The Operational Code of Kim Jong-Un: Seeking Effective Diplomacy

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Accessibility
The Operational Code of Kim Jong-un: Seeking Effective Diplomacy

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A Thesis in the Field of International Relations
for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

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Abstract

Kim Jong-un’s sudden ascent to power reflected the untimely departure of his predecessor, Kim Jong-Il. For the people of North Korea as well as the rest of the world, his modus operandi has only slowly begun to reveal itself with time. While qualitative analyses based on his political movements exist, there is little to no quantitatively based literature that ties him to particular tendencies as a political actor. This thesis explores those tendencies and offers a comparatively useful operational code by analyzing six New Year’s speeches from 2013 to 2018. By building on a former study by Dr. Joseph Bond (1990), in which he gave operational codes to both Kim Jong-Il and Kim Il-Sung, this thesis utilizes his methodology of operational code analysis and develops a more cohesive picture of the enigmatic leader of North Korea, offering a comparative analysis of his tendencies as compared to that of his predecessors. Kim Jong-un had a mere three before being thrust to the helm of the DPRK, which suggests that he is still trying to consolidate power. This thesis explores this intent with respects to his operational code, testing first for salience and consistency of his operational code, then provides a comparative assessment to the other two Kim’s. Comparative analysis reveals Kim Jong-un’s preferences in terms of a consolidation strategy to be largely antithetical to that of Kim Jong-Il, investing in economic growth as opposed to his father’s ‘Military First’ strategy. Findings also suggest that he is far more similar to his grandfather, Kim Il-Sung, in his approach to the political arena, which provides clues as to engagement strategies for future diplomacy.
Dedication

One evening, when we were already resting on the floor of our hut, dead tired, soup bowls in hand, a fellow prisoner rushed in and asked us to run out to the assembly grounds and see the wonderful sunset. Standing outside we saw sinister clouds glowing in the west and the whole sky alive with clouds of ever-changing shapes and colors, from steel blue to blood red. The desolate grey mud huts provided a sharp contrast, while the puddles on the muddy ground reflected the glowing sky. Then, after minutes of moving silence, one prisoner said to another, "How beautiful the world could be."

-Viktor E. Frankl, Man’s Search for Meaning

For my mother, and every person in my life with whom I’ve shared such a moment.
Acknowledgments

I am incredibly grateful to the following people for their guidance, knowledge, and support that have made this study and thesis possible.

Dr. Joseph Bond, who cofounded Virtual Research and Associates, Inc. and served Lecturer at Harvard University, whose pioneering work in OP code analysis is the foundation for my thesis. I am honored to have had a chance to build on his work and am grateful for the clarity and precision with which he elucidated a subject matter that remains an enigma even today.

Dr. Joshua Kertzer, Professor of Government at Harvard University’s Kennedy School and trailblazer in the field of Political Psychology, whose direction, acuity and expertise on the subject matter as my thesis director made this research feasible.

Dr. Doug Bond, Lecturer at Harvard University and Research Advisor, who provided me with his expansive knowledge on both the Asia Pacific and political coding schemas. I learned much in our conversations about the idiosyncrasies of Korean political culture due to his time there in SK governmental agencies and could not have done this without him.

Dr. Ariane Liazos, Faculty Director of the Writing And Public Service Initiative, without her thorough, painstaking and expeditious perfecting, my writing would not be proudly published.

And to all those that I will never forget and always appreciate for giving me a chance to truly stand on the shoulders of giants.
# Table of Contents

List of Tables ......................................................................................................................... iv  
List of Acronyms ..................................................................................................................... vi  
Chapter I. Introduction to Research ...................................................................................... 1  
  Purpose and Rationale ........................................................................................................... 3  
  Research Question, Objectives, and Kim Jong-un’s Operational Code ......................... 4  
Chapter II. Background .......................................................................................................... 6  
  Operational Code .................................................................................................................... 6  
  Previous Study ......................................................................................................................... 9  
  Bond 1990 Findings .............................................................................................................. 10  
Chapter III. Research Design and Methodology. ................................................................. 14  
  Coding Design ....................................................................................................................... 14  
  Strategy of Inquiry: Justification for the Population of Study ........................................... 15  
  Coding Methodology .............................................................................................................. 16  
  Comparative Analysis Platform: Bond’s Study and Sample Selection ......................... 19  
  Kim Jong-II Sample Selection .............................................................................................. 20  
  Kim Il-Sung Sample Selection .............................................................................................. 20  
  Why Hand Coding? ................................................................................................................ 21  
  Intercoder Reliability Assessment ....................................................................................... 21  
Chapter IV. Biographical Overview of the Three Kims. ....................................................... 25  
  Kim Il-Sung ............................................................................................................................. 26  
  Kim Jong-II ............................................................................................................................. 28  
  Kim Jong-Un ........................................................................................................................... 30  
  Consolidation of Power ......................................................................................................... 30  
  Bolshevik Influences in Kim Jong-Un’s Policies ................................................................. 31  
  Something for Nothing ......................................................................................................... 34  
  Kim Jong-Un’s Departure From Silence ............................................................................. 35  
Chapter V. Results and Analysis .......................................................................................... 37  
  Discussion of Hypotheses ...................................................................................................... 38  
  Kim Jong-Un’s Operational Code and Changes over time: H1 ..................................... 39
Table 1. Philosophical & Instrumental Questions in an Operational Code..................7
Table 2. Walker’s Self-Attributes and Self-Scripts for An Operational Code..............9
Table 3. Data Coding Sheet Primer for Variable Identification..............................17
Table 4. Sample Coding Sheet Entry.........................................................................18
Table 5. Coding Sheet Referential Modification.........................................................19
Table 6. Intercoder Reliability Assessment.................................................................22
Table 7. Summary Statistics for All Variables for Kim Jong-Un..............................39
Table 8. Skewness, Kurtosis, MSSD for Kim Jong-Un.............................................40
Table 9. ANOVA Test for Changes Over Time Across All Years for Kim Jong-Un......41
Table 10. Party Variable Results Across All Years for Kim Jong-Un........................42
Table 11. Salience of Differences Among Friendly/Hostility Values Across All Years...45
Table 12. Salience of Differences Among Optimism/Pessimism Values Across All Years..................................................................................................................46
Table 13. Salience of Differences Among Script Values Across All Years: KJU v KJI.................................................................................................................................46
Table 14. Salience of Differences Among Friendly/Hostility Values Across All Years...48
Table 15. Salience of Differences Among Optimism/Pessimism Values, Across All Years: KJU v KIS..............................................................................................................48
Table 16. Salience of Differences for Positive /Negative Inducements Across All Years: KJU v KJI.......................................................................................................................49
Table 17. Salience of Differences Among Script Values, KJU v KIS............................49
Table 18. Percentage Distribution for Control Variable Across All Years for Kim Il- Sung.................................................................................................................................50
Table 19. High Control Variable Per Year for Kim Jong-Un........................................51
Table 20. Salience of Difference Among the Party Variable, Across All Years: KJU v KJU v KIS.......................................................................................................................52
List of Acronyms

DMZ Demilitarized Zone
DPRK Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
KPA Korean People’s Army
KWP Korean Worker’s Party
ROK Republic of Korea
OPCODE Operational Code (Analysis)
VICS Verbs in Context
Chapter I.

Introduction to Research

This first chapter offers an overview of this study. It begins with a brief background of both North Korea and operational code, then follows into the purpose and justification for study, and finally ends with the research questions and objectives to be discussed.

The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) has survived for almost a century in isolation and is the most successful authoritarian regime that remains standing with a dynastic father-to-son succession entering its third generation.¹ Since 1948, the DPRK has sustained itself in relative isolation despite the globalism of the rest of the world through the philosophy of ‘Juche.’ This state ideology of self-reliance has been so pervasive because it has served as the mechanism by which policy decisions have been made and has sustained the Kims’ totalitarian rule. It was developed by Kim Il-Sung, who was a Soviet-trained, anti-Japanese guerilla fighter turned Premier of Korea as a satellite of Russia. He used his position to provoke tensions between Russia and China, achieving independence and ensuring his rule over Korea. His credibility as a war hero and emancipator from foreign rule, combined with the use of Juche as a state ideology allowed him to sustain power.²


In 1980, he passed power to his son, Kim Jong-II, who by then had prepared for the role of succession for thirteen years. Despite the years of training, Kim Jong-II could not amass comparable credentials to that of his father and thus opted for a ‘Military First’ policy, or heavy investment into the Korean People’s Army in order to ensure consolidation of power. Kim Jong-un was thrust into apprenticeship for his father’s position a mere three years prior to Kim Jong-II’s death and has found himself in a similar, more difficult position in which he must gain either the control or the acceptance of his subjects or face getting overthrown.

To gain insight into Kim Jong-un’s political tendencies, one must consider his operational code, which can provide thematic attributions for consideration through empirical study. Nathan Leites first delved into the unique aspects of Bolshevik mentalities in 1951, developing the concept of an operational code, or propensities of a political leader given a philosophy of consistency and power projection. Alexander George expounded on the concept of operational code in 1969 with a conceptual inquiry into philosophical and instrumental questions that suggested an ‘ends-mean’ relationship in the context of political action of a given leader. Stephen Walker further developed this

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concept in 1990 with a clarification of philosophical and instrumental beliefs, reframing them as self-attributions and self-scripts. This restructuring of philosophical beliefs as self-attributes provided identifiers in written works by the actor in question that helped elucidate the self-scripts, or propensities of a given political actor in reaching a politically motivated decision. This framework of operational code was subsequently modified for application to Juche and the DPRK by Joseph Bond in the same year as Walker’s study to develop an operational code for Kim Jong-II, the second line of succession in North Korea.7 Bond’s study provided operational codes for both Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II, testing to understand the propensities of inherited power personalities.8 In 2012, the DPRK successfully transitioned to its third generation of dynastic succession with Kim Jong-un, third son of Kim Jong-II.

Purpose and Rationale

This thesis offers a continuation of Bond’s study (1990) to further develop the inquiry into inherited power personalities in the Democratic People’s Republic of North Korea. I believe that Kim Jong-un will exhibit more negative scripts than his father in that each successor to Kim Il-Sung is subject to more scrutiny by his people and less legitimacy than his predecessor. This is due in part to the inherent lack of credibility, since Kim Il-Sung’s achievements were impassable and forged in war, and also due to the economic climates for both Kim Jong-II and Jong-Un, which were poor. These onset

7 Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes Of Kim Il-Sung And Kim Jong-II.” Arizona State University August 1990

8 Joseph Bond, “The Operational Codes Of Kim Il-Sung And Kim Jong-II”
scenarios for both successors suggest a tendency towards a ‘tightening’ of ideals by way of negative scripts and aggression towards both outside and inner parties. Kim Jong-Un, for example, may not be ideally situated to propagate his ideals, given that without inherent credibility, the only way to maintain his constituency would be increased aggression towards it. This in turn would result in increased internal tension and animosity towards Kim Jong-Un, setting the stage for his failure. North Korea’s continuing progress towards nuclear arms poses a threat to the rest the world and understanding its leader can provide insight into diplomatic direction in engagement of the DPRK regime. An assessment of Kim Jong-Un’s operational code would continue Bond’s previous study on the operational codes of the first two generations of power in the DPRK. An understanding of both the salience of his operational code and consistency over time would provide a helpful context for tendencies in future conduct. Therefore, this study intends to determine the operational code of Kim Jong-Un through New Year’s speeches between January 1st, 2013 – January 1st, 2018, compare the findings with that of his predecessors, and offer predictive insights for future diplomacy. This study aims to fill the gaps in research on the operational codes of the three Kim’s as a continuation of Bond’s study (1990) and provide qualitative analysis of Kim Jong-Un’s self-scripts as predictors for his political tendencies.

Research Questions, Objectives, and Kim Jong-un’s Operational Code

Has his operational code stayed consistent over time?

- How does it differ from that of his predecessors?

________________________

9 Ibid.
• What do Kim Jong-un’s self-scripts imply about his political tendencies?

This thesis engages these questions and expands on Bond’s 1990 study by following the dynastic succession of power in the DPRK and analyzing their operational codes to gain insight into their choice propensities and provide clues to effective diplomacy for stability in the Asia-Pacific.

This chapter’s introduction to the DPRK and operational code offers just a brief foray into the elements of following chapters. These include Chapter II, which gives background context to the concept of operational code. Chapter III provides a methodology for research and leads into Chapter IV, which offers important context for the understanding of Chapter V, which provides both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data used. Chapter VI is the final chapter in which conclusions are made and final thoughts are offered.
Chapter II.

Background

This section gives an overview of the history of the methodology to be used in this thesis and the changes that operational code has gone through over time and introduces the precedent study upon which this thesis is constructed. Throughout the chapter, elements of operational code analysis are introduced to facilitate an understanding of its evolution and are provided to show the foundation upon which Bond’s study. This in turn offers a basic overview and primer for the methodology outlined in detail in Chapter III.

Operational Code

Placed at the intersection of cognitive, developmental and affective studies, operational code is best defined as offering a psychological typology, or character profile for political leaders. It offers a quantitative methodology for attribution of character values that can then be used comparatively to predict or explain tendencies in political action specific to a particular subject for study.¹⁰

Nathan Leites’ analyses of Bolshevik mentalities in 1951 provided the first usage and definition of operational code and offered useful directives in terms of the attribution

---

of character qualities for comparative analysis.\textsuperscript{11} Alexander George further clarified the idea of an operational code with two sets of questions, which he suggests are ‘philosophical’ and ‘instrumental’ policy questions:\textsuperscript{12}

Table 1. Philosophical & Instrumental Questions in an Operational Code.

George's Philosophical Content of an Operational Code

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What is the &quot;essential&quot; nature of political life? Is the political universe essentially one of harmony or conflict? What is the fundamental character of one's political opponents?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental political values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score; and in what respects the one and/or the other?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Is the political future predictable? In what sense and to what extent?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How much &quot;control&quot; or mastery&quot; can one have over historical development? What is one's role in &quot;moving&quot; and &quot;shaping&quot; history in the desired direction?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. What is the role of &quot;chance&quot; in human affairs and in historical development?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

George's Instrumental Beliefs in an Operational Code

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What is the best approach for selecting goals or objectives for political action?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled, and accepted?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. What is the best &quot;timing&quot; of action to advance one's interest?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one's interests?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: George (1969)


Alexander George provided the link between Nathan Leites’ psychoanalytic approach to Bolshevik beliefs and their role in behavior under different conditions. According to George, ‘Instrumental beliefs’ suggests beliefs about end-means relationships in the context of political action while ‘philosophical beliefs’ refer to assumptions and premises based on the fundamental nature of politics and political conflict. These two sets of beliefs were meant to clarify the constitution of Leites’ operational code, which George believes are part of the ‘cognitive restructuring’ that occurs in the minds of political actors when making political decisions.

Walker further developed on the concept of operational code with clarifications of the philosophical beliefs and instrumental beliefs, reframing them as self-attributions and self-scripts, respectively. Self-attributions are representative of attributes that are sometimes placed into written language or through verbal dialogue and reflect a person’s philosophical beliefs. For example, a self-attribution would be, “We must work towards self-reliance.” Self-scripts on the other hand, represent a person’s means to a particular end, or a propensity to make a particular decision. Within speech, modifiers, such as “we,” “I,” “us,” and “me” could be categorized as self-attributions or the qualities of a political actor, and verbs could refer to self-scripts, or the actions of said political actor.

13 Ibid. 190-222.
Walker’s explanation on how to assess both self-attributes and self-scripts successfully provided for a template of quantitative study, outlined below:16

Table 2. Walker’s Self-Attributes and Self-Scripts for An Operational Code.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendliness - Hostility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optimism - Pessimism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Control - Low Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Comprehensiveness - Low Comprehensiveness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-Scripts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rewards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support/Appeals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistance/Opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctions (i.e. Punishments)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Walker (1990)17

The breakdown of scripts into positive and negative scripts further specified the self-attributes conveyed in written language and offered the self-scripts important to determining a political actor’s propensity for reaching a particular political decision.

Previous Study

Bond adapted these previous studies to work with Juche, or the ideological doctrine of Kim Il-Sung, and modified Walker’s design to enable for a more specific and


17 Ibid.
explicit interpretation of the scripts offered in text.\textsuperscript{18} He modified the dichotomies of Walker’s six scripts by assessing them as part of the same dimension, then placing a five-point interval scale with opposing ends serving as extremes on a ratio scale.\textsuperscript{19}

This allowed Bond to distinguish peak levels of scripts being invoked in the speeches that were analyzed. Furthermore, his inclusion of passive references as well as active references broadened the population of study without compromising the accuracy.\textsuperscript{20} For example, Kim Jong-Un might say, “I praise the work of our Party for their humble and tireless conviction.” While the ‘our’ in this instance is used as the object, it nonetheless offers as much in the way of self-attributes as if it were to be used in active form, “Our Party is humble and has tireless conviction.” Bond’s modification of Walker’s concepts extended the variable set or population of study and made the dichotomous scales spectrum based for improved assessment using operational code.

Bond 1990 Findings

Bond’s operational code design found among other things that Kim Il-Sung’s operational code has been stable over time and highlights the differences between Kim Jong-Il’s and his father’s:

In addition to appearing less friendly and less optimistic than his father, Kim Jong-Il seems more apt to invoke negative scripts toward parties both external and internal to the DPRK. The numerous "appeals" made by the younger Kim on the various sub-groups in the north many times take the form of a command. In

\textsuperscript{18} Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes Of Kim Il-Sung And Kim Jong-II.” Arizona State University August 1990

\textsuperscript{19} For example, he turned friendliness and hostility into a single dimension with a five-point interval scale with hostility on one end and friendliness on the other.

\textsuperscript{20} Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes Of Kim Il-Sung And Kim Jong-II.” Arizona State University August 1990
addition, the younger Kim tends to use more implicit references when invoking negative scripts.\footnote{Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il,” Arizona State University August 1990. Ch. 5, page 2 (page number unavailable)}

Bond suggested that because Kim Jong-Il did not have the credibility of his father, he might find it imperative to invest in security for consolidation and retention of power. Bond and Walker’s methodologies for coding speeches offered insight into the tendencies of socialist leaders that can be categorized as being of a similar typology. Whatever the type of political leader may be the subject of study, words of caution have been offered as the inherent nature of speech text and language is subjective. To curb this and offer an additional control in the interpretation of data, validity tests by way of intercoder reliability assessments have been offered as structural anchors, along with the imperative to offer detailed and thorough coding sheets to prevent misappropriation of values.

Operational codes have since evolved into automated systems devoid of the need to manually code speeches, and offer, at least in theory, less subjectivity. The Verbs In Context System (VICS) is one such example of an automated operational code schema, which is a more modern iteration of Walker’s original model of operational code analysis. It offers a specific coding scheme to code the direction and intensity of transitive verbs in order to develop a content analysis system that allows for assessment of the cognitive beliefs of a given subject to form an ‘operational code.’\footnote{Mark Schafer and Stephen G. Walker, "Operational code analysis at a distance: The verbs in context system of content analysis." Beliefs and leadership in world politics. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2006. 25-51.} This assumes that the way an individual speaks about power relationships in the political realm can
be telling of their beliefs in terms of the exercise of power, similar to that of Walker and Bond’s model.\footnote{Mark Schafer and Stephen G. Walker, "Operational code analysis at a distance: The verbs in context system of content analysis."}

In this particular operational code construct, said beliefs are categorized into two broad, familiar groups. With the identification and parsing of the two linguistic components of subject and verb, the basic recording unit for the VICS system, called an ‘utterance’ is achieved.\footnote{Ibid.} Taken together, both philosophical and instrumental beliefs provide a picture of the belief systems of a subject in terms of cooperation and conflict in a political universe, or his operational code. VICS itself has seventeen different indices, but they all rely on the aforementioned linguistic components and offer more nuanced understandings of operational code.\footnote{Ibid.} However, the author of this thesis was unable to test the efficacy of this platform. The only accessible version of VICS available was a limited online system offering limited options for its VICS schema,\footnote{Verbs in Context System for Operational Code Stephen G. Walker, Mark Schafer, and Michael D. Young's Verbs in Context System for Operational Code analysis. This coding scheme is used to code the direction (self or other) and intensity (-3 to +3) of transitive verbs. Various indexes can then be constructed from this data. Accessed at: \url{https://profilerplus.org/}} which did not offer critical variables for study such as the audience, or party variable.\footnote{For clarity, I have revised the nomenclature of the “Party” variable for clarity. This word comes into contention later in the document as an identifier for the KWP, or Korean Worker’s Party. That is, Kim Jong-un occasionally references both the} As a result, its usefulness for the purposes of this study were nullified, and it was not used.

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\footnote{Mark Schafer and Stephen G. Walker, "Operational code analysis at a distance: The verbs in context system of content analysis."}

\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Verbs in Context System for Operational Code Stephen G. Walker, Mark Schafer, and Michael D. Young's Verbs in Context System for Operational Code analysis. This coding scheme is used to code the direction (self or other) and intensity (-3 to +3) of transitive verbs. Various indexes can then be constructed from this data. Accessed at: \url{https://profilerplus.org/}}

\footnote{For clarity, I have revised the nomenclature of the “Party” variable for clarity. This word comes into contention later in the document as an identifier for the KWP, or Korean Worker’s Party. That is, Kim Jong-un occasionally references both the}
Operational code’s evolution has progressed to offer more details and a more expansive domain outside of the original Leites study on Bolshevism. That is, modern operational code methods have become effective enough to model even democratic leaders, who have far more considerations in terms of the audience than a totalitarian leader that does not have to be particularly concerned about disapproval. This thesis is married to Bond’s methodology specifically because of the totalitarian nature of the subject of study, which is unique in typology to other political leaders. As such, Bond’s modified variant of Walker’s operational code model attributes are essentially retained, save for a few slight adjustments for validity and comparative capacity. This chapter’s overview of the history of operational code offered justifications for these modifications and the methodologies that came before it, all of which offers context into the logic that has contributed to the evolution of operational code.

______________________________
KWP and his constituency as a whole as “Party”. This change accommodates to curbing any additional confusion.
Chapter III.
Research Design and Methodology

This section discusses the thesis design and strategies that will be used to engage the hypotheses in question. In addition to introducing the variables as they appear on the coding sheets, this section provides reasoning for changes to the original design, what can be determined from the strategy of inquiry, and the intercoder reliability assessment as a test of validity. It also offers justification for the scope of study, domain selection reasoning and assumptions made in terms of the nature of inquiry.

Coding Design

Through a quantitative analysis of Kim Jong-Un’s speeches, this thesis develops a framework of Kim Jong-Un’s operational code and juxtaposes it with that of his predecessors. Using Bond’s modified version of Walker’s methodology, this thesis features hand-coding and analysis to develop an operational code of Kim Jong-Un. What follows is a comparative analysis of Un’s code to his predecessors Kim Jong-II and Kim Il-Sung. A particular theme of interest that will be sustained throughout is Kim Jong-un’s political strategies for the consolidation of power.
Strategy of Inquiry: Justification for the Population of Study

This thesis includes all of Kim Jong-Un’s “New Year Addresses” to date, or the six New Year’s speeches between 2013 and 2018, and is coded through Bond’s modified design based on Walker’s original 1990 format. Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s speeches throughout this time period offer crucial insight into the similarities and differences between his operational code and that of his predecessors. While this thesis primarily analyzes a Korean political leader with written speeches in the Korean language, the researcher’s rudimentary understanding of Korean as well as the desire for research continuity has limited the domain of research to English translated sources for speeches. Kim Jong-Un’s speeches are provided in English by the National Committee on North Korea, which is an NGO founded by Mercy Corps and is a nongovernmental, nonprofit and nonpartisan organization. Cross-referencing sample texts with other sources show that the translations are similar enough to utilize in this study.

The selection of six New Year’s speeches for this study were also chosen for the similarity in population to the original Bond study’s data set for Kim Il-Sung. That is, the criteria for the selection of the elder Kim's speeches were based on (1) a long-time span, (2) consistent form of expression, (3) consistent audience, (4) and a manageable length of documents.

28 The National Committee on North Korea: NCNK accesed at: http://www.ncnk.org/who-we-are/faq

While Kim Jong-Un has provided far more in terms of published content than his predecessors, the sampling of his New Year’s addresses offer statements from his regime that highlight nationalism, the difficulties and improvements of the previous year, and the problems that should be addressed by the people. Importantly, this domain heeds Bond’s warnings in terms of the audience variable and its comparative efficacy by offering similar audiences. By addressing similar audiences to both Kim Jong-Il and Kim Il-Sung, the six New Year’s speeches enables for a more accurate comparison of operational codes by taking into account the audience variable.\textsuperscript{30} These speeches also offer clues to what is important to Kim Jong-un, which this thesis hopes to determine through salience and intensity. That these statements are published in both English and Korean suggest that the target of these speeches are not just the people of the DPRK, but also the rest of the world to consider as its mantra.

Coding Methodology

In continuation with Bond’s design, this study uses a modified format of Walker’s six dichotomous attributes formed as single dimensions along a five-point interval scale.\textsuperscript{31} Recoded as a ratio scale, outputs are viewed as positive and negative inducements with the positive end consisting of rewards, appeals, support, and promises while the negative end would include threats, sanctions, resistance and opposition. The speeches

\textsuperscript{30} The importance of the audience variable was as point of contention in Bond’s 1990 study, which offers the suggestion in “further research” to take it into consideration when comparing data sets.

\textsuperscript{31} Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II,”
considered were placed into Excel and include any and all self-references, including active and passive self-references. Specifically, this includes the personal pronouns, “me,” “we,” “us,” “our,” and “I” be searched, underlined, and labeled for coding purposes. Featuring 13 digits, the operational code sheet based on Bond’s design is as follows, with a name for each and a number in parentheses indicating the number of digits that said variable uses based on the column separation in Excel:

Table 3. Data Coding Sheet Primer for Variable Identification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (2) and line marker (3):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Five-digit identification code for unique identification of every self-reference analyzed, including two numbers for year (ex: 2013 = 13), three for where the first reference appears (ex: line 20 would be 020).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role (1):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identifies how the self-reference is used in the sentence. It would be marked A for active singular (person who is doing the action) and B for active plural (the people who are doing the action) C for passive singular (some other party is doing something to the speaker) and D for passive plural (some other party is doing something to the speaker's group). For example, “It is through our Party’s conviction and will that we will triumph!” is active, plural and would be marked as (B).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendliness / Hostility (1), Optimism Pessimism (1) High Control, Low Control (1) 5 point scale:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Based on Walker’s design, these scale-based identifiers were rated for degree of positiveness / negativeness and high and low. These are all determined on a 5 point scale, with 5 being highest, 1 lowest, and 3 being non-evident (ex: “It is through our Party’s conviction and will that we will triumph!” would be marked as (5, 5, 5) respectively on the coding sheet, separated by columns). These represent Kim Jong-Un’s philosophical beliefs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32 These speeches are codified and attached to the appendix with self-references underlined and bolded for easy accessibility.

