test.

Kim Jong-Il derived even more authority from the repeated performance of the feat that North Korea had become a nuclear-weapon state. For the young Kim Jong-un achieve his own political stability, the most important thing is for him to restructure the systems of highest authority, changing them to the core.

In the short term, the first challenge facing Kim Jong-un is his own lack of experience [资历尚浅]. Kim Jong-un, born in the 80s, now faces old political veterans who have been in power since the 1980s [80后的金正恩面对的是一些80后的政治老人]. Since 1980, the leadership organs of the Workers' Party have maintained the status quo: some members of the Party Central Committee have already died, and of the five members of the Central Political Bureau of the Standing Committee, three are more than 80 years of age. The establishment of political authority takes time; although Kim Jong-un was established with successor status last September, but to be truly worthy of the name, need to accumulate resources in the military and political fields. If Kim can live several more years, Kim Jong-un would have more time and resources to build their own political base, but unfortunately, space does not leave, the heir Kim Jong-il gave only more than a year to do the preparation.

Kim Jong-un's second challenge is how to wrest [夺] power back from party elders. In order to reduce the difficulties of Kim Jong-un's succession, Kim Jong-il enhanced the status of his sister Kim Kyo-hui. Kim Kyo-hui had long controlled the work of North Korea's Workers' Party; in September last year, she and Kim Jong-un were both promoted to the rank of general.

This message is being viewed by the outside world as: the son of Kim Jong-il want my sister to help grasp control over the whole situation, and smoothly take his place. The key question is whether Jang Jin Jing Ji and her husband, Chang Song-taek, will or will not

want to keep power [甘居人后]. Will they resemble the Duke of Zhou, who did everything in the interest of the whole, giving all of his power to the king? Will they be resemble Zhu Geliang, who gave his power to the death to the king, even when that sovereign was a perennial fool?

The third challenge for Kim Jong-un is the risk of reform. As the old saying goes, “A new governor wants to sweep things clean”: In order to establish confidence in his own authority, Kim Jong Un needs to propose a new government strategy. Seeing that the performance of the of "military-first" political strategy of his father has already been poor from top to bottom, Kim Jong-un needs to change course. Looking at North Korea's official news, which suppressed the news of Kim Jong-il's death and then declared open support for Kim Jong-un, we can see that the high-level control in North Korea is not weak [未削弱]. From this, we can also see that the smooth succession of Kim Jong-un was no big problem.

In the next few years, the risk, as Tocqueville put it, is one in which the most dangerous moment for political change, is when is it time to change for the better. Especially in North Korea, a kind of closed country where reform was prevented from going forward for so many decades, taking a balanced approach and hedging one's risks is very important.

When North Korea's youth come to understand the world via the internet, reflecting on the time of their own isolation, it could be that the risk to Kim Jong-un truly arrives.

PART V
HU XIJIN'S RESPONSE

On Sina Weibo, China's multicalcapable equivalent of Twitter, one man rather modestly identifies himself a reporter in 'complicated China' [胡锡进, 一个“复杂中国”的报道者]. In fact, Hu Xijin is one of China's opinion leaders and the editor of Huanqiu Shibao/Global Times. He has around 1,500,000 followers on Weibo. His posts on North Korea and Kim Jong-il attracted a great deal of attention and commentary among China's digital chatterati, or “netizens / 网民.”

If the CCP itself was deliberate and even slightly plodding about how to respond to Kim Jong-il's death, Hu was anything but hesitant. Within four minutes, he had documented his a stance on the matter; it is doubtful that he was awaiting instructions from the Center. It is further interesting that the content of the Weibo post below prefigures precisely the Huanqiu editorial of Dec. 20, published the next day.

DOCUMENT No. 20
Hu Xijin's [胡锡进] Weibo Posts

11:34 A.M., December 19, 2011

North Korea announced that Kim Jong-il is dead. North Korea's stability and future direction are now being tested. The ROK, the US, and Japan definitely will try their best to effect North Korea, even to threaten it. China certainly cannot back down during the key moment. China absolutely must maintain the special Korean-Chinese relationship, because this matter relates to China's strategic advantages in Northeast Asia. China must aid North Korea to move forward on t he path of normal prosperous development [繁荣发展].¹³

12:28 P.M., December 19, 2011.

China must have two insistent points in with regard to the North Korean problem. T he first insistence is on the principle of not tolerating any internal political *boyi* [政治博弈]; let North Korea naturally develop. T he second is to decisively reject outside pressure from the ROK, the US, and Japan [meant to] terrify the

¹³ The phrase “*fanrong fazhan*,” meaning “prosperous development,” is also used by the CCP with regard to its goals for another “backward” peripheral region: Tibet.

new group of North Korean leaders [朝鲜新领导层] .These two instances can make sure that North Korea is a country that can hold its own fate in its own hands, and can really transition from [a system based purely upon] power towards the path of development [e.g., onto the Chinese model]. North Korea's geopolitical advantages are the same as China's.

12:18 P.M., December 20, 2011.

The Huanqiu Shibao headline and deep reports today include two long articles about North Korea, objective reports on the complex reaction and judgments from the whole world toward Kim Jong-il's death. I believe that, among the world media, today's Huanqiu Shibao is the most objective and complete in its coverage of this significant event. We never publish from the standpoint of profit, but our reporters write from multiple angles based on what we saw and read. From Huanqiu Shibao, readers can see a complicated Kim Jong-il.

Hu then proceeds to forwarding the comment below by another public figure, saying "Let's have some more comments":

3:37 P.M., December 20, 2011.

My feelings regarding North Korea: 1. The tears of the North Korean people are genuine. When people die in our neighborhood, we should be a little generous: this is the capability of a great nation. 2. The U.S., Japan, and the ROK first reaction [to Kim's death] was a bit limited [节制]; the most excited responses could be seen via China's Weibo. 3. The paths taken by China and North Korea toward socialism are greatly different. From the impressions given [影射] by North Korea, [it can be seen that] they truly do not understand China. 4. For China, North Korea is a very important strategic possible breaking point [缓冲区]. If the American army went to the Yalu River directly, the space for China's peaceful development and improvement of people's living standards would be decreased immensely [极大压缩].

3:56 P.M., December 20, 2011.

From the start, China has clearly supported a stable transition in North Korea, and already been creatively useful for the post-Kim Jong-il environment in North Korean politics. Today, the South Korean government made a declaration of condolence, and the United Nations also stated its support; America declared its hope for a peaceful transition. Internationally, the problem has been reduced substantially. From yesterday until today, China took a

speedy but sure attitude toward the establishment of this completely decisive and all-around situation. Strong praise! After today, China must be even more secure and self-confident.

Reflecting some of the now-standard skepticism poured onto Huanqiu Shibao's comment lines, one response to the above comment is a threat by a user named Li Weisheng [李_维盛]. Hu Xijin quotes the threat, describing it to his followers. Li wrote: "Mark my words. In 30 years when they want to find some people to kill, I estimate that your name must be on that list! [标记一下。过30年要找一批人杀了, 估计你肯定在名单上!]."

Hu responds with the type of patriotic flourish not unlike those employed by certain American radio talk show hosts, writing:

Ceaselessly, there are people who warn [警告 *jinggao*] me like this. I want very calmly to say to you: for my stupid loyalty and stupid love for my motherland, I am willing to die twice.

10:39 P.M., December 20, 2011.

Is there anyone who doesn't know that North Korea is poor? Is there anyone who doesn't know that the North Korean political system has problems? Is there anyone who doesn't know that North Korea cannot take the Chinese example [榜样 *bangyang*]? In these two days, there are people on Weibo who continually expose themselves as "being smarter than other Chinese people." But I want to say: those people don't understand the meaning of North Korea's peaceful transition within the context of China's geopolitical strategy! Those who deny that reality simply want to limit and fatigue China's movement to impact the whole societal ethos of Northeast Asia.

8:22 A.M., December 21, 2011.

These last two days, there have been some people on the Chinese internet who have made jokes about North Korea's grief for Kim Jong-il. This is very normal, but the impression that they give of Chinese society is of insufficient manners. China's diplomacy absolutely cannot accept the restraint [牵制 *qianzhi*] and disturbance [placed on it by these] sounds [because they] can make Chinese diplomacy appear to arise out of strategic aggression of the Chinese people. Sometimes China is basically not so far away from being like a child who just rocks the boat. Today's Huanqiu Shibao editorial.

