

CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF HERO FRAMES  
IN AMERICAN AND NORTH KOREAN MEDIA:  
FOCUSING ON TRAGEDY AND GLORIFICATION

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

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by  
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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF HERO FRAMES  
IN AMERICAN AND NORTH KOREAN MEDIA:  
FOCUSING ON TRAGEDY AND GLORIFICATION

presented by Young Mi Kwon,

a candidate for the degree of master of arts

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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Professor Sandra Davidson

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Professor Seungkwon You

Thanks, and I love you, Se Bin.

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There is a saying in Buddhism that even going past somebody in this life is a result from karma with the person during previous lives. Buddhism also says that a relationship between a student and his/her teacher requires the most enormous karma of a previous life. Such a saying seems true as it is somewhat miraculous that an Asian student from a small country came to Columbia, Missouri, met great teachers, and finished her studies. While studying in Columbia and even now, I have been surprised by the opportunities afforded me at the University of Missouri. I believe that life has hidden surprises in its pockets, taking them out to share one by one at unexpected moments.

Unfortunately, life hides not only enjoyable surprises, but also sad moments. One of the most sad and tragic surprises for me was the death of former President Roh Moo-Hyun, the 26<sup>th</sup> president of South Korea, who reportedly committed suicide because of his shame and regret. Major media outlets in South Korea repeated prosecutors' accusations that, in spring 2009, one of Roh's family members took illegal money, which might have caused President Roh to feel guilty and lead him to kill himself. I was and am still his supporter. I loved him rather than respected him. I loved him not as a president, but as a warrior and hero of the people, who sternly resisted military dictatorships and supported workers and the common people. Thus, I could not accept his death in the way that the mass media tried to frame.

As a socially powerless being who was away from Korea at that time, I could not do anything except bury him in my heart, mourning another tragic Baby Commander,

killed by his own cowardly family and king, as in the Korean fable. This painful experience became a motivation behind my research into how cultural media frames the United States and North Korea in the cultural base of Korea's killed heroes. Thus, President Roh Moo-Hyun, my hero, even if I never met him and was away from Korea during his presidency is the first person I would like to show my appreciation. I, and probably most Koreans, still love and miss him.

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# CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF HERO FRAMES IN AMERICAN AND NORTH KOREAN MEDIA: FOCUSING ON TRAGEDY AND GLORIFICATION

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## ABSTRACT

Both the U.S. media and *The Rodong Sinmun*, the state news website of North Korea, used hero frames to describe each other. The hero frame of the United States described itself as a hero, North Korea and Middle Eastern countries as villains, and the people of those countries and sometimes the United States as victims. Meanwhile, *The Rodong Sinmun* of North Korea used “hero” and “heroic” without a refined symbol system. In *The Rodong Sinmun*, Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il were the utmost heroes in that they enabled the heroic working class of North Korea to realize their historic importance and led North Korean soldiers in their success against imperialists. The hero frame used to describe Kim Il-Sung included metaphors such as an affectionate father, the sun, and a tiger. The hero frame for Kim Jong-Il used metaphors such as a mother, the sunshine, and a crane. Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il were perceived to be optimistic heroes who were not allowed in Korean traditional culture, as featured as the emotion of “han” and in the fable “Baby Commander.”

## **1. Introduction**

What does the United States have that Korea does not? One answer is a hero.

On the frontier, in fire stations, battlefields, even moving through the atmosphere, the United States has seemingly always had heroes who are rescuing, fighting, and even making the Earth spin in reverse.

This is very different from Korea, which was void of hero culture, at least until before 1948 when the country was divided into North Korea and South Korea. Traditional Korean culture is such that, even when heroes are born, they are killed before they can do anything heroic. One famous old tale found in every province is the story of the “Baby Commander” killed by his family.

The tale centers upon a baby born to a farmer and his wife. The story goes on to describe how his parents initially discover trivial but strange things about him; the newborn sleeps in a reversed direction from the way his parents placed him, or the baby’s body becomes mysteriously wet with sweat. These events lead to the parents looking into the room one day only to witness the baby flying around the ceiling. They discover that the baby, in fact, has wings under his arms.

The baby grows quickly to become a boy of intelligence and leadership. A king, afraid the baby might become a rival leader, dispatches troops to have him killed, but the baby defeats the king’s soldiers. The parents grow afraid that the baby will become a leader rivaling the king, and that they will be killed for high treason (in Korea, the penal

rule was to execute a traitor's family members). Thus, the parents kill the baby by placing a terrace stone on him, as directed by the Baby Commander himself (Kim, 2006).

In a modified form of the story, the baby asks his mother to hide him in a cave with several sacks of grain. He also asks his mother not to reveal his whereabouts. However, his mother — threatened by the king's troops — tells them the location of the cave. When the king's troops arrive at the cave, the baby is about to rally soldiers that he has created out of grain. However, the Baby Commander and every soldier are killed by the king's troops (Park, 1993). A similar tale exists in the Northern Province. This story is about a heroic hawk that protects village people. Here, too, the hawk dies in a fight with a big snake because a red thread, which was attached to its foot so people would notice and respect the hawk, was entangled on the bow of a tree (Hwang, 2004).