33 Ibid.

Type (1), 3 point scale, 3-5 and Form of Scripts (1), 6 point scale, 0-6:
Type and form of script, the former being identification of the type of inducement, in which 3 is non-evident, 4 is implicit or clear in context, and 5 is explicit and clearly stated. The form would be whether or not the script is positive or negative, reward being a 6, 3 would be non-applicable, and 0 is punishment, (ex: “It is through our Party’s conviction and will that we will triumph!” would be marked (3) for type since no actual imperative is offered, and (5) for form, as it promises a future reward)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party (2):</th>
<th>Identifies the audience, or the object being addressed based on a key with a set list. This would yield a 00, since it refers to “socialists, compatriots or comrades”. The audience variable key is offered in the appendix.³⁵</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Therefore, the sentence, “It is through our Party’s conviction and will that we will triumph!”, which appears on line 20 in a speech given in 2013 would be shown as follows in the coding results:

Table 4. Sample Coding Sheet Entry.

| Reference on line 20 | 13 | 020 | B | 5 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 00 |

Modifications

In the interest of continuity, the strategy of inquiry for this thesis is largely the same as that of Bond’s study. However, the plan variable and identifiers have been omitted and changed, respectively. The plan variable, also referred to as high or low comprehensiveness in Bond’s original study, was initially included but subsequently omitted after the initial intercoder reliability test. The original intercoder reliability test included a plan variable, and both Coder B and Coder C had great difficulty with making determinations based on the parameters offered by the Coding Instructions Sheet. Despite

³⁵ The key that is available omits any audience references from the key that were not present in the findings.
an extended explanation in an attempt to clarify the choices, the resultant assessment revealed sizeable variances. It was eliminated to improve remainder data and sustain validity. Bond’s study itself omitted low comprehensiveness in his comparative study to Walker’s operational code analysis of Gorbachev. He suggested, “Low comprehensiveness was not a conceptually useful concept in the present study, and thus was discarded.” For the purposes of this study, the omission of both high and low comprehensiveness offered clearer results. This is discussed further in the Intercoder reliability section of this chapter.

If additional self-inferences were on the same line, each additional inference was treated individually and retained the original line number with the addition of a letter to identify itself differently. Using the aforementioned variable breakdown example, line 020 with two self-references would be noted as 020A and 020B, respectively as follows:

Table 5. Coding Sheet Referential Modification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First reference on line 20</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>020</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second reference on line 20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>020B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This thesis offers clues into Kim Jong-Un’s propensity to engage in particular political actions with respect to power consolidation, which it is assumed is one of Kim Jong-un’s primary objectives.

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36 Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II.”
Comparative Analysis Platform: Bond’s Study and Sample Selection

In addition, this study compares Kim Jong-Un’s operational code with that of his predecessor Kim Jong-Il, testing for both salience and consistency. The data set for this portion will consist of the main data set for this paper, which includes the 2013 – 2018 speeches, and that of Bond’s 1990 study.

With validity of comparison in mind, it is important to mention here Bond’s sample selection and briefly cover his justifications for it. The sample selection consists of speeches given by Kim Jong-Il and Kim Il-Sung.37

Kim Jong-Il Sample Selection

Kim Jong-Il’s sparse public appearances posed some difficulty for Bond, but he eventually decided on Kim Jong-Il’s “Talk”, which was presented to senior officials of the WPK Central Committee.38 This talk was chosen on the basis of length, which was similar to that of the sample selection for Kim Il-Sung, and Kim Jong-Il’s discussion of the elements of Juche that he finds important within the talk. He found the subject matter sufficient in terms of delineating Il’s operational code.

37 Because a substantial majority of my methodology is the same as Bond’s, any differences will only be noted if it affects the outputs discussed.

Kim Il-Sung Sample Selection

The main data set for this thesis was inspired by the domain offered for Kim Il-Sung in Bond’s study because of the suspected viability of comparison between Kim Jong-Un and Kim Il-Sung when offering initial hypotheses. Bond chose six speeches between 1946, 1950, 1955, 1980, 1985, and 1988 and are broken down into ‘early’ and ‘late’ eras, with a gap of 25 years between the eras. While this gap is not present in Kim Jong-Un’s data set, comparability is not compromised because Kim Jong-Un’s data set offers a time-line roughly similar to one of Bond’s ‘eras.’

Why Hand Coding?

Hand coding was chosen over Opcode analysis software for continuity and because the schemas available were not sufficient for analysis in this study. Automated systems such as ProfilerPlus and the VICS system provide ways to systematically and transparently manage large amounts of text from ‘naturally occurring data’ and avoids the difficulty of other primary sources, such as respondent reactivity in survey formats. Computer-assisted analysis requires two important things: there must be a large enough amount of text to analyze and the textual data for analysis must be coherent. Kim Jong-Un’s speeches satisfy both requisites and is adequate in terms of offering various outputs for study. However, Bond’s original hand-coding was chosen to be the best option for this thesis for the purposes of offering parallel, cohesive interpretations of data across both studies and with accounting for the cultural context of North Korea. Additionally, the VICS system was inaccessible and the coding schemas that were available did not
account for enough variables to offer a comparatively viable data set, nor stood alone with enough discernable attribution for analysis.

Intercoder Reliability Assessment

As with Bond’s design, the aforementioned coding methodology requires a substantial amount of subjective judgment in terms of interpretation of the elements contained in text and gauging sentiment for the value scales. However, Bond’s study showed exceptional intercoder reliability due to the stringent parameters he had in his instructions for interpretation of the data. This was also a sentiment offered in Dr. Doug Bond’s review of his quantitative assessment methodology.39 However, one variable proved difficult to include, as is further explained below.

In the interest of continuity, this paper offered a similar intercoder reliability test by using the same coding sheet with instructions (shown in the appendix). Two coders were chosen for their backgrounds and recruited for testing intercoder reliability. Coder B and C were asked to code page. Coder B is a Korean-born graduate student at MIT and is very familiar with code programming. Coder C is pursuant a degree in neuroscience and psychology at Wellesley College and is familiar with quantitative analysis but not specifically coding.

Coders were asked to code the second page of every speech for a total of six pages each. Prior to the initial intercoder reliability test, both coders raised questions

about the plan variable that was included. They found it difficult to assign a value to the high / low comprehensiveness identifier to the test. After a trial run of the initial test, the discrepancies between the two sheets were too great to grant validity and were consequently removed. Without that variable, intercoder reliability was tested again and the resultant intercoder reliability assessment is shown below:

Table 6. Intercoder Reliability Assessment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Total Count</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>N*</th>
<th>Cum N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cum Pct</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SE Mean</th>
<th>Tr Mean</th>
<th>St. Dev</th>
<th>Var</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3.8054</td>
<td>0.0417</td>
<td>3.8628</td>
<td>0.9122</td>
<td>0.8321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3.7364</td>
<td>0.0415</td>
<td>3.7814</td>
<td>0.9074</td>
<td>0.8235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3.7510</td>
<td>0.0438</td>
<td>3.7930</td>
<td>0.9576</td>
<td>0.9169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Coef Var</th>
<th>Sum</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Q3</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>23.97</td>
<td>1819.00000</td>
<td>7319.00000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>3.0000</td>
<td>4.0000</td>
<td>4.0000</td>
<td>6.0000</td>
<td>5.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>24.29</td>
<td>1786.00000</td>
<td>7066.00000</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>3.0000</td>
<td>4.0000</td>
<td>4.0000</td>
<td>6.0000</td>
<td>6.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>25.53</td>
<td>1793.00000</td>
<td>7163.00000</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>3.0000</td>
<td>4.0000</td>
<td>4.0000</td>
<td>6.0000</td>
<td>6.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coder</th>
<th>IQR</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>N for Mode</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
<th>MSSD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>-0.62</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.0052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>-0.49</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.0063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>-0.42</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.6164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown above, the results offered acceptable intercoder reliability parameters, in line with Bond’s second intercoder test. Preemptive clarifications were made to both coders with respects to certain identifiers in parsing the text to minimize the potential of subjective variance.

This chapter has provided a detailed overview of the research design, methodology, and justifications for the domain of study. Engaging the research questions with the aforementioned design offer results that align with Dr. Joe Bond’s study for comparative study. While the breakdown of the coding sheet variables offers a condensed explanation of how the coding sheet is marked, a look at the Coding Sheet Instructions for detailed instructions is recommended. It is with these tools, paired with the context provided in the following section that a qualitative assessment can supplement the quantitative tests in this study.

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40 Bond’s original intercoder reliability test showed acceptable, but not high reliability among the coders. He attributed this to slight comprehension issues for his Korean-born coder.

41 Available in the appendix, the Coding Sheet Instructions offers a modified variant of Bond’s own coding sheet, and was the template used for both coding and the Intercoder Reliability Test. This also includes the “Audience Variable” Key set, which offers identifiers for the different addressees in Kim Jong-un’s speeches.
Chapter IV.

Biographical Overview of the Three Kims

This chapter provides a biographical overview of North Korea’s three leaders, with focus on the theme of power consolidation and the issues each Kim has had in those terms. The context offered through the overview supplement the following chapters by offering qualitative context to the results and analyses of the speeches offered in this study. Following the trajectory of Kim Il-Sung, this chapter offers a brief overview of the time period between his birth and ascent to power, key events and shifts, and the eventual transitions of power and what problems each successor has had to face towards sustaining it. In an effort to maintain consistency in historical accounts as references for operational code study, the following overviews on Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II are largely derived from An Tai Sung's *North Korea: A Political Handbook* (1983) and Suh Dae Sook's *Kim Il-Sung: The North Korean Leader* (1988). However, Kim Jong-Un’s history is an aggregate summary chosen for its pertinence to the results and analysis, using several academic sources.

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42 These sources were also used in Joseph Bond’s 1990 study which suggests, “There seems to be unanimous consensus in the field of North Korean studies that both of these works represent two of the most thorough and objective accounts of North Korean leadership to date regardless of one’s political perspective.”

Kim Il-Sung

According to Suh (1988), it is known that Kim Il-Sung was born on April 15th, 1912 to Kang Pan-sok and Kim Hyong-jik, a peasant couple. He attended elementary school in Manchuria and returned to Pyongyang, where he completed his elementary school. He then returned to Manchuria to finish grammar and middle school. He was then expelled in eighth grade for unlawful activities, which is important in that it was then that Kim Il-Sung began his anti-imperialist activities. In the Spring of 1930, Kim Il-Sung began to follow a group of guerilla fighters that organized against the Japanese and changed his name to what it is known as today. He fled to the Soviet Union after fighting unsuccessfully with the rebel group and was trained at the Okeanskaya Field School, where the Soviets were breeding soldiers should they have to fight the Japanese again. He met his first wife in the Soviet Union, Kim Chog-Suk, who gave birth to Kim Jong-Il on February 16, 1942. He fought the Japanese with heavy support from Soviets until 1949, when they established him as the agent to run the satellite of Korea.

With his dominion over Korea acknowledged by the Soviets and his military capability, Kim Il-Sung made the decision to invade South Korea. Soviet espionage had determined that such an invasion would not provoke the United States into getting

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47 Ibid.
involved, so Stalin approved the action.\textsuperscript{48} China was reluctant to offer support but was forced by the Soviet position. Despite initial success in capturing Seoul, the engagement of UN troops forced Kim Il-Sung to flee. North Korean and Chinese troops pushed back in January of 1951 and managed to retake Pyongyang, engaged in trench warfare until July of 1953. The stalemate was recognized, and a truce was finally established over the 38\textsuperscript{th} parallel, resulting in just under a staggering 2.5 million deaths for the Korean War.\textsuperscript{49}

What followed was a reconstruction period to rebuild from the devastation of war, during which time Kim Il-Sung consolidated his power through deft political action, a unified ideology for his peoples to follow and staving off attempts by the Chinese and Soviets to pull him from power.\textsuperscript{50} By playing off the Chinese against the Soviet Union, he established himself as independent of the Chinese and Soviets as well as legitimizing his policy of being self-reliant, nationalist, and independent. He later went on to name this policy Juche, which in addition to giving his state ideology a name, also largely addressed the problem of a Korean identity after suffering for many years under foreign influence.\textsuperscript{51} Unlike Marxism-Leninism, which suggested that material goods provide prosperity, Juche touted the value of the peoples as being the driving force of progress. However, the important caveat to this notion that ‘Man is master of his own destiny’ was


\textsuperscript{49} Tai-sing An. \textit{North Korea: A Political Handbook}. Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc.

\textsuperscript{50} Tai-sing An. \textit{North Korea: A Political Handbook}.

the necessitated prerequisite of a ‘Great Leader’ to lead them to prosperity. In the wake of a war-ravaged Korea at the hands of imperialist forces, Koreans felt a desperate need for a collective identity. It was because of such conditions that Juche, despite its absolutist, totalitarian precepts took hold, as it offered identity and at the time, fulfilled a need for change from the type of socialism that came before it. What resulted was the North Korean cult of personality, a legacy that provided legitimacy for his successors to continue totalitarian rule.

Kim Jong-II

When Kim Jong-II took over, the state was at the edge of famine due to a combination of a decade of over-exploitation of the people and land, natural disasters, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Despite inheriting these problems, Kim Jong-II’s formative training prior to his official succession would prove useful to his consolidation of power. Kim Jong-II is believed to have returned with his mother from the Soviet Union at the age of three and fled to Northeast China during the Korean War. He returned to North Korea as a fifth grader and attended Pyongyang Primary School in 1953. After studying in East Germany and Romania in his remaining years of high

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53 It should be noted that Juche’s divergence from Marxism-Leninism has resulted in it only being socialist by name, as it was advantageous for the Kims to advertise as
54 Ibid.
school, Kim returned to attend college at Kim Il-Sung University in 1960.\textsuperscript{56} He began his ascent in the ranks of his father’s regime, with continuous reinforcement of his right to take his father’s place throughout the late 1960’s, including his college works being hailed as ‘immortal’ by Korean accounts.\textsuperscript{57} He was characterized as ‘more militant’ in his opposition to the United States and worked fervently to win the hearts of the North Korean people. Kim Jong-Il took over officially in 1994 and faced deep economic problems.\textsuperscript{58} However, he enjoyed the full support of the military and high party governmental positions, having prepared for 13 years before succession. Kim Jong-Il capitalized on this and implemented ‘Songun,’ or a military-first policy, to subdue the discontent of the people and consolidate power. Collectivist principles of Juche were enforced by beatings, and ‘divide and conquer’ strategies in which factions of larger groups were assigned to hold the larger whole accountable. At the expense of further repressing his own people, Kim Jong-Il consolidated his power through Songun and withdrew from the worldview just enough to sustain his regime.\textsuperscript{59}


\textsuperscript{57} Tai-sing An. \textit{North Korea: A Political Handbook}. Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc.


Kim Jong-Un

With Kim Jong-Il’s death in 2011, Kim Jong-Un succeeded in December of that year. He was the youngest of what is believed to be three sons and is believed to have been born in 1983 or 1984. Information on Kim Jong-Un is not plentiful, but scholars agree that he attended high school in Berne, Switzerland and followed with an education at Kim Il-Sung Military University. Much of the international media was convinced that he would face great legitimacy problems, but despite war, repression, international sanctions, economic failure, and the death of leaders, he has managed to survive. According to Horae (2013), Kim Jong-Un lacks the guerilla background of Kim Il-Sung and the experience and regime know-how of Kim Jong-Il, and therefore, change is difficult to achieve because deviation from his ancestral inheritance can be understood as abandonment.

Consolidation of Power

According to Studer (2013), Kim Jong-Un has approached the helm of the DPRK in a very different way from his father and resembling that of his grandfather in that he has many more public appearances and gives many more speeches. Kim Jong-Il was

60 North Korea Leadership Watch, Kim Jong-un, retrieved December 6 2013, from http://nkleadershipwatch.wordpress.com/kim-jong-un/


quite reserved but Jong-Un has been depicted communicating with the people and smiling, even having his wife Ri Sol Ju presented as a public figure, which is a stark contrast to his father’s wife, who was never shown or referenced in public.\textsuperscript{64}

While Kim Jong-II had a ‘Military First’ Songun policy that relied on empowering the KWP, or Korean People’s Army, Kim Jong-Un can be characterized as investing in the Korean Worker’s Party. Called ‘Byongjin Policy,’ his strategy addresses the issue of having to pursue development based on the economy. Koo et al. suggests that Kim Jong-Un’s short power succession period provided for limited options for power consolidation. Even though the military would be the best way to control both the political elites and general public in the face of external sanctions, it would have been foolish to invest in a military that he had not sufficiently gained control of.\textsuperscript{65} However, Kim Jong-Un inherited a functioning, legitimate and institutionalized Party, the KWP, which it seems he will invest in for the purposes of regime security.\textsuperscript{66}

**Bolshevik Influences in Kim Jong-Un’s Policies**

Promoting nationalism, reunification of the Korean people, and self-reliance, Juche reflects Kim Il-Sung’s operational code much in the same way that Lenin’s Bolshevism was a source of his operational code. In *The Operational Code of the*  

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.  


Politburo, Leites’ analyses of the Politburo offer striking similarities to that of the concept of Juche, as well as foreign policy strategies that have been implemented in the past and are present in Kim Jong-Un’s conduct with external forces.\textsuperscript{67} Politburo philosophy suggests, “One must be willing to switch quickly from diplomacy to action if the situation deems it necessary. In addition, any potential advantages, no matter how minute should be utilized to forward the agenda of the Politburo.”\textsuperscript{68} This is comparable to Kim Il-Sung’s decision to invade South Korea, which at the time was considered a decisive, swift and advantageous move. Un’s decisive switch from his father’s Songun strategy to his economic Byonjin strategy, and more isolationist policies replaced with open arms towards ‘enemies of the state’. This strategy “…indicates why the politburo allocates energy and resources to institutions like the United Nations. Although it ascribes to them a very limited influence on the major course of history, it nevertheless believes that they must be utilized.”\textsuperscript{69} This is present in Kim Jong-Un’s Byonjin Policy, which has offered unprecedented access and negotiation for even enemies of the state as compared to his predecessors.\textsuperscript{70}


\textsuperscript{69} Nathan C. Leites, \textit{The Operational Code of the Politburo}

\textsuperscript{70} Bon Sang Koo, Jun Young Choi, and Junseok Kim. "Analyzing Kim Jong-un's Survival Strategy from the Comparative Authoritarian Perspective."
Interestingly, in terms of exertion of pressure, Bolshevik policy suggests that only by putting the greatest pressure on an outside group can the party induce it to modify its policies in ways that are most useful to the party.\textsuperscript{71} It is also suggested that the party leadership must not be indignant about attacks from the enemy but always expect the worst, and to perpetually be ready to engage in war. However, there is a belief that retreats must be expedient when necessary and that retreat is preferable to the annihilation of the party or state power. In terms of negotiation, any agreements made with outside groups are considered to be “aiding the future liquidation of these groups and as barriers against the liquidation of the party by them.”\textsuperscript{72} Kim Il-Sung mastered this Bolshevik strategy in his interactions with both the Soviets and China prior to and throughout the Korean War. His ability to coerce China into contributing towards his ends or convince Stalin to receive aid were exemplary applications of Bolshevik ideals of variability, which approves of “codifying a momentary relationship of forces.”\textsuperscript{73} This describes the staggering changes Kim Jong-Un has made in terms of negotiating with the United States as well as South Korea in his effort to consolidate power.


\textsuperscript{73} Bon Sang Koo, Jun Young Choi, and Junseok Kim. "Analyzing Kim Jong-un's Survival Strategy from the Comparative Authoritarian Perspective."
Something for Nothing

Bolshevik style foreign diplomacy strategies of ‘barking loudly’ as well as having the capacity to quickly switch policies or strategies for what is advantageous is nothing new in the DPRK. Historically, one of the ways North Korea has dictated the conversation with outside powers has been through its state level discourse. The DPRK has traditionally offered an array of bellicose and insulting propaganda towards the rest of the world. Public statements by the DPRK have called former President Park Geun-Hye a ‘venomous swish of skirt’ or suggesting that North Korea will “mercilessly annihilate the US.”\(^{74}\) From 1997 to 2006, North Korea provided 790 insults and 302 threats towards the United States, South Korea, and Japan. This atypical form of rhetoric is unique to the DPRK because it does not have to pander to a decision-making audience. As James Fearon, a political science professor at Stanford suggests, for most other nations, the audience cost would be too high due to a loss of credibility and poor reputation.\(^{75}\) The totalitarian nature of the DPRK eliminates the audience cost, and it is not concerned about its reputation, particularly given their greatly increased deterrence capacity thanks to nuclear development.\(^{76}\) Mason Richey of Hankuk University suggests

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that such bellicose rhetoric is empty shouting used to invite confusion and uncertainty:

“But the lesson of this study is that, absent other corroborating signs of belligerence, we can and should prevent misperception and miscalculation by discounting such rhetoric.”

Kim Jong-Un’s Departure from Silence

Therefore, the focus on the DPRK’s words may be better served with another anomaly of conventional political discourse (in the DPRK): Kim Jong-Un’s departure from his predecessor’s silence in public. Kim Jong-Un has offered on average 10-12 speeches every year since his reign and many lengthy essays that restate themes and reinforce his ideology. His father, on the other hand, spoke very little in public, opting instead to quietly control his subjects through coercion. This difference marks the key changes that lead towards different power consolidation strategies towards the same end of maintaining regime stability.

This chapter’s look into the historical contexts of the three Kim’s provides a general overview and context into what allowed them to enter power and what issues they have had to contend with in terms of power consolidation, offering supplemental clues as to how their operational codes can be qualitatively assessed. Additionally, the unique attributes of the DPRK are explained in terms of the seemingly erratic behavior exhibited by other countries and how the lack of audience costs allows for this. While North

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Korea’s belligerent rhetoric has traditionally been used to obfuscate its own political intent, there may be substantive clues to understanding the DPRK through its current Western-educated leader, Kim Jong-Un. Being more emphatic and expressive than his predecessors offers the rest of the world exclusive insight into his regime direction. While previous studies have successfully correlated North Korean rhetoric with reactive aggression meant to draw lines for its opponents or threaten provocation, little research has been made in terms of Kim Jong-Un’s statements made and any associated actions that have ensued. Perhaps the correlative experience his self-scripts and reactive statements can provide the clues needed to formulate conjectures for future engagement.
Chapter V.

Results and Analysis

This chapter provides an assessment of the results of the operational code query of six New Year’s speeches given by Kim Jong-Un and analyses in terms of his operational code. It explains the quantitative processes implemented, analyses of the results, and explains how they can be interpreted. Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s speeches from January 2013 to January 2018 were coded using a slightly modified version of Bond’s original methodology to determine Kim Jong-Un’s operational code. This was then analyzed and compared to Bond’s original findings. Of the aggregate tests done, notable findings and comparisons are offered in this section and supplemented by contextual information derived from related scholarly sources and historical context to develop a picture of Kim Jong-un’s political and foreign policy strategy. Selective use of Bond’s analytical tools, including hand-coding, chi square tests, ANOVA, and other statistical outputs for quantitative analysis, offered a way to engage the following research questions:

- What defines Kim Jong-un’s operational code?
- Has his operational code stayed consistent during his tenure?
- How does it differ from that of his predecessors?
- What does Kim Jong-Un’s operational code imply about his political tendencies?
Discussion of Hypotheses

Based on multiple scholarly works, including Koo et al., Studer, and others, it has been suggested that Kim Jong-un is making a marked shift away from his father’s “Military First” strategy. That is, Kim Jong-Un has placed his focus on economic strategies. Based on qualitative readings on the subject matter, initial hypotheses that sought to address the research questions prior to data analysis were the following:

- **H1:** Kim Jong-un’s operational code will be consistent across the six years that he has offered New Year’s speeches and will be defined by offering a majority of positive scripts as he attempts to portray himself as a rational, system abiding leader, which would contribute to his power consolidation.

- **H2:** Kim Jong-un is likely to invoke negative scripts about the KPA (Korean People’s Army), being that this is a point of contention for his consolidation of power. Alternatively, he might choose to speak highly of the KWP instead, which would have a similar effect without antagonizing the KPA.

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82 Bon Sang Koo, Jun Young Choi, and Junseok Kim, "Analyzing Kim Jong-un's Survival Strategy from the Comparative Authoritarian Perspective."
H3: His operational code will differ from Kim Jong-II’s in that Kim Jong-II is more likely to invoke negative scripts overall, since his “Military First” policy relies on fear and coercion to sustain a militaristic consolidation of power. Kim Jong-un’s, on the other hand, would rely on invoking positive scripts overall. He will be more like Kim II-Sung than Jong-II.

H4: Kim Jong-Un’s operational code will show that Kim Jong-Un is using a strategy similar to his grandfather.

The following portion of Chapter V is separated by discussions for each of the above hypotheses. Through the hypotheses, the data outputs are explored and analyzed. It begins with a discussion of Kim Jong-Un’s operational code, followed by his operational code in terms of power consolidation by using the audience variable. This is followed by a comparative analysis of his predecessors through a salience test of differences across the different variables. The last hypothesis discussion offers a test of the predictive capacity of his operational code.

Kim Jong-Un’s Operational Code and Changes over time: H1

The first hypothesis in this study, H1, assessed Kim Jong-Un’s operational code over the six years of his ascent to power. The following shows the total distribution of all variables:

Table 7. Summary Statistics for All Variables for Kim Jong-Un.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Total Count</th>
<th>CumN</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SE Mean</th>
<th>Tr Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

An overall look at Kim Jong-Un shows that he was very optimistic, had high control, and overall had very positive form of script, or promises of rewards. This goes in line with the consideration that despite the audience not being a concern in terms of bellicose discourse on foreign powers, discussion of internal enemies and issues is still sensitive. It also goes in line with Kim Jong-Un as being in a transitionary stage, or still trying to consolidate power.

Table 8. Skewness, Kurtosis, MSSD for Kim Jong-Un.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
<th>MSSD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-attributes: O - P</td>
<td>-0.85</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.3536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-attributes: HC - LC</td>
<td>-0.00</td>
<td>-0.44</td>
<td>0.4484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Script</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>-0.78</td>
<td>0.2835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form of Script</td>
<td>-0.43</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.7893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-H</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.4416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table suggests that in reference to skewness, Kim Jong-Un has had the most consistency in terms of the HC – LC, or high and low control. This is discussed further in the comparative portion of this section but essentially suggests that he offers confident,
active imperatives in his discourse. This was exhibited in Bond’s study as actions that were congruent with decisive political action. Additionally, Kim Jong-Un showed high skewness for optimism (the negative connoting optimism on the spectrum).