PART VI
KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, PYONGYANG – CHINA NEWS

Message of Condolences from China

Pyongyang, December 19 (KCNA) -- The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the WPK Central Military Commission, the National Defence Commission of the DPRK, the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK and the DPRK Cabinet received a message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, the State Council and the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China on Monday expressing condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

The message said:

Upon hearing the shocking news that Kim Jong Il, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea, chairman of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK and supreme commander of the Korean People's Army, passed away to our sorrow, we express with bitterest grief most profound condolences and sincerest sympathy to all the Korean people.

Kim Jong Il was the great leader of the WPK and the DPRK. He devoted energy all his life to the great cause of the Korean people for building Korean-style thriving socialist nation and performed immortal historic feats.

Kim Jong Il was a close friend of the Chinese people. It was with great enthusiasm that he carried forward and developed the traditional Sino-DPRK friendship provided and cultivated by the revolutionaries of the elder generation of the two countries, forged close relations with the Chinese leaders and dynamically promoted the steady development of the relations of good neighborliness, friendship and cooperation between China and the DPRK.

The Chinese party, government and people profoundly grieve over the demise of Kim Jong Il and the Chinese people will always miss him.

Though he passed away all of a sudden, he will live in the hearts of the Korean people forever.

We are convinced that the Korean people will overcome sorrow and display strength under the leadership of Kim Jong Un, united close around the WPK, true to the behests of Kim Jong Il, and make uninterrupted advances to build a thriving socialist nation

and achieve lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula.

China and the DPRK are linked with each other with a mountain and rivers and are sharing weal and woe. It is the consistent policy of the Chinese party and government to steadily consolidate and develop the traditional Sino-DPRK friendly and cooperative relations.

We are convinced that the friendship between the two parties, countries and peoples of China and the DPRK will surely continue to grow stronger thanks to the concerted efforts of both sides.

The Chinese people will as always stand by the side of the Korean people.

Kim Jong Il is immortal.

Chinese FM Spokesman Mourns Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 19 (KCNA) -- A spokesman for the Chinese foreign ministry issued a statement Monday on the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

He said:

Upon hearing the sad news that Kim Jong Il, supreme leader of the DPRK, passed away to our sorrow, we express deep condolences over his demise and send sincere sympathy to the Korean people.

Kim Jong Il was the great leader of the Korean people and close friend of the Chinese people.

He made an important contribution to accomplishing the DPRK's cause of socialism and promoting the development of the Sino-Korean relations of good neighborliness, friendship and cooperation.

We believe the Korean people will surely overcome sorrow and display strength and courage and steadily advance the DPRK's cause of socialism by dint of single-minded unity.

Both China and the DPRK will as ever make joint efforts to make a positive contribution to steadily developing the traditional friendship between the two parties, two countries and two peoples and defending peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula and the region.

Chinese FM Mourns Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 19 (KCNA) -- Chinese Foreign Minister

Yang Jiechi Monday expressed deep condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

When meeting with the DPRK chargé d' affaires a.i. in Beijing, he said as follows:

Kim Jong Il, the great leader of the Workers' Party and state of Korea, devoted all his energies to the cause of socialist revolution and construction in the DPRK and performed immortal feats.

Kim Jong Il was a close friend of the Chinese people.

The party, government and people of China express deep condolences over his demise.

The Chinese people will always remember him.

We are convinced that the Korean people will overcome sorrow and display strength, achieve steady and fresh successes in the overall work for socialist construction and make a fresh contribution to realizing lasting peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, united single-mindedly under the leadership of Kim Jong Un and the Workers' Party of Korea.

Message of Condolences to Kim Jong Un from Son of Chinese Martyr

Pyongyang, December 20 (KCNA) -- Kim Jong Un, vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Workers' Party of Korea, Monday received a message of condolences from Zhang Jinquan, son of Chinese anti-Japanese revolutionary martyr Zhang Weihua.

The full text of the message says:

The younger generations of Martyr Zhang Weihua cannot keep back bitter sorrow upon the shocking news of the regretful demise of leader Kim Jong Il. Thousands of words would not be enough to express our yearning for him.

The death of General Kim Jong Il is a huge loss to not only the Korean people but also the international communist movement.

But, we firmly believe that all the Korean people will achieve bigger victory without fail in building a thriving nation under your wise leadership.

We will be loyal to you as we were to President Kim Il Sung and leader Kim Jong Il and devote our efforts to boosting the China-DPRK friendship and stepping up the socialist revolution and

construction in the DPRK true to your leadership.

Senior Party and State Leaders of China Mourn Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 20 (KCNA) -- Hu Jintao, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and president of the People's Republic of China, Tuesday visited the DPRK embassy in Beijing to express condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

Accompanying him were Wu Bangguo, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.C., the CPC and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress; Li Changchun, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.C., the CPC; Xi Jinping, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.C., the CPC, vice-president of the PRC and vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission of the CPC; Guo Boxiong, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission of the CPC; Ling Jihua, member of the Secretariat and director of the General Office of the C.C., the CPC; Chen Shiju, director of the General-Secretary's Office of the C.C., the CPC; Yang Jiechi, minister of Foreign Affairs; and Wang Jiarui, head of the International Liaison Department of the C.C., the CPC.

Placed before a portrait of Kim Jong Il were wreaths in the name of the Central Committee of the CPC, the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, the State Council, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Central Military Commission of the CPC and a wreath in the joint name of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense of the PRC and the International Liaison Department of the C.C., the CPC.

Also laid there were wreaths in the name of Hu Jintao, Jiang Zemin, Wu Bangguo, Li Changchun and Xi Jinping.

The senior party and state leaders of China expressed deep condolences to the demise of Kim Jong Il, making three bows to his portrait.

Hu Jintao said that the party, government and people of China express deep condolences over the sudden demise of Kim Jong Il, noting he was a great leader of the party and state of the DPRK and a close friend of the Chinese people.

He devoted his whole life to the Korean revolution and the cause of state building and made an important contribution to the development of the traditional Sino-DPRK relations of friendship and cooperation, Hu noted, adding the Chinese people will always remember him.

Hu expressed belief that the Korean people would unite close around the Workers' Party of Korea, true to the behest of Kim Jong Il and overcome sorrow and display strength under the leadership of General Kim Jong Un and make strenuous efforts to build a thriving socialist nation and achieve durable peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

It is the steadfast policy of the party and government of China to steadily consolidate and develop the traditional Sino-DPRK relations of friendship and cooperation, Hu stressed, reaffirming his will to boost the bilateral friendship together with the Korean comrades.

Senior Party and State Leaders of China Mourn Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 21 (KCNA) -- Wen Jiabao, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Wednesday visited the DPRK embassy in Beijing to express condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

Among the mourners were Jia Qinglin, chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Li Keqiang, vice-premier of the State Council of the PRC, He Guoqiang, secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, and Zhou Yongkang, secretary of the Central Commission of Politics and Law. All of them are members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.C., the CPC.

Also among the mourners were State Councilor and Secretary-General of the State Council Ma Kai, State Councilor Dai Bingguo, Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi, Minister of Commerce Chen Deming, Minister of Culture Cai Wu, Mayor of the Beijing Municipal People's Government Guo Jinlong, President of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries Li Xiaolin and Wu Donghe, chairman of the China-DPRK Friendship Association.

Laid before the portrait of Kim Jong Il were wreaths in the name of Wen Jiabao, Jia Qinglin, Li Keqiang, He Guoqiang and Zhou Yongkang.

Also laid before the portrait were wreaths in the name of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the International Liaison Department of the C.C., the CPC, ministries of National Defence, Commerce and Culture, and the Beijing Municipal People's Government, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the C.C, the Communist Youth League of China, the All-China Women's Federation, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the China-DPRK Friendship Association.

Senior party and state leaders of China made three bows before the portrait of Kim Jong Il, expressing deep condolences over his demise.

Wen Jiabao extended sincere condolences to the Korean people in bitter grief over his demise.

Kim Jong Il made an important contribution to the development of the Sino-DPRK friendly and cooperative relations for years as the great leader of the party and state of the DPRK and a close friend of the Chinese people, he said.

He expressed the will of the party and government of China to make sustained efforts to consolidate and develop the traditional relations of friendship between the two countries together with the party and government of the DPRK.

Li Keqiang expressed belief the Korean people would more dynamically push forward socialist construction under the leadership of Kim Jong Un, vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission of the WPK.

Zhou Yongkang said the Chinese people would always remember Kim Jong Il.

Dai Bingguo, hardly keeping back tears, expressed profound condolences. He said he never imagined the leader passed away all of a sudden.

All the members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.C., the CPC visited the DPRK embassy in Beijing to mourn his demise in bitterest grief. This clearly represents the highest tribute of the collective leadership of China to Kim Jong Il and the invariable support of the party and people of China to the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people.