Thus, a given culture's hero narratives can reveal a great deal about that society's belief systems since, as Entman (1991) notes, a culture is the stock of commonly invoked frames. Similarly, Schudson (1995) defines news as a cultural narrative, "produced by people who operate, often unwittingly, within a cultural system, a reservoir of stored cultural meanings and patterns of discourse" (p.14). According to their logic, the relationship of news, cultural narrative, and frames is so close that they are sometimes interchangeable. Indeed, one can locate a distinctive pro-hero code in the culture of the United States and then find a frame that reflects this cultural system in the news. Conversely, the traditionally tragic view of heroes held by Koreans is deeply engrained in Korean culture, and so it is not easy to find heroes in South Korean news stories, except for a few sports stars (Jung, 2008). Further, in North Korea, which enforces socialist

values and is traditionally without a hero culture, news frames would differ from those of the United States and South Korea.

In many studies (Anker, 2005; Barker-Plummer, 2005; Bostodorf, 2011; Choi, 2006; Christie, 2006; Ghanem, 2009; Harmon & Muenchen, 2009; Jones, 1991; Kolmer & Semetko, 2009; Lee, 2004; Lule, 2010; Monahan, 2010; Reese & Lewis, 2009; Saleem; Seo, Johnson, & Stein, 2009) on the framing of the events of 9/11, the war on terror, the Iraq War, and images of foreign leaders and the United Nations, researchers show that U.S. news media routinely use frames of “heroism” (Anker, 2005; Monahan, 2010) and “civil religion, that is, an assumption that God is on our side” (Jones, 1991).

Other common frames emphasized by the U.S. news media center on “good and evil” (Ghanem, 2009), the “villain” (Choi, 2010), and “ossified organization” (Barker-Plummer, 2005). These frames lead the audience to perceive military actions as unquestionably righteous. More broadly, the message of these frames is that leaders in the Middle East and Communist leaders cannot be negotiated with; they must be defeated.

Then, what frames are used by the so-called “evil villains” in these frames, countries such as Iran, Iraq, and North Korea that make up the “axis of evil”? Are they using similar frames to those used by the U.S. media? Do they see themselves in the terms presented by the United States, or do they frame their conflicts with the United States in completely different terms? North Korea, one of the countries pinpointed in the axis of evil, did not have a hero code in its culture, at least until division of Korea, and also has a very different history and social system from the United States. If the frames of North Korean media were studied, the results would provide a good example of how underlying cultural assumptions are incorporated into news frames. Furthermore, the

study would provide valuable empirical data. However, there has not been much research on the media of North Korea and its frames. This is due, most likely, to the closed borders of North Korea and the South's legal restraints, such as the National Security Act of South Korea. The language barrier presents another obstacle to researchers in the United States.

*The Rodong Sinmun* is the newspaper published by the Workers' Party of North Korea, issuing 1.5 million copies daily, which started its website in 2010. It is one of the most influential media outlets in North Korea, along with Korean Central TV and the Korean Central News Agency. The predecessor of *The Rodong Sinmun* was *Jung-Ro* (its meaning is "a righteous road"), published from 1945. In 1946, *Jung-Ro* absorbed *Jun-Jin* (its literal meaning is "the march"), a newspaper published by the Sinmin Party, a communist party based on the Yeonan faction (延安派), and changed its name to *The Rodong Sinmun*.

By analyzing *The Rodong Sinmun*, this research tries answer the following questions: What frames does North Korea use when covering the United States? How are these frames different from those used by the United States? What is the cultural meaning of the frames of North Korea? (These research questions will be presented in detail at the end of the literature review section.)

The research uses frame analysis and, to catch subtle differences between the two cultures, this research focuses on code words, symbols, metaphors, proverbs, labels, and story lines used in news-story frames.

This research reviewed literature written in English as well as Korean research conducted in South Korea. The research conducted in the United States concentrated on

studying the frames used by the United States for countries deemed “the axis of evil.” Korean researchers in the United States (Choi, 2006; Chung, Lessman, & Fan, 2008; Seo, 2009) focused on the U.S. media’s frames concerning North Korea and its leader, in particular. Researchers in South Korea had only limited access to North Korean media, but they have been able to analyze *The Rodong Sinmun* after overcoming access barriers and other issues that were primarily of a legal nature.