I posited H1 that Kim Jong-Un’s operational code would be consistent across the six years. This was tested by calculating the mean values of the four attributable variables, standard deviation and used a one-way ANOVA to determine changes over time in terms of intensity. In congruence with Bond’s methodology, any self-references that registered as zero values across all variables for any given year were dropped. Explicit references were weighted twice as much as implicit references. Resulting calculations are contained in Table 5 below:

Table 9. ANOVA Test for Changes Over Time Across All Years for Kim Jong-Un.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>StDev</th>
<th>Variance</th>
<th>CoefVar</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-attributes: O - P</td>
<td>0.888</td>
<td>0.7890</td>
<td>21.39</td>
<td>4.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-attributes: HC - LC</td>
<td>0.879</td>
<td>0.7737</td>
<td>23.75</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Script</td>
<td>0.697</td>
<td>0.4871</td>
<td>19.15</td>
<td>3.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form of Script</td>
<td>1.350</td>
<td>1.8239</td>
<td>33.85</td>
<td>3.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-H</td>
<td>1.005</td>
<td>1.0106</td>
<td>29.76</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Findings show that across all years Kim Jong-Un’s operational code stayed consistent save for two variables: friendly/hostility and positive/negative scripts showed the greatest amount of changes across the variables. The Form of Script differences could be attributable to the discussion of enemies within and outside of the DPRK, which
would go in conjunction with the variance found in the Friendly/Hostility variables. Kim Jung Un’s speeches revealed a heavily skewed friendliness over hostility, often praising the achievements made by not only the Party, but also a number of industries, service personnel, athletes, youth vanguard, congress. The varied audience suggests, along with the skewness of the friendliness variable, that he makes it a point to target specific audiences when offering praise. This was supplemented by his tendency to use singular self-references (A on the coding sheet) when congratulating, praising or rewarding someone. Additional findings are discussed comparatively in H3, rather than in this subsection for a better understanding of the findings within context.

KWP and the KWP: H2

Engaging the second hypothesis required analysis of the audience, or party variable and determining the aggregate numbers for the recipients to determine first if he offered more or less positive or negative inducements overall, as well as who was the object of these references. The first part of H2, “Kim Jong-un is likely to invoke negative scripts about the KWP,” was shot down rather quickly because he did not offer any explicit criticisms towards the military. Implicit suggestions across the years offered such subtle criticisms as, “…we should improve” but never outright offering misgivings about the KWP. The inverse, however was true in that there were many times that he referenced the Party in an encouraging or positive inducement. The breakdown is as shown in Table 7:

Table 10. Party Variable Results Across All Years for Kim Jong-Un.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compatriots/ Friends/ (Anyone who doesn’t go against NK rule)</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Towards unspecified (all) compatriots/ friends of NK</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressed to DPRK Party</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military (service personnel/ army)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Industries of NK</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientists/technicians/economists of NK</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean compatriots/ friends of NK</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Peace-Loving&quot; compatriots/ friends of NK</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Socialist&quot; compatriots/ friends of NK</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet compatriots/ friends of NK</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressed to other compatriots/friends; comments</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*counted specific in-group for evaluation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total: 979</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enemies Addressed</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>82 addressed to unspecified (all) enemies/ foes of NK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>36 addressed to US enemies/ foes of NK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12 addressed to Korean enemies/ foes (traitors) of NK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 addressed to &quot;Western Imperialist&quot; enemies/ foes of NK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10 addressed to Possible defectors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>19 addressed to other enemies/ foes; comments- enemies who were not even sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total: 163</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results from the Party variable offered interesting insights into Kim Jong-Un’s speech content. Across the six speeches covered, Kim spent the majority of time addressing unspecified ‘allies’ of the DPRK. Many of the objects of the self-references presented were ambiguous or simply referring to the people. Interestingly, there were many times that he refers to the ‘Party,’ which itself is a bit ambiguous in terms of
whether he is referring to the Korean Workers Party or simply ‘the Party.’ In the instances were Un did offer direct references to the KWP (32) or 3.27%, he registered all positive inducements. Of all the positive inducements directed towards Compatriots / Allies, the highest number of references to a specific party was 14.7%, directed at the ‘Socialist compatriots’ category of the time he referred to 3.27%. While the chart may appear to show that Kim Jong-Un favors the KWP equally to the KWP (both 3.27% of overall positive inducements), there were quite a few implicit positive references directed at the KWP that were categorized as “Socialist Compatriots/ Friends of NK.” For example, he said in 2013, “The building of an economic giant is the most important task that comes to the fore in the present stage of building a thriving socialist country.”

While this was classified as Socialist comrade in typology, it was implicitly referencing the group most applicable for “building an economic giant” by way of the KWP. With that in mind, the second part of H2 proved correct. Even if only a small number of the references directed at the ‘Socialist’ audience were meant for the KWP, there were still significantly more references to the KWP. It makes sense that the KWP could be referenced indirectly as ‘Socialist comrades’ because the legitimacy of Juche and the KWP are upheld by the Korean socialist precepts. Additional citations are mentioned in the footnotes.83

83 90 diplomatic and consular services, 93 national security, 95 missiles, 116 congressional committees, 167 international relations, 189 sanctions, 268 bills, 334 nuclear weapons, and presidents since the beginning of 2013. Most involve with within Korea, with the US, and South Korea. Trump, Mike Pompeo, Obama, Moon Jae In
Comparative Study: The Three Kim’s

The third hypothesis discussion pertains to the third objective question, “How does Kim Jong-Un differ from his predecessors?” and provides the comparative portion of this study. Through salience testing of differences, exploration of the differences can be made. The first comparison, H3A, compares Kim Jong-Un to his direct predecessor, Kim Jong-Il. H3B compares Kim Jong-Un to Kim Il-Sung, and H3C offers a juxtaposition of all three Kim’s and discussion of their differences.

Kim Jong-Un vs Kim Jong-Il: H3A

In the first part of H3, the assertion that, “Kim Jong-Un will be quite different from his father” is explored for salience of differences among Friendly/Hostility, Optimism/Pessimism, and Script values. Tables 12-14 show these different values:

Table 11. Salience of Differences Among Friendly/Hostility Values Across All Years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KJU v KJI</th>
<th>Kim Jong-Un</th>
<th>Kim Jong-Il</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>(168) 74.8%</td>
<td>(2) 40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>(57) 25.2%</td>
<td>(3) 60.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This first set of values for friendliness and hostility show a dramatic difference between Kim Jong-Un and his father. Kim Jong-Il’s intensity had shown to be on the positive, or friendly portion of the continuum in Bond’s study, but it appears he is more hostile in his speech, despite talking to a friendly party. The implication here could be
that Kim Jong-Il simply wasn’t concerned with audience costs because of his type of control.\textsuperscript{84}

Table 12. Salience of Differences Among Optimism/Pessimism Values Across All Years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KJU v KJI</th>
<th>Kim Jong-Un</th>
<th>Kim Jong-Il</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Optimism</td>
<td>(354) 98.88%</td>
<td>(1) 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pessimism</td>
<td>(14) .039%</td>
<td>(0) 0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison between these two was not possible because of the n value for Kim Jong-Il. However, the striking similarities in the heavily skewed Table 13 figures for Kim Jong-Un recall Bond’s determination that implicit references could account for a lack of pessimism.

Table 13. Salience of Differences Among Script Values Across All Years: KJU v KJI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kim Jong-Un</th>
<th>Kim Jong-Il</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>(382) 85.85%</td>
<td>(37) 82.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>(63) 14.15%</td>
<td>(8) 17.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Script values for the father and son show that Kim Jong-Il offers more negative scripts than Kim Jong-Un, which serves to suggest the type of audience being engaged.

\textsuperscript{84} He used the military to sustain or consolidate power, therefore the audience did not matter as much. More on Pg. Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il.”
That is, Kim Jong-Il’s speech was offered to the KWP, which played an antagonistic role for Kim Jong-Il’s power consolidation efforts. Another interpretation is that Kim Jong-Il had far less audience costs with consideration to the fact that his consolidation of power efforts relied on coercion and use of military strength rather than political savvy or appeasement of the elite.

Kim Jong-un’s, on the other hand, would rely on invoking positive scripts overall. Data suggests that Kim Jong-Il did invoke more negative scripts overall as compared to the other two Kim’s, which coincides with data available on his methodology of having a strong hold over the KWP. Kim Jong-un had the least threats of punishment, (2) opposition to resistance.

Kim Jong-Un vs Kim Il-Sung: H3B

The second part of H3, H3B, posits that Kim Jong-Un will be more like Kim Il-Sung was considered in the second part of H3. This turned out to be true, but only when considered with a contextual analysis of the data. Comparing Kim Jong-Un to Kim Il-Sung offered much more freedom of query than comparing him to Kim Jong-Il due to the intended design of the population sets. Furthermore, Kim Jong-Il’s Songun Policy and character divergence from his father disqualified him as a viable source of study for the purpose of predicting what Kim Jong-Un might do in the future. The three sets of variables compared in H3A were also considered in H3B, shown in tables 15 – 17.
Table 14. Salience of Differences Among Friendly/Hostility Values Across All Years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kim Jong-Un</th>
<th>Kim Il-Sung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>(168) 74.8%</td>
<td>(74) 87.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>(57) 25.2%</td>
<td>(11) 12.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the friendly/hostility values, the data in Table 14 suggests that overall, Kim Jong-Un invokes much more hostility than Kim Il-Sung. However, he still can be considered as friendly in terms of intensity. This suggests that Kim Jong-Un primarily invokes hostility through implicit references, which goes in line with the understanding that he is pursuant of consolidation of power and cannot assume the liability of making enemies within his constituency.

Table 15. Salience of Differences Among Optimism/Pessimism Values, Across All Years: KJU v KIS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kim Jong-Un</th>
<th>Kim Il-Sung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Optimism</td>
<td>(354) 98.88%</td>
<td>(23) 79.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pessimism</td>
<td>(14) 0.039%</td>
<td>(6) 20.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The optimism/pessimism variables showed significant differences between Kim Jong-Un and Kim Il-Sung. Bond found that this was the case as well between Sung and his son Jong-II. Although he could not make any conclusions due to an unacceptable n

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85 Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II.”
value for Kim Jong-Il, the comparison in Table 16 validates his conjecture that it is possible that the variable simply does not apply to the subject’s operational code. Again, this may be a question of power consolidation. Pessimism offers very little value in a tenuous political arena. Positive and negative inducements showed a bit different story:

Table 16. Salience of Differences for Positive /Negative Inducements Across All Years: KJU v KJI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kim Jong-Un</th>
<th>Kim Il-Sung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>(382) 85.85%</td>
<td>(130) 94.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>(63) 14.15%</td>
<td>(8) 5.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Across the years, Kim Jong-Un showed a far higher percentage of negative inducements than Kim Il-Sung. However, Kim Il-Sung’s data is calculated across all years and therefore said inducements are skewed in the positive direction, despite his heavy engagement in earlier years.

Table 17. Salience of Differences Among Script Values, KJU v KIS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kim Jong-Un</th>
<th>Kim Il-Sung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>(382) 85.85%</td>
<td>(130) 94.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>(63) 14.15%</td>
<td>(8) 5.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Control Variable in Context: Implications for Economic Overhaul

A fascinating trend that was found in the data analysis and worthy of mention was the High/Low Control variable. Bond articulated the difficulty of including this variable for study because its attributes and resultant output could have an array of manifestations. Nonetheless, his study and methodology resulted in the control variable having some degree of predictability. The table below shows the percentage distribution of the Control variable below:

Table 18. Percentage Distribution for Control Variable Across All Years for Kim Il-Sung.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, the very first year of his study, 1946, offered very low control for Kim Il-Sung. This corresponded correctly with the fact that at the time, Kim Il-Sung was a satellite of the Soviet Union. The dramatic jump of control into the 1950’s corresponds with Kim Il-Sung’s economic five-year reconstruction effort, which was a power consolidation effort in the wake of the devastation of the Korean War. His high control peaked in 1955, again, during a time when his efforts towards power consolidation through economic restructuring was taking place. Similarly, Kim Jong-Un’s statistically high control suggests a planned engagement on his part. Because the

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86 Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II.”

percentage distribution over the years was similar, the table below offers frequency by year, rather than overall.

Table 19. High Control Variable Per Year for Kim Jong-Un.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2017</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Control</td>
<td>56.81%</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
<td>61.3%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows Kim Jong-Un’s remarkable consistency in terms of exhibiting control in the discussion of imperatives and discourse. Like Kim Il-Sung’s initiative, perhaps Kim Jong-Un is showing the makings of an economic overhaul. This would require high control and current power consolidation efforts may point to the Byonjin Policy and its implementation. As Bond suggests in his study in reference to Kim Il-Sung’s control variable, “The decline in control and the increases in support/appeal and comprehensive planning suggest a softening in the totalitarian control aspect of Kim's code, a more rationalist tone in his approach to goals and a greater reliance on legitimation tactics.”

Because the opposite is seen with Kim Jong-Un, it can be inferred that Kim Jong-Un will utilize his totalitarian standing to implement something along the lines of Kim Il-Sung’s planned economic effort. The high control seen during his planned economy in the early 1950’s suggests that similarly, Kim Jong-Un may be implementing a cohesive action towards a unified objective.

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88 Joseph H. Bond, “The Operational Codes of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II.”
H3C: Comparative Look at All Three Kims

Table 20. Salience of Difference Among the Party Variable, Across All Years: KJU v KJU v KIS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kim Jong-Un</th>
<th>Kim Jong-Il</th>
<th>Kim Il-Sung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>(979) 85.73%</td>
<td>(63) 91.3%</td>
<td>(195) 82.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enemies</td>
<td>(163) 14.27%</td>
<td>(6) 8.7%</td>
<td>(26) 11.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The audience variable here for all three Kim’s offer confirmations for the type of audience and also the references being made. Kim Jong-Il was the most dissimilar of the three, which goes in line with the different type of speech made in comparison to Kim Jong-Un and Kim Il-Sung. He made mostly references to friendly audiences. Despite the script variable, or offers of promises and rewards offering more punishments, Kim Jong-Il addressed mostly friendly audiences. This was time in which he was still consolidating power, and the initial portion of his speech was mostly philosophical and in reference to Juche, which could account for the high frequency of friendly references. That Kim Jong-Un and Kim Il-Sung offer more similar ratios confirms the audience for New Year’s speeches, which is primarily for the people of DPRK but for others as a minority.
Chapter VI.

Research Conclusions

The final section provides interpretations of the analyses as offered in the previous chapter. The thoughts offered in this section are based on both the results in this study and other scholarly works that have offered parallel observations through other means.

Unlike Father Like Son: Comparative Look

Through the findings, it can be suggested that Kim Jong-Un’s operational code is more similar to Kim Il-Sung than Kim Jong-II. Kim Jong-II exhibited far more hostility than his predecessor or his son. Additionally, a historically contextual understanding of his reclusiveness as well as his ‘Military First’ strategy places him as the odd one out in a comparative perspective. Kim Jong-Un and Kim Il-Sung’s similarities are confirmed by the similar operational code attributes, specifically when compared between earlier eras. Kim Il-Sung’s numbers are skewed significantly by the ‘later era,’ or statistics from his speeches in 1980, 1985 and 1988. By this point, Kim Il-Sung had already ‘retired,’ having had given up Premiership and announced his successor, Kim Jong-II.89 These numbers skew dramatically in the other direction if only the ‘earlier era’ is considered, given Sung’s wartime and power consolidation efforts. For example, in 1946, 15.4% of enemy references almost doubled to 27.3% in 1950, which would put him comparably within that of Kim Jong-Un.

Un’s engagement of the economy and his openness as compared to his direct predecessor, Kim Jong-II, in terms of negotiating with foreign powers is as dissimilar to his father as it is in line with his grandfather, Kim Il-Sung. Sung was an expert negotiator and effective in distilling that which was useful to him for application to his interests without compromising his own ideology.\textsuperscript{90} In fact, he was so effective that a retrospective look at his positions and policy reveal them to be hugely paradoxical in many cases.

This was best seen in his stance on isolationism and tenants of Juche. He touted the importance of independence through his concept of Juche and the willing away of foreign powers through self-reliance. Despite this, he was largely sustained by foreign powers throughout and following the devastation of the Korean War.\textsuperscript{91} Juche itself offers paradoxical implications to a similar degree. Although it was adapted from Lenin/Marxist concepts of socialism, scholars have suggested that it is not socialist at all, and simply just a socialist front on an authoritarian regime. Within Juche, the prescribed reliance of man on himself instead suggests that the reliance be on the Great Leader. The material drivers of progress in the Bolshevik mentality implies that it is the will of the peoples to produce output and that it this is what fuels prosperity, whereas Juche cleverly disguises its precepts by suggesting that it is the people who drive prosperity, when in fact the Juche philosophy simply points to Kim Il-Sung as the absolute guidance necessary. Nonetheless, even the antithetical precepts of Juche seem to borrow from the Politburo, whose ideology seems to

\textsuperscript{90}YC Chung, YH Kim, and K. Moon. "State Strategy in the Kim Jong-un Era: The "Byongjin" Policy of Pursuing Economic and Nuclear Development."

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid
resonate with Un’s engagement of diplomacy as well as his grandfather’s engagement of policy.

Contemporary Authoritarianism

Koo et al.’s\(^{92}\) classification of Kim Jong-un as a hybrid personalist and single-contemporary authoritarian provides a nomenclature for what is exhibited in the data. Namely, his strategic engagement both domestically and beyond belongs to the character type of a contemporary authoritarian. He is seen as part personalist in how he is granted authority, but also part single-party given the weight of the KWP. Importantly, the data suggests that he exhibits characteristics of the ‘modern totalitarian.’

For example, an attribute of a modern authoritarian is opportunistic non-ideological cooperation with other nations when seen as advantageous. This can be seen in the variance in Form of Script and Friendly/Hostility variables, which, when viewed in conjunction with audience across years, suggests opportunistic discussion of external forces. Kim Jong-Un in earlier years mentions the United States as wholly an enemy power but in 2018 only refers to them implicitly as enemies. Further contributing to his classification is his appropriation of praise and support for the KPA, which is evident in the breakdown of the party variable. That is, he offers high positivity and friendliness towards the implied ‘Socialists,’ or KWP as suggested in the findings, with little to say

\(^{92}\) YC Chung, YH Kim, and K. Moon. "State Strategy in the Kim Jong-un Era: The "Byongjin" Policy of Pursuing Economic and Nuclear Development."
about the military beyond the need to make it function cohesively. also has a propensity not to invest in areas that he cannot ascertain control.

Byonjin policy is a reflection of an understanding that hereditary rule can, if maintained correctly and with the correct use of executive powers, can offer efficacy for its constituents. A study by Besley and Reynal-Queral on "The logic of hereditary rule: theory and evidence" showed through a test of sample leaders between 1848 and 2004 that economic growth is higher in polities with hereditary leaders, but only when executive constraints on its peoples are weak. Un’s Byonjin policy reflects this conclusion in the efforts made towards engagement of more accessible market his peoples in the attempt to both consolidate power and provide for economic improvement, which itself would ensure his own political longevity. The importance of the loosening of executive holds on economic growth as well as investing heavily in the KWP offer Un a two-fold advantage towards power consolidation: economic development staves off the discontent of the lower classes and subdues economically provoked insurgence, while access to the KWP allows him to use it as a ‘watchdog’ vessel to secure positions within the KPA.


Concluding Thoughts

Moving forward, however, Kim Jong-Un cannot continue to consolidate power by way of investing in the KWP. While effective at curbing the military, it cannot control rent-seeking behavior from political elites, which would turn into rampant corruption and crippling instability for Un’s regime should it go unregulated. If Kim Jong-Un’s operational code and salience over time is to be believed, he may be engaging in a similar strategy to Kim Il-Sung, who himself launched an economic overhaul after the Korean War in his attempt to consolidate power. Besley et al.’s study offers a robust claim that hereditary rule increases economic growth but only when executive constraints are weak.95 This, at least in theory, can be applied to all three Kim’s. Kim Il-Sung’s economic expansion saw growth under his planned economy, but only temporarily. Besley et al. would probably place that in the middle of ‘weak executive constraints.’ Kim Jong-Il’s source of power consolidation through the military resulted in staggering levels of poverty and famine. Should Un loosen his grip on the economy, he could potentially see growth. It remains to be seen how he will regulate the market. While the daily inner workings of the DPRK remain an enigma, the findings in this study suggest that there may be some signifiers to his success in his Byonjin policy. It can safely be assumed that an observed transitionary shift away from economic openness would imply that he has secured or at least feels comfortable with his management of the KWP. A similar conclusion could be made if he begins heavily investing in military, which seems like the next step for Kim Jong-Un to take. Koo et al. echoes this sentiment, suggesting

95 Timothy Besley and Marta Reynal-Querol. "The logic of hereditary rule: theory and evidence."
that, “[Kim Jong-Un’s] Adopting military-centered politics is a signal of regime consolidation. We should also note that Kim Jong-un cannot continue to reinforce the KWP for long.” It makes sense then, that Kim Jong-Un will continue to offer a willingness to negotiate insofar as it is advantageous, and a sudden shift away from his current agreeability in terms of trade, aid or nuclear non-proliferation agreements should sound an alarm that he has gone from consolidating power to having it.

Limitations

Operational code has offered a wealth of interesting data, particularly in terms of quantifying what was qualitatively assessed, given a situation. Determining the temperament/self-attributes, scripts and audience using operational code methodology can produce inaccurate interpretations due to varied individual interpretations and/or comprehension of guidelines, the data being analyzed, level of subject knowledge, and methodology.

Speech data categories were limited possibly leaving out other pertinent categories or subjects. In particular, Bond’s entry sheet methodology may have been clear for the most part but not being able to access his raw data because it was offered in a defunct format required guesswork to have a holistic understanding of the conclusions offered. Consequently, the lack of examples and specific nation categorization or party addresses in the audience variable increased output variance and interpretation differences by test takers.

Ambiguous identifiers could be improved upon with further clarity. Such as obtaining a small pool of recipient options of a specific subset. Just as followed, ‘Chinese patriots or friends of NK’ could potentially result in unwanted ambiguity with the addition of ‘friends of NK” attached to this. Further exacerbating the categorization were other similar variables such as the more elusive “Peace-Loving compatriots or friends of NK” and the division of enemies/foes and friends/compatriots/ patriots. Such categorical entities seen as the same description could cause additional uncontrollable variables such as stress, panic, or frustration with oneself or task influences the data collected. Very limited data is currently available on the usage of operational code as an assessment tool of particular power personalities.

A larger pool of research that has both replicated and used operational code for other purposes has enabled for validity to increase and solidify correlational data. Some limitations may be eliminated with a thorough and thoughtfully revised set of data details thorough comprehensive instruction guides along with data collection, including necessary programs and additional directions for data organization, interpretation, and coding. Refinement of data analytics by offering effective coding mechanics could also see to improve the eliminating outliers and increase the validity of findings moving forward.

Additionally, the data results allowed for hypothesized data to be of some importance and understanding of the authors objective but scientifically cannot claim that any correlational relationship exists. Currently, a limited number of studies have been conducted replicating speech analysis data using operational code.

Subsequent studies using operational code of speech data frequently making minimal strategy and methodology revisions, cutting down or adding data. Varied operational code studies have not been compared to see if in fact data needs to follow a code for results to reflect the null hypothesis or could data be a bit more flexible and still come to the same or similar conclusion to similar studies. There is more room for a central reference point for methodology with a succinct set of guidelines and topics. As a result, only a few studies that have been replicated in the same methodology and technique are available.

This final section provides interpretations of the analyses as offered in the previous chapter. The thoughts offered in this section are based on both the results in this study and other scholarly works that have offered parallel observations through other means and have provided, hopefully, some semblance of understanding.
### Appendix 1.

**Raw Data**

**KEY:**

- **Columns 1-2** Year of Speech
- **Columns 3-5** Line in which Self-Reference first appears
- **Columns 6** Role of Self-Reference
- **Columns 7** Friendliness/Hostility Variable
- **Columns 8** Optimism/Pessimism Variable
- **Columns 9** High/Low Control Variable
- **Columns 10** Script Type Variable
- **Columns 11** Script Form Variable
- **Columns 12-13** Party Variable
- **Columns 16...** Comments

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leaders, Kim Jong-Il’s (Kim Cho’ng-il) patriotism, faith, anti-imperialist and class consciousness and morality to train all Party members, service personnel and other working people

<p>| 15 115 B | 3 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 00 leaders, Kim Jong-Il’s (Kim Cho’ng-il) patriotism, faith, anti-imperialist and class consciousness and morality to train all Party members, service personnel and other working people |
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Appendix II.
The Data Entry Sheet

The Operational Code Data Entry Sheet is used for the purposes of systematic assessment of chosen characteristics of written presentations. It begins with coder information: the coder’s name, the author of the speech, and the date of coding, along with the total number of lines in the speech in question.

The balance of the sheet is divided into columns. The first three columns starting from the left-hand side represents a six digit I.D. code. This includes two numbers for the year (eg. 1985 = 85), a three digit line number where the self-reference (described below) first appears (eg. line 2 = 002)\(^{99}\) and a one letter "role" variable that indicates how the self-reference is used in the sentence. The scaling for this role variable is as follows: A = active (ie. the person who is doing the action), singular self-references (I, Me and My) which always appear as grammatical subjects; B = active (ie. the people who are doing the action), plural self-references (Us, We and Our [Self-Group]) which always appear as grammatical subjects -- a Self-Group is a group in which the speaker is a member; C = passive (ie. some other party is doing something to the speaker), singular self-references (I, Me and My) which always appears as grammatical objects; D = passive (ie. some other party is doing something to the speaker's group), plural self-references (Us, We and Our [Self-Group]) which always appear as grammatical objects -- again, a Self-Group is a group in which the speaker is a member. This form scale enables us to

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\(^{98}\) The majority of these instructions are based on Joseph Bond’s (1990) ‘Data Entry Sheet’ for consistency in fulfilling the purpose of this thesis’s comparative efforts.

\(^{99}\) In cases where more than one self-reference appears on the same line, we use the subsequent line number for the second self-reference to assure a unique I.D. number for each self-reference (case). Such occurrences are then noted in the comments section for that case.
track any differences in the operational code as a speaker's self-references expand from
the individual self to collective groups of which s/he is a member.