Wreaths to Bier of Kim Jong Il from China

Pyongyang, December 21 (KCNA) -- Wreaths came from the C.C., the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, the State Council and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of the People's Republic of China and the Central Military Commission of the CPC on the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

Chinese Ambassador to the DPRK Liu Hongcai and his embassy officials laid wreaths before the bier of Kim Jong Il on Wednesday.

Chinese Embassy Officials Mourn Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 21 (KCNA) -- Liu Hongcai, Chinese ambassador to the DPRK, and staff members of his embassy here on Wednesday laid wreaths before the bier of leader Kim Jong Il.

Wreaths in the name of the ambassador and the embassy were placed there.

Written on the ribbons of the wreaths were letters reading "In Memory of Comrade Kim Jong Il".

They paid silent tribute in humblest reverence to the bier of Kim Jong Il and went round it.

They made entries in the mourners' book.

Chinese Ambassador to Russia Mourns Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 22 (KCNA) -- Li Hui, Chinese ambassador to Russia, Tuesday visited the DPRK embassy in Moscow before any others to express condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

The ambassador was accompanied by ministers, the military, naval and air attache and others.

They laid bunches of flowers before his portrait and observed a moment's silence.

The ambassador made an entry in the mourners' book.

He said: "Comrade Kim Jong Il was the great leader of the Workers' Party of Korea, the DPRK and the Korean people.

We are convinced that the party, government and people of the DPRK will certainly overcome today's sorrow and accomplish the

cause of Comrade Kim Jong Il, united close around respected Comrade Kim Jong Un.

The Chinese people will share sorrow with the Korean people and steadily boost the Sino-DPRK friendship."

Chinese, Russian Diplomats to Chongjin Mourn Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 22 (KCNA) -- Staff members of Chinese and Russian consulates general in Chongjin of the DPRK visited the mourning place arranged at the building of the North Hamgyong Provincial People's Committee on Thursday to express their condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

Laid before his portrait there were wreaths in the name of the consul general and the consulate general of China and the Russian consulate general.

The visitors made entries in the condolence book after paying a silent tribute to the memory of Kim Jong Il.

Foreign Diplomats Visit DPRK Permanent Mission

Pyongyang, December 22 (KCNA) -- Diplomatic envoys of China, Vietnam, Laos, India, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Venezuela and Serbia at the UN Office in Geneva and International Organizations paid condolatory visits to the DPRK permanent mission on Tuesday to mourn the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

They laid wreaths before the portrait of Kim Jong Il before paying silent tribute to him.

The Chinese permanent representative wrote in the mourners' book:

"Comrade Kim Jong Il was a close friend of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people cannot repress bitter sorrow over the demise of Comrade Kim Jong Il and express deep condolences on it. The party, government and people of China believe that the Korean people will overcome sorrow and display strength and courage and achieve success without fail in the building of a thriving socialist nation under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Un and the Workers' Party of Korea true to the behests of Comrade Kim Jong Il".

The Zimbabwean representative said that the peoples of the two countries are comrades-in-arms fighting in the same trench for freedom and justice, so the Zimbabweans are sharing bitter grief

with the Korean people. He went on: H.E. Kim Jong Il was, indeed, a great leader.

Chinese Residents in DPRK Mourn Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 23 (KCNA) -- Chinese residents in North Phyongan and North Hamgyong Provinces of the DPRK visited the mourning places arranged in Sinuiju and Chongjin cities on Dec. 21 and 22 to express condolences on the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

Laid before the portraits of Kim Jong Il were wreaths in the name of the Chinese residents.

They observed a moment's silence in mourning for Kim Jong Il, who worked energetically for the prosperity of the country and the people's happiness and strengthening of the China-DPRK friendship.

They made entries in the condolence book.

Chinese Students Here Mourn Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 23 (KCNA) -- The Chinese students studying at Kim Il Sung University visited the mourning site arranged at the university and expressed profound condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

Liu Qian said in bitter grief that she is proud and honored to be an exchange student at Kim Il Sung University. "We have received deep loving care from Kim Jong Il while studying here for several years, she added. His great revolutionary feats will shine forever, she stressed.

Song Bin said in tears:

The demise of Kim Jong Il brought the greatest sorrow to the Korean people and this was the Chinese people's loss of another close friend.

I am convinced that Korean people will overcome this sorrow and display fresh strength and courage to accomplish the cause of building a thriving nation under the leadership of Kim Jong Un, vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Li Zhuang said:

Kim Jong Il dedicated his whole life to the people's happiness.

"Though prominent statesman Kim Jong Il passed away, his august name will shine forever.

His revolutionary cause is sure to be accomplished as the Korean people are under Kim Jong Un.

Families of Chinese Related to Anti-Japanese Revolutionary Struggle Here

Pyongyang, December 23 (KCNA) -- Families of Chinese related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle arrived here Friday on the demise of leader Kim Jong Il. They included the family of Zhou Wei, daughter of Zhou Baozhong, the family of Feng Zhongyun and Chai Long, a great-grandson of Chai Shiyong.

Chinese Related to Anti-Japanese Revolutionary Struggle Here

Pyongyang, December 25 (KCNA) -- Families of Zhang Weihua, a Chinese anti-Japanese revolutionary martyr, and Kim Sun Ok, a China-resident Korean related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, arrived here Sunday to mourn the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

Article Praising Kim Jong Il Posted on Chinese Internet Website

Pyongyang, December 24 (KCNA) -- Xinhua Website of China posted an article praising leader Kim Jong Il over his demise.

It said:

Upon hearing the unexpected news that Comrade Kim Jong Il, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea, chairman of the DPRK National Defence Commission and supreme commander of the Korean People's Army, passed away to their regret, the Chinese people express their deepest condolences and heartfelt sympathy to the Korean people.

We have seen the Korean people deeply mourning his demise in bitter tears.

It is unexpected that he passed away on a train while devoting all efforts to the happiness of the Korean people and the building of a thriving nation.

He resolutely stood against the West's high-handed practices and pressure and thus put the DPRK, not big in terms of territory and population, on the international arena.

It is quite natural that he enjoys the love and reverence of the people.

Today standing in the van of the Korean people is the young leader.

They will invariably carry forward to the end the idea and cause of Kim Jong Il.

Senior Officials of China Visits DPRK Embassy

Pyongyang, December 25 (KCNA) -- Li Yuanchao, member of the Political Bureau, member of the Secretariat and head of the Organization Department of the C.C., Communist Party of China, paid a condolatory visit to the DPRK embassy in Beijing on Friday to express deep condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

Accompanying him were Shen Yueyue, permanent deputy head of the Organization Department of the C.C., CPC, Liu Jieyi, deputy head of the International Liaison Department of the C.C., CPC, Song Tao, vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of China, Deng Shengming, secretary-general of the Organization Department of the C.C., CPC, and other officials of the Organization Department and the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Foreign Ministry of China.

Laid before the portrait of Kim Jong Il were wreaths in the name of the Organization Department of the C.C., CPC and its head.

They bowed three times before the portrait to express their deep condolences.

Li Yuanchao said that Kim Jong Il, the great leader of the Korean people and a great friend of the Chinese people, would always be alive in the hearts of the two peoples.

He expressed belief that the Korean people would achieve greater successes in their efforts to build a thriving country, closely rallied around the Workers' Party of Korea under the leadership of Kim Jong Un, vice-chairman of the WPK Central Military Commission, true to the behests of Kim Jong Il.

Earlier on Dec. 20 and 21, officials and personages of China and families of Chinese related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle paid condolatory visits to the DPRK embassy in Beijing and its consulate general in Shenyang.

They included Cheng Guoping, vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of China, Liu Zhenmin, assistant to the foreign minister, Wu Dawei,

special envoy of China for the Korean Peninsula Affairs, Wang Min, secretary of the Liaoning Provincial Committee of the CPC, Dai Yulin, secretary of the Dandong City Committee of the CPC, Wang Yonggui, director of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Liaoning Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Lieut. Gen. Zhang Xibo, commander of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Hong Kong, Zeng Yinquan, chief executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, He Zhiping, chief secretary of China Hong Kong Zhonghua Energy Fund Commission, personages of the Foreign Ministry of China, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, the All-China Women's Federation, the People's Bank of China, the Association for Promotion of Development of Chinese Culture and Liaoning Province, and families of anti-Chinese revolutionary fighter Li Zade, anti-Japanese revolutionary martyr Zhang Weihua, and Feng Zhongyun and Zhou Baozhong, persons related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

Meanwhile, Chinese ambassadors to India, Laos, Nepal, Peru, Libya, Democratic Congo, Egypt, South Africa and France and their embassy officials paid condolatory visits to the DPRK missions in those countries.