However, because of the complexity of researching cultural phenomena ranging from hero culture to media frames, this research also reviewed analyses of Korean fables and values, the political history of North Korea, and the policy of North Korea on oral literature in order to completely answer the proposed research questions. (The political history of North Korea is attached as Appendix 1). Thus, due to the vastness of the topics being discussed, the literature review is split into two sections: one section for articles written in English, and a second section for those articles written in Korean. Also, each section proceeds as outlined below:

### **Articles in English**

1. Research on frames and cultural frames
2. Research on frames used to cover the United States’ war with the “axis of evil,” as covered by the U.S. media
3. Research on the frames employed to cover the subject of “North Korea” in the U.S. media

### **Articles in Korean**

1. Research on the media and *The Rodong Sinmun* of North Korea
2. Research on Korean fables and values
3. Research on the modern heroes of North and South Korea



## 2. Literature Review

### Articles in English

News framing can be imagined as the frame of a photograph: Only a small slice of reality is represented in the rectangular frame a photographer captures, thus shaping a reality without context. Altheide opines “frames are the focus, a parameter or boundary, for discussing a particular event. Frames focus on what will be discussed, how it will be discussed and, above all, how it will not be discussed” (2002, p. 45).

In practice, framers “adapt different kinds of strategies, such as metaphors, catch phrases, keywords, and stereotyped images to evoke special images or particular characteristics of an object” (Choi, 2010, p.32).

Many researchers point out that national interests affect the news framing of international conflicts, writing that this kind of framing is more common than objectivity. According to Seib (2004), “objectivity in war reporting is skewed from the start, distorted by boosterism that is dressed up as ‘patriotism’”(p.31).

Lee (2004) compares *The New York Times*, *The Arab News*, and *The Middle East Times* and concludes that newspapers reflect national interests when covering international conflicts. As shown in Wang’s study (1995), dominant political ideology also comes into play when making frames. According to Wang, South Korean student protests in 1980 and Chinese student protests in 1989 were reported differently in the United States based on the dominant political ideology, even though both protests were struggles for the acceleration of the democratization process.

On the one hand, Korean students were framed as violent and even as “mobs” because the government of South Korea was considered to be “democratic,” even if nominally so, whereas the Chinese students were framed as idealistic, fearless, and as “martyrs” because the Chinese students were protesting against a “communist” government.

Graber says “when journalists choose content and frame it, they are constructing reality for their audiences, particularly when the story concerns unfamiliar matters and there is no way to test its accuracy” (1988, p.147). Some journalists rely on stereotyping when they report international issues. As Mann (1999) points out:

The lack of familiarity of distant foreign countries by reporters and audiences often leads to stories that fall back on stereotypes that both are already familiar with, thus opening the door for audiences’ acceptance of inaccuracies and misguided framing (p.102).

Even though journalists might become more sensitive at recognizing national interests, dominant political ideologies, and catch phrases, “the underlying cultural assumptions are more difficult to uproot” (Reese & Lewis, 2009, p.790) because “[journalists] still cover things in a Manichean way, good vs. evil (p.790)” which “comes down to catching the bad guys” (p.790).

Some studies have focused on cultural relationships with frames. Schudson (1995) states “the news is more the pawn of shared presuppositions than the purveyor of self-conscious messages” (p.15). This view on news becomes more specific in the work on frames conducted by Hyun (2004). Hyun classifies frames into deep frames, working

frames, news frames, and individual (audience) frames, with deep frames representing the deep-rooted belief systems of a culture.

Entman (1993) also explores where frames are located. Defining culture as “the empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in a social grouping” (p.52), Entman goes on to state four locations of frames: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. Van Gorp (2007) calls for a need to “bring culture back in” to framing study because “the potency of frames to influence the public lies in the fact that they are closely linked with familiar cultural frames” (p.73).

Researching cultural frames as they relate to North Korean news is challenging because the North Korean news media is not easy to access in the United States. The media of the Middle East has an English-speaking/U.S. presence, such as *Al-Jazeera* or *The Arab News*, and *The MiddleEast Times*. Thus, Middle Eastern news outlets have been studied and compared with American media (El-Nawawy&Iskandar, 2002; Lee, 2004; Al-Jenaibi, 2010 (actually, studied in Canada)). So, while media frames surrounding Middle Eastern issues have been studied rigorously, because of limited access, news frames regarding North Korean issues have not been widely covered, with the occasional exception of studies by Korean scholars.

However, it is possible to draw comparisons concerning the way the United States frames both the Middle East and North Korea; both have been similarly described by the U.S. media and by presidents of the United States. Indeed, President Bush declared Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as targets of his war on terror, calling them the “axis of evil” in his 2002 State of the Union address. To frame these countries, the U.S. media used

catchphrases, such as “axis of evil”; stereotypical images or storylines, such as “villain”; and adjectives, such as “eccentric” and “cruel” (Choi, 2010). Still, it does not seem that the U.S. media or the U. S. government use coherent and full-fledged frames when discussing North Korea, while this does occur in news concerning the Middle East. For example, President Bush used the word “axis,” meaning these countries constitute a group of evildoers with their terrorist allies. However, North Korea is usually described as the most isolated country in the world by the U.S. media (Choi, 2010, p.34).

Also, North Korea is described simultaneously as an enemy and as a partner in six-party talks, which include China, North and South Korea, Russia, Japan, and the United States. This contradiction reflects the undetermined status of North Korea in regard to the United States. That is, the U. S. government and U.S. media have not determined whether North Korea is an enemy to consider waging war against or a partner with which to negotiate.