Three dimensions of self-attributes are arrayed in the next three columns from the
left. These include friendliness-hostility, optimism-pessimism and high-low control.
Self-attributions are coded on a 5-1 scale, where 5 represents clearly positive
(friendliness/optimistic/high control) and 1 represents clearly negative
(hostile/pessimistic/low control); 3 represents the mid-point of the scale and is used for
mixed ratings. This midpoint is also used to note when the self-attribute is not relevant.
Scale values 4 and 2 are used to rate self-attributions which are evident -- either positive
or negative, respectively -- but are not clearly articulated. The three self-attribute
dimensions reflect the philosophical beliefs of the speaker. The plan variable was
removed, as mentioned in the body of the thesis in Chapter III.

Continuing to the right, two columns are used to indicate the type and form of
scripts; the term script refers to six types of positive and negative inducements arrayed on
a bi-directional scale. If a script is explicit in nature its companion form variable is
marked 5; if the script is implicit, but clear from the context, its form is marked 4; if no
scripts are evident, the form variable is marked 3.

The type of script variable refers to past and ongoing actions cited within a self-
reference. They are assessed in terms of how they operate, with positive or negative
inducements. At the top of the scale stands rewards (scale value = 6), followed by
promises of rewards (5) and shows of support/appeals (4); the midpoint (3) is next, and is
used here only for non-applicable ratings. The negative end of the scale begins at scale
value 2 for shows of opposition/resistance; next is 1 for threats of punishment and 0 for
punishment. The types of scripts represent instrumental beliefs of the speaker.
Moving to the right, a column is provided to identify the target or source (ie. the communicant PARTY) of each remark, if any. The party represents the person or group who/which receives or is the source of the action expressed in the self-reference and may or may not be evident/relevant in a case. This party variable places the self-references in context and facilitates the interpretation of results. Simply enter the appropriate numerical code of the party(ies) from the list on the next page. If the target or source of the remark does not apply or is absent, leave this column blank. Note, if the party is the source of the action, the self-reference must be passive (ie. someone/group is doing something to the speaker); and if the party is the target of the action, the self-reference must be active (ie. someone/group is doing something to the speaker).

Numeric Codes for Objects

00 = unspecified (ie. all) compatriots or friends of NK

01 = Chinese compatriots or friends of NK
02 = Japanese compatriots or friends of NK

04 = "Peace-Loving" compatriots or friends of NK
05 = "Socialist" compatriots or friends of NK
06 = Soviet compatriots or friends of NK
07 = "Third World" compatriots or friends of NK

09 = other compatriots or friends; identify in comments

10 = unspecified (ie. all) enemies or foes of NK

11 = American (USA) enemies or foes of NK
12 = "Big Power" enemies or foes of NK
13 = Japanese enemies or foes of NK
14 = Korean enemies or foes (usually identified as traitors) of NK
15 = "Western Imperialist" enemies or foes of NK

19 = other enemies or foes; identify in comments

20 and up = compound objects

The last column on the right is for comments to qualify and supplement the assessments. A key for all the scales is located at the bottom of the sheet.

The Coding Process: Identifying and Marking the Self-References

After completing the top of the code sheet, the first step in the coding process is the identification of the self-references in the presentation. Refer now to the front side of the coding sheet and follow the discussion below. The only statements coded in this study are those in which the speaker refers to him/herself. The pronouns I, me, we, us and our [self-group] always constitute a self-reference or case. Some common examples of the use of our [self-group] include our Party, our government or our Republic. Each and every pronoun referring to the speaker is coded individually regardless of whether it is bound to a single verb. Such compound self-references (eg. Our Party, our workers and our people must sacrifice to ... ) are noted in the comments.

100 Compound object codes are created while coding. As each new combination of multiple objects is observed, the multiple individual codes listed in the text are recorded in the comments section. The first combination is assigned the code 20, the next 21, and so on.
Now, go through the entire speech and underline each of the self-references (ie. I, me, our [group], us and we) where the speaker is referring to him/herself, as described above.

Each of these underlined self-references, together with its marking of qualifiers and objects, constitutes a case in our research.

The Coding Process: Assessing the Speaker's Belief System

After all self-references have been identified and marked, each of them is assessed in turn with respect to selected philosophical and instrumental beliefs as listed on the sheet. Instrumental beliefs refer to the speakers beliefs about end-means relationships in the context of political action. These beliefs are embodied in a continuum of six levels or types of actions representing positive (ie. rewards, promises of rewards and shows of support/appeals) and negative (ie. shows of resistance/opposition, threats of punishment and punishments) inducements, and the relationship between those actions and their expected outcomes. Instrumental beliefs are indicated by the presence of an action verb directed at or being received from another party. Philosophical beliefs, on the other hand, refer to the assumptions and premisses the speaker makes regarding the fundamental nature of politics, the nature of political conflict and the role of the individual in history. Philosophical beliefs are often indicated by the presence of state-of-being verbs (i.e. is, are or am) which describe the state-of-being of the speaker. These self-attributions also are identified by adjectives (modifiers) qualifying the speaker.

Now, consider in turn each of the self-attributions, the plans, if any (together, these comprise the philosophical beliefs), and any scripts reflecting the instrumental beliefs, and ask whether it is relevant to the self-references, one at a time. Begin with the scripts variable, then assess the plan, if any and finish with the self-attributes.

First, consider the scripts type variable. If none of the script actions is relevant, mark a 3 (for Not Evident) in the scripts column.
If a script action is relevant, we rate the highest intensity or level\textsuperscript{101} associated instrumental belief (means to an end) as conveyed by an action verb, a phrase or the context of the self-reference. Simply enter the scale value that corresponds to the highest level action or instrumental belief (eg. a reward is higher than a promise, as outlined below).

\textsuperscript{101}The highest levels of action/beliefs are the positive and negative extremes of the script scale, ie. toward rewards, and toward punishments, respectively. Here we are assessing the "peak" or highest level of actions/beliefs, either positively or negatively.
Inducement

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<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative Value</td>
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Highest Level 6 Reward Punishment 0

5 Promise Threat 1

Lowest Level 4 Show of S/A Show of O/R 2

Next, the companion form variable for the script is assessed. If the reference to the action was explicit (in that a particular action verb conveyed the sense of a reward, punishment, etc.), then the form is marked explicit. The script form variable is then marked 5.

If the action is implicit but clear from the context (ie. no action verb specifically conveys the meaning), then the script form variable is marked 4.

Finally, note that the scripts form must be marked 3 (ie. N/A) whenever the script type variable is marked 3 (ie. not evident).

Moving on to the plan variable, first consider its relevancy. A plan is evident if its existence is conveyed by a word, a phrase or the context of the passage.

If a plan of action is not evident, mark this plan variable a 3.

If a plan of action is evident, and if one or more adjectives describe it in any detail, mark the plan variable a 5.

If the comprehensiveness of the plan is ambiguous in that no adjective characterizes it, then the plan variable is marked 4.

Now we consider the philosophical beliefs, as embodied in the self-attributions, if any. Relevant beliefs might attribute a positive (ie. friendly, optimistic or high control) or a negative (ie. hostile, pessimistic
or low control) self-attribution. If these positive self-attributions are evident, they are marked 5 or 4 for clearly or somewhat positive references, respectively. Recall from above, that a clear reference requires a specific adjective (modifier) describing the self-attribute(s) under consideration as opposed to the meaning being clear from the context.

If negative self-attributions are evident, they are marked 1 or 2 for clearly and somewhat negative references, respectively. Again, a clear reference requires a specific adjective (modifier) which describing the self-reference under consideration.

Finally, be sure to note any qualifications and/or supplemental information needed to clarify your assessment in the comments column.

Manifestations of Selected Philosophical Beliefs: Self-Attributions

F - H    Friendliness - Hostility

Friendliness is generally identifiable by references to warm, agreeable, congenial or pleasant attributes of the speaker. Hostility may be referenced by anger or bitterness.

O - P    Optimism - Pessimism

Optimism can be identified when the speaker is upbeat or hopeful about the future. Enthusiasm also conveys this image. Pessimism, conversely, might be conveyed through the use of adjectives such as cynicism, and doubt, etc.

HC-LC    High Control - Low Control

High control implies some control which a leader perceives to possesses. For example, if the speaker were to say "we are the master's of the universe," then such a statement could be construed as clearly high in control.
Manifestations of Selected Instrumental Beliefs:

Positive & Negative Inducements

Although the various actions that reflect instrumental beliefs are arrayed on a single scale, here we define the discrete types of action or scripts individually to facilitate their identification and assessment. The positive inducement scripts are listed first, followed by the negative inducement scripts. Both are listed in descending order of intensity as they appear in the scripts variable scale.

Positive Inducements (from highest to lowest intensity)

Rewards (Scripts Scale Value=6)

Rewards refer to actions which convey an award or recognition. For example, "I congratulate the people of the Republic for a job well done," would be an explicit reward.

Promises of Rewards (Scripts Scale Value=5)

Promises are future positive inducements. If Kim were to promise a higher standard of living as a result of an increase in production then this is an explicit promise contingent upon production performance. But if Kim were to state only that "We must increase production because it is vital in obtaining a better standard of living," then this would be an implicit promise.

Supports and Appeals (Scripts Scale Value=4)

Shows of Support and Appeals refer to a demonstration of the speaker's unity with a group, cause or action. Explicit shows usually invoke the words support or appeal. Implicit shows of might be manifest in a blessing or greeting such as "We share in the aspirations of the Third World."

Negative Inducements (from highest to lowest intensity)
Punishments (Scripts Scale Value=0)

Punishments refer to actions which convey a penalty or admonishment. For example, "I will not recognize the puppet regime in the south," would be an explicit punishment. But a simple condemnation usually does not by itself constitute a punishment. Specifically, a penalty or cost to the object must be evident to rate more than a show of resistance or opposition.

Threats of punishment (Scripts Scale Value=1)

Threats are future negative inducements. If Kim were to threaten a lower standard of living as a result of a decrease in production then this is an explicit threat contingent upon production performance. But if Kim were to state only that "The recent decrease in production will undermine our standard of living," then this would be an implicit threat.

Resistance and Opposition (Scripts Scale Value=2)

Shows of Resistance and Opposition refer to a demonstration of the speaker's disagreement or difference with a group, cause or action. Explicit shows usually invoke the words resist or oppose. Implicit shows might be manifest in a criticism such as "We lament the plight of the capitalist working class."
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2013

Dear comrades,

Officers and men of the heroic People's Army and all the beloved fellow countrymen,

Dear compatriots,

Having seen out the year 2012 characterized by the events that will go down in
the history of the nation, we are seeing in the new year 2013 full of high hope and
confidence in final victory.

Reflecting the unanimous reverence of all the service personnel and people for
President Kim Il-Sung and General Kim Jong-II, the fathers of the nation and
eternal Sun of Juche, I would like first to pay the highest tribute and New Year
greetings to them.

I extend my warm greetings to the service personnel and people who are
devotedly striving for the prosperity of the country, firmly united around the Workers'
Party of Korea, and sincerely wish all the families across the country harmony and
greater happiness.

My New Year greetings also go to our compatriots in the south and abroad who
are ringing in the new year with yearning and expectations for the reunification and
prosperity of the nation and the world's progressive peoples and our foreign friends
who love justice and peace.

Last year was a historic year in which the great Generalissimos were upheld as
the eternal leaders of our revolution and a firm guarantee was provided for brilliantly
carrying forward the revolutionary cause of Juche to completion under the leadership of
the Party.

The President and the General were great leaders whom our people acclaimed
for the first time in their history spanning thousands of years; they are the eternal
images of the great Paektusan nation and banners of all victories and glory. Last year
we celebrated the centenary of the birth of the President as the greatest national
holiday, reviewed the 100-year history of Juche Korea with pride and held up the
General as the eternal leader of our Party and people, realizing the cause of
immortalizing the leader. By doing so, we have been able to glorify the new century of
the Juche era as the annals of victory and glory for the accomplishment of the
revolutionary cause of Juche under the unfurled banner of Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism.

Although they saw in 2012 in tears of blood after the sudden demise of the
General whom they had believed in as in heaven, our service personnel and people
determinedly rose up following the Party with firm faith that the great General would
always be with them and fully supported the leadership of the Party. With loyalty as
pure as white gem, noble sense of moral obligation and all sincerity, they refurbished
the Kumsusan Palace of the Sun in the most sublime way as befits the supreme
sanctuary of Juche and erected the statues of the Generalissimos on Mansu Hill and in
several other places.

Placing deep trust in and faithfully supporting the Party, they established the
ties of blood with it, their hearts pulsating in the same beats with it, and always shared
sweets and bitters with it. Major political celebrations held amid the deep interest of the whole nation and the days of last year bore testimony to the single-hearted unity between the Party, the army and the people which was further consolidated to be unbreakable ties of blood.

Last year our service personnel and people achieved historic victories which would brilliantly shine in the history of the country by waging a general offensive to put the intentions and instructions of the General into practice.

Our reliable scientists and technicians successfully launched the artificial earth satellite Kwangmyongsong 3-2, carrying out the instruction of the General with credit and fully demonstrating the high level of space science and technology and overall national power of Juche Korea. That we successfully manufactured and launched the scientific and technological satellite by entirely relying on our own efforts, technology and wisdom was an event of national jubilation that raised the dignity and honor of the Sun's nation onto the highest level and a great event which inspired all the service personnel and people with confidence in sure victory and courage and clearly showed that Korea does what it is determined to do.

Through the parade held in celebration of the centenary of the birth of the President, our revolutionary armed forces demonstrated the inexhaustible might of the powerful revolutionary army of Mt. Paektu steadfast in ideology and faith and equipped with Korean-style modern military hardware capable of defeating any formidable enemy. And they reliably safeguarded the security of the country by resolutely smashing every war provocation and anti-DPRK smear campaign of the enemy. The officers and men of the People's Army and the People's Internal Security Forces made breakthroughs on all major fronts of building a thriving country with the mettle of "At a go" and did many good things for the happiness of the people, thereby living up to the expectations and trust of the Party and people.

Although the situation was acute and complicated and severe natural calamities hit the country in succession last year, our army and people made great strides in their efforts to build a thriving socialist country and improve the people's living standards by displaying an indomitable will and waging an unyielding struggle.

We put the Huichon Power Station and Tanchon Port into commission, built many Juche-oriented and modern factories and enterprises and reconstructed major production bases in key industrial sectors on the basis of advanced science and technology, thus further consolidating the material and technological foundations of our economy.

Thanks to the exalted patriotic zeal of the service personnel and people, monumental edifices including Changjon Street and Rungna People's Pleasure Park sprang up in Pyongyang and many cultural facilities for the promotion of the wellbeing of the people were built in different parts of the country, changing its looks.

Last year, the superior socialist education system was further consolidated through the adoption of the law on enforcing universal 12-year compulsory education; our sports people achieved laudable successes in international games, adding glory to
the country; and our revolutionary artistes conducted artistic activities in a fresh and
enterprising manner, imbuing society with an animating spirit and greatly encouraging
the people in their struggle.

The brilliant successes we achieved in the revolutionary struggle and
construction work last year were ascribable to the fact that the General had unfolded an
ambitious blueprint and laid firm foundations for the building of a thriving country.
Last year's significant successes were a valuable fruit born of the unshakeable
determination and correct leadership of our Party to glorify Kim Il-Sung's
and Kim Jong-II's Korea all over the world by translating the far-reaching
plan and instructions of the General into reality and the lofty sense of loyalty and
patriotic devotion of our service personnel and people unfailingly faithful to the Party.

I extend my warm thanks to all the service personnel and people who adorned
the first year of the new century of the Juche era with great victories in hearty response
to the Party's militant call.

Comrades,

The new year 2013 is a year of great creations and changes in which a radical
turnabout will be effected in the building of a thriving socialist country on the road of
the onward march in the new century of Kim Il-Sung's and Kim Jong-II's Korea.

All the people and service personnel should dynamically turn out in the grand
onward march for building a thriving country full of pride of victors and confidence in
a rosy future.

The road of Juche is the only path for our Party and people to invariably
follow and great

Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism is the ever-victorious banner of our revolution. We
should march forward along the road of independence, the road of Songun and the road
of socialism to the end upholding the banner of Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism. Our Party
will triumphantly build a thriving socialist nation, the most powerful country, on this
land in our own way, the way the General did, by relying on our people who are the
best in the world.

This year we will be greeting the 65th anniversary of the founding of the
Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our glorious motherland, and the 60th
anniversary of the victory in the great Fatherland Liberation War.

The dignified and glorious present of our people and the bright prosperous
future of our country are ensured by the immortal nation-building exploits the
Generalissimos performed while founding a genuine state of the people for the first
time in the 5 000-year-long history of our nation and developing it into a powerful
socialist country that is independent, self-sufficient and self-reliant in national defence
and by the great achievements the President made while leading the Fatherland
Liberation War to brilliant victory on the strength of his outstanding strategy and tactics
and wise leadership.

In this significant year we should add brilliance to the immortal achievements
of the great
Generalissimos and make persevering efforts to build a thriving socialist country and carry out the cause of reunifying the country.

The building of an economic giant is the most important task that comes to the fore in the present stage of building a thriving socialist country.

We should further consolidate the successes achieved so far in economic construction to raise the status of our country to that of an economic giant in the new century, thus realizing the wish of the great General who devoted all his life to making our people well off with nothing to envy in the world.

In the same manner as we demonstrated the dignity and might of Songun Korea through the manufacture and launch of the Juche-based application satellite, the entire Party, the whole country and all the people should wage an all-out struggle this year to effect a turnaround in building an economic giant and improving the people’s standard of living.

"Let us bring about a radical turn in the building of an economic giant with the same spirit and mettle as were displayed in conquering space!" -- this is the fighting slogan our Party and people should uphold this year.

All sectors and all units of the national economy should launch a vigorous general offensive to boost production in hearty response to the Party's militant slogan.

All economic undertakings for this year should be geared to effecting a radical increase in production and stabilizing and improving the people's living standards by solidifying and making effective use of the already-built foundations of the independent national economy.

By adopting decisive steps to shore up the vanguard sectors of the national economy and the sectors of basic industries, we should develop coal-mining, electric-power and metallurgical industries and rail transport on a preferential basis and provide a firm springboard for the building of an economic giant. We should make innovations in coal-mining and metallurgical industries in particular so as to revitalize the overall economy of the country.

The success in economic construction should be manifested in the people's standard of living. We should direct great efforts to bolstering up the sectors and units that have a direct bearing on the people's livelihoods and increasing production there, so as to give them more benefits in living.

Agriculture and light industry remain the major fronts for economic construction this year, too. We should fulfil this year's plan for grain production without fail by concentrating nationwide efforts on farming and raising the efficiency of agricultural production by dint of scientific and intensive methods. We should take concrete measures for the supply of raw and other materials to light-industry factories and thus increase the output of quality consumer goods.

We should decisively bolster up livestock, fish and fruit farming to provide the people with a better, more bountiful diet. The soldiers of the People’s Army and the shock-brigade members who volunteered to work at the reclamation site of Sepho tableland in response to the Party's call should achieve miraculous successes and
perform heroic feats in this year's campaign to open a bright prospect for carrying the Party's grand nature-remaking plan to completion at an earlier date.

We should wage a dynamic struggle to boost production at the modern factories and production bases that were built under the leadership of the General who, going on with his super-intense forced march, made painstaking efforts to improve the people's living standards. By doing so, we should ensure that his ennobling affection reaches the people as it is.

All sectors and all units of the national economy should push ahead with a socialist emulation drive to reenergize production and fulfil their quotas as fixed in the national economic plan for this year.

We should bring about a radical turn in the building of an economic giant on the strength of science and technology by fanning the flames of the industrial revolution in the new century.

The industrial revolution in the new century is, in essence, a scientific and technological revolution, and breaking through the cutting edge is a shortcut to the building of an economic giant. Like the satellite scientists who conquered outer space, we should wage a dynamic campaign to push back the frontiers of science and technology so as to develop the country's overall science and technology to the world standards as soon as possible. All sectors of the national economy should direct primary efforts to the development of science and technology, bring science and technology into close combination with production in order to boost production by relying on domestic resources and technology, and introduce CNC technology in equipment and production lines and achieve their full automation in the long run.

We should improve economic guidance and management as demanded by the developing reality.

All sectors of the national economy should make scrupulous arrangements for economic planning and guidance to boost production by tapping every possible reserve and potentiality, and work out in a scientific way the immediate plans and long-term strategies for stage-by-stage development and push ahead with them in a persistent manner. We should hold fast to the socialist economic system of our own style, steadily improve and perfect the methods of economic management on the principle of encouraging the working masses to fulfil their responsibility and role befitting the masters of production, and generalize on an extensive scale the good experiences gained at several units.

We should continue to channel great efforts into consolidating our political and military might in every way.

The single-hearted unity of the army and people around the Party is our strongest weapon and a powerful propellant for the building of a thriving socialist country.

We should invariably carry forward the proud tradition of single-hearted unity, the tradition of adorning the red flag of the revolution only with victories on the
strength of the harmonious whole wherein the Party believes in the people and the latter absolutely trust and follow the former.

All officials, Party members and other working people should become genuine comrades united with a single heart, who share ideology and purpose, weal and woe with our Party on the road of the Songun revolution, and make devoted efforts for the sake of their country and people. They should orient all undertakings towards defending and cementing the single-hearted unity, and strengthen the political and ideological position of our revolution as solid as a rock by grasping the people's sentiments and rallying broad sections of the people firmly behind the Party.

The military might of a country represents its national strength; only when it builds up its military might in every way can it develop into a thriving country and defend the security and happiness of its people. We should put continued stress on increasing our military might under the great banner of Songun, reliably safeguard the security and sovereignty of the country and render services to assuring regional stability and global peace.

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the advancing of the slogan "a-match-for-a-hundred" by the great Generalissimo Kim Il-Sung. It is important to bring about a fundamental change in strengthening our revolutionary armed forces and perfecting their combat preparedness.

The People’s Army should set up a revolutionary command system and military climate, establish steel-strong military discipline and perfect its regularized features as anti-Japanese guerrillas did on Mt. Paektu, so as to prepare all its officers and men to be a-match-for-a-hundred combatants who have acquired capabilities for actual warfare, and maintain full combat readiness. If the aggressors dare launch a preemptive attack against our sacred country, the People's Army should mercilessly annihilate them and win victory in the war for the country's reunification.

Officers and men of the Korean People's Internal Security Forces and members of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards should intensify combat and political training and maintain full combat readiness with a determination to safeguard their Party and leader, country and people, and defend their hometowns.

The sector of defence industry should develop in larger numbers sophisticated military hardware of our own style that can contribute to implementing the Party's military strategy, thereby fulfilling its mission as the arsenal of the powerful revolutionary army of Mt. Paektu.

We should spur the building of a civilized socialist nation to usher in a new era of cultural efflorescence in the 21st century.

The thriving socialist country we are building is a civilized socialist one where all its people are possessed of profound cultural knowledge, sturdy physique and noble moral virtues, enjoying a socialist life to their heart's content under the most cultured conditions and environment, and a beautiful and sound lifestyle pervades the whole society.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2013

All sectors in cultural construction should implement to the letter the ideas, lines and policies set forth by the General, and develop education, public health, literature and the arts, physical culture, public morals and all other branches as appropriate to an advanced civilized nation.

We should develop Pyongyang into a more majestic and picturesque city as befits the capital of Juche Korea, the centre of Songun culture, and turn all streets and villages, mountains and rivers in provinces, cities and counties into a socialist paradise. At the same time we should set up modern cultural and welfare facilities, parks and pleasure grounds in larger numbers, thus making our people enjoy a cultured life of a new era to their heart's content.

In order to effect a radical change in this year's campaign to build a thriving socialist country, officials should make a fundamental turnabout in their ideological viewpoint, work style and attitude.

Those who acquire the President's and the General's outlook on the people, make tireless efforts for their good, rid themselves of the old way of thinking and attitude and make ceaseless innovations in all work, and rouse the masses to make breakthroughs for the advance, can be rightly claimed to be genuine officials required by our Party at present. Officials should strive with devotion, upholding the slogan "Everything for the people and everything by relying on them!" They should work to the best of their abilities with a high sense of responsibility, eagerness and an enterprising approach to work, so that their loyalty and performance can be judged by the Party and the people.

Party organizations should further enhance their militant function and role.

As the political staff of the units concerned, they should firmly establish policy-oriented principles in implementing the Party's policies and conduct political and organizational work with scrupulous care. By doing so, they should ensure that a great upsurge is brought about in their respective sectors and units. Party organizations, out of maternal feeling, should embrace all the people, take warm care of them and lead them forward to ensure that they share the same destiny with the Party to the end and fulfil their tasks at their posts in a responsible manner.

We should conduct Party work in the same way as it was done on the battleline in the 1970s, and put a focus of the work on thoroughly applying Kim Jong-Il's patriotism in all activities.

Kim Jong-Il's patriotism is the eternal soul and breath of Kim Il-Sung's nation, and a driving force for the building of a thriving country. Party organizations should ensure that all officials, Party members and other working people cherish Kim Jong-Il's patriotism deep in their hearts and give full play to their patriotic enthusiasm and spirit of devoted service in the ongoing sacred struggle to achieve prosperity of their socialist country.

Working people's organizations should conduct effective education among their members to suit their specific features, thus inspiring them to an all-out offensive for this year. Youth league organizations should educate young people to dynamically advance straight forward along the road indicated by the Party and become youth.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2013

heroes who glorify the present era of great upsurge with their creative activities and feats.

The reunification of the country is the greatest national task that brooks no further delay and was the lifelong desire and instructions of the great Generalissimos.

Deeply grieving over the national division, President Kim Il-Sung and General Kim Jong-Il, the fathers of the nation and lodestars of national reunification, worked heart and soul throughout their life to hand down a reunified country to their fellow countrymen, laying firm foundations for the independent reunification, peace and prosperity of the nation.

We should staunchly safeguard and add brilliance to the undying exploits the great Generalissimos performed for the sacred cause of national reunification, and accomplish the historic cause of the country's reunification, a long-cherished desire of our nation, true to the lofty intention of the peerlessly great persons.

This year the entire Korean nation should turn out in a nationwide patriotic struggle for reunification in unity so as to usher in a new phase in the reunification movement.

An important issue in putting an end to the division of the country and achieving its reunification is to remove confrontation between the north and the south.

The past records of inter-Korean relations show that confrontation between fellow countrymen leads to nothing but war. Anti-reunification forces of south Korea should abandon their hostile policy against their fellow countrymen, but take the road of national reconciliation, unity and reunification.