Diplomatic envoys of 50 odd countries including Russia, Mongolia, Vietnam, Iran, Bangladesh, Venezuela, Equatorial Guinea, Kuwait, Libya, Guinea and Rwanda to Beijing visited the DPRK missions to express condolences.

Chinese People Visit Bier of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 25 (KCNA) -- Families of Chinese related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle Sunday expressed condolences before the bier of leader Kim Jong Il. They included the family of Zhou Wei, daughter of Zhou Baozhong, the family of Feng Zhongyun and Chai Long, a great-grandson of Chai Shiyong.

Standing beside the bier was a wreath sent by Kim Jong Un, vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Placed there amid the playing of a dirge was a wreath in the name of the family of Zhou Wei, daughter of Zhou Baozhong.

The mourners paid silent tribute to his bier in humble reverence.

Zhou Wei wrote in the mourners' book that she believed the party, army and people of the DPRK firmly united around Comrade General Kim Jong Un would carry forward and accomplish the

revolutionary cause of President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, adding Kim Jong Il would live forever in their hearts.

Foreign guests staying in the DPRK also visited the bier of Kim Jong Il and mourned his demise on the same day. They included

Chinese People Visit Kumsusan Memorial Palace

Pyongyang, December 25 (KCNA) -- Zhou Wei, daughter of Zhou Baozhong who was related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle in China, visited the Kumsusan Memorial Palace where the bier of leader Kim Jong Il is placed to mourn his demise.

She said in bitter grief:

We were seized with indescribable sorrow upon hearing the sad news of demise of Kim Jong Il.

All of us, looking up to the sky of Pyongyang, bitterly cried "General, our father, you should not leave us behind. Rise up, please."

We have wished him good health as he has been shouldering upon himself the heavy responsibility of the revolution.

Now we cannot meet the great general any more. How lamentable it is.

He took utmost care of children of the comrades who fell in action while fighting alongside President Kim Il Sung.

We keenly felt he was our real father.

His sense of moral obligation went beyond the border of the country.

The history of his noble revolutionary obligation will shine forever.

Kim Jong Il, our kind-hearted father, is always with us.

Foreign Media Reports Mourning Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 25 (KCNA) -- Media of different countries continue giving wide publicity to events held in the DPRK to mourn the demise of leader Kim Jong Il in humblest reverence.

The Xinhua News Agency of China said on Wednesday that though snow fell in Pyongyang the Korean people expressed condolences over the demise of supreme leader Kim Jong Il.

It went on:

The mourning place at Kim Il Sung Square where major events would take place is crowded with an endless stream of Pyongyangites visiting it to express condolences.

Some mourners were calmly weeping when they were paying silent tribute after laying flowers and some others were reluctant to leave there even after observing silence, their backs bent and choked with tears.

People's Website, an Internet homepage of China, posted an article, saying that snow began to fall in Pyongyang at dawn on Wednesday but this could not prevent Pyongyangites from their mourning the demise of supreme leader Kim Jong Il.

The Voice of Russia aired a program on the same day under the title "Total of more than five million citizens mourn the leader's demise in the capital city of the DPRK."

It said: An endless stream of people is climbing Mansu Hill where the statue of President Kim Il Sung stands.

Their number reached 450,000 at dawn of Tuesday and it went beyond 800,000 at noon.

The Dec. 20 issue of the Cuban newspaper Granma said under the title "Korean people weeping bitterly over the loss of their leader."

The Korean people are stricken with bitter grief and sorrow over their leader's demise, the great loss.

But they are now full of undisputed faith that Kim Jong Un, vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Workers' Party of Korea, will lead Korean revolution to victory.

Chinese Mourn Demise of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 26 (KCNA) -- Words fail to describe the grief over the sudden demise of Kim Jong Il, the great leader of the Korean people and close friend of the Chinese people, said Zhang Jinquan, son of Zhang Weihua, a Chinese anti-Japanese revolutionary martyr, when interviewed by KCNA Monday.

He went on:

When I heard the sad news that Comrade Kim Jong Il passed away, over TV and radio in China, I was all at sea how to tide over the days to come.

I could hardly believe his demise as I watched the TV showing him conducting energetic activities by visiting China twice this year.

All my family members wept bitterly.

We rushed here, finding no way to keep back the grief over his demise.

It is an obligation for our family to mourn his demise.

General Kim Jong Il was the tender-hearted father of our family.

Whenever I received the loving care shown by him, I wished to call him father as I felt as if I were seeing President Kim Il Sung.

The whole life of respected Kim Jong Il was the noblest one as he glorified the tradition of the Sino-DPRK friendship and took deep care of our family with brotherly affection.

His demise is not only a great loss to the Korean nation but bitterest grief of our family.

I am confident that the revolutionary history of General Kim Jong Il will last forever thanks to respected Comrade Kim Jong Un.

Chinese Delegations Visit Bier of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 26 (KCNA) -- Delegations of China expressed condolences to the bier of leader Kim Jong Il on Monday.

Among them were delegations of the National Economic Development General Company in Heilongjiang Province, the Tianjin Digital Trade Co. Ltd., etc.

Laid before the bier were wreaths in the name of the delegations.

The guests paid silent tribute to the bier of Kim Jong Il in humble reverence before viewing it.

Overseas Koreans Visit Bier of Kim Jong Il

Pyongyang, December 26 (KCNA) -- Families of Chinese anti-Japanese revolutionary martyr, families of those related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and their parties and overseas Koreans paid respects to the bier of leader Kim Jong Il on Monday.

They included the family of Chinese anti-Japanese revolutionary martyr Zhang Weihua and families of Shang Yue, Chen Lei and Hu Zhenyi who are Chinese related to the anti-Japanese

revolutionary struggle, families of Li Zade and So Sun Ok, China-resident Korean anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters, and families of Ri Kwan Rin and Kim Sun Ok who are China-resident Koreans related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

Among them were also a delegation of mourners from the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan led by Nam Sung U, vice-chairman of its Central Standing Committee, a visiting group of mourners from the General Association of Koreans in China led by Chairperson Choe Un Bok, a visiting group of mourners from the Federation of Korean National Economic Workers in China led by Chairperson An Mi Ja, a visiting group of mourners from the Council of Chairmen of the Association of Korean National Businessmen in China led by Chairman Phyo Song Ryong, Pak Chol Su, president of Korea Taepung International Investment Group Ltd., Jong Il Sim residing in Russia, Vice-Chairperson of the United Confederation of Koreans in Russia An Hyang Jin, a visiting group of mourners from the Federation of Koreans in the U.S. led by Chairman Yun Kil Sang, Widow of Yun I San Ri Su Ja and a visiting group of mourners from the World Peace Federation led by President Moon Hyung Jin.

Kim Jong Un, vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Workers' Party of Korea, was standing guard of honor near the bier of Kim Jong Il, together with members of the National Funeral Committee.

The mourners laid wreaths before the bier and paid a silent tribute in humblest reverence to it before viewing it.

They expressed their deep condolences and sympathy to Kim Jong Un.

Kim Jong Un heartily thanked them for this.

The mourners made entries in the condolence book.

President of Xinhua Visits DPRK Embassy

Pyongyang, December 26 (KCNA) -- President Li Congjun and officials of the Xinhua News Agency on Monday paid a condolatory visit to the DPRK embassy in Beijing on the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

They expressed their deep condolences on his demise.

Wreaths from Chinese Organizations

Pyongyang, December 26 (KCNA) -- The Dandong Liya Trading Co., Ltd. and the Dandong Chengda Commerce Trading Co., Ltd. of China sent wreaths in deep mourning over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

The wreaths were laid before the portrait of smiling Kim Jong Il at Kim Il Sung Square on Dec. 26.

Chinese Officials Visit DPRK Embassy

Pyongyang, December 27 (KCNA) -- Dai Bingguo, state councilor of the People's Republic of China, and Liu Qi, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the CPC, Tuesday paid a condolatory visit to the DPRK embassy in Beijing on the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

They were accompanied by Zai Jun, vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Chen Fengxiang, deputy head of the International Liaison Department of the C.C., CPC, the permanent deputy mayor of the Beijing Municipal People's Government, Zhang Kunsheng, assistant to the foreign minister, and other officials concerned.

Wreaths were laid before the portrait of Kim Jong Il in the name of Dai Bingguo and Liu Qi and in the joint name of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the CPC and the Beijing Municipal People's Government.

The mourners bowed three times before the portrait of Kim Jong Il, expressing deep condolences.