Yet these differences in framing do not mean that the Korean Peninsula is safer than the Middle East. In fact, the U.S. media have ranked North Korea as one of the likeliest locations for war. For example, examiner.com describes North Korea as the most secretive and dangerous country in the world (Boyce, 2010), and *Foreign Policy*, in its 2009 survey asking which country would be the most dangerous the next year, pointed out North Korea as the fourth most dangerous country in the world. Also, Foxnews.com writes “a conventional war is considered a real possibility in Korean Peninsula (2013). Thus, frames justifying war might come to the surface whenever conflict between North Korea and the United States become heated. It is, therefore, meaningful to analyze how frames have been used by the United States to justify the “War on Terror” and the Iraq

War in order to analyze and compare when and if similar frames are used when covering North Korea.

Researchers have studied framing the War on Terrorism and the Iraq War by analyzing the frames set by presidents. "Bush routinely interwove epideictic appeals with collective memories of WWII in order to promote the Iraq war and deflect criticism of his politics there" (Bostdorff, 2011, p.1).

Also, "Bush manipulate[d] the strategy of civil religious discourses [the assumption that 'God is on our side'] to further substantiate justification of U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf" (Jones, 1991, p.3). The frame that God was helping the United States win the war ensured the idea that "anyone who opposes the war, in essence, opposes God's chosen mission for the United States" (Jones, 1991, p.3).

The metaphor analysis has been an important component of frame analysis of international conflicts. Lule (2010) reveals four frames used on the NBC Nightly News regarding the war in Iraq. These frames include the "timetable," "games of Saddam," "patience of the White House," and "making the case/selling the plan" frames. "These frames provide a sense of urgency and drama" (Lule, 2010, p.99) and were used to "accuse Saddam Hussein of playing a game of hide and seek with weapons of mass destruction" (p.100). The "patience of the White House" frame is shown in this case, "the White House has said it wanted to give diplomacy a chance. Well, now, it appears that the White House's patience is running out." (p.101). The "patience of the White House" gives "the Bush administration an authoritative, almost paternal, role in relation to Iraq, the United Nations, and its allies" (p.101). Indeed, "the metaphor also trivializes the possibility of conflict" (p.101).

Seo, Johnson, and Stein (2009) have studied the relationship of frames between dialogue partners or enemies. They have found that stories often focus either on policy or personal traits. This study finds that if a nation has a frame of “enemy” directed at a foreign leader, then the news stories will deal more with personal traits of that leader than with their policies.

Monahan’s *The Shock of the News* (2010) deals with frames in news stories about 9/11, which became the foundation for the war on terror. Monahan argues:

The story [and its socially constructed narrative of September 11] was crafted and told in a way that made these events a shocking and traumatic threat to the moral order and cultural fabric of our society. At the same time, the “American spirit,” along with “warriors” (soldiers) and “heroes” (firefighters and other rescue workers) who were said to embody that idealized ethos, were offered as the antidote to the impending cultural doom. (pp.171-72)

Monahan continues to write, because of the moral and idealized frames of September 11, 2001,

September 11 became a story primarily about patriotism, loss, and heroes and, for the most part, not a story about U.S. foreign relations, U.S. military policy, poor interagency coordination, government inefficiencies, or other interpretive frames (Monahan, 2010, p.10).

Anker (2005) is another researcher who points out the melodrama storyline of villains, victims, and heroes as the primary frame employed in coverage of 9/11 and the War on Terror.

Anker argues that victimization is necessary to justify state actions, such as intervention or a war. Anker states:

...throughout the media coverage of 9/11, American national identity was created out of victimization; it was both America that was victimized and America that then had to become heroic and rescue itself. Through its initial status as victim, and the empathy this engendered, America became defined by the broad ideals that necessitate state action for protection (2005, p.35).

Barker-Plummer (2005) explores the use of specific frames by the U.S. media to portray the United Nations and countries that opposed the United States' international policies. He notes that "French leaders were presented as irrational and hysterical, in fact undergoing a curious gendering in opposition to the U.S.'s macho position" (2005, p.369), and when the U.S. media referred to the United Nations, "it was often represented as a washed out, irrelevant, and ossified organization" (2005, p.371).

Lakoff's article, "Metaphor and War" (1991), is a comprehensive study about the metaphors used to justify the war in the Persian Gulf. The study spells out several metaphors frequently used: Clausewitz's cost-benefit or gain-loss metaphor, the state-as-person metaphor system, the fairy tale, and the ruler-for-state metonymy (a technique of referring to something by the name of something else that is closely connected with it, for example, using Saddam Hussein for Iraq).

According to Lakoff, the U.S. media frequently rely on the metaphor system of Clausewitz, a well-known Prussian general, who believed “war is politics pursued by other means.”

Lakoff continues to write that the gain-loss analysis, which war strategists use in deciding whether they may start a war, has been adapted to news frames by the U.S. media. Specifically, Lakoff writes that “each nation-state has political objectives, and war may serve those objectives. The political ‘gains’ are to be weighed against acceptable ‘costs’; when the costs of war exceed the political gains, the war should cease” (p.2).