Respecting and thoroughly implementing the north-south joint declarations is a basic prerequisite to promoting the inter-Korean relations and hastening the country’s reunification.

All the compatriots in the north, south and abroad should launch a dynamic struggle to carry out to the letter the June 15 Joint Declaration and the October 4 Declaration, great reunification programmes common to the nation in the new century and milestones for peace and prosperity.

The reunification issue should be solved by the concerted efforts of our nation in an independent manner.

The driving force of the reunification movement is the entire Korean nation, and nothing is impossible if it achieves firm unity. All the members of the Korean nation in the north, south and abroad should subordinate and orientate everything to the great national cause of reunifying the country from the standpoint of giving priority and attaching importance to the nation and achieving its unity. The entire nation should vehemently reject any moves for domination, intervention, aggression and war by outside forces, and never tolerate any acts hindering the country's reunification.

Whatever trials and difficulties lie in the way of national reunification, we will build a reunified thriving country without fail on this three-thousand-ri land by the concerted efforts of the whole nation.
In the present international arena, the moves of the imperialists to interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign states and their acts of military aggression pose a serious threat to peace and security of mankind. The Asia-Pacific region, the Korean Peninsula in particular, has become the hottest spot in the world in which constant tension persists.

The aspiration and desire of mankind to lead an independent life free from all sorts of domination and subjugation is growing stronger, and no force can stem the trend of history towards independence and justice.

The present international situation demands that our Republic continue to advance along the road of independence under the unfurled banner of Songun.

By holding fast to the ideals of independence, peace and friendship, we will, in the future, too, strive to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the countries that are friendly to our country out of their respect for its sovereignty, and safeguard regional peace and stability and make the whole world independent.

A brighter and broader vista is open for us in the new year, and only victory and glory are in store for our people on their onward march.

Let us vigorously strive to achieve the prosperity of our country, our motherland, firmly rallied behind the Party under the banner of Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2013

380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2014

Dear comrades,
Dear service personnel of the Korean People's Army, all the people and other compatriots,

Having seen out 2013, a year in which we left a remarkable footprint on the road of the sacred march of the Juche revolution, we are seeing in the new year 2014 filled with confidence in the future and revolutionary self-respect.

Reflecting the boundless yearning and high respect of all the service personnel and people for the great President Kim Il-Sung and General Kim Jong-II, I would like first to pay the highest tribute and New Year greetings to them.

I extend tribute also to the martyrs who dedicated their precious lives to national defence and socialist construction last year and New Year greetings to all the service personnel and people who are opening a new era of the country's prosperity following the leadership of our Party.

And greeting the new year I wish that the families across the country would overflow with greater happiness and joy.

My New Year greetings go also to my compatriots in the south, who are fighting for independence, democracy and national reunification, to my compatriots abroad, who are devoting their all to the prosperity of their motherland, and to the progressive peoples of the world and other foreign friends, who love justice and peace.

Last year was a proud year in which the entire Party, the whole army and all the people waged an all-out offensive in support of the Party's new line of developing the two fronts simultaneously and thus achieved brilliant successes in building a thriving socialist country and defending socialism.

Last year our service personnel and people, firmly rallied behind the Party, exalted the brilliance of the ideas and cause of the President and the General and strengthened the political and ideological might of our revolutionary ranks all the more.

Through the political events held in celebration of the 65th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK and the 60th anniversary of victory in the Fatherland Liberation War and in the whole course of last year's struggle, they demonstrated their firm faith and will in holding the President and the General in high esteem and carrying forward their imperishable exploits to posterity.

Our Party's policies of respecting the people and loving them and the people's hearty loyalty of trusting and following the Party as they would do their mothers have become integrated, and thus the bloodsealed ties between them have reached a new, higher stage.

In the seething period of the effort for building a thriving country last year we took the resolute measure of removing the factionalists lurking in the Party. As our Party detected and purged the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists at an opportune time and with a correct decision, the Party and revolutionary ranks were further consolidated and our single-hearted unity was solidified to the maximum. Through this struggle our Party affirmed that as a party that serves the people, it will fully discharge the honourable mission it has assumed for the times and history and devote its all to the good of the people by enhancing its militant functions and role.

Last year we consolidated our capabilities for self-defence and achieved a brilliant victory in the acute showdown with the imperialists.
The scientists, technicians and workers in the sector of defence industry, by going beyond the cutting edge of military science with steadfast faith and mettle, demonstrated the strength of Songun Korea and rendered great services to consolidating the national defence capabilities. The officers and men of the Korean People's Army and the Korean People's Internal Security Forces, cherishing the spirit of defending their leader and motherland unto death, defended their Party and leader, country and people at the risk of their lives and smashed the reckless moves of the enemy for igniting a nuclear war and their rackets of confrontation with the DPRK at every step, thus highly exalting the dignity and might of their country.

Though the circumstances were harsh and complicated last year, our service personnel and people, by pooling their efforts, achieved great successes in the struggle to build their country into an economic giant and improve the people's standard of living. An upsurge was brought about in production in several sectors and units of the national economy, and the foundations of the self-supporting economy were further consolidated. The officials and working people in the agricultural sector in particular made innovations in production even under difficult conditions and unfavourable natural climate and thus contributed to improving the people's standard of living.

The service personnel and other builders set up numerous monumental structures for the prosperity of their country and well-being of their fellow people and ushered in a heyday of construction. Having turned out in response to the Party's appeal to create the "Masikryong speed," they carried out many construction projects, like the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum, Unha Scientists Street, Munsu Water Park and Masikryong Ski Resort, in a short period as befitting the creations in the era of the Workers' Party by displaying burning patriotic enthusiasm and working with devotion. In this way, they showed their country's proud appearance, which is changing with each passing day, and ensured that the people's laughter of happiness could ring out louder. Those who turned out for the reclamation of the Sepho Plateau and other large-scale construction projects tamed nature, overcoming difficulties, thereby opening a breakthrough in realizing the Party's far-reaching plan at an early date.

Also, the sector of culture, including sports and education, made fresh strides last year. True to the Party's intention of building our country into a sports power, a strong wind of conducting sports swept the country, and our trustworthy sportspeople won gold medals in international competitions and thus highly exalted the honour of their motherland. Preparations for enforcing a universal 12-year compulsory education were successfully promoted, many achievements made in the sector of science and technology, and up-to-date medical facilities introduced for the improvement of medical services for the people. The sector of musical art created many famous works of our times, inspiring loyalty in all the service personnel and people and encouraging them to wage a dynamic struggle and perform great feats.

The shining victories and successes we achieved last year can be ascribed to the fact that the entire Party, the whole army and all the people, in support of the revolutionary and people-oriented lines and policies of our Party and its wise leadership,
waged a heroic struggle with an indomitable faith and will to build a thriving socialist country without fail.

Through last year's struggle we clearly demonstrated that our ideology, our strength and our way are the best and no force can check our sacred cause advancing to accomplish a far-reaching ideal and goal.

I extend heartfelt thanks to all the service personnel and people, who adorned the meaningful year 2013 with eye-opening successes by displaying boundless loyalty to the Party, warm affection for their country and unparalleled self-sacrificing spirit.

Comrades,

The new year 2014 will be a year of grandiose struggle, a year of sea changes, in which we will raise a fierce wind of making a fresh leap forward on all fronts of building a thriving socialist country and thus usher in a golden age of Songun Korea.

Our struggle of this year is a worthwhile struggle to translate the people's beautiful ideals and dreams into reality at an early date and a victors' march leading to the venue of grand festival for celebrating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the glorious Workers' Party of Korea.

In this hope-filled year we should usher in a great heyday in the revolution and construction by quickening the heroic march with enthusiasm and confidence in victory.

"Let us raise a fierce wind of making a fresh leap forward on all fronts of building a thriving country filled with confidence in victory!" -- this is the militant slogan our Party and people should uphold this year.

This year we should ensure that the sectors of agriculture, construction and science and technology hold the torch of innovations in the van and the flames of the torch flare up as flames of a leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction.

This year is a meaningful one that marks the 50th anniversary of the theses on socialist rural question made public by President Kim Il-Sung.

We should clearly prove the validity and vitality of the theses by waging the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions dynamically in the rural areas and bringing about a decisive turn in agricultural production. This year we should keep up agriculture as a major thrust of our effort in the struggle for economic construction and improving the people's standard of living, and concentrate all our efforts on farming. The agricultural sector should proactively introduce scientific farming methods and do farm work in a responsible manner so as to hit without fail the target of agricultural production set by the Party. It should improve animal husbandry and do greenhouse vegetable and mushroom farming on an extensive scale so as to ensure that larger quantities of meat, vegetables and mushrooms are supplied to the people.

We should usher in a new heyday of construction this year.

Construction is an important front for solidifying the foundations of a thriving country and creating bases for the people's happy life. The construction sector should set up world-class structures representative of the Songun era and build many other structures that could contribute to improving the people's living conditions, thus laying firm foundations of the self-supporting economy and providing the people with conditions for a more affluent and civilized life. Construction of power stations in tiers on the Chongchon River, livestock farming bases in the Sepho area, the Kosan Fruit
Farm and a waterway in South Hwanghae Province and reclamation of tidal flats and other major projects should be stepped up to be completed on schedule. It is important to push ahead with the construction of dwelling houses and dormitories and construction for improving the conditions and environment for education, and set up cultural and welfare service bases on the highest standard. This year, too, the service personnel and people should make concerted efforts to build up Pyongyang so that it is more grandiose, and lay out the provinces, cities and counties so that they sustain their respective local features.

Science and technology are a propellant for building a thriving country, and the happiness of the people and the future of the country hinge on their development.

The scientific research sector should open a shortcut to the building of a knowledge-based economy by solving the long-term problems in developing the country's economy and improving the people's standard of living as well as scientific and technological problems arising in the actual situation and by going beyond the cutting edge. All scientists and technicians should achieve high results by skilfully riding the excellent "steed" provided to them by the Party and giving fullest scope to their talents and enthusiasm. By doing so, they can become true patriots who contribute to building a thriving nation. A climate of attaching importance to science and technology should prevail across society, and all officials and working people should diligently learn modern science and technology upholding the slogan of making all the people well versed in science and technology.

We should raise fierce flames of innovations in the vanguard sectors, basic industrial sectors, and all other sectors of the national economy.

The metallurgical and chemical industries are twin buttresses of an economic giant. Developing these industries is a major guarantee for economic construction and improving the people's standard of living. These industrial sectors should hold high the slogan of making them Juche-oriented and modern and launch a vigorous campaign for boosting production by relying on our own raw materials and fuels and on the latest science and technology. In this way they should supply sufficient amounts of steel and various kinds of chemical goods that are needed to reenergize the national economy as a whole and improve the people's standard of living.

We should give definite priority to electric-power and coal-mining industries.

While taking measures for generating electricity to the maximum at the existing power stations, we should draw up correct prospective plans for radically easing the strain on electricity supply and exert ourselves to carry them out. It is important to produce more electricity with priority given to hydraulic resources and by using wind, geothermal, solar and other kinds of natural energy. We should proactively increase production in coal mines and drastically solve the problem of rail and other types of transport. The electric-power and coal-mining industries and the rail transport sector should make coordinated innovations and thus give strong impetus to the development of the national economy.

We should direct great efforts to developing light industry which plays a major part in improving the people's standard of living. By stepping up modernization of and introduction of CNC technology into their production lines and increasing the proportion of locally-available raw and other materials, light industry factories should put production
on a normal footing. And all cities and counties should produce various kinds of quality consumer goods in larger amounts by developing local industry in conformity with their specific conditions.

The state should take measures to bolster up the fishing sector. The sector should follow the example of the fishing sector of the People's Army that landed a huge haul of fishes by carrying out the order of the Supreme Commander unto death. By modernizing fishing vessels and implements and launching a dynamic fishing campaign by scientific methods, it should ensure that all ports resound with whistles of vessels returning with full loads. It should also conduct shallow-sea farming on an extensive scale.

**We should protect and increase the country's priceless natural resources including underground, forest and marine resources, and conduct an energetic mass-based tree-planting drive to cover all the mountains with thick forests.**

All the sectors of the national economy should increase production by tapping all potentials and latent reserves, and at the same time launch a brisk economization campaign. Economizing is precisely production and a manifestation of patriotism. **We should intensify the economization campaign throughout society so as to make economical use of every watt of electricity, every gramme of coal and every drop of water. All the people should establish a habit of meticulously managing the country's economy with a high sense of patriotism and attitude as befitting masters.**

**We should decisively improve the guidance and management of the economy.**

**We should make a big stride in the construction of culture, including education.**

The sector of education should improve the contents, methods, conditions and environment of education as required by the revolution and developing times and bring about a fresh turn in education, including secondary general education. By putting efforts to medical treatment and preventive medicine for promoting the people's health, the public health sector should ensure that the benefits of socialist healthcare system reach the people more closely.

Art and literature are a bugler, a powerful propellant, for the revolutionary advance in building a thriving country. The sector of art and literature should produce large numbers of masterpieces of the times, which are high in ideological and artistic qualities and touch the heartstrings of the audience keeping step with the advance of our revolution and vibrant realities.

**We should raise more fiercely the strong wind of conducting sports throughout the country. We should encourage sportspeople to intensify training with a high ambition to become world champions, and splendidly implement the Party's plan of building our country into a sports power by developing sports science and technology and implementing the policy of making sports mass-based.**

**We should continue to channel great efforts into building up the country's defence capabilities.**

Strengthening defence capabilities is the most important of all state affairs, and the country's dignity, people's happiness and peace rest on powerful arms.
We should further develop the People's Army into the powerful revolutionary army of Paektusan that is unfailingly faithful to the Party, the leader, the country and the people. The main link in the whole chain of developing the People's Army is strengthening the company which is the basic combat unit of the army and base of soldiers' life. We should make all the companies elite combat ranks fully prepared politically and ideologically, militarily and technologically and their dear homes overflowing with brotherly affection. By stepping up political and ideological education among service personnel, we should train them to be strong in ideology and faith and ready to defend the Kumsusan Palace of the Sun and the Party Central Committee unto death. They should intensify combat training and launch a brisk movement for becoming crackshots so as to prepare themselves to be a-match-for-a-hundred combatants with excellent marksmanship, strong physique and a high sense of discipline.

The Korean People's Internal Security Forces should creditably discharge its noble mission and duty of defending the leader, system and people by thoroughly establishing the Party's command system and revolutionary military climate in it, and the Worker-Peasant Red Guards should intensify combat training and remain fully ready for action at all times.

The sector of defence industry should manufacture larger numbers of modern military hardware of our own style that are light, unmanned, intelligent and of high precision to solidify the self-defence capabilities.

We should further consolidate the political and ideological position of our revolution.

The political and ideological position is a fortress that decides the victory and failure in the battle of defending socialism, and consolidating the revolutionary ranks politically and ideologically is the most important task facing us.

In this significant year, in which we greet the 40th anniversary of the programme of modelling the whole society on Kimilsungism advanced by the great General, we should solidify the Party organizationally and ideologically, train all the members of society to be equipped with Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism and cement the single-hearted unity of the revolutionary ranks.

It is imperative to establish the monolithic leadership system in the Party, definitely ensure the purity of Party ranks and improve the militant functions and role of Party organizations. We should intensify ideological education among officials, Party members and other working people to ensure that they think and act at all times and in all places in line with the Party's ideas and intentions with the steadfast faith that they know only the great Comrades Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II and our Party. We should ensure that they approach with political awareness even the slightest phenomenon and element that infringe on the unity of the Party and revolutionary ranks and undermine their single-hearted unity, and eliminate them in a thoroughgoing way. They should wage a vigorous struggle to stamp out any sort of alien ideology and decadent lifestyle which may undermine our system and thus resolutely smash the enemy's schemes for ideological and cultural infiltration.

In order to make the flames of a leap forward flare up on all fronts of building a thriving socialist country, it is crucial to give fullest play to the mental strength of the masses.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2014

The greatest potential for creation and innovation, the fundamental key to miraculous change, lies in giving play to the mental strength of all the service personnel and people. A sweeping ideological campaign for information and motivational purposes should be undertaken to give free rein to the mental strength of Party members and other working people. All of them should make Kim Jong-Il's patriotism part of their mental qualities and apply it in practice, and thus become performers of heroic feats in the worthwhile struggle to build theirs into a socialist country, powerful and civilized.

It is necessary to establish stringent revolutionary discipline and order in all domains of the revolutionary struggle and construction work.

This is an important factor in demonstrating the advantages of collectivism of our society and making a success of all undertakings. All sectors and all units should carry out to the letter the policies of the Party and the laws, decisions and directives of the state, and encourage the officials and working people alike to observe laws, regulations and order with full awareness of being masters of our society and citizens of the DPRK.

Officials should make redoubled efforts to fulfill their duty as leading members of the revolution and faithful servants of the people.

They should organize undertakings in a big way with absolute loyalty to the Party, a high sense of responsibility for their work and fervent zeal, and strive with unflinching perseverance to implement the Party's plans and intentions without fail.

They should regard the people's demands and interests as the absolute criteria for their performance, concern themselves only about doing things as wished by them and to their liking, and do anything in a way beneficial to them. They should be deeply sincere to people's demands and opinions, and live and work as their true servants who devote themselves to their interests at all times.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the date when President Kim Il-Sung wrote his last signature on a historic document concerning the country's reunification.

True to the behests of President Kim Il-Sung and General Kim Jong-II, we should make fresh headway in the national reunification movement for this year.

To resolve the reunification issue in keeping with the aspirations and desires of our fellow countrymen, we should reject foreign forces and hold fast to the standpoint of By Our Nation Itself.

The driving force for national reunification is all the members of the Korean nation in the north, in the south and abroad; only when we remain steadfast in this standpoint can we reunify the country independently in line with our nation's interests and demands. To go on a tour around foreign countries touting for "international cooperation" in resolving the inter-Korean relations issue, the one related with our nation, is a humiliating treachery of leaving its destiny in the hands of outside forces.

The north and the south should uphold the principle of independence which is one of the three principles for national reunification and has been confirmed in the north-south joint declarations, hold fast to the standpoint of By Our Nation Itself, and respect and implement the declarations with sincerity.

We should make positive efforts to defend national security and peace.

The US and south Korean war maniacs have deployed legions of equipment for a nuclear war in and around the Korean peninsula and are going frantic in their military
exercises for a nuclear war against the north; this precipitates a critical situation where
any accidental military skirmish may lead to an all-out war. Should another war break out
on this land, it will result in a deadly nuclear catastrophe and the United States will never
be safe. All the Korean people must not tolerate the manoeuvres for war and
confrontation by the bellicose forces at home and abroad but stoutly resist and frustrate
them.

A favourable climate should be established for improved relations between the
north and the south.

It is heartrending to see our nation partitioned by foreign forces, and it is more
intolerable to see one side slinglmg mud at and showing hostility to the other. This will
serve merely as an occasion for the forces who are undesirous of seeing one Korea to
fish in troubled waters. It is high time to put an end to such slander and calumny that
bring no good to both sides, and they should desist from doing anything detrimental to
national unity and reconciliation. The south Korean authorities should discontinue the
reckless confrontation with their compatriots and the racket against the "followers of the
north," and choose to promote inter-Korean relations in response to the call of the nation
for independence, democracy and national reunification. We will join hands with anyone
who opts to give priority to the nation and wishes for its reunification, regardless of his
or her past, and continue to strive for better inter-Korean relations.

All the Korean people in the north, in the south and abroad should achieve solid
unity under the truly patriotic banner, the principle of By Our Nation Itself, and turn out
in the nationwide struggle for the reunification of the country. By doing so, they should
open up a new phase for independent reunification, peace and prosperity this year.

Last year, in the international arena, the imperialists persisted in interference and
war moves threatening the independence of other sovereign states and the right of
mankind to existence.

Especially the Korean peninsula, the hottest spot in the world, was in a hair-
trigger situation due to the hostile forces' manoeuvres for a nuclear war against the
DPRK, which posed a serious threat to peace and security in the region and the rest of
the world.

Nothing is more precious for our people than peace, but it is not something that
can be achieved if we simply crave and beg for it. We can never just sit back with folded
arms and see the dark clouds of a nuclear war against us hovering over the Korean
peninsula. We will defend our country's sovereignty, peace and dignity by relying on our
powerful self-defensive strength.

Holding fast to the ideals of our foreign policy -- independence, peace and
friendship -- our Party and the government of the DPRK will, in the future, too, strive to
expand and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with all the countries that
respect our sovereignty and are friendly to us, and safeguard global peace and security
and promote common prosperity of mankind.

The tasks facing us are gigantic and difficulties stand in our way.

However, our revolutionary cause is sure to emerge victorious as we advance
under the great banner of Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism.

Let all of us strive for greater victory in the new year, filled with high ambition
and unwavering confidence and firmly united behind the Party with a single heart.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2014

360
361
362
363
364
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2015

Kim Jong-un New Years Speech 2015, Codified

Dear comrades!

Having seen out 2014, a year in which we clearly demonstrated the spirit and might of the great DPRK that advances by leaps and bounds with confidence in victory, we are seeing in the hope-filled new year 2015.

Reflecting the boundless loyalty of all the service personnel and people, I would like to pay the highest tribute and offer New Year greetings to President Kim Il-Sung (Kim Il-so’ng) and General Kim Jong-Il (Kim Cho’ng-il), the eternal leaders of our people and the sun of Chuch’e.

I extend New Year greetings to the service personnel and people who are striving with devotion for the dignity and prosperity of the country with revolutionary faith and patriotic enthusiasm, and I wish the families throughout the country would overflow with warm affection and our lovely children would have a brighter future.

My New Year greetings go also to the compatriots in the south and abroad who are fighting for national concord and reunification and to the progressive peoples of the world and other foreign friends who aspire after independence and peace.

Last year was a year of brilliant triumph in which the foundations for hastening final victory on all fronts of building a thriving nation were consolidated firmly and the invincible might of the DPRK was demonstrated under the leadership of the Party.

Last year the harmonious whole of the Party and the masses of the people was solidified and the purity and might of the revolutionary ranks strengthened.

The ardent yearning of our service personnel and people for the President and the General became intenser as the days went by and they fully manifested their passionate loyalty and pure sense of moral obligation to translate into reality the great leaders’ plans and wishes. Our Party’s politics of love for the people and younger generation and its policy of attaching importance to science and education were embodied in reality and thereby the people’s trust in the Party deepened and our single-hearted unity hardened.

Amid the drive for carrying on education in revolutionary traditions through the study tour of the revolutionary battle sites in the Mt. Paektu area, the entire army and the whole society came to pulsate with the spirit and mettle of Paektu and bubble with the conviction and will to carry through the sacred revolutionary cause of Chuch’e.

Last year the fighting efficiency of the People’s Army was increased remarkably and national defence capability was built up.

As the army conducted political and ideological work in a positive manner and stoked the flames of training under combat conditions, all its officers and men and units of services and arms became strong in ideas and faith and prepared as an invincible army capable of discharging operational and combat missions proficiently in any circumstances.
and conditions. Iron military discipline was established in the entire army and
unprecedented successes were made in the improvement of soldiers’ living. The defence
industry sector developed and completed various means of military strike of our style to
make a tangible contribution to the qualitative growth of the revolutionary armed forces.

Last year we made great progress in the building of a socialist economic giant and
civilized nation by the joint operation of the army and people.

Even in the difficult situation and adverse conditions last year, an upswing was
brought about in production in different sectors including agriculture, fishery and
chemical and coal-mining industries, opening up bright prospects for the building of an
economic giant and improvement of the people’s living standards. The construction
sector kindled the fierce flames for creating the Korean speed to build many monumental
structures that serve as standards and models of Chuch’e-oriented architecture including
the Wisong Scientists Dwelling District, apartment houses for lecturers of Kim Ch’aek
University of Technology, Yo’n’ung Scientists Holiday Camp and October 8 Factory,
thereby actually demonstrating the looks of the DPRK that is realizing its beautiful ideals.

The service personnel who engaged in the building of a thriving country achieved
breakthroughs in production, construction and modernization and created excellent model
units in the spirit of devotedly implementing the Party’s policies and the spirit of match-
for-a-hundred combatants.

One of the DPRK’s 11 gold medallists, Jang Un Hui (right) connects to PRC’s Li
Qian during the women’s middleweight boxing finals on October 1, 2014 at the 17th
Asian Games in Incheon, ROK (Photo: Yonhap).

Our sportspeople undauntedly fought by our own style of tactics in the 17th Asian
Games and world championships to exalt the honour of the country and greatly
encourage the service personnel and people who were out in the struggle to defend
socialism.

All the victories and priceless successes we achieved last year are a brilliant result
of the Party’s wise leadership and of the burning patriotic loyalty and self-sacrificing
struggle of all the service personnel and people rallied firmly behind the Party.

I extend heartfelt thanks to all the service personnel and people who made a
contribution to glorifying last year as a year of proud feats and changes by waging an
unyielding struggle with a steadfast faith in the revolutionary cause of Juche and the
military-first (So’ngun) revolutionary cause.

Comrades!

The new year 2015 will be a year of great significance, in which we will mark the
70th anniversaries of national liberation and founding of the Workers’ Party of Korea.

Greeting this significant year, our people are looking back with great pride and
dignity upon the glorious 70-year history of our Party and homeland which have achieved
shining victories under the wise leadership of the President and the General; they are full
of confidence and optimism with a determination to follow the Party and achieve final
victory in the Chuch’e revolution pioneered on Mt. Paektu.

This year we should display the revolutionary spirit and mettle of Paektu to
scathingly thwart the challenges and manoeuvres by hostile forces and score a signal
success in the struggle to defend socialism and on all fronts of building a thriving nation.
By doing so, we should celebrate the 70th anniversaries of national liberation and
founding of the Party as revolutionary, auspicious events.

Upholding the slogan “Let us all turn out in the general offensive to hasten final
victory in the revolutionary spirit of Paektu!” all the service personnel and people should
charge dynamically towards the venue of grand October celebrations. Bearing in mind
the soul and mettle of Paektu, we should become honourable victors in the general
offensive to exalt the dignity of our socialist country and promote its prosperity on the
strength of ideology, arms and science and technology.

This year we will further consolidate our country’s invincible might as a socialist
political and ideological power.

We should invariably hold up the President and the General forever as the sun of
Chuch’e, staunchly championing and adding eternal brilliance to their immortal
revolutionary exploits.

In this year of the 70th anniversary of the Party, which organizes and guides all
victories of our people, we should set up a new milestone in improving its leadership
ability and fighting efficiency.