Dai Bingguo with tears in his eyes recollected with deep emotion the days when he was received by Kim Jong Il on his visit to China in May, saying he could never forget the time when he met the leader and had cordial talks several times.

He said though Kim Jong Il passed away, he could never forget the tender-hearted leader.

He expressed belief the Korean people would convert sorrow into strength and register successes in all affairs under the leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Un, true to the behests of Kim Jong Il.

Liu Qi said that Kim Jong Il performed historic feats for the party, state and people of the DPRK and made great contributions to boosting the traditional China-DPRK friendly relations, adding that the Chinese people will always remember him.

Leading Officers of CPLA Visit DPRK Embassy

Pyongyang, December 27 (KCNA) -- Xu Caihou, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission, visited the DPRK embassy in Beijing on Dec. 27 to express condolences on the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

He was accompanied by Liang Guanglie, member of the Central Military Commission of China, state councilor and minister of National Defense, Li Jinai, member of the Central Military Commission of the CPC and director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Ma Xiaotian, deputy chief of General Staff of the CPLA, and Qian Lihua, director of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Ministry of National Defense, and others.

Wreaths were laid before the portrait of Kim Jong Il in the name of the Central Military Commission of China, the Ministry of National Defense, the General Staff, the General Political Department, the General Logistics Department, the General Armament Department, the navy and air force of the CPLA.

They bowed three times before the portrait of Kim Jong Il, expressing profound condolences.

Xu Caihou did not keep back his sorrow over the demise of Kim Jong Il.

He expressed the most profound and sincere condolences to the Korean people and the officers and men of the Korean People's Army on behalf of all officers and men of the CPLA.

He added:

Comrade Kim Jong Il was the great leader of the party, state and army of the DPRK and a close friend of the Chinese people and army.

The Chinese people and army will always remember him.

The CPLA will, together with the KPA, make positive efforts to consolidate and develop the traditional friendly and cooperative ties between the two countries and armies and defend the peace and security of the region and the world, true to the noble intentions of the top leaders of the two countries in the future, too.

Koreans in China Visit DPRK Embassy

Pyongyang, December 27 (KCNA) -- Koreans in China visited the DPRK embassy in Beijing to express condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

They included Jo Yong Hwan, chairman of the Zhongnan Regional Association of the General Association of Koreans in China, and its vice-chairmen; Choe Su Jin, general manager of the Heilongjiang Provincial National Economic Development General Company; Choe Song Ae, director of the Beijing Paeksin Technological Development Investment Co. Ltd.; Pak Chol Su, president of the Korea Taepung International Investment Group; and other officials and members of the compatriots' organizations and corporations and their members, families, Kim Chol, chairman of the Association for the Study of Koryo Culture and Economy in Beijing, To Hui Jong, chairman of the Association of Korean Veteran Teachers in Beijing, and its members, family of Prof. Jong Ki Ryol of Qinghua University, and other compatriots.

They laid wreaths and bouquets before the portrait of Kim Jong Il and paid silent tribute to him.

They made entries in the mourners' book.

Expressing deep condolences over his demise, they wrote that they have never thought of the country without him.

Kim Jong Il will always live in the hearts of all Koreans, they stressed.

Many Foreigners Visit DPRK Embassy

Pyongyang, December 27 (KCNA) -- Personages of various circles of Uganda, Nigeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Democratic Congo, Senegal, Equatorial Guinea, Namibia and Libya expressed condolences over the demise of leader Kim Jong Il.

They paid condolatory visits to the mourning stations arranged at the DPRK embassies in their capital cities and aid organizations from Dec. 21 to 24.

Among them were acting foreign minister and ministers of Security and Interior of Uganda, the national financial secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Nigeria, the secretary of the Chamberlain of the Presidency of Egypt and representative of the Minister of Justice of Ethiopia.

They laid wreaths, floral baskets and bunches of flowers before portraits of Kim Jong Il and paid silent tribute to him.

Meanwhile, diplomatic envoys of different countries visited the DPRK embassies in their capital cities to express profound condolences over his demise. Among them were diplomatic envoys of China, Cuba, Egypt, Brazil and Congo in Equatorial Guinea, those of Cuba, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Sudan, Libya, Senegal, Angola and Kenya in Ethiopia, and those of China, Cuba, Iran, Sweden, Congo, Gabon, Ghana and Nigeria in Democratic Congo.

Chinese in N. Hamgyong Province Mourn Kim Jong Il's Demise

Chongjin, December 27 (KCNA) -- Chinese in North Hamgyong Province, DPRK laid wreaths before the portrait of smiling Kim Jong Il in Chongjin City on Tuesday, expressing deep condolences over his demise.

They laid the wreaths and paid silent tribute to leader Kim Jong Il.

Chinese Diplomats in Chongjin Leave Wreath

Pyongyang, December 27 (KCNA) -- Staff members of the Chinese consulate general in Chongjin City, North Hamgyong Province of the DPRK on Tuesday laid a wreath before the portrait of smiling Kim Jong Il in the city to express deep condolences on his demise.

They placed a wreath in the name of the consulate general and observed a moment's silence in memory of Kim Jong Il.

Meanwhile, Chinese and Russian guests laid wreaths and bouquets before smiling Kim Jong Il's portrait in Rason City and paid a silent tribute to him.

Chinese Pay Silent Tribute to Smiling Kim Jong Il's Portrait

Pyongyang, December 27 (KCNA) -- The family of Zhang Weihua, Chinese anti-Japanese revolutionary martyr, and the family of Zhou Wei, daughter of Zhou Baozhong related to the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, and their parties on Dec. 27 expressed condolences before the portrait of smiling Kim Jong Il at Kim Il Sung Square.

They laid wreaths and bunches of flowers before the portrait and paid silent tribute to Kim Jong Il.

PART VII
ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS

DOCUMENT No. 21

Antonia Menapace, “Between Insecurity and Hope: A First Picture of Voices from Beijing Upon the Death of Kim Jong Il [Zwischen Unsicherheit und Hoffnung: Ein erstes Stimmungsbild zum Tode Kim Jong Il’s aus Peking],” Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung, Beijing, December 20, 2011.

„A Friend Has Left Us,“ announced today’s headline in China Daily. Underneath hung a half-page photo of the dead North Korean leader Kim Jong Il. Accompanying this was a statement of condolence from the People’s Republic. The most important official bodies in the land took the opportunity to connect with the sorrow of the North Korean people: the Central Committee of the CCP, the Standing Committee of the People’s Congress, the State Council and the Central Military Commission. They all testified to their devastation at the sudden death of the leader [ihre Bestürzung über den plötzlichen Tod des Staatsführers].

The above-mentioned text was given to the North Korean Ambassador [sic] through Yang Jiechi, the Chinese Foreign Minister. It was a classic, opaque statement, one which bespoke the highest view of the “dear leader,” of the close friendship which bound him to the Chinese people, of the evident unity in North Korea under the new leadership of Kim Jong Un, of the victories which had won Kim such socialist thanks. In its writing style, it was reminiscent of the analogous official announcement for Mao Zedong. It could scarcely be regarded as a political statement.

Generally, there was little to hear from the official side in Beijing. Hours after the world knew of Kim Jong Il’s death, a person could only read a few two-line sentences from state agencies in the local online press. At the same time, international reporters busied themselves, irrespective of the time difference, with to go ahead with the theme. It looked as if the Communist Party would wait out the first day. The observers went to sleep without swift official reaction.

Then, on the morning of December 20, President Hu Jintao surprised with his personal visit to the North Korean Embassy. The streets around the Embassy building were totally blocked off; police watched over would-be observers outside. Shortly after the President left, the street was empty. For him or herself, a reporter could see that the Chinese state press seemed to have lost interest

in the story of the “dear leader”: in the above delegation, there were at most two or three state journalists.

Flower wreathes and other signs of mourning were none, and the tone was strained. The main entrance to the building [facing Ritan Park-ed.] was closed off by security forces. Hu’s delegation had to go in, like Europeans only from the side street entrance. The flag was at half-mast. And then the embassy was open for this morning. One at a time, lonely groups of mourners came and went; a person could hardly know what to make of these images. Every mourner seemed to stay silent, saying nothing. North Korean businesses and restaurants in the Embassy quarter remained closed at first, with the sense that, one might say, “it is better to cry too much than to mourn too little for even a moment. [„Besser zu viel weinen - als einmal zu wenig trauern“].”The future was too unknown, the shock was too fresh. Better to say too little than to divulge too much. This, too, is the case outside of North Korea’s borders. The „friend“ in Beijing kept itself officially quiet, and waited.

DOCUMENT No. 22

Adam Cathcart, “Bow Before the Portrait: Sino-North Korean Relations Enter the Kim Jong Un Era,” *China Beat*, December 23, 2011.