Lakoff proposes that the U.S. media accepts and uses this frame broadly, as *The New York Times* did when its article “Mideast tension; a debate unfolds over going to war against the Iraqis” (Oreskes, 1990), published on November 12, 1990, raised the question “what then is the nation’s political objective in the gulf and what level of sacrifice is it worth?”

Korean researchers in the United States have studied the frames used by the U.S. media to describe North Korea. In particular, Choi (2006) studies the image of North Korea as determined by the U.S. news media, while Dai and Hyun (2010) carried out a cross-cultural study on the image of North Korea.

According to their research, the United States, China, and South Korea were similar in their use of the “threat frame” in their coverage of North Korea. Specifically, the United States used the “War on Terror frame,” China employed the “negotiation frame,” and South Korea used the “Cold War frame.” Kim’s study (2004) reveals a very important aspect about how North Korea is portrayed in media outlets. Kim examines the



framing process of *TheNew York Times* dealing with the deaths of Kim Il-Sung, Mao Tse-Tung, and Hirohito.

In *The New York Times*, “he [Kim Il-Sung] was largely portrayed as a ‘Stalinist maniac,’ ‘Stalinist killer,’ ‘war criminal,’ and ‘incongruous dictator of a hard and forgiving land’” (Kim, 2004, p.76). However, an article in *The New York Times*, “When the Headman Dies,” attempted to examine Kim Il-Sung and North Korea from an historical and cultural context. According to Kim, the article says:

His hold on the North Koreans, so incomprehensible to outsiders, was rooted in rural village culture. Traditional society in Korea has always been cemented by a matrix of personal relationships, kinship loyalties and the Confucian cult of the family. North Korea, with a relatively homogeneous population of 22 million, acts like a rural village writ large (as cited in Kim, 2004, p.76).

Kim criticizes *TheNew York Times* in that “it [the attempt to understand North Korea from a historical and cultural context] did not take a dominant space but only a limited space” (Kim, 2004, p.76). Kim opines that the “negative frames toward Kim [Il-Sung] only show the Americans’ perceptions, expectancies, common-sense constructs, and taken-for-granted knowledge of social structure toward him” (Kim, 2004, p.80).

### **Articles in Korean**

Research on North Korean media has been conducted in South Korea from multiple viewpoints. There have been studies on the characteristics of the North Korean press, such as Che’s (1994) study on the general characteristics of the North Korean press.

He points out that the North Korean press is guided by the “Juche” idea, Kim Il-Sung’s application of Marxist-Leninist principles to the modern political realities in North Korea.

In his research, Che uncovers a very important aspect of North Korean media. He says that if outsiders want to know the reality of the North Korean media, they should not study only giant mass media, such as newspapers and broadcasting, because:

All of the available media, not only newspaper and broadcasting, but also various media, such as brochures, pamphlets, posters, group discussions, lectures, singing songs, and plays are correlated and take a role in a big structure, established on the press philosophy of Juche idea. They make up the North Korean media as a whole. (Che, 1994, p.128) (translated from Korean).

Choi (2004) views the turning point of the North Korean press as occurring after the fifth Workers’ Party’s national convention in 1970, in which Juche was adopted as the leading ideology, along with foundational Marxist-Leninist principles. Before then, the North Korean press followed the general press ideology of Marxist-Leninism, which is that “a newspaper should work not only as a collective propagandist and agitator but also an organizer of the people” (as cited in Kim, 2010, p. 250).

However, North Korea added “a cultural educator” to the roles of the communist media and emphasized the idea of the “press of Juche.” The “press of Juche” means that the press should follow the ideology of the Communist party and should be guided by Kim Il-Sung (and Kim Jong-Il) because “the party is ‘Suryong’ [this word is described as a boss or leader in dictionaries of South Korea, but in North Korea, Suryong is equated

with Kim Il-Sung] and Suryong is the party [the Workers' Party]" (Choi, 2004, p. 23). To North Korea, the Workers' Party and Suryong are "self-reliant being[s]. ...The masses guided by the Party and Suryong are considered the masters of history" (Juche ideology,[http://www2.law.columbia.edu/course\\_00S\\_L9436\\_001/North%20Korea%20materials/3.html](http://www2.law.columbia.edu/course_00S_L9436_001/North%20Korea%20materials/3.html)).

According to Choi (2004), North Korea defines the principles of the press as a pursuit of the interests of the proletariat, partisanship, popularity, and truth, as well as keeping a combatant attitude and maintaining solidarity regarding anti-imperialism. Keeping a combatant attitude means being "uncompromising toward enemies of the proletariat, becoming a strong weapon to destroy the country's enemies, and discrediting their propaganda" (2004, pp. 16-19).