We should steadily intensify the work of establishing the Party’s monolithic
leadership system to make the whole Party share ideology with the Party Central
Committee, breathe the same breath as it and keep pace with it. All Party organizations
should maintain implementing the Party’s lines and policies as the major line of Party
work, and carry every one of them to completion unconditionally.

We should ensure that the people-first principle runs through the whole of Party
work as appropriate for its nature as a motherly party to make the climate of respecting,
loving and depending on them pervade it and Party work focus on improving their living
standards. All the organizations and officials of the Party should eliminate abuses of
power and bureaucratism, and take warm care of the people and lead them properly to
make sure that the latter trust and rely on it as they would do their mothers and throw in
their lot with it.
We should hold fast to ideology as the Party’s powerful weapon and make an ideological offensive to consolidate the ideological position of our revolution rock-solid. We should promote education in the greatness of the leaders, Kim Jong-Il’s (Kim Cho’ng-il) patriotism, faith, anti-imperialist and class consciousness and morality to train all Party members, service personnel and other working people into staunch fighters of the military-first (So’ngun) revolution and make them raise the fierce flames of patriotic loyalty, creation and innovation at all posts in national defence and for building a thriving nation.

This year we should further demonstrate our country’s might as a military power by bringing about a fresh turn in building revolutionary armed forces and enhancing its defence capability.

The People’s Army should thoroughly establish the Party’s monolithic command system across the entire army and vigorously conduct the movement of winning the titles of O Chung Hup-led 7th Regiment and Guards Unit. Thus it should implement to the letter the Party’s four-point strategic line and three major tasks for increasing military strength. It should effect a turnaround in improving the quality of training by eliminating formalism and stereotyped patterns in combat and political training and updating its contents and methods. It should maintain full combat readiness so that it can repulse any provocation by the enemy in one stroke. By bringing about a radical turn in its supply service, it should provide soldiers with better living conditions and make all its battalions and companies elite combat ranks and their dear villages and homes that adjoin the yard of the office of the Party Central Committee. In the future, too, it should be a pioneer and example in the struggle to implement the Party’s ideas and safeguard its policies in pursuance of its plan for building a thriving nation.

In line with the requirements of the prevailing situation, the officers and men of the Korean People’s Internal Security Forces should sharpen the sword for defending the leader, system and people, and members of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and the Young Red Guards should conduct combat and political training in a real-war atmosphere, thereby beefing up their combat efficiency and getting fully prepared for an all-people resistance so that they can defend their own provinces, counties and villages by themselves.

By carrying out the Party’s line of promoting the two fronts simultaneously, the defense industry sector should step up the efforts to make the munitions production Chuch’e-oriented, modern and scientific and proactively develop and perfect powerful cutting-edge military hardware of our own style.

View of what appears to be the KN-08 road mobile intercontinental ballistic missile on a TEL (Photo: NKLW file photo).
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2015

This year we should give definite precedence to science and technology and effect an upswing in building a socialist economic giant and civilized nation.

It is a determination and will of our Party to rapidly develop all sectors and build a people’s paradise by dint of science and technology. The front of science should forcefully rush ahead in the vanguard of a thriving socialist country building, thereby foiling the enemy’s pernicious moves for sanctions and encouraging all the economic sectors to make rapid headway on the strength of the high-running spirit of independence and of science and technology. The scientific research sector should wage a brisk drive for going beyond the cutting edge to produce many valuable findings conducive to developing the economy, increasing defence capability and improving the people’s living standards. Regarding science and technology as their lifeline, all sectors and all units should step up modernization and introduction of information technology in our style, raise the scientific and technological level of officials and working people and vigorously carry on all undertakings by relying on science and technology.

We should make maximum use of the existing foundations and all potentials of the self-supporting economy, so as to bring about a turn in improving the people’s living standards and building an economic giant.

In this significant year we should bring about an upturn in improving the people’s living standards.

We should resolve the food problem of the people and improve their dietary life on a higher level with agricultural production, animal husbandry and fishing as the main thrusts.

The agricultural sector should overcome unfavourable natural conditions and overfulfil the cereals production plan by actively introducing scientific farming methods including water-saving farming, supplying sufficient amounts of farming materials and organizing and guiding production in conformity with actual conditions. We should put the production at stockbreeding and fish-farming bases, greenhouses and mushroom production bases built across the country on a regular footing and ensure that the people benefit from them. True to the Party’s plan, we should dynamically speed up the building of the stockbreeding bases in the Sep’o area and make steady preparations for livestock production and their operation. By emulating the working spirit of the People’s Army which made a new history of “sea of gold,” the fishing sector should drastically bolster up the fishing industry and land a huge haul, thus supplying a large amount of fish to enrich the people’s diet.

Fully aware of the responsibility and mission it assumes for the people, the light industry sector should work out a strategy for fending for itself and put production at central and local light-industry factories on normal track, so as to supply our people, including students and children, with larger amounts and various kinds of quality consumer goods, school things and children’s food.
We should direct great efforts to relieving the shortage of electricity, a major source of power of the national economy, and strive to shore up its vanguard sectors and key industries.

We should increase coal and electricity production in the mettle displayed in bringing about innovations in the coal-mining industry and thermal power stations last year and meet the immediate demand for electricity by waging a campaign to economize on electricity to the maximum, while taking realistic measures to resolve the electricity problem in a prospective way. We should develop metal, chemical and other basic industries and brace rail transport by relying on our own technology and resources and thus ensure that all other economic sectors smoothly progress full of vigour. We should foster external economic relations in a multilateral way and accelerate the projects for economic development zones including the Wo’nsan-Mt. Ku’mgang international tourist zone.

We should raise a stronger wind of creating the Korean speed in the construction sector so as to build power stations, factories, educational and cultural establishments and dwelling houses as befitt the monumental edifices in the era of the Workers’ Party. By completing with credit the major construction projects, including the multi-tier power stations on the Ch’o’ngch’ŏn River, Kosan Fruit Farm and Mirae Scientists Street, we should splendidly adorn the venue of grand October celebrations.

The whole Party, the entire army and all the people should, as they carried out rehabilitation after the war, turn out in the campaign to restore the mountains of the country so as to turn them into “mountains of gold” thickly wooded with trees. All the sectors should invariably push ahead with the work of afforesting and landscaping the whole country and turning it into orchard, and build Pyongyang, provinces, cities, county seats, workplaces and villages in a more cultured way and maintain and manage them on a regular basis.

All the economic sectors and units should make positive efforts to increase production, improve the quality of goods and enhance their competitive edge by working out proper strategies for business operation and enterprise management and tapping all possible reserves and potentialities. All the factories and enterprises should wage a dynamic struggle to get rid of the proclivity to import and ensure the domestic production of raw and other materials and equipment, while sprucing themselves up by taking their cue from the model units put forward by the Party.

The Cabinet and other state organs for economic guidance should make proactive efforts to establish the economic management method of our style as demanded by the reality so that all the economic organs and enterprises can conduct their business activities creatively on their own initiative. Party organizations at all levels should throw their full weight behind the work of improving economic management in order to make sure that it is done as intended by the Party.

A vigorous spur should be given to the building of a civilized socialist nation.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2015

We should bring about a radical improvement in education in the new century by
arousing state and social interest in the role of officials in this sector and educational
work, thereby making fresh progress in making all the people well versed in science and
technology and developing ours into a talented nation.

The whole country should bubble with enthusiasm for sports and our sportspeople
should fly higher the flag of the Republic at international games to open up bright
prospects for building a sporting power.

The sector of art and literature should do away with stagnation and produce larger
numbers of contemporary masterpieces which inspire the masses to further efforts, and
the public health sector should improve the hygienic and anti-epidemic work and
preventive and curative medical care and boost pharmaceutical production.

We should make sure that national sentiments and noble and beautiful lifestyle
prevail across society, and press on with national heritage conservation as a patriotic
undertaking involving the whole country and all the people.

In order to successfully carry out the enormous tasks for this year all the officials,
Party members, service personnel and other working people should live and work in the
revolutionary spirit of Paektu, the spirit of the blizzards of Paektu.

The spirit is, in essence, an unyielding offensive spirit of braving obstacles and
difficulties and a staunch fighting spirit of rising up no matter how often one may fall and
fighting it out. The hearts of all our service personnel and people should beat with the
confidence in victory and indomitable spirit cherished by the anti-Japanese revolutionary
forerunners who fought death-defyingly for their country and people and won victory
against all odds. All the officials, Party members and other working people should enter
the venue of grand October celebrations proudly with gifts they have prepared by dint of
the revolutionary spirit of Paektu and through creative struggle.

The whole country should overflow with the spirit of patriotic devotion with
which to hold dear and add brilliance to our own things.

Holding dear and adding brilliance to our own things is just the Korean-nation-
first spirit and the genuine patriotism that exalts the dignity of our country, our
motherland, and hastens its prosperity. We should value and add lustre to all the assets
the preceding generations of the revolution created on this land at the cost of their blood
and sweat under the guidance of the Party and the leaders, and create and develop
everything in our own way with a high sense of national pride and by relying on our
strength, technology and resources.

Officials, leading participants in the revolution, should be the standard-bearers
and vanguard fighters in the ongoing general offensive.

They should faithfully serve the country and people for their prosperity and well-
being with a noble outlook on patriotism and firm preparedness for devoted service and,
shouldering heavy burdens by themselves, make redoubled efforts in the van of the
masses. With a full understanding of the Party’s ideas and intentions, officials should go
deep among the masses and rouse them to carry through its lines and policies
unconditionally at the cost of their lives. They should be fully accountable to the Party
and the state for the work in their sectors and units, eliminate defeatism, self-preservation
and expediency and do everything in an innovative and scientific way.

Seventy years have passed since our nation was divided by outside forces.

In those decades the world has made a tremendous advance and the times have
undergone dramatic changes, but our nation has not yet achieved reunification, suffering
the pain of division. It is a deplorable fact known to everyone and it is lamentable to
everyone. No longer can we bear and tolerate the tragedy of national division that has
continued century after century.

Last year we put forward crucial proposals for improved inter-Korean relations
and national reunification and made sincere efforts for their implementation. Our efforts,
however, could not bear due fruit owing to the obstructive moves by the anti-
reunification forces within and without; instead the north-south relations have been on a
headlong rush to aggravation.

However complicated the situation may be and whatever obstacles and difficulties
may stand in our way, we should unfailingly achieve national reunification, a lifetime
wish of the President and the General and the greatest desire of the nation, and build a
dignified and prosperous reunified country on this land.

“Let the whole nation join efforts to open up a broad avenue to independent
reunification in this year of the 70th anniversary of national liberation!”-this is the slogan
of struggle the entire Korean nation should hold up.

We should remove the danger of war, ease the tension and create a peaceful
environment on the Korean peninsula.

The large-scale war games ceaselessly held every year in south Korea are the root
cause of the escalating tension on the peninsula and the danger of nuclear war facing our
nation. It is needless to say that there can be neither trustworthy dialogue nor improved
inter-Korean relations in such a gruesome atmosphere in which war drills are staged
against the dialogue partner.

To cling to nuclear war drills against the fellow countrymen in collusion with
aggressive outside forces is an extremely dangerous act of inviting calamity.

We will resolutely react against and mete out punishment to any acts of
provocation and war moves that infringe upon the sovereignty and dignity of our country.

The south Korean authorities should discontinue all war moves including the
reckless military exercises they conduct with foreign forces and choose to ease the
tension on the Korean peninsula and create a peaceful environment.
The United States, the very one that divided our nation into two and has imposed the suffering of national division upon it for 70 years, should desist from pursuing the anachronistic policy hostile towards the DPRK and reckless acts of aggression and boldly make a policy switch.

The north and the south should refrain from seeking confrontation of systems while absolutizing their own ideologies and systems but achieve great national unity true to the principle of By Our Nation Itself to satisfactorily resolve the reunification issue in conformity with the common interests of the nation.

If they try to force their ideologies and systems upon each other, they will never settle the national reunification issue in a peaceful way, only bringing confrontation and war.

Though the people-centred socialist system of our own style is the most advantageous, we do not force it on south Korea and have never done so.

The south Korean authorities should neither seek “unification of systems” that incites distrust and conflict between the north and the south nor insult the other side’s system and make impure solicitation to do harm to their fellow countrymen, travelling here and there.

The north and the south, as they had already agreed, should resolve the national reunification issue in the common interests of the nation transcending the differences in ideology and system.

They should briskly hold dialogue, negotiations and exchanges and make contact to relink the severed ties and blood vessels of the nation and bring about a great turn in inter-Korean relations.

It is the unanimous desire of the fellow countrymen for both sides to stop fighting and pave a new way for reunification by concerted efforts. They should no longer waste time and energy over pointless arguments and trifling matters but write a new chapter in the history of inter-Korean relations.

Nothing is impossible if our nation shares one purpose and joins efforts. On the road for reunification the north and the south had got such charter and great programme for reunification as the July 4 Joint Statement, the historic June 15 Joint Declaration and the October 4 Declaration, thus demonstrating to the whole world the nation’s determination and mettle to reunify the country.

We think that it is possible to resume the suspended high-level contacts and hold sectoral talks if the south Korean authorities are sincere in their stand towards improving inter-Korean relations through dialogue.

And there is no reason why we should not hold a summit meeting if the atmosphere and environment for it are created.
In the future, too, we will make every effort to substantially promote dialogue and negotiations.

The entire Korean nation should turn out together in the nationwide movement for the country’s reunification so as to glorify this year as a landmark in opening up a broad avenue to independent reunification.

Last year, in the international arena, hostilities and bloodshed persisted in several countries and regions due to the imperialists’ outrageous arbitrariness and undisguised infringement upon their sovereignty, which posed a serious threat to global peace and security.

Especially, owing to the United States’ extremely hostile policy aimed at isolating and suffocating our Republic, the bulwark of socialism and fortress of independence and justice, the vicious cycle of tension never ceased and the danger of war grew further on the Korean peninsula.

The United States and its vassal forces are resorting to the despicable “human rights” racket as they were foiled in their attempt to destroy our self-defensive nuclear deterrent and stifle our Republic by force.

The present situation, in which high-handedness based on strength is rampant and justice and truth are trampled ruthlessly in the international arena, eloquently demonstrates that we were just in our efforts to firmly consolidate our self-reliant defence capability with the nuclear deterrent as its backbone and safeguard our national sovereignty, the lifeblood of the country, under the unfurled military-first (So’ngun) banner.

As long as the enemy persists in its moves to stifle our socialist system, we will consistently adhere to the military-first (So’ngun) politics and the line of promoting the two fronts simultaneously and firmly defend the sovereignty of the country and the dignity of the nation, no matter how the international situation and the structure of relations of our surrounding countries may change. On the basis of the revolutionary principles and independent stand, we will expand and develop foreign relations in a multilateral and positive way, giving top priority to the dignity and interests of the country.

Our Party and the government of our Republic will solidify in every respect the bond and solidarity with the world’s progressive peoples who love peace and aspire after independence and justice, and strive to develop good neighbourly relations with all the countries that respect our national sovereignty and are friendly to us.

No force in the world can check the advance of our army and people who are rushing forward like the blizzards of Mount Paektu filled with rock-firm revolutionary faith and mettle of invincibility under the leadership of the great Party, and final victory undoubtedly belongs to us.
Let us all staunchly strive to glorify this significant year as a year of great victories and revolutionary, auspicious events, rallied more closely behind the Party and singing aloud the march of final victory.

Greeting the hope-filled new year 2015, I wish all the families across the country happiness.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2016

Dear comrades,

Filled with the dignity and self-respect of being victors, who have set up a shining milestone in the history of the glorious Workers’ Party of Korea and our country, we are greeting the New Year 2016.

In reflection of the fervent loyalty of all the people and service personnel, I extend the noblest respect and New Year greetings to the great Comrades Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II, the symbol of socialist Korea and the sun of Juche.

My New Year greetings also go to all the service personnel and people, who are working devotedly for the prosperity of their socialist country with a firm determination to follow the road of Juche to the end together with the Party, and I wish that all the families will be filled with harmonious feelings and the happy laughter of our dear children resound more loudly.

Seeing in the New Year, I extend greetings to our compatriots in the south and abroad who are struggling to achieve national reunification, the cherished desire of the nation, and to the progressive peoples and our friends in the world who aspire after independence, justice and peace.

The year 2015 was a year of gigantic struggle, which is adorned with meaningful events and eye-opening successes, a year of victory and glory, in which socialist Korea fully demonstrated its prestige and might.

Last year we celebrated the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Workers’ Party of Korea as a proud and significant revolutionary event of the great Paektusan nation.

Having turned out as one in hearty response to the Party’s call, the service personnel and people waged a heroic struggle in the revolutionary spirit of Paektu and through bold army-people cooperation, thus bringing about proud labour results dedicated to the motherly Party.

The Paektusan Hero Youth Power Station, Chongchongang Power Station in Tiers, Sci-Tech Complex, Mirae Scientists Street, Jangchon Vegetable Cooperative Farm and many other structures of lasting significance and beautiful socialist villages that embody the Party’s ideas and policies sprang up, showing the mettle of the country which is advancing by leaps and bounds reducing ten years to one.

Our working class, scientists and technicians, true to the instructions of the great leaders, made a big stride in making the metallurgical industry Juche-based, built model,
standard factories of the era of the knowledge-driven economy in various parts of the country and put production lines on a modern and IT footing, thus opening a new road of advance for developing the overall economy and improving the people’s standard of living. The flames of the campaign to implement the Party’s ideas and defend its policies have unfolded a proud reality of our indigenous plane flying in the sky and our indigenous subway train running under the ground, and rich fish and fruit harvests were gathered, their socialist flavour bringing pleasure to the people. Our sportspeople including the trustworthy women’s soccer players exalted the honour of their motherland and further encouraged the militant spirit of our service personnel and people by winning gold medals in international competitions. 

Through the large-scale events held to celebrate the Party’s 70th anniversary drawing the attention of the world, we demonstrated far and wide the might of the single-hearted unity of all the service personnel and people around the Party and the bright future of Juche Korea. 

The moving scenes unfolded on the October celebration square shook the world with power greater than that of explosion of an atomic bomb or that of the launching of an earth satellite, and clearly showed that nothing can check the dynamic advance of our Party, service personnel and people that are fighting with the single-hearted unity and arms as their ever-victorious weapons. 

Last year our service personnel and people warded off the danger of war facing their country and nation and safeguarded the dignity of the Republic and world peace with honour. 

That we neutralized the hair-trigger situation teetering on the brink of armed conflict owing to the grave political and military provocations by the hostile forces and defended the dignity and security of our motherland from possible calamities is a brilliant victory born of the Herculean might of the great army-people unity and of the powerful Paektusan revolutionary army. 

What makes us look back upon last year with greater delight is that our young vanguard who are reliably carrying forward the lineage of the Juche revolution and faith demonstrated the might of the youth power without parallel in the world by means of their loyalty to the Party and heroic struggle. 

Educated and trained in the embrace of the great leaders and the Party, our young people rushed ahead along the course of the Korean revolution set by the Party, creating the charging spirit and culture of young people of the Songun era and performing laudable deeds that touched people’s heartstrings. The millions of young people, fully equipped with the revolutionary ideology of the great leaders and firmly rallied behind
the Party, have grown strong in ideas and faith, to become successors to the cause of the Juche revolution. This is the greatest dignity, pride and success for us.

All the victories and successes achieved last year are a fruition born of the heroic struggle of our people, who turned out in the general offensive for their country’s prosperity with the spirit and mettle of Paektu, and a crystallization of the invaluable blood and sweat the service personnel and people dedicated to the country and the revolution.

Spending last year seething with creation and filled with miraculous achievements together with the service personnel and people, who were burning their hearts with patriotism and loyalty, our Party witnessed with a warm feeling their beautiful spiritual world and strenuous struggle and gained greater strength and courage from their trust-filled look and sincere opinions.

As there are the Party’s sagacious leadership, the invincible army and the great people that absolutely support the Party and defend it unto death, we have no difficulties to be afraid of and can accomplish any great cause without fail—this is the proud conclusion of last year’s struggle.

I extend warm thanks to all the members of the Workers’ Party of Korea, service personnel and people who glorified last year with heroic struggle and feats in devoted support of the cause of the Party cherishing ardent loyalty to it and faith in sure victory.

Comrades,

This year is a significant year when the Seventh Congress of the Workers’ Party of Korea is to be held.

The congress will proudly review the successes our Party has achieved in the revolution and construction under the wise guidance of the great leaders, and unfold an ambitious blueprint for hastening final victory for our revolution.

We should celebrate the Seventh Party Congress as a glorious meeting of victors as it will constitute a historic landmark in carrying out the cause of the Juche revolution.

“Let us usher in a golden age in building a thriving nation in this year when the Seventh Congress of the Workers’ Party of Korea is to be held!”—this is the militant slogan our Party and people should uphold as they advance.
All Party members, service personnel and other people should turn out as one with ardent loyalty to the Party and extraordinary patriotic zeal, and demonstrate the spirit and mettle of Korea that is rushing forward towards final victory racing against time.

We should concentrate all our efforts on building an economic giant to bring about a fresh turn in developing the country’s economy and improving the people’s standard of living.

In order to achieve breakthroughs for a turning point in building an economic giant the electric-power, coal-mining and metallurgical industries and the rail transport sector should advance dynamically in the vanguard of the general offensive.

The problem of electricity should be resolved as an undertaking involving the whole Party and the whole state. The existing power stations should be kept in a good state of maintenance, bolstered up and run at full capacity to ensure maximum output of electric power. The construction of the Tanchon Power Station and other projects for boosting the country’s power-generating capacity should be promoted along with the efforts to ease the strain on electricity supply by making proactive use of natural energy. All sectors and all units should wage a vigorous campaign to economize on electricity and make effective use of it. The sector of coal-mining industry should raise the fierce flames of an upsurge in production to ensure enough supply of coal for the thermal power stations and several sectors of the national economy.

The state should take thoroughgoing measures to make certain that the sector of metallurgical industry receives adequate material supplies and the metallurgical factories, such as the Kim Chaek and Hwanghae iron and steel complexes, expand the successes achieved in making their production Juche-based and modern. By doing so it can increase the output of iron and steel. The rail transport sector should establish rigid discipline and increase effectiveness in organizing and controlling transport services to ensure regular operation of trains, and step up the modernization of railways.

Our Party maintains the improvement of the people’s living conditions as the most important of the numerous state affairs.

The crop farming, animal husbandry and fishing sectors should make innovations to effect a radical change in improving the people’s standard of living. The agricultural sector should actively adopt superior strains and scientific farming methods, speed up the comprehensive mechanization of the rural economy and take strict measures for each farming process, so as to carry out the cereals production plan without fail. The animal husbandry and fishing sectors, which are waging an all-out struggle in response to the Party’s call, should ramp up production as soon as possible and see to it that the fish
farms, vegetable greenhouses and mushroom production bases built across the country pay off. Thus they can contribute to enriching the people’s diet.

The light industry sector should put its factories and enterprises on a highly modern footing, provide them with plenty of raw and other materials to keep their production going full steam and increase the number of world-famous products and commodities with a competitive edge.

Construction is a yardstick and visual evidence for the strength of a country and the quality of its civilization; it constitutes a worthwhile, important undertaking for embodying our Party’s people-oriented policies. The construction sector should launch a general offensive to implement the Party’s construction policy and grand plan. By doing so, it should build important production facilities, educational and cultural institutions and dwelling houses on the highest possible level and at the fastest possible speed, so that they serve as standards and models of the times. In this way it can make sure that the great heyday of construction continues without letup.

All the sectors of the national economy should set ambitious goals and maintain regular production by tapping every possible internal reserve and potentiality. They should also take it as an important policy-oriented requirement to improve product quality, ensure domestic production of equipment and rely on locally available raw and other materials, and make strenuous efforts to this end.

The whole Party, the entire army and all the people should buckle down to the campaign to restore the forests of the country.

The urban and rural areas, workplaces and villages should be kept spick and span, and positive measures should be taken to conserve the resources of the country and prevent air, river and sea pollution. Our Party is steadfast in its determination and will to solidify the foundations of a thriving country by dint of science and technology and, with them as the engine, achieve national prosperity. The scientific research sector should give priority to resolving the scientific and technological problems that arise in consolidating the might of the Juche-based industry, the socialist independent economy, and improving the people’s standard of living, and strive to push back the frontiers of science and technology. Factories, enterprises and cooperative farms should build science and technology diffusion rooms in a splendid fashion and put their operation on a regular basis, so as to ensure that all the working people learn modern science and technology. It is also necessary to establish a social climate of resolving the problems arising in reality on the strength of science and technology.

The Cabinet and other state and economic organs should decisively improve their economic planning and guidance. Leading economic officials should fully equip themselves with Party policy, work out plans of the economic work in an innovative way
and give a strong push to it on the principle of developing all the sectors at an exponential speed by relying on the inexhaustible creative strength of the working people and by dint of modern science and technology. They should accurately identify the main link in the whole chain of economic development and concentrate efforts on it while revitalizing the overall economy, especially when the conditions are not favourable and many difficulties arise. They should be proactive in organizing and launching the work of establishing on a full scale our style of economic management method which embodies the Juche idea, thus giving full play to its advantages and vitality.

The political and military might of our Republic should be strengthened in every way. It is necessary to cement the politico-ideological position of socialism rock-solid.

We should regard ideology as the driving force of the revolution and focus on the five-point education so as to train all the service personnel and people to be strong in ideas, to etch in their hearts the revolutionary spirit of Paektu, the spirit of the blizzards of Paektu, and encourage them to give free rein to their indomitable mental strength in the struggle to carry out the instructions of the great leaders and safeguard the Party’s policies. Political work and frontline-style information and motivational work should be vigorously conducted to ensure that the whole country seethes with an atmosphere of heightened political enthusiasm in the lead-up to the Seventh Party Congress.

Single-hearted unity is the great foundation and ever-victorious weapon for the Juche revolution. All the officials, Party members and other working people should connect their burning hearts with the garden of the offices of the Party Central Committee and share the Party’s ideas, breathe the same breath as it and keep pace with it in order to travel one road forever following the Party. Party organizations and state organs should give absolute priority to the demands and interests of the people by thoroughly applying the politics of prioritizing, respecting and loving them, and take responsible care of their political integrity and material and cultural life to the end. Party organizations should take hold of public sentiments, rally the broad sections of the masses closely around the Party, and launch an intensive struggle among officials against all practices of abuse of power, bureaucratism and corruption that gnaw at and undermine our single-hearted unity.

The country’s defence capability should be built up.