The pigs were being slaughtered in the streets when the news of Kim Jong Il’s death arrived in Dachuan, a small logging village in the mountains of western Sichuan province. Over the immense and extended cacophony of the blood-letting, the retired head of the local bank explained, with a bit of apologetic joy, that the villagers were getting ready for Spring Festival, then turned back to the news from Pyongyang, shaking his head at the retrograde tendencies of China’s Korean socialist brothers.

It was a fitting juxtaposition, watching North Korea amid the production of reams of red pork with rich peasants. Meat, after all, was the *sine qua non* of success for Kim Il Song and his son, both of whom proclaimed their magnanimous desire to make good on the promise of “rice with meat soup” in every pot (and a tile roof for every rural house). Yet, as even a cursory read of virtually any analysis or short trip to the North Korean border with China can attest, the battle for living standards – as opposed to monuments – in essentially every place outside of the DPRK’s model capital has been lost. Mao Zedong said he could do without meat, making revolution with just grain and rifles; North Korea has ample rifles but no grain, and the revolution is dead.

Amid the welter of random, confusing, instructive, and occasionally cruel responses to Kim Jong Il’s death among

Chinese, Mao Zedong's death in 1976 was a touchstone. This particular parallel, encouraged by Chinese state media, is significant because it implicitly holds out the hope that a North Korean Deng Xiaoping, or the equivalent of the markets-oriented leader, might yet emerge out of the factions assumed to be maneuvering in Pyongyang. But North Korea is hardly emerging out of the "fractured rebellion" of a Cultural Revolution. The DPRK remains instead in the thrall of a persistently centralized leadership system in which Kim Il Song and his successor had purged, jailed, exiled, or killed all the advocates of possible systemic alternatives. In Andrei Lankov's phrase, the "blade of state of state remains sharp enough to cut off its diseased parts," and gazing at the grizzled ranks of the Pyongyang senior elite, it seems unlikely that some wholesale adoption of Chinese-style market reforms is in the offing.

The Reluctant Embrace of Kim Jong Un

On December 21, Wen Jiabao went to the North Korean embassy in Beijing, bowed to Kim Jong Il's portrait, and said: "We believe that with the Korean Workers' Party under the leadership of comrade Kim Jong Un, the North Korean people will certainly powerfully pass through their grief, pushing forward to new successes in socialist construction." It was a turn of events which but a few years earlier would have been seen as unlikely. Since Kim Jong Il's stroke in 2008, and the rumors of Kim Jong Un's existence as a viable successor to his father in early 2009, the CCP has gone through a number of permutations toward the idea, ending in the acceptance of the successor. In the aftermath of the North Korean nuclear test of May 2009, Beijing loosened its grip on journalism about the DPRK in the Chinese media, using the new latitude to serve the Party's foreign policy purposes. Publications about the North Korean role in starting the Korean War were suddenly acceptable, and, more importantly, a number of unflattering portrayals of the "weird" Kim family began to emerge. Chinese public intellectuals like Zhu Feng and Shen Dingli speculated about rapid changes in North Korea and the CCP made clear its desire, at the very least, for North Korea to transition to a more collective leadership centered in the Korean Workers' Party rather than in the enfeebled Kim Jong Il or his relatively unknown successor.

However, after Kim Jong Un's formal unveiling at the September 2010 KWP Congress in Pyongyang, the discourse shifted decisively toward a more supportive line toward the "young general." Likenesses between Chinese and North Korean political cultures were emphasized; in mass magazine portrayals, CCP

scholars encouraged Kim Jong Un to “make his mark via some achievements in writing about communist theory.”

Even Kim Jong Un’s foreign experience was highlighted in Chinese media as beneficial. It seemed that in some important ways, Kim Jong Un could be used to send home the message to China’s unreceptive youth: It may be fine to spend a few years studying abroad and fall in love with Michael Jordan, but when you come home, it’s all about the Young Pioneers and Party building. More importantly, the junior Kim’s probable role in North Korean attacks on the South Korean vessel “Cheonan” in March 2010 and on Yeonpyeong Island in November 2010 was downplayed in the PRC. South Korean stories which asserted that Kim Jong Un had assumed control over North Korea’s northern border security, like most narratives focused on refugees, did not enter the public discourse in China.

The CCP’s evident nervousness about stability in North Korea, and its protective stance toward the DPRK, means that no loud public doubts about Kim Jong Un’s inexperience are presently welcome. The implication that the successor is incapable, if mentioned at all, is placed in the mouths of foreign experts like the International Crisis Group’s Daniel Pinkston, and qualified with some implication that South Korean media reports could all be false anyway.

North Korea appears to have made only a minor rhetorical concession to Chinese pressure by referring to the idea of “uniting around the Korean Workers’ Party and Comrade Kim Jong Un,” a phrase codified in the DPRK’s official response to the Chinese Foreign Ministry’s initial statement of regret at Kim Jong Il’s death.

Economic and Cultural Exchanges

The legacy of Kim Jong Il’s rapid – one might almost say rushed -- advancement of cooperation with China in 2010 and 2011 hangs in the balance, and the CCP will be eager for cross-border trade and tourism to resume. As the Huanqiu Shibao stated in a rather explicit December 20 editorial entitled “China is the Reliable Friend Upon Which North Korea Can Rely during Transition”, stating: “We suggest that as soon as it is appropriate, Chinese high-level leaders go to North Korea, where they will intimately communicate with North Korea’s new leaders at this special time that Pyongyang can send a distinct signal to the world [by taking the Chinese path].”

In the weeks prior to Kim Jong Il's death, China had been pressing for more clarification and motion on the two new island trade zones in the Yalu River near Sinuiju. While the Chinese side has been investing an immense amount of money in construction of what is essentially a new city outside of Dandong and a large new super-highway worthy bridge to the DPRK, the North Pyong'an leadership has been everything that privately infuriates Chinese partners: uncommunicative, inaccessible, and (according to the Daily NK) suddenly purged.

Far more promising is the development at Rason, on the far northeastern edge of the Korean peninsula, where China has brought in an old Korea hand named Tian Baozhen, a Kim Il Sung University graduate and former Consul-General in Pusan, to set conditions for further Chinese investment in this highly-desired port. Rason, at long last, can free northern Manchuria from the tyranny of Dalian, offering eastern Jilin and Heilongjiang province access to the sea and cheaper means of shipping coal to ports like Shanghai. Rason remains a source of rumors from South Korea and the active advocates of immediate North Korean collapse, who often imply that China is not simply constructing the port but has secured with a few thousand PLA troops. Such impressions are unlikely to slow the CCP in its push for more access and faster development of Chinese business interests, particularly in the minerals sector, in North Korea.

Chinese cultural exchanges with North Korea have been, in the DPRK context, incredibly extensive. The oft-maligned Korean Central News Agency has opened up exchanges with Xinhua, performing arts delegations tour across the Chinese mainland, and a Confucius Institute is open in Pyongyang with some 800 students. Tourism to the DPRK, another area of possible peril – seven Chinese tourists and businessmen were killed in a mysterious crash outside of Pyongyang on Thanksgiving Day – is an area where the Chinese side puts a great deal of stock and aims to develop further from even remote cities like Qiqihar and Mudanjiang. The extent to which the North Korean side remains committed to the speed and intensity of these relationships is something which the Chinese government is particularly keen to observe.

Border security on the northern frontier remains a very complex and sensitive issue, as well as military-to-military relations. The fact that eight North Korean border guards were reputed to have run headlong into the Liaoning hills in late November is not to be forgotten; China's hosting of a ship group from the Japanese Self-Defense Forces Navy in Qingdao (of all places) from December

19-23 is another area which under normal conditions might cause strain on Sino-North Korean relations.

Kim Jong-il's death does not alter the fundamentals of the bilateral relationship, but it does offer an opportunity to take stock of this most fraught and significant relationship. The speed and intimacy with which it continues is of interest to us all.

DOCUMENT No. 23

Adam Cathcart, "A Tale of Two North Koreas: China Can't Decide Whether It Wants to Bury Kim Jong Il or Praise Him," *Foreign Policy*, December 29, 2011.

Essay revised and expanded for this dossier

Watching Kim Jong-Il's funeral on China's Central Television (CCTV), one would be forgiven for thinking that North Korea was a progressive country well on its way to achieving success with major economic reforms. While commentators in New York and Seoul attacked the [regime's ability to survive](#) or pouring cold water on the [prospects for peace](#), Chinese commentators on official state media praised Kim Jong Il for the wisdom of acknowledging efficacy of the Chinese model for attracting foreign investment. With a kind of tenacious obliviousness, CCTV reporters predicted that Kim Jong Un would further consolidate the victory of market principles, and subsequently guarantee the viability of the DPRK.