Further, the North Korean press does not pursue the idea of "objectivity," which translates as a balanced and transparent view based on facts. Rather, communists believe that, as long as classes and the conflicts between those classes exist, any press cannot be objective because the press cannot help but reflect the interests of either the ruling class or the ruled class. The principle of truth means viewing the world, and being aware of the rules of the world and the direction of history. Thus, communist countries encourage the press to portray the world in the most scientific and realistic view, and communist countries, such as North Korea, insist that only the Marxist-Leninist perspective can offer such a view.

Another key characteristic of the North Korean press is a lack of advertising, which pervades Western media. You (1989) writes that there are no advertisements or information for better lives, reports about crimes and robberies, or criticism of the regime

in *The Rodong Sinmun*. According to Kim (2010), it is normal for more than 50 percent of the articles in *The Rodong Sinmun* to be written in advance, in accordance with a monthly and weekly schedule, because the majority of articles rely on the announcements or guidance of the Workers' Party.

Lee (2008) describes the founding of the North Korean government and analyzes the change in the North Korean media's attitude towards the United States during the period of 1945 to 1948.

To better understand North Korea's early perception of the United States, Lee examines the following North Korean newspapers: *The Rodong Sinmun*, *Jung-Ro*, and *Jun-Jin*. According to Lee, *Jung-Ro* stated in its declaration at the time of its foundation (November 1, 1945), that "Chosun [the Korean Peninsula] was liberated from Japan not by our own strength but by the power of foreign countries: the USSR, a socialist nation, and the United States and the United Kingdom, capitalist countries" (Lee, 2008, p.29).

Lee continues to state the following:

The North Korean Workers' Party organ [The Rodong Sinmun] explained the situation of not opposing the United States at the end of 1946 and in February of 1947. It controlled the level of criticism of the United States military administration. But in October of 1947, the US-USSR Joint Commission [one of the meetings held from 1946 to 1947 by the United States and the Soviet Union to support the establishment of the provisional government of Korea as promised in the Moskva Agreement] was broken off, and the North Korean Workers' Party powerfully criticized the United States (2008, p.51).

The North Korean media viewed the United States with favor right after the liberation, but the favorable attitude came from the North Korean media's expectation that the United States would play a positive role for the unification of the Korean Peninsula (Lee, 2008). After realizing the United States supported the establishment of separate governments, elections, and oppression of the left wing, North Korea began to criticize the United States, saying that the United States was an imperialist nation that colonialized Korea by establishing a "puppet" government (Lee, 2008).

The research on *The Rodong Sinmun* after the division of South and North Korea has not been easy to perform. One of the biggest hindrances is that access to the press has been difficult. Kim writes:

To read The Rodong Sinmun, we should go to governmental agencies concerned with media and request permission to read. Furthermore, we have not been able to copy or borrow the newspaper without satisfying complicated and demanding procedural requirements. Also, it used to take a lot of days for The Rodong Sinmun to be delivered from North Korea to agencies of South Korea, because it had to be shipped, imported, and passed through customs. By then, the newspaper was an "old paper" (2010, p.248) (translated from Korean).

So, research has been largely speculative regarding North Korea's policies, as changes in the political power's composition are primarily analyzed by examining text, much of which is not current. Kim (2005) studies the process by which the "Suryong idea" and militarization of society has affected North Korea by analyzing *The Rodong Sinmun* from 1961 to 1972.

The Suryong idea has been a dominant ideology in North Korea since 1967 (Kim, 2005), and the crux of the ideology is that a country is a social-political organism. According to the ideology, Kim Il-Sung is a head (or nerve center), the party is nerve tissue, and North Korea's citizens are the limbs. This ideology justifies absolute obedience to Kim Il-Sung by the logic that if it were not for the head, the whole body would die (Choi, 2004).

Koh (2005) has studied the stylistic traits of *The Rodong Sinmun* and uncovered that the length of the editorials in *The Rodong Sinmun* is very long, almost all articles quote parables from Kim Jong-Il, and terms of respect are used for Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il, even in headlines. *The Rodong Sinmun* repeats adjectives such as "great," "respectful," and "wise" in describing Kim Jong-Il and Kim Il-Sung. Koh explains how, through repeated usage of certain adjectives, "the connection between the adjectives and what is modified becomes un-detachable and they finally fuse into one (Koh, 2005, p.242)." Koh demonstrates that *The Rodong Sinmun* uses very negative and critical language to describe the United States. The expressions used in its articles are derogatory, such as "gabble out," "clamor," "grumble," "act rashly as it [the United States] pleases," and "raving mad."

To examine the cultural frames in its propaganda and compare them with the cultures of other countries, this research had to review the traditional values and perspectives of Koreans, their concepts of heroes, the modern forms of heroes in South Korea and North Korea, and the North Korean policy towards literature.

Jang (1991) writes that the most general and deep emotion in Korean culture is "han (恨)," a feeling of resentment and regret derived from loss and frustration. However,

the author says the emotion contains the sublime as well, a state of acceptance and transcendence obtained through Korea's long history of surviving hardship.