In this year, which marks the 20th anniversary of the movement of winning the title of O Jung Hup-led 7th Regiment initiated by General Kim Jong-II, the People’s Army should further develop itself into a revolutionary army of the Party in which the Party’s unified command system is thoroughly established, into a steadfast army of the Party that keeps the revolutionary faith to the death, and effect a turnaround in implementing the Party’s four-point line of building up the army to be formidable. By keeping it as the seed to conduct training in a real-war atmosphere and put it on a scientific and modern footing, the army should raise the fierce flames of training so that all the service personnel are prepared to be elite soldiers of modern warfare and stout.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2016

fighters who are equipped with the military strategies and tactics of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II, the heroic fighting spirit and flawless abilities to fight an actual war. It should become a standard-bearer and shock force of the times to make breakthroughs as intended by the Party on the major fronts where a thriving country is being built, and look for more tasks that are for the good of the people.

Officers and men of the Korean People’s Internal Security Forces should smash in embryo the manoeuvrings of the class enemy and hostile elements to harm the leadership of the revolution, our socialist system and our people’s lives and property, and members of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and the Young Red Guards should intensify combat and political training and fully prepare themselves to defend their villages.

The munitions industry sector should develop defence science and technology, put the defence industry on a highly Juche-oriented, modern and scientific footing, and give full play to the revolutionary spirit of Kunja-ri, so as to develop and produce a greater number of various means of military strike of our own style that are capable of overwhelming the enemy.

We should ensure that our people enjoy the highest quality of civilization on the highest level.

By raising the flames of radical improvement in education in the new century, we should renovate the conditions and environment for education and improve its quality decisively, thereby bringing up talented personnel who are knowledgeable, morally sound and physically strong. We should improve medical treatment and preventive work as required by the socialist public health system in order to protect the people’s life and promote their health.

We should make sports mass-based and part of daily concern to ensure that the whole country is astir with enthusiasm for sports, and radically develop the specialized sporting techniques to create new miracles of heroic Korea in international games. The sector of art and literature should brace itself to produce a larger number of contemporary masterpieces which make all the service personnel and people burn their hearts with enthusiasm for the revolution and for struggle.

We should launch a strong drive to establish discipline with regard to moral ethics so as to ensure that a sound and civilized way of life prevails throughout the country.

All the officials and working people should turn out as one in the struggle to usher in a golden age in building a thriving nation in this year when the Seventh Party Congress is to be held.
It is the tradition of struggle and temperament of our people to turn out with a single mind and will and continuously work miracles like moving mountains and filling up seas if it is the Party’s call.

The heroic working class of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II, as befits the core unit of the Juche revolution and the eldest son of the country, should support the Party’s ideas and cause in the vanguard and advance holding up the torch of a new great revolutionary upsurge in building an economic giant. Agricultural workers, with the sense of responsibility that they are in the trench on the first line of the forward echelon of the campaign to defend socialism, should strive to bring about a turn in agricultural production. Intellectuals should promote the building of a thriving country by means of brilliant scientific and technological successes as required by the era of the knowledge-based economy, and become pacesetters and standard-bearers in opening the efflorescence of civilization of the age of the Workers’ Party.

Our Party pins a great hope on the role of young people in today’s general advance. Young people, cherishing the trust of the Party that has given prominence to them as masters of the youth power, should train themselves further to be dependable pillars of the country and become artists of miracles and heroes on all the sites where a thriving nation is being built.

Officials should immerse themselves in the reality to inspire the masses and conduct every undertaking in a revolutionary and scientific way. They should also become true servants of the people and competent leading personnel of the revolution who make selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people with the ennobling view of life that they have nothing more to wish for even though their bodies may be scattered like the grains of sand on the road for the good of the people.

In all fields of social life we should sustain the original features and great appearances of our society which is advancing on the strength of helping and leading one another forward and through a concerted effort. Our target is a Juche-oriented socialist power, and the might of socialism is none other than the might of collectivism. All sectors and all units should attach primary importance to the interests of the state, the Party and the revolution, introduce the successes and experiences gained by the leading units and make leaps and bounds in the flames of collectivist competition.

The principle of giving priority to self-development should be maintained in building a thriving socialist country. Worship of big countries and dependence on foreign forces is the road to national ruin; self-development alone is the road to sustaining the dignity of our country and our nation and to paving a broad avenue for the revolution and construction. With affection, trust, dignity and pride in everything of our own, we should achieve the great cause of building a thriving nation and realize the people’s beautiful dreams and ideals without fail by our own efforts, technology and resources.
National reunification is the most pressing and vital task facing the nation.

Last year, greeting the 70th anniversary of national liberation, we appealed to all the compatriots to pool their efforts to open up a broad avenue to independent reunification, and strived for its realization. However, the anti-reunification forces that are not desirous of national reunification and improved inter-Korean relations ran amuck to realize their schemes for a war and even created a touch-and-go situation short of crossfire, causing grave apprehension at home and abroad. The south Korean authorities publicly sought to realize their goal of “regime change” in our country and unilateral “unification of systems” against the trend of inter-Korean dialogue and detente, and fanned distrust and confrontation between the north and the south.

This year we should hold up the slogan “Let us frustrate the challenges by the anti-reunification forces within and without and usher in a new era of independent reunification!” and press on with the national reunification movement more vigorously.

We should reject foreign intervention and resolve the issues of inter-Korean relations and national reunification independently in keeping with the aspirations and demands of the nation.

It is none other than the outside forces that divided our nation, and it is also none other than the United States and its followers that obstruct the reunification of our country. Notwithstanding this, the south Korean authorities are clinging to a smear campaign against the fellow countrymen in collusion with the outside forces while touring foreign countries to ask for the solution of the internal issue of our nation, the issue of its reunification. This is a betrayal of the country and nation that leaves the destiny of the nation at the mercy of the outside forces and sells out its interests.

The issues of inter-Korean relations and national reunification should, to all intents and purposes, be resolved by the efforts of our nation in conformity with its independent will and demands, true to the principle of By Our Nation Itself. No one will or can bring our nation reunification.

The whole nation should struggle resolutely against the sycophantic and treacherous manoeuvres of the anti-reunification forces to cooperate with the outside forces. The south Korean authorities should discontinue such a humiliating act as going on a tour of foreign countries touting for cooperation in resolving the internal issues of the nation.

It is fundamental to realizing the country’s reunification to prevent the danger of war and safeguard peace and security in the Korean peninsula.
Today the peninsula has become the hottest spot in the world and a hotbed of nuclear war owing to the U.S. aggressive strategy for the domination of Asia and its reckless moves for a war against the DPRK. The U.S. and south Korean war maniacs are conducting large-scale military exercises aimed at a nuclear war against the DPRK one after another every year; this is precipitating a critical situation in the Korean peninsula and throwing serious obstacles in the way of improving inter-Korean relations. Last year’s August emergency showed that even a trifling, incidental conflict between the north and the south may spark a war and escalate into an all-out war.

The U.S. and south Korean authorities must discontinue their extremely dangerous aggressive war exercises and suspend acts of military provocation that aggravates tension in the Korean peninsula.

It is our consistent stand to strive with patience for peace in the peninsula and security in the region. However, if aggressors dare to provoke us, though to a slight degree, we will never tolerate it but respond resolutely with a merciless sacred war of justice, a great war for national reunification.

We should value such agreements common to the nation as the three principles for national reunification and declarations between the north and the south, and in conformity with them, open up an avenue to improved bilateral relations.

These principles and declarations constitute the great reunification programme common to the nation, and all fellow countrymen wish that they are implemented as soon as possible and a radical phase opened up in reunifying the country.

If they are sincere about improving inter-Korean relations and reunifying the country peacefully, the south Korean authorities must not seek pointless confrontation of systems, but make it clear that they intend to respect and implement with sincerity the three principles for national reunification, June 15 Joint Declaration and October 4 Declaration, which crystallize the general will of the nation and whose validity has been proved in practice. They should cherish the spirit of the agreement signed last year at the inter-Korean high-level emergency contact, and desist from any act that will lead to a breach of the agreement and mar the atmosphere of dialogue. In the future, too, we will make strenuous efforts to develop inter-Korean talks and improve bilateral relations. We will also have an open-minded discussion on the reunification issue, one of the national issues, with anyone who is truly desirous of national reconciliation and unity, peace and reunification.

All the Korean people in the north, in the south and abroad will smash all challenges and obstructive moves by the anti-reunification forces in and out of the
country and build a dignified and prosperous reunified Korea on this land without fail
under the banner of By Our Nation Itself.

The United States has persisted in ignoring our just demand for replacing the
Armistice Agreement with a peace pact to remove the danger of war, ease tension and
create a peaceful environment in the Korean peninsula. Instead, it has clung to its
anachronistic policy hostile towards the DPRK, escalating the tension and egging its
vassal forces on to stage a “human rights” racket against the country. However, no plots
and schemes of the enemy could break the indomitable will of our service personnel and
people to firmly defend and add brilliance to our style of people-centred socialism, the
base of their happy life.

The challenges by the hostile forces remain uninterrupted and the situation is as
tense as ever, but we will invariably advance along the road of independence, Songun and
socialism under the unfurled red flag of the revolution, and make all responsible efforts to
safeguard peace and security in the Korean peninsula and the rest of the world.

Our Party and the government of our Republic will further strengthen solidarity
with the peoples of the world who are opposed to aggression and war, domination and
subordination, and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with all the countries
that respect our national sovereignty and are friendly to us.

The cause of Juche-oriented socialism is ever-victorious, and only victory and
glory is in store for us who are advancing under the leadership of the Workers’ Party of
Korea.

Let us all strive for the final victory of the revolution full of confidence in victory
and optimism.

Greeting the hope-filled New Year, I wish the people across the country good
health and happiness.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2016

385
386
387
388
389
390
Kim Jong-un New Years Speech 2017, Codified

Dear Comrades,

Having seen out 2016, in which we glorified each and every day with gigantic struggle, creating a new history of great prosperity unprecedented in the history of the Juche revolution, we are seeing in the new year 2017.

Availing myself of this meaningful opportunity, when we look back with dignity upon the great year filled with proud miracles wrought by our great people, I, with the noblest mind, offer warm greetings to all the Korean people, who overcame with optimism trials of all hues unprecedented in history, sharing weal and woe with the Party and throwing in their lot with it by forming an integral whole with it in ideas, intention and will, and extend glory and blessing of the hope-filled new year to them.

My warm greetings go also to the compatriots in the south and abroad and to the progressive peoples of the world and other foreign friends who aspire after independence and justice.

The year 2016 was a year of revolutionary event, a year of great change, worthy of note in the history of our Party and country.

Last year, amid the soaring revolutionary enthusiasm of all the Party members, service personnel and other people and great interest of the world, the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea was held in a meaningful and splendid way as a grand political festival.

The congress proudly reviewed our Party's glorious history of advancing the revolutionary cause of Juche along the victorious road under the wise leadership of the great Comrades Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II, and unfolded an ambitious blueprint for accomplishing the socialist cause under the banner of Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism.

Through this historic congress, the iron will of our service personnel and people to continuously march along the road of Juche following the Party was fully demonstrated, and lasting groundwork for the Korean revolution was laid. It will be etched in the history of our country as a meeting of victors that demonstrated the invincible might of the great Kimilsungist-Kimjongilist party, as a glorious meeting that set up a new milestone in carrying out the revolutionary cause of Juche.

Last year an epochal turn was brought about in consolidating the defence capability of Juche Korea, and our country achieved the status of a nuclear power, a military giant, in the East which no enemy, however formidable, would dare to provoke.

We conducted the first H-bomb test, test-firing of various means of strike and nuclear warhead test successfully to cope with the imperialists' nuclear war threats, which were growing more wicked day by day, briskly developed state-of-the-art military hardware, and entered the final stage of preparation for the test launch of intercontinental ballistic missile; we achieved other marvellous successes one after another for the consolidation of the defence capability. This provided a powerful military guarantee for
defending the destiny of the country and nation and victoriously advancing the cause of building a powerful socialist country. Our valiant People's Army reliably defended the security of the country and the gains of the revolution by resolutely frustrating the enemy's reckless moves for aggression and war, and gave perfect touches to its political and ideological aspects and military and technical preparations, as befits an invincible army. The brilliant successes achieved in the sector of national defence instilled a great national dignity and courage in our people, drove the imperialists and other reactionary forces into an ignominious defeat, and remarkably raised the strategic position of our country.

Last year we achieved proud successes in the 70-day campaign and 200-day campaign organized for glorifying the Seventh Congress of the Party.

These campaigns were a do-or-die struggle in which all the people smashed to smithereens the enemy's vicious schemes to isolate and suffocate our country and brought about a turning point on all fronts where a powerful socialist country is being built, a massive struggle of creation that gave birth to a new Mallima era.

Thanks to the heroic struggle of the Kim Il-Sung's and Kim Jong-Il's working class and all other people, the ambitious goals the Party set for the 70-day campaign and 200-day campaign were attained with success and a fresh breakthrough was made in the development of the national economy.

Our resourceful, talented scientists and technicians, following the successful launch of the earth observation satellite Kwangmyongsong 4, succeeded in the static firing test of new-type high-thrust motor of the launch vehicle for a geostationary satellite. By doing so, they have opened up a broad avenue to the exploration of outer space. Also, they established fully-automated, model production systems of our own style, bred high-yielding strains with a view to ramping up agricultural production and achieved other laudable scientific and technological breakthroughs one after another. All this will be of great significance in developing the country's economy and improving the people's livelihood. The electric-power, coal-mining, metallurgical, chemical and building-materials industries, rail transport and other major sectors of the national economy attained their respective production and transport goals, thereby demonstrating the potential of our self-supporting economy and giving a powerful impetus to the building of a socialist economic giant. Numerous industrial establishments and cooperative farms registered the proud success of surpassing the peak-year level. The People's Army stood in the vanguard in adding lustre to the history of "gold seas" and in creating a legendary speed at important construction sites. The sectors of education, public health and sports, too, made admirable achievements. When some areas in North Hamgyong Province were devastated by a sudden natural calamity, the whole country turned out in the restoration effort in hearty response to the Party's appeal and achieved a miraculous success in a short span of time.

During the 70-day campaign and 200-day campaign we created a new spirit of the times for building a powerful socialist country, and our people's trust in the Party and confidence in socialism grew firmer. Last year, in which the whole country kept on
seething with vigour day and night, all the Party members and other working people, youth and service personnel gave full scope to the indomitable attacking spirit of braving ordeals and difficulties, the deathdefying mettle of answering the Party's call with devotion and practice in any adversity, and the collectivist might of helping one another and leading one another forward to advance by leaps and bounds.

The brilliant successes we achieved in all the sectors of the revolution and construction last year are by no means attributable to any good conditions, nor are they a fortuitous result of any divine power. The mysterious power that brought about all these miraculous successes is just the single-hearted unity of all the service personnel and people, their great capacity for self-development. Even though the enemy grew more blatant in their obstructive schemes and severe difficulties cropped up one after another, all the service personnel and people drew themselves closer together around the Party and waged a vigorous struggle in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. This was how they achieved the world-startling, miraculous successes under such trying circumstances.

The single-hearted unity is the lifeblood of Juche Korea and the dynamic force for a leap forward, and we must invariably follow the road of self-reliance and self-development—this is the invaluable truth of the Juche revolution confirmed by our army's and people's gigantic struggle in 2016.

I extend my heartfelt thanks once again to all the service personnel and people who, with unshakeable confidence in the final victory of the revolution, adorned last year, eventful and arduous, with laudable exploits by devoting their patriotic loyalty, sweat and blood to building a powerful socialist country. Comrades,

We should turn out again in the new year's march towards a greater victory.

To build on the successes already gained and turn a heyday in the revolution into a great golden age is an ideological and spiritual characteristic and work style of all our service personnel and people who were trained under the care of the great leaders. In this significant year, by further encouraging the revolutionary spirit that was heightened to an incomparable degree in the course of the previous miraculous year, we should make remarkable progress in the implementation of the decisions adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Party and thus translate the people's ideals and dreams into brilliant reality on this land.

We should concentrate our efforts on implementing the five-year strategy for national economic development.

This year is of key importance in carrying out this strategy. In order to open up fine prospects for the implementation of the strategy and develop the country's overall economy onto a higher plane, while building on the successes gained last year, we should attain the goals for this year's struggle without fail.
"Let us accelerate the victorious advance of socialism with the great spirit of self-reliance and self-development as the dynamic force!"—this is the militant slogan we should uphold in this new year's march. We should wage a vigorous allpeople, general offensive to hit the targets of the five-year strategy on the strength of self-reliance and self-development.

The strength of self-reliance and self-development is that of science and technology, and the shortcut to implementing the five-year strategy is to give importance and precedence to science and technology.

The sector of science and technology should concentrate efforts on solving scientific and technological problems arising in modernizing factories and enterprises and putting their production on a regular footing with the main emphasis on ensuring the domestic production of raw materials, fuel and equipment. Production units and scientific research institutes should intensify cooperation between themselves, and enterprises should build up their own technological development forces and conduct a proactive mass-based technological innovation drive, propelling economic development with valuable sci-tech achievements conducive to expanded production and the improvement of business operation and management.

The electric-power, metallurgical and chemical industries should take the lead in the efforts to hit the targets of the economic strategy.

The electric-power industry should carry out its production plan without fail by ensuring good maintenance of generating equipment and structures and stepping up its technical upgrading. It should run the nationwide integrated power control system effectively and organize alternated production scrupulously to ensure balance between power production and consumption; it should also develop the various sources of power to create a new generating capacity on a large scale.

The metallurgical industry should introduce advanced technologies to lower the iron production cost and ensure normal operation of Juche-based production lines to turn out iron and steel in larger amounts. The state should take stringent measures to supply raw materials, fuel and power to the Kim Chaek and Hwanghae iron and steel complexes and other metallurgical factories.

The chemical industry is a basis for all other industries and plays an important role in consolidating the independence of the economy and improving the people's living standards. This sector should revitalize production at the February 8 Vinalon Complex, expand the capacity of other major chemical factories and transform their technical processes in our own way, thus increasing the output of various chemical goods. It should direct efforts to establishing a C1 chemical industry to carry out the tasks at every stage promptly and satisfactorily.

The coal-mining industry and the rail transport sector should meet the demands for coal and its transport by power stations and metallurgical and chemical factories on a top priority basis.
The machine-building industry should be rapidly developed. Machine factories should step up their modernization, perfect the processes for the serial production of new-type tractors, vehicles and multi-purpose farm machines, and produce and supply different kinds of high-performance and quality machinery and equipment.

This year light industry, agriculture and fishing industry should be radically developed to make greater progress in improving the people's living standards.

Light industry should work out proper management strategies, regarding use of domestically available raw and other materials as their core, so as to revitalize production and bring about a turn in diversifying the range and types of consumer goods and improving their quality. It should normalize production in the mines and enterprises in the Tanchon area, so that they can prove effective in improving the people's living standards.

The agricultural front, the major thrust in building an economic giant, should raise a strong wind of scientific farming and push forward the movement for increasing crop yield. It should widely introduce seeds of superior strains and scientific farming methods, whose advantages have been proved in practice, expand the area of land under two-crop farming, and be proactive in inventing and introducing high-performance farm machines.

By doing so, it can attain the production goal of grains. It should adopt measures to run the livestock farming base in the Sepho area on a normal basis and increase the production of fruits, mushrooms and vegetables, so that the people can enjoy benefits from them.

The fishing sector should conduct a dynamic drive for catching fishes and push perseveringly ahead with aquatic farming. It should build modern fishing vessels in a greater number and lay out a comprehensive fishing equipment production base in the east coast area, so as to consolidate the material and technical foundations of the fishing industry.

The construction sector should complete the construction of Ryomyong Street at the highest level and concentrate its forces on the major construction projects including the building of the Tanchon Power Station, modernization of the Kim Jong Thae Electric Locomotive Complex and the development of the Wonsan area. It should also build more educational and cultural facilities and houses in an excellent way.

Upholding the slogan of self-reliance and self-sufficiency, every field and every unit of the national economy should launch a dynamic struggle to increase production and practise economy to the maximum, and thus carry out the plan for this year on all indices.

The whole country should turn out in land administration. We should further transform the appearance of the land of our country by building modern tree nurseries in provinces, perseveringly pressing on with the forest restoration campaign and conducting river management, road repair and environmental conservation on a planned basis.

In order to bring about a turnabout in implementing the five-year strategy for national economic development, it is imperative to carry on economic guidance and
business management with clear objectives and in an innovative way. The Cabinet and other economic guidance organs should work out tactics to ensure the sustainable economic development by putting the overall national economy definitely on an upward track, and implement them with an unflinching perseverance.

All the fronts in the sector of culture including education, public health, sports, literature and the arts should effect a new, revolutionary upsurge to accelerate the building of a civilized power. The whole country and the whole society should launch a dynamic drive this year, a year of scientific education, to improve the facilities and environment for this education.

The political and military position of socialism should be further cemented so that it can be an impregnable fortress.

Single-hearted unity is the precious revolutionary legacy the great Comrades Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong

Il bequeathed to us, and herein lies the invincible might of our style of socialism. All the service personnel and people should establish the ties of kinship with the Party, their hearts pulsating to the same beat as it, and unite closely behind it in ideology, purpose and moral obligation, so as to struggle staunchly to achieve the prosperity of the country. We should thoroughly apply the people-first doctrine, the crystallization of the Juche-oriented view on the people, philosophy of the people, in Party work and all the spheres of state and social life, and wage an intensive struggle to root out abuses of power, bureaucratism and corruption that spoil the flower garden of single-hearted unity. We should resolutely thwart the enemy's sinister and pernicious schemes to check the warm and pure-hearted aspiration of our people who follow the Party single-heartedly and to alienate the Party from them.

In this year of the 85th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, we should raise the fierce flames of increasing the military capability.

The People's Army should conduct the Party's political work in a proactive manner, so as to ensure that it is pervaded with the ideology and intentions of the Party alone. It should designate this year as another year of training, another year of perfecting its combat preparedness, and ensure that all its units of different arms, services and corps raise a hot wind of perfecting their combat preparedness in order to train all its officers and men as a-match-for-a-hundred combatants, tigers of Mt Paektu, who are capable of annihilating any aggressor force at a stroke. Officers and men of the Korean People's Internal Security Forces and members of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards should prepare themselves politically and militarily and maintain full combat readiness to firmly defend the socialist system and the people's lives and property.

Officials, scientists and workers in the defence industry, burning their hearts with the "Yongil bomb spirit" of the days of the anti-Japanese struggle and the revolutionary spirit of the workers of Kunja-ri of the days of the Fatherland Liberation War, should develop and produce larger quantities of powerful military hardware of our own style. By doing so, they can build up the arsenal of the Songun revolution.
Success or failure of this year's struggle aimed at carrying out the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Party depends on the role of Party and working people's organizations.

Party organizations should concentrate their work on carrying out the Party's policies and the major revolutionary tasks advanced for their respective sectors and units. They should correctly identify the problems to which the Party attaches importance and which are the main links in the whole chain of bringing about an upsurge in production, and should resolve them by enlisting all their forces. They should move the theatre of political work to the seething production sites and launch a revolutionary ideological offensive there. In this way they can powerfully arouse the masses to the general mobilization struggle for carrying out the Party's ideas and policies. All the primary Party organizations, by applying the main spirit of the First Conference of Chairpersons of the Primary Committees of the Workers' Party of Korea, should ensure that the spirit of continuous innovations and continuous advance is displayed to the full in this year's all-people, general offensive.

All the youth league, trade union, agricultural workers' union and women's union organizations should enlist their members and encourage them to be astir in the advance for great upsurge, and ensure that they become innovators, creators of the Mallima speed.

The current stirring era demands that our officials, standard-bearers in carrying out the Party's policies, improve their working style and attitude in a revolutionary way.

Our people's enthusiasm for labour is very high now; when this enthusiasm is supported by bold and scientific operations, effective command and personal examples of our officials, there is no fortress we cannot conquer and no difficulty we cannot overcome. All the officials, well aware of the noble mission they have assumed before the Party and revolution, should become locomotives that lead the masses in the vanguard of the ranks.

They should plan their work in a big way with innovative insight, always think what to do and work in a keyed-up and militant way. They should resolutely break with defeatism, self-preservation, formalism and expediency, and devote their heart and soul to the struggle for carrying out the Party's plans and intentions.

Last year, in reflection of the national desire for reunification and the requirements of the times, we put forward the Juche-oriented line and policy of reunification at the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea and made strenuous efforts to this end. However, the south Korean authorities turned a deaf ear to our patriotic appeal and ignored our sincere proposal. Instead, they clung to their sanctions-and-pressure schemes against the DPRK and persisted in clamouring for a war against it, thus driving inter-Korean relations towards the worst catastrophe.

Last year, south Korea witnessed a massive anti-"government" struggle spreading far and wide to shake the reactionary ruling machinery to its foundations. This resistance involving all south Korean people, which left an indelible mark in the history of their struggle, was an outburst of pent-up grudge and indignation against the conservative
regime that had been resorting to fascist dictatorship, anti-popular policy, sycophantic and traitorous acts and confrontation with their compatriots.

This year we will mark the 45th anniversary of the historic July 4 Joint Statement and the 10th anniversary of the October 4 Declaration. This year we should open up a broad avenue to independent reunification through a concerted effort of the whole nation.

Positive measures should be taken to improve inter-Korean relations, avoid acute military confrontation and remove the danger of war between north and south.

The improvement of inter-Korean relations is the starting-point for peace and reunification, and it is a pressing demand of the whole nation. Any politician, if he or she remains a passive onlooker to the current deadlock between the two sides, can neither claim to be fully discharging his or her responsibility and role for the nation nor enjoy public support. Every manner of abuses and slanders aimed at offending the other party and inciting confrontation cannot be justified on any account, and an immediate stop should be put to the malicious smear campaign and other acts of hostility towards the DPRK, all designed for the overthrow of its system and any other "change."

We are consistent in our stand to safeguard the security of the compatriots and peace of the country without fighting with the fellow countrymen. The south Korean authorities should not aggravate the situation by finding fault with our exercise of the right to self-defence thoughtlessly, but respond positively to our sincere efforts to prevent military conflict between north and south and ease the tension.

They should also discontinue arms buildup and war games.

The whole nation should pool their will and efforts to usher in a heyday of the nationwide reunification movement.