Repeated several times during the funeral, the official Chinese television narrative of Kim Jong Il's life provided variations on the economic theme. This TV tribute to Kim [depicted the leader as a China-inspired aspiring reformer and a force for regional peace](#), excitedly describing his various trips to the PRC. As Kim Jong Un's formidable jowls filled the screen, Chinese television scrupulously decoupled North Korea's bellicose eruptions of 2010 – namely, the Cheonan and Yeonpyeong island incidents – from their reported instigator, namely, the young successor himself. Safely ensconced in Beijing, CCTV anchors and analysts [waxed excitedly](#) about Kim Jong Un's foreign education as an obvious indicator of enlightenment; Air Jordan had arrived in Pyongyang.

China has indeed gambled much prestige, a great deal of money, and a significant portion of its North Korea policy on the question of Kim's acceptance of the Chinese idea that opening up (specifically, opening up to China) is good for the DPRK. Even more than regional prosperity, stability in North Korea remains a core Chinese aim because of the longstanding desire in Beijing not have a unified Korean peninsula with American troops on China's long northeastern border. of Chinese economic influence. Several

special economic zones (SEZ) on the 885-mile border bilateral frontier are the fulcrum points of this engagement. There, Beijing is seeking to radically expand the cross-border dealings of a new North Korean entrepreneurial class, a group which, from Beijing's point of view, is inherently pro-Chinese, even during the act of theft. It was no wonder, then, that Kim Jong Il's funeral, at least as depicted in China's externally-oriented media, practically functioned as a commercial for investment in Dandong and [Rason](#).

But the seeds of self-deception are evident in China's efforts to put a happy face on economic ties with the North. Some examples are small. China's *Huanqiu Shibao* reporters noted on December 23 that border trade remained open from Yanbian, while the North Korean media depicted such exchanges as a quasi-feudal act of Chinese tribute to Kim Jong Il's greatness.

During the funeral itself, [Chinese reporters in the Yalu River city of Dandong](#) were strenuously chipper in efforts to depict the hundreds of weeping North Korean girls in the city as ready to continue business, when the daughters of the Mangyongdae elite were just as likely to be [summoned home](#).

China's motivation and its propaganda clear, but in the less official corners of the PRC press and on the Chinese internet, a more nuanced discourse about North Korea is proceeding. Many Chinese intellectuals and foreign policy makers are well aware of the perils of working with North Korea, and not particularly hopeful about the "new" Kim regime.

Within the parameters established by the Chinese Communist Party – that Kim Jong Un is the face of stability, and that economic engagement for the time being should be sustained – everything else is up for debate.

Some responses to Kim Jong Il's death on Chinese editorial pages, while not reaching the heights of John Bolton's mustachioed fury, betray a deep distrust of the Kim regime.

One recent editorial by Sun Xingjie, an international affairs commentator in the nationalistic Chinese-language version of the newspaper *Global Times*, lashes into North Korea's military-first policy. "Under Kim Jong Il," writes Sun, "North Korean people had to tighten their belts in exchange for sophisticated military weapons." Such critiques of Kim are not so unusual even in a militant journal, but Sun goes further, [frankly writing](#) about Kim Jong Un's total lack of charisma. The Chinese scholar describes a scenario whereby North Korea's opening to the World Wide Web (an inevitable consequence of following the Chinese path) leads

angry North Korean youth to overthrow the regime. China has been targeting DPRK youth with typical “soft power” implements like [Confucius Institutes in Pyongyang](#), but such a frank acknowledgement of their revolutionary potential is remarkable.

The lack of absolute consensus about North Korea among Chinese strategists and public intellectuals is mirrored in the fracturing of information about North Korea in the public sphere. Chinese reporters like Cheng Gang wander through the DPRK, reporting on the rampant illegality of train rides to Sinuiju and revealing that Chinese businessmen worry that they may be gunned down in the streets of Rason by the Korean People’s Army. A week after China lauds the DPRK for its successful Party Congress and tells the US to back off with its naval exercises, Qin Xuan publishes a full-page feature in *Southern Weekend* entitled “The Successor’s Older Brother: Kim Jong Il’s Oldest Son Kim Jong Nam is a Wierdo,” decorated with a copy of Kim Jong Nam’s fake Dominican passport for which he was detained in Tokyo back in 2001. Two weeks later, the same paper abruptly throws off its reformist label with a nostalgic cover story about how Korean War veterans are model patriots and China’s “greatest generation.”

Chinese media may not dwell upon the Kim family’s oddities (this is left for the netizens) but their thus-far leaden hand in economic matters and despotic ways have come in for frustration. *World Knowledge* (Shijie Zhishi), a magazine associated with the PRC Foreign Ministry, [compared Kim Jong Il to Qaddafi](#); another article in the same journal [doubted](#) the entire basis of the much-hyped islands slated for a new special economic zone near Sinuiju. Why does this discrepancy exist between what is presented to us as China’s stance on North Korea, and the way that the Chinese themselves discuss the issue?

Perhaps one answer lies in the old notion of “*tongyi zhanxian* / 统一战线,” or united front. Disagreements may be decades-long and even festering, but if they weaken the community’s resistance to external threats, the alliance must be maintained. No doubt, the leaders in Pyongyang take the same approach, leavening the grey pages of the Worker’s Daily with bombast while discussing ways to bridge the rifts – or to send their rivals plunging into them -- behind the scenes. Both China and North Korea maintain a twin willingness to privately despise and disparage their alliance while remaining publicly riveted into it.

The disagreement in how China discusses and views North Korea, and how it wants the West to see things, is perhaps most evident at the *Global Times*, whose Chinese-language version is not

particularly friendly to the DPRK. When North Korean border guards jump the Yalu and run for the hills, defecting with weapons bared, the Chinese version covers it on page 3; the English version is silent. The same is true when the for-profit tabloid runs front-page rumors about an attempted assassination by the older brother and court exile Kim Jong Nam in Macau, as they did in 2009. For every declaration of a “lips and teeth” alliance to the outside world, there is a depiction at home of North Korea as dangerous and even possibly depraved.

A brusque dismissiveness toward the DPRK is another invigorating antidote for China’s semi-official domestic media. For the *Huanqiu Shibao/Global Times* editor [Hu Xijin](#), the Korean peninsula is ultimately a stage upon which China can demonstrate its proud global emergence as a “great power.” North Korea is frankly described on his paper’s influential editorial page as “a little country” which should not challenge China’s directives or doubt its protective capacity. Complaints about how much money North Korea absorbs out of China’s foreign aid budget are here openly vented and resolved by discussion of how much worse it would be if North Korea became actively hostile or opened up the refugee spigot that is perpetually leaning against the membrane of the Tumen River.

There is also an active discussion in Chinese intellectual circles of what to do if North Korea does not reform, or if it collapses. Contingency scenarios may be off-limits when PLA Generals talk to their homologues in Washington, but the problems attendant to North Korean breakdown are discussed on the Chinese internet among a secondary tier of those charged with “[guidance of public opinion](#),” e.g., small-time bloggers who write for local Party news outlets and are occasionally syndicated by the People’s Daily website.

Clearly, the Chinese discourse on North Korea’s direction in the post-Kim Jong Il era reveals some deep reserves of skepticism. China’s gamble in the DPRK might fail. But don’t look to their English-language coverage to tell you that. China’s desperation for stability means that a frank acknowledgment to the international community of the full complexities of its North Korea issue – more correctly, its knot of issues with the DPRK – remains out of the picture.

One final television shot tells the story. As the screen shows Kim Jong Un leaning on the rear view mirror of his father’s immense hearse for support, CCTV English news anchor Edwin Maher asks Su Xiaohui to describe the meaning of all the wailing in the

crowds. The analyst pauses, then sums up the ambivalent Chinese attitude toward the North Korean people: “I think it means they love their leader, and they are ready for a change.” Whether or not both sentiments can in fact coexist remains an unanswered question.

DOCUMENT No. 24

Sarah K. Yun, “China’s Response to Kim’s Death: 1994 and 2011,” Korea Economic Institute, December 21, 2011.

In light of the uncertainties following the death of Kim Jong-il, China has stepped to the forefront as the first foreign player to express lavish condolences to the North Korean government. Understanding China’s actions and words will be an important piece in the North Korea puzzle as events unfold on the peninsula. Given that, it is particularly interesting to compare and contrast the different steps that China took after Kim Il-sung’s death in 1994 and Kim Jung-il’s death this week.