Hong (2009) further explores "han." He views this emotion as rooted in the Korean mind-set, having been caused from experiencing extensive social hardship. This emotion is a mixed one, with "hate and hostile feelings derive[d] from experiences of wrongful and premature death by power" (Hong, 2009, p.15). The grief, frustration, and despair of han derive from the recognition that common Koreans could not do anything to change the real world. Han includes emotions of mercy, mildness, and hope in his understanding of han, which derive from "people's acceptance of their hardships to stop the vicious circle of revenge and to comfort their minds" (Hong, 2009, p.16).

Fables about the Baby Commander exemplify han and Koreans' ironic sense of hope (Jang, 1991). Kim (2006) explains that the Baby Commander stories and Greek tragedies have in common "a hero with infinite potential" who is "frustrated and broken down, making readers think about the relationship between power and the individual" (p.83). Yet, as Park (1993) observes, hope is found in some modified forms of the Baby Commander story. These modified stories have various endings implying the Baby Commander's revival. One such story describes the armor and the helmet of the Baby Commander being buried under a big rock, and when the rock is turned over at a later date, the armor and the helmet are gone. Another story describes the Baby Commander going to an isolated island and living there.

Cho (1981) defines heroes in Korean traditional culture as commanders, men of great physical strength and resourcefulness. Cho surmises "these heroes come to stand out of their group; thus they cannot help but confront the established power system and are

destined to win or lose” (1981, p.167). Jang (1991) interprets the Baby Commander story as the “expression of collective despair in that the family is willing to sacrifice its future by killing the Baby Commander” (1991, p.334) to get by in the present.

Jang finds in the story of the Baby Commander a hint of people’s desire for a hero despite — or because of — their submission in the real world. Lee (1983) views the Baby Commander fable as one of tragedy and frustration brought about both by the cowardice of common people and the greed of the tyrannical ruling class. The tragedy of the hero is not only reserved for fables. In Korean history, the phenomenon of broken-down heroes has been clear, deepening the emotion of *han*, the distinctive mind-set of Koreans. The view of a traditional hero among Korean society, and among the ruling class, is complex.

Historically, Lee Soon-Sin can represent a “national” hero, while Kim Duk-Ryung can be a “people’s” hero (So, 1985).

Lee Soon-Sin was a famous admiral who led the Korean Navy to landslide victories during Japan’s invasion of Korea in 1592. He was killed in his last battle with Japan, presumably taking the risk to be killed by purposely not donning his armor. Records about him show how much the king and other generals envied his merits and popularity. For example, King Sunjo reportedly said “the reason we could defeat the Japanese enemy is because Myung’s [明, a dynasty of China] general and troops were dispatched to help us, and what our troops and generals did was only to follow behind Myung’s troops or, by fortune, cut the heads off trivial soldiers”(as cited in Choi, 2001, p.160). Therefore, “Lee Soon-Sin might be aware that his fame and being called a ‘King of the Sea’ would cause harm” (Choi, 2001 p.164) and “might choose to die with honor



during a battle rather than to be killed along with his family after being falsely charged with high treason" (p.164).

Another type of hero, the people's hero, was Kim Duk-Ryung. He led a militia during the Japanese invasion between 1592 and 1599. He was beloved, but because of a false charge that he was colluding with a traitor, the king killed him. His story seems to have been greatly modified by people who pitied his talent and early death. In a modified form of the tale, he was not easily killed because of the supernatural powers he possessed. The sword of the executioner broke into three pieces, and, even after being severely flogged over 300 times, Kim Duk-Ryung was not hurt. Thus, the king said with anger, "Resisting my order to die is your disloyalty." Kim Duk-Ryung said, "If you bestow a tablet written with 'a loyalist, Kim Duk-Ryung, for all time' and allow my descendants to keep it, I will die." The king did this, and Kim Duk-Ryung died after removing a scale in his leg, a source of his supernatural power and also a symbol repeatedly found in hero fables (Choi, 2001).

Korean literature has a few heroines, such as Lady Pak. *The Life of Lady Pak* is a story that reflects people's desire to relieve their shame and rage with a fictional victory over a foreign enemy that defeated and humiliated Korea in an actual war (Guak, 2000). However, both kings and the ruling class have never allowed a people's hero to live. Even those who saved their nation from foreign enemies could not survive if they were more popular than the king. Fictional heroes tragically died after being forced to reveal the sources of their powers; they then either removed the power themselves or told others how to kill them.

At the time of writing this research, sixty-five years have passed since the division of North and South Korea. These countries once shared a common culture, but after the split, they diverged and built their own cultures. It is not easy to judge whether 65 years is enough time to change a culture and alter perspectives rooted deeply in a society for thousands of years. However, it is reasonable to presume that media or a regime would use or modify the existing system of symbols and metaphors to persuade people to their way of thinking rather than to create a wholly new set of symbols.

Kim's research (1996) on the modification of North Korean fables provides insight into understanding their frames and origins. According to Kim, in North Korean fables, greedy and inhumane antagonists are kings. The protagonist, for example a farmer, is described as a diligent and sturdy person who is respected by everyone in the village. Kim views these characters as not typical to Korean traditional fables, stating that the fables of North Korea have been modified for the purpose of establishing a socialist society and overcoming vestiges of monarchism.