All the Korean people in the north, in the south and abroad should achieve solidarity, make concerted efforts and unite on the principle of subordinating everything to national reunification, the common cause of the nation, and revitalize the reunification movement on a nationwide scale. They should promote active contact and exchange with each other irrespective of differences in their ideologies and systems, regions and ideals, and classes and social strata, and hold a pan-national, grand meeting for reunification involving all the political parties and organizations including the authorities in the north and south, as well as the compatriots of all strata at home and abroad. We will readily join hands with anyone who prioritizes the fundamental interests of the nation and is desirous of improving inter-Korean relations.

It is necessary to frustrate the challenges of the anti-reunification forces at home and abroad who go against the aspiration of the nation for reunification.

We must put an end to the moves for aggression and intervention by the foreign forces including the United States that is occupying south Korea and tries to realize the strategy for achieving hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region, and wage a dynamic pan-national struggle to thwart the moves of the traitorous and sycophantic anti-reunification
forces like Park Geun Hye who, failing to see clearly who is the real arch-enemy of the
nation, is trying to find a way out in confrontation with the fellow countrymen.

Well aware of the will of the Korean nation to reunify their country, the United
States must no longer cling to the scheme of whipping up national estrangement by
inciting the anti-reunification forces in south Korea to confrontation with the fellow
countrymen and war. It must make a courageous decision to roll back its anachronistic
policy hostile towards the DPRK. The international community that values independence
and justice should oppose the moves of the United States and its vassal forces aimed at
wrecking peace on the Korean peninsula and checking its reunification, and the
neighbouring countries should act in favour of our nation's aspiration and efforts for
reunification.

All the fellow countrymen in the north, in the south and abroad should do
something to make this year a meaningful year of a new phase in independent
reunification by stepping up a nationwide grand march towards reunification through the
concerted effort of the nation.

Last year the imperialist reactionary forces' moves for political and military
pressure and sanctions against our country reached an extreme. But they failed to break
the faith of our service personnel and people in victory, and could not check the vigorous
revolutionary advance of Juche Korea.

We will continue to build up our self-defence capability, the pivot of which is the
nuclear forces, and the capability for preemptive strike as long as the United States and
its vassal forces keep on nuclear threat and blackmail and as long as they do not stop their
war games they stage at our doorstep disguising them as annual events. We will defend
peace and security of our state at all costs and by our own efforts, and make a positive
contribution to safeguarding global peace and stability.

Our Party and the government of our Republic will remain committed to the
ideals of our foreign policy of independence, peace and friendship, expand and develop
the relations of good-neighbourliness, friendship and cooperation with those countries
championing independence, and make concerted efforts with them to ensure genuine
international justice.

Comrades,

As I am standing here to proclaim the beginning of another year, I feel a surge of
anxiety about what I should do to hold our people in greater reverence, the best people in
the world who have warmly supported me with a single mind out of their firm trust in me.

My desires were burning all the time, but I spent the past year feeling anxious and
remorseful for the lack of my ability. I am hardening my resolve to seek more tasks for
the sake of the people this year and make redoubled, devoted efforts to this end.

Previously, all the people used to sing the song We Are the Happiest in the World,
feeling optimistic about the future with confidence in the great Comrades Kim Il-Sung
and Kim Jong-II. I will work with devotion to ensure that the past era does not remain as a moment in history but is re-presented in the present era. On this first morning of the new year I swear to become a true servant loyal to our people who faithfully supports them with a pure conscience.

And I will push the effort to set up across the Party a revolutionary climate of making selfless, devoted efforts for the good of the people.

As long as the great Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism is illuminating the road ahead of us and we have the single-hearted unity of all the service personnel and people around the Party, we are sure to emerge victorious.

Let us all march forward dynamically towards a bright future, holding up the splendid blueprint unfolded by the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea to develop ours into a powerful socialist country.
Kim Jong-un New Years Speech 2018, Codified

Dear fellow countrymen and brave service personnel of the People's Army,

Dear compatriots,

Today, recollecting with great pleasure and pride and deep emotion the proud achievements we performed last year through our diligent and worthwhile labour and sincere efforts and by the sweat of our brow, we are all seeing in the new year 2018 with fresh hopes and expectations.

Greeting the hope-filled new year, I wish the families across the country good health, happiness, success and prosperity. I also wish that the beautiful dreams of all our people, including the hopes of our children in the new year, would come true.

Comrades, As I look back upon last year, when I worked strenuously on the road of achieving national prosperity, gaining great strength and wisdom from the pure minds of the dauntless people who invariably trusted and followed the Party even in the face of manifold difficulties and trials, I feel my heart swelling with the pride in waging the revolution shoulder to shoulder with a great people.

On behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I extend sincere thanks and New Year greetings to all the people and service personnel who won miraculous victories to be noteworthy in the national history of 5 000 years by sharing mind and purpose with the Party and supporting its determination on the road of arduous yet glorious struggle.

My New Year greetings go also to the compatriots in the south and abroad who are fighting for the reunification of the country and to the progressive peoples and other friends across the world who opposed war of aggression and gave firm solidarity to our cause of justice.

Comrades, The year 2017 was a year of heroic struggle and great victory, a year when we set up an indestructible milestone in the history of building a powerful socialist country with the spirit of self-reliance and self-development as the dynamic force.

Last year the moves of the United States and its vassal forces to isolate and stifle our country went to extremes, and our revolution faced the harshest-ever challenges. In the face of the prevailing situation and the worst trials on the road of advance, our Party trusted the people and the people defended the Party death-defyingly, turning adversity and misfortune to good account and achieving brilliant successes on all the fronts where a powerful socialist country is being built.

Through last year's grandiose struggle we powerfully demonstrated at home and abroad our immutable faith and will to follow to the end the road of Juche-oriented socialism opened up by the great Comrades Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II and the single-hearted unity of socialist Korea in which all the people are firmly united behind the Party.

An outstanding success our Party, state and people won last year was the accomplishment of the great, historic cause of perfecting the national nuclear forces.
On this platform one year ago I officially made public on behalf of the Party and government that we had entered the final stage of preparation for the test launch of an intercontinental ballistic missile. In the past one year we conducted several rounds of its test launch, aimed at implementing the programme, safely and transparently, thus proving before the eyes of the world its definite success.

By also conducting tests of various means of nuclear delivery and super-intense thermonuclear weapon, we attained our general orientation and strategic goal with success, and our Republic has at last come to possess a powerful and reliable war deterrent, which no force and nothing can reverse.

Our country's nuclear forces are capable of thwarting and countering any nuclear threats from the United States, and they constitute a powerful deterrent that prevents it from starting an adventurous war.

In no way would the United States dare to ignite a war against me and our country.

The whole of its mainland is within the range of our nuclear strike and the nuclear button is on my office desk all the time; the United States needs to be clearly aware that this is not merely a threat but a reality.

We have realized the wish of the great leaders who devoted their lives to building the strongest national defence capability for reliably safeguarding our country's sovereignty, and we have created a mighty sword for defending peace, as desired by all our people who had to tighten their belts for long years. This great victory eloquently proves the validity and vitality of the Party's line of simultaneously conducting economic construction and building up our nuclear forces and its idea of prioritizing science, and it is a great historic achievement that has opened up bright prospects for the building of a prosperous country and inspired our service personnel and people with confidence in sure victory.

I offer my noble respects to the heroic Korean people who, despite the difficult living conditions caused by life-threatening sanctions and blockade, have firmly trusted, absolutely supported and dynamically implemented our Party's line of simultaneously promoting the two fronts.

My warm, comradely greetings go also to our defence scientists and workers in the munitions industry who made devoted efforts all the year round, to demonstrate to the world that the plans and decisions of the Party Central Committee are a science and a truth and that they automatically mean their materialization.

Last year we also made notable headway in carrying out the five-year strategy for national economic development.

As a result of our vigorous endeavour to establish the Juche orientation in the metallurgical industry, an oxygen-blast furnace of our own style was built at the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Complex to maintain regular production of pig iron by relying on anthracite, and prospects were opened up for consolidating the independent foundations
of the chemical industry and attaining the five-year strategy's goal for the output of chemical products.

Numerous light-industry factories in such sectors as textile, footwear, knitwear and foodstuff industries raised high the banner of Juche orientation and made proactive efforts to propel the modernization of several production lines by means of our own technology and our own equipment. By doing so, they provided a guarantee for making the range of consumer goods varied and improving their quality.

The machine-building industry, by upholding the banner of self-reliance and relying on science and technology, creditably attained the Party's goal for the production of new-type tractors and trucks, and thus laid solid foundations for speeding up the Juche orientation and modernization of the national economy and the comprehensive mechanization of the rural economy. The agricultural sector, by actively introducing scientific farming methods, increased the ranks of high-yield farms and workteams and reaped an unusually rich fruit harvest in spite of unfavourable climatic conditions.

Our service personnel and people built magnificent Ryomyong Street and the large-scale livestock farming base in the Sepho area, and completed the task for the first stage of the forest restoration campaign, thereby demonstrating the might of great army-people unity and the potential of the socialist independent economy.

Amid a vigorous struggle for the creation of the Mallima speed, new model units emerged one after another, and a large number of factories and enterprises fulfilled their quotas of the yearly national economic plan ahead of schedule and made a proud achievement of surpassing their peak-year levels.

Successes were also made on the scientific and cultural fronts last year. Scientists and technicians resolved scientific and technological problems arising in the building of a powerful socialist country and completed research projects in the cutting-edge field, thereby giving stimulus to economic development and the improvement of the people's living standards. The socialist education system was further improved and the educational environment upgraded, while medical service conditions were bettered. An example of artistic performance activities was created to infuse the whole country with revolutionary optimism and the militant spirit, and our sportspeople won victories in different international competitions.

All the successes made last year are the triumph of the Juche-oriented revolutionary line of the Workers' Party of Korea and a precious fruition of the heroic struggle of the service personnel and people who are firmly rallied behind the Party.

Our Party and people achieved such signal victories others could never think of achieving by their own efforts in the face of the sanctions-and-blockade moves the United States and its vassal forces perpetrated more viciously than ever before to stamp out the rights to sovereignty, existence and development of the DPRK. Herein lies the source of their dignity and their great pride and self-confidence.
I would like to extend my warm thanks once again to all the people and service personnel who victoriously advanced the cause of building a powerful socialist country, always sharing the destiny with the Party and braving all difficulties and trials on the eventful days of last year.

Comrades, This year we will mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of the glorious Democratic People's Republic of Korea. To mark the 70th anniversary of their state with splendour is of real significance for the great people, who have raised with dignity the status of their socialist country, the greatest patriotic legacy of the great Comrades Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II, to that of a strategic state recognized by the world.

We should make constant innovations and continued progress until we win the final victory of the revolution by carrying on the tradition of heroic struggle and collective innovation which adorned the founding and course of development of Juche Korea. A revolutionary general offensive should be launched to achieve fresh victory on all fronts of building a powerful socialist country by taking the historic victory in the building of the DPRK's nuclear forces as a springboard for fresh progress.

"Let us launch a revolutionary general offensive to achieve fresh victory on all fronts of building a powerful socialist country!"—this is the revolutionary slogan we should uphold. All officials, Party members and other working people should launch an all-people general offensive to frustrate the challenges of the hostile forces who are making last-ditch efforts and raise the overall strength of our Republic to a new stage of development as they brought about a great upsurge in socialist construction overcoming all difficulties through the great Chollima upswing after the war.

A breakthrough should be made in reenergizing the overall economic front this year, the third year of implementing the five-year strategy for national economic development.

The central task facing socialist economic construction this year is to enhance the independence and Juche character of the national economy and improve the people's standard of living as required by the revolutionary counterstrategy put forward by the Second Plenary Meeting of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party.

We should concentrate all efforts on consolidating the independence and Juche character of the national economy.

The electric-power industry should maintain and reinforce the self-supporting power generation bases, and direct a great deal of efforts to developing new power sources. A dynamic campaign should be conducted to drastically increase thermal power generation, and lower the loss of electric power and increase its production as much as possible by maintaining and reinforcing imperfect generating facilitates. Provinces should build power generation bases to suit their local features and put power generation at the existing medium and small-sized power stations on a normal footing to satisfy the needs of electric power for local industry by themselves. Alternated production should be
organized scrupulously throughout the country, and a vigorous struggle waged against the practices of wasting electric power to make effective use of generated electric power.

The metallurgical industry should further improve the Juche-oriented iron- and steel-making technologies, increase the iron production capacity and drastically raise the quality of metallic materials in order to satisfy the needs of the national economy for iron and steel. It is necessary to ensure a preferential, planned and timely supply of electricity, concentrated iron ore, anthracite, lignite, freight wagons, locomotives and funds for the metallurgical industry. **By doing so, we can fulfil next year's iron and steel production plans and make the industry Juche-oriented without fail.**

The chemical industry should step up the establishment of the C1 chemical industry, push the projects for catalyst production base and phosphatic fertilizer factory as scheduled, and renovate and perfect the sodium carbonate production line whose starting material is glauberite.

The machine-building industry should modernize the Kumsong Tractor Factory, Sungni Motor Complex and other factories to develop and produce world-level machinery in our style.

The coal and mineral production and rail transport sectors should make concerted efforts to make the country's self-reliant economic foundations prove their effectiveness.

Notably, the rail transport sector should make the best use of the existing transport capacity by making transport organization and control more scientific and rational, and maintain discipline and order in the railways as rigid as in the army, so as to ensure an accident-free, on-schedule rail traffic.

A turn should be brought about this year in improving the people's standard of living.

Light-industry factories need to transform their equipment and production lines into labour- and electricity-saving ones and produce and supply more diversified and quality consumer goods with domestic raw and other materials, and provinces, cities and counties should develop the local economy in a characteristic way by relying on their own raw material resources.

**The agricultural and fishing fronts should effect an upswing. We should introduce seeds of superior strains, high-yield farming methods and high-performance farm machines on an extensive scale, do farming scientifically and technologically so as to fulfil the cereals production plan without fail, and boost the production of livestock products, fruits, greenhouse vegetables and mushrooms. We should enhance our ship building and repair capacities, launch scientific fishing campaigns, and reenergize aquatic farming.**

This year the service personnel and people should join efforts to complete the construction of the Wonsan-Kalma coastal tourist area in the shortest period of time, push ahead with major construction projects including the renovation of Samjiyon County, the construction of the Tanchon Power Station and the second-stage waterway project of South Hwanghae Province, and channel steady efforts into the construction of houses.
Building on the success we achieved in the forest restoration campaign, we should properly protect and manage the forests that have already been created, improve the technical conditions of roads, conduct river improvement on a regular basis, and protect environment in a scientific and responsible manner.

Every sector and every unit of the national economy should enlist their own technical forces and economic potential to the maximum and launch a dynamic struggle to increase production and practise economy, so as to create a greater amount of material wealth.

A shortcut to developing the self-sufficient economy is to give precedence to science and technology and make innovations in economic planning and guidance.

The scientific research sector should solve on a preferential basis the scientific and technological problems arising in establishing Juche-oriented production lines of our own style, ensuring domestic production of raw and other materials and equipment, and perfecting the structure of the self-supporting economy. Every sector and every unit of the national economy should make a contribution to achieving production growth by intensifying the dissemination of science and technology and waging a brisk technological innovation drive.

The Cabinet and other economic guidance organs should work out a realistic operational plan to carry out the national economic plan for this year and push forward the work for its implementation responsibly and persistently. Positive measures should be taken by the state to ensure that the socialist system of responsible business operation proves its worth in factories, enterprises and cooperative organizations. Socialist culture should be developed in a comprehensive way.

It is necessary to strengthen the ranks of teachers, improve the contents and methods of education as demanded by the trend of developing modern education, apply the people-oriented character in public health service in a thoroughgoing way, and boost the production of medical equipment and appliances and different kinds of medicines.

We should conduct mass-based sporting activities briskly, create sporting techniques and tactics of our own style, and produce artistic and literary masterpieces which truthfully depict the heroic struggle and life of our service personnel and people in the Mallima era and the beautiful and sublime features proper to human beings. In this way, we can crush the bourgeois reactionary culture by dint of our revolutionary socialist art and literature.

A vigorous struggle should be waged to tighten moral discipline throughout society, establish a socialist way of life and eliminate all kinds of non-socialist practices, so as to ensure that all the people, possessed of ennobling mental and moral traits, lead a revolutionary and cultured life.

The self-reliant defence capability should be further consolidated.

In this year of the 70th anniversary of the development of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army into a regular revolutionary armed force by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-Sung, the People's Army should perfect its features as befits the
revolutionary armed forces of the Party. It should organize and conduct combat training
in a highly intensive way, in a real-war atmosphere, to develop all its units in different
arms, services and corps into the ranks of a-match-for-a-hundred combatants.

The Korean People's Internal Security Forces should sharpen the edge of the
sword of the class struggle and detect and frustrate the schemes by undesirable and
hostile elements in time. The Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards should
enhance their combat capability in all aspects through intensive combat and political
training.

By consistently holding fast to the line of simultaneously promoting the two
fronts in accordance with the strategic policy set by the Party at the Eighth Conference of
Munitions Industry, the defence industry should develop and manufacture powerful
strategic weapons and military hardware of our style, perfect its Juche-oriented
production structure and modernize its production lines on the basis of cutting-edge
science and technology.

The nuclear weapons research sector and the rocket industry should mass-produce
nuclear warheads and ballistic missiles, the power and reliability of which have already
been proved to the full, to give a spur to the efforts for deploying them for action.

And we should always be ready for immediate nuclear counterattack to cope with
the enemy's manoeuvres for a nuclear war.

The political and ideological might is the first and foremost strength of our state
and the great propellant for opening up an avenue for building a powerful socialist
country.

In order to successfully carry out the fighting tasks facing us, we should rally the whole
Party more firmly on its organizational and ideological basis and establish a
thoroughgoing revolutionary climate within the Party. In this way, we can constantly
enhance its fighting efficiency and leadership role in the overall revolution and
construction.

All Party organizations should never tolerate all shades of heterogeneous ideas
and double standards of discipline that run counter to the Party's ideology, but strengthen
the single-hearted unity of the whole Party centred on its Central Committee in every way
possible.

The whole Party should launch an intense struggle to establish a revolutionary
climate within the Party with the main emphasis put on rooting out the abuse of Party
authority, bureaucratism and other outdated methods and style of work, so as to ensure
that the ties of kinship between the Party and the masses of the people are as solid as a
rock.

Party organizations should intensify Party guidance to ensure that the work of
their respective sectors and units is always conducted in conformity with the ideas and
intentions of the Party and the requirements of its policies, and find satisfactory solutions
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2018

277  to the problems arising in the building of a powerful socialist country by giving definite
278  precedence to political work and motivating the people ideologically.

279  We should rally all the service personnel and people firmly behind the Party
280  ideologically and volitionally so that they throw in their lot with it whatever the adversity
281  and fight with devotion for the victory of the socialist cause.

282  Party and working people's organizations and government organs should orient
283  and subordinate all their undertakings to strengthening the single-hearted unity. The
284  benchmark in planning and launching their work should be the people's demands and
285  interests. And they should go deep among the people, sharing good times and bad with
286  them and solving their mental agony and difficulties in their lives. They should ensure
287  that the shorter the supply of everything is, the fuller play is given to the beautiful traits
288  of comrades and neighbours helping and caring for one another with all sincerity.

289  We should give free rein to the indomitable mental strength of the heroic Korean
290  people on the present grand Mallima march.

291  Party and working people's organizations should ensure that all the working
292  people cherish patriotism in their hearts and bring about collective innovations one after
293  another in the great campaign to create the Mallima speed with the revolutionary spirit of
294  self-reliance and science and technology as the dynamic force. They should see to it that
295  officials, Party members and other working people carry forward the fighting spirit
296  displayed by the elder generations who brought about epochal changes on the grand
297  Chollima march and all of them become Mallima pioneers who vigorously rush forward
298  in the vanguard of the era.

299  Comrades, Last year, too, our people made strenuous efforts to defend the peace
300  of the country and hasten national reunification in keeping with the aspirations and
301  demands of the nation. However, owing to the vicious sanctions and pressure by the
302  United States and its vassal forces and their desperate manoeuvres to ignite a war, all
303  aimed at checking the reinforcement of the self-defensive nuclear deterrent by our
304  Republic, the situation on the Korean peninsula became aggravated as never before, and
305  greater difficulties and obstacles were put on the road of the country's reunification.

306  Even though the conservative "regime" in south Korea, which had resorted to
307  fascist rule and confrontation with fellow countrymen, collapsed and the ruling circles
308  were replaced by another thanks to the massive resistance by the enraged people of all
309  walks of life, nothing has been changed in the relations between the north and the south.
310  On the contrary, the south Korean authorities, siding with the United States in its hostile
311  policy towards the DPRK against the aspirations of all the fellow countrymen for national
312  reunification, drove the situation to a tight corner, further aggravated the mistrust and
313  confrontation between the north and the south, and brought the bilateral relations to a fix
314  that can be hardly resolved. We can never escape the holocaust of a nuclear war forced
315  by the outside forces, let alone achieve national reunification, unless we put an end to this
316  abnormal situation.
Appendix III.
Codified Speeches:
Kim Jong-Un’s New Year’s Speech 2018

The prevailing situation demands that now the north and the south improve the relations between themselves and take decisive measures for achieving a breakthrough for independent reunification without being obsessed by bygone days. No one can present an honourable appearance in front of the nation if he or she ignores the urgent demands of the times.

This year is significant both for the north and the south as in the north the people will greet the 70th founding anniversary of their Republic as a great, auspicious event and in the south the Winter Olympic Games will take place. In order to not only celebrate these great national events in a splendid manner but also demonstrate the dignity and spirit of the nation at home and abroad, we should improve the frozen inter-Korean relations and glorify this meaningful year as an eventful one noteworthy in the history of the nation.

First of all, we should work together to ease the acute military tension between the north and the south and create a peaceful environment on the Korean peninsula.

As long as this unstable situation, which is neither wartime nor peacetime, persists, the north and the south cannot ensure the success of the scheduled events, nor can they sit face to face to have a sincere discussion over the issue of improving bilateral relations, nor will advance straight ahead towards the goal of national reunification.

The north and the south should desist from doing anything that might aggravate the situation, and they should make concerted efforts to defuse military tension and create a peaceful environment.

The south Korean authorities should respond positively to our sincere efforts for a detente, instead of inducing the exacerbation of the situation by joining the United States in its reckless moves for a north-targeted nuclear war that threatens the destiny of the entire nation as well as peace and stability on this land. They should discontinue all the nuclear war drills they stage with outside forces, as these drills will engulf this land in flames and lead to bloodshed on our sacred territory. They should also refrain from any acts of bringing in nuclear armaments and aggressive forces from the United States.

Even though the United States is wielding the nuclear stick and going wild for another war, it will not dare to invade us because we currently have a powerful nuclear deterrent. And when the north and the south are determined, they can surely prevent the outbreak of war and ease tension on the Korean peninsula.

A climate favourable for national reconciliation and reunification should be established.

The improvement of inter-Korean relations is a pressing matter of concern not only to the authorities but to all other Koreans, and it is a crucial task to be carried out through a concerted effort by the entire nation. The north and the south should promote bilateral contact, travel, cooperation and exchange on a broad scale to remove mutual misunderstanding and distrust, and fulfil their responsibility and role as the motive force of national reunification.
We will open our doors to anyone from south Korea, including the ruling party and opposition parties, organizations and individual personages of all backgrounds, for dialogue, contact and travel, if they sincerely wish national concord and unity.

A definite end should be put to the acts that might offend the other party and incite discord and hostility between fellow countrymen. The south Korean authorities should not try, as the previous conservative "regime" did, to block contact and travel by people of different social strata and suppress the atmosphere for reunification through alliance with the north, under absurd pretexts and by invoking legal and institutional mechanisms; instead, they should direct efforts to creating conditions and environment conducive to national concord and unity.

To improve inter-Korean relations as soon as possible, the authorities of the north and the south should raise the banner of national independence higher than ever before, and fulfil their responsibility and role they have assumed for the times and the nation.

Inter-Korean relations are, to all intents and purposes, an internal matter of our nation, which the north and the south should resolve on their own responsibility. Therefore, they should acquire a steadfast stand and viewpoint that they will resolve all the issues arising in bilateral relations on the principle of By Our Nation Itself.

The south Korean authorities need to know that they will gain nothing from touring foreign countries to solicit their help on the issue of inter-Korean relations, and that such behaviour will give the outside forces, who pursue dishonest objectives, an excuse for their interference and complicate matters further. Now it is not time for the north and the south to turn their backs on each other and merely express their respective standpoints; it is time that they sit face to face with a view to holding sincere discussions over the issue of improving inter-Korean relations by our nation itself and seek a way out for its settlement in a bold manner.

As for the Winter Olympic Games to be held soon in south Korea, it will serve as a good occasion for demonstrating our nation's prestige and we earnestly wish the Olympic Games a success. From this point of view we are willing to dispatch our delegation and adopt other necessary measures; with regard to this matter, the authorities of the north and the south may meet together soon. Since we are compatriots of the same blood as south Koreans, it is natural for us to share their pleasure over the auspicious event and help them.

We will, in the future, too, resolve all issues by the efforts of our nation itself under the unfurled banner of national independence and frustrate the schemes by anti-reunification forces within and without on the strength of national unity, thereby opening up a new history of national reunification.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I extend warm New Year greetings once again to all Korean compatriots at home and abroad, and I sincerely wish that in this significant year everything would go well both in the north and in the south.

Comrades, The international situation we witnessed last year was clear proof that our Party and our state were absolutely correct in their strategic judgement and decision
that when we are confronting the imperialist forces of aggression who are attempting to
wreck global peace and security and make mankind suffer a nuclear holocaust, our only
recourse is the power of justice.

As a responsible, peace-loving nuclear power, our country will neither have
recourse to nuclear weapons unless hostile forces of aggression violate its sovereignty
and interests nor threaten any other country or region by means of nuclear weapons.
However, it will resolutely respond to acts of wrecking peace and security on the Korean
peninsula.

Our Party and the government of our Republic will develop good-neighbourly and
friendly relations with all the countries that respect our national sovereignty and are
friendly to us, and make positive efforts to build a just and peaceful new world.

Comrades, The year 2018 will be recorded as another year of victory for our
people.

At this moment when this year's gigantic march has begun, I am filled with
confidence that our cause is ever-victorious as it is supported by the people, and I harden
my resolve to make devoted efforts to live up to their expectations.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the government of the Republic will never cease
to struggle and advance until achieving the final victory of the revolutionary cause of
Juche by relying on the trust and strength of the people, but surely hasten the future of a
powerful socialist country where all the people lead a dignified and happy life.

Let us all march forward dynamically towards fresh victory of the revolution by
displaying the unyielding mettle of heroic Korea under the leadership of the Workers'
Party of Korea.
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