The context of 1994 and 2011 are quite different. At the time of Kim Il-sung’s death, China had a much less assertive and developed foreign policy. Moreover, it had been just a few years after the end of the Cold War, which meant that China was more cautious about maintaining a balanced relationship with its neighbors. Also, it was only two years after the normalization of relations with South Korea.

In their effort to integrate into the international system and markets, China attempted to uphold a balance between North and South Korea. North Korea, on the other hand, believed that China often compromised the socialist cause, evidenced by their economic reforms. As of June 1995, high level meetings took place between China and South Korea, while little activity occurred with the North, and Kim Jong-il had not been invited to China at this juncture. There were indications that China was tilting towards South Korea while trying to separate its economic and political policies.

Today, China is the second largest economy in the world and an active participant and leader of many key global issues such as the Six-Party Talks, climate change, nuclear nonproliferation, and more. China has gained much confidence from its growing influence and leverage in the world, including the Korean peninsula. Since the Cheonan and Yeongpyeong tragedies in 2010, China has revealed unprecedented efforts to prop up the Kim regime through aid, trade, and political support.

Kim Jong-il's death takes place in this context. Even though China operates in a different context and reputation in the world, signs imply that it will continue on its expected path in support of the North Korean regime in order to avoid instability. Moreover, China wants to be the best positioned and most informed about the changes in North Korea, which explains the quick acknowledgement of Kim Jong-un by the Chinese government. Interestingly, the official statements by the Chinese government after the death of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il are quite similar:

“It is our strongest belief that the Korean people will surely carry out (Kim Il-sung's) behest, unite closely around the Workers' Party of Korea led by comrade Kim Jong-il, and continue their efforts in building their country well and achieving lasting peace for the Korean peninsula.” (Official Statement after Kim Il-sung's Death, July 9, 1994)

“We are convinced that the Korean people will overcome sorrow and display strength, achieve steady and fresh successes in the overall work for socialist construction and make a fresh contribution to realizing lasting peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, united single-mindedly under the leadership of Kim Jong-un and the Workers' Party of Korea.” (Statement by Chinese Foreign Minister, Yang Jiechi, December 19, 2011)

“We believe the Korean people will surely overcome sorrow and display strength and courage and steadily advance the DPRK's cause of socialism by dint of single-minded unity. Both China and the DPRK will as ever make joint efforts to make a positive contribution to steadily developing the traditional friendship between the two parties, two countries and two peoples and defending peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula and the region.” (Statement by the Spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 19, 2011)

The content and wording are almost identical. The timing of the statements (one day after the death announcement) is similar as well. What is different, however, is the usage of the word “fresh” in the 2011 statement, underlining the new generation of North Korean leaders with whom China may not have close ties. Moreover, the phrase “DPRK's cause of socialism” was used for the first time, indicating China's recognition of North Korea's uniqueness. The implication, however, is that socialism and history bind the two countries together but there now lies a difference between Chinese and North Korean ways of socialism.

Another interesting note is the slight differences in the order of condolence messages. On December 19, Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi conveyed a telegram of condolences on behalf of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, National People's Congress Standing Committee, State Council, Central Military Commission, addressed to the Korean Workers Party Central Committee, Korean Workers Party Central Military Commission, National Defense Commission, Standing Committee of the Supreme People Assembly, and the Cabinet. In 1994, on the other hand, the CCP sent a person to the North Korean embassy, this time President Hu Jintao visited North Korea's embassy in Beijing to express condolences. Moreover, additional condolence messages to Kim Il-sung came from Deng Xiaoping, President Jiang Zemin, Prime Minister Li Peng, and parliament chief Qiao Shi. It will be interesting to note if any previous and current Chinese leaders make separate statements of condolence in the near future. This also conveys the power shift within the Chinese government.

It is also important to note that Foreign Minister Yang exchanged phone calls on December 20 with Secretary Clinton and ROK Foreign Minister Kim Sung-hwan. This is positive news given that China often plays its cards close to the chest.

By looking at the similarities and differences between Chinese reactions to the death of two North Korean leaders, one can gain insight on China's future posture towards North Korea. China will continue to ensure stability to North Korea as its foremost priority, while trying to create a larger imprint on the Korean peninsula. On the other hand, perhaps China is recognizing the potential for changes, opportunities, and openings from a North Korea under the leadership of Kim Jong-un and changing leadership of China

Additional Readings

- Boehler, Patrick. "Global Times and 'the West': An Inquiry into the Trappings of Commercial Nationalism." Unpublished paper, University of Hong Kong, Autumn 2011.
- Buckley, Chris and Ben Blanchard. "China Says Open to Visit by New North Korean Leader." December 20, 2011.
- Cathcart, Adam. "Deaths Leave More Questions Than Answers." *Daily NK*. December 19, 2011.
- Cha, Victor. "China's Newest Province?" *New York Times*. December 20, 2011.
- Chang, Gordon. "Kim Jong Un's Rise to Power Will Embolden North Korea's Military – And Tighten Ties to China." *New York Daily News*. December 29, 2011.
- Cheng Gang. "Illegal Bartering Between China, N. Korea Drops as Trade Increases." *Global Times*, July 22, 2011.
- "China's N. Korea Initiative on Right Track." *Global Times*. December 21, 2011.
- Cohen, David. "China Wary Over Kim Death." *The Diplomat*. December 20, 2011.
- Demick, Barbara. "China Praises Kim Jong Il Despite Sometimes Strained Ties." *Los Angeles Times*. December 23, 2011.
- Garnaut, John. "A Cocktail of Conspiracies Delivered Daily." (Interview with Hu Xijin, editor of Huanqiu Shibao.) *SMH (Sydney Morning Herald)* Australia. December 18, 2010.
- Gause, Ken E. "Kim Chong-un and Pyongyang's Signaling Campaign." *The Peninsula*. January 3, 2012.
- Huanqiu Shibao. "中国作用被广泛期待 国际争论朝鲜是否进行中国式改革 [Wide International Debate and Expectations of China's Role: Will North Korea Take Chinese-Style Reforms or Not?]." December 21, 2011.
- Hilton, Isabel. "Can Kim Jong-un be North Korea's Deng Xiaoping?" *The Guardian*. December 19, 2011.
- Minter, Adam. "Chinese Bloggers Say, 'Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish, North Korea!'" *Bloomberg*. December 22, 2011.

- Lim, Louisa. "With N. Korea in Flux, Neighbors Reassess Policies." *NPR.org*. December 23, 2011.
- Wang Gang [王刚]. "South Korean Media Fulminates that 'North Korean Troops Flee into China'" [韩媒炒 '朝鲜军退到中国']. *Huanqiu Shibao*. December 16, 2011.
- Xinhua. "For the First Time, the North Korean Government Makes Public A Photo of Kim Jong-yun [sic]" [朝鲜官方首次公开金正银]. *Tibet Daily* [西藏日报], A10.
- Xu Mei. "Fire and Ice at 'Huanqiu': With Wind and Fire in His Eyes, Hu Xijin Sees the World as a Debating Ground." *Southern People Weekly*, June 27, 2001, No. 259, 30-45.
- Ye Hailin [叶海林]. "Aircraft Carriers are Not Items Just for Exhibition" [航母不是陈列品]. *International Herald Leader* [国际先驱导报], August 5-11, 2011, p. 17.

Acknowledgements

This dossier was compiled, translated, and edited by Adam Cathcart. Charles Kraus of the Woodrow Wilson Center assisted with formatting and several translations. Document No. 23 benefitted from extensive critiques by Isaac Stone Fish, Associate Editor at *Foreign Policy*. Sarah Yun kindly agreed to have her essay from the Korean Economic Institute website “The Peninsula” reproduced here. Luke Herman (University of California-San Diego) provided comments on a late draft, and Wang Yue in Chengdu assisted with translating a handful of nettlesome phrases. The staff at the newspaper reading room at Shanghai Municipal Library [上海市图书馆] were very helpful in the quest to locate errant paper versions of *Huanqiu Shibao*.

Editor and Translator

Adam Cathcart is assistant professor of history at Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, Washington and editor of SinoNK.com. With his frequent co-author Charles Kraus, Cathcart is presently completing a book manuscript on the subject of Sino-North Korean relations and borderlands from 1945-1954.

Call for Contributors

SinoNK.com welcomes contributions on border security, refugee issues, public security, performing arts, gender and sexuality, and other elements of the Sino-North Korean relationship, whether contemporary or historical. For a full listing of open positions, see <http://sinonk.com/positions-available/>.

Authors interested in submitting material to SinoNK.com on an ad hoc basis should contact Adam Cathcart at cathcaaj@plu.edu.