Han's (2004) studies have focused on North Korea's policy on literature and arts and the political use of works passed down orally. According to Han, North Korea uses literary works as guidebooks to lead people towards truthful lives. North Korea justifies the modification of oral literature, such as folk songs and fables, through the concept of "variability of oral culture" (Han, 2004, p. i). However, Han criticizes the modification, saying that by controlling folklore, North Korea is trying to obtain legitimacy of its power and ultimately the authority of its regime. Also, the author chastises modification of oral literature by North Korea, stating that modified literature by a government cannot

be referred to as the common people's culture because it lacks open structure and improvisation, the indispensable elements for folk culture.

Cha (2004) studies "labor heroes" whom socialist countries, including North Korea, need to maintain their economic systems. Cha opines that socialist economic systems lack the ability of reconstruction. While capitalist economies have more resources to solve the crises their systems have encountered, socialist economies can use only the ideology of "sacredness of labor" and "renewal of the control and management system."

According to Cha, "labor heroes are born in a unique phenomenon — competition for higher labor productivity — of a country to keep its unsustainable system working" (Cha, 2004, p.177). For this reason, after 1945 North Korea began producing: "foreigner heroes" who could teach engineering and manufacturing skills; "coal-mining heroes" during the energy crisis that resulted from the destruction of energy plants by Japanese; and "a collective hero of the citizen of Chongjin," who strived not to let the fire of an iron mill die out for 100 days, bringing and burning household goods, such as tables, from their homes.

The sports heroes of South Korea are a dramatic contrast to the "labor heroes" of North Korea. The sports hero's qualification as a hero is measured by an ability to attract consumers. For example, when reporting on sports stars, the South Korean media use dramatic adjectives, repeated mentions of financial rewards, and strong nationalistic comments (Jun, 2000). Sports stars such as Kim Yu-Na, a figure skater, fit this hero mold.

According to Nam, Kim, and Koh's study (2010), Kim Yu-Na is transformed into a national hero by the media, described as a "pioneer" of figure skating in Korea, a

“global citizen” by entering the ranks of skaters competing with players from Western countries, and as “conquering Japan” by defeating Asada Mao, a Japanese rival at the Olympics. Nam, Kim, and Koh conclude the “tragedy,” so common in traditional hero stories, is absent in the modern sports heroes of South Korea.

The research on North Korean media has been mainly devoted to uncovering the political significance of media stories. Exceptionally, Koh’s research (2005) involves the writing style of *The Rodong Sinmun*, but the researcher did not try to uncover the cultural meaning within the articles of *The Rodong Sinmun*.

Comparative frame studies of North Korea with other countries have not been attempted because the work requires a broad and deep understanding of North Korean society and culture. Also, a researcher should possess an ability to compare Korean culture before the division of Korea with the subsequent culture of post-division North Korea to best compare frames. This research has found a path in an unexplored land—studying the cultural frames of *The Rodong Sinmun*—by using the frames found in American news media and the tragic hero code found in Korean’s tradition as a pathway.

This research attempts to answer the following questions:

- 1) What frames does North Korea use in news about the United States?
- 2) How are these frames different from those of the United States?
  - A. Does *The Rodong Sinmun* use Clausewitz’s cost-benefit or loss-gain of war, the fairytale or hero story of hero-villain-victim metaphors, or the metaphor of good and evil?
  - B. If *The Rodong Sinmun* uses the hero frame, what kind of hero is in the frame?

- C. What frame does *The Rodong Sinmun* use for the presidents of the United States and South Korea?
- 3) What is the cultural relevance of these frames?
- A. Are these frames rooted in people?
  - B. What economic basis can be identified from these frames?
  - C. Is there any hidden intention in using these frames?
  - D. How are these frames different from, or similar to, the traditional Korean metaphor or symbol system?

### 3. Methodology

To answer the research questions, this research employed “cultural frame analysis.” *The Rodong Sinmun* is the most influential newspaper in North Korea. The Workers’ Party publishes it, and it is the only mass media available to the rest of the world. It opened its website in Korean in November 2010.

One may presume that *The Rodong Sinmun* serves the interest of the Workers’ Party’s partisanship and uses agitating language and combative frames. However, the aim of this research was to find deeper frames rooted in a society’s cultural structure, not to analyze political messages.

Understanding cultural frames is important, because as Van Gorp (2007) says, “cultural resonances contribute to the fact that devices are often perceived as familiar, so that the frames to which they refer can remain unnoticed” (p.73). The reason to compare the frames of North Korea with those employed in the United States is, as Entman (1991) explains:

Comparing media narratives of events that could have been reported similarly helps to reveal the critical textual choices that framed the story but would otherwise remain submerged in an undifferentiated text. Unless narratives are compared, frames are difficult to detect fully and reliably, because many of the framing devices can appear as ‘natural,’ unremarkable choices of words or images (p.6).

This research compared frames of North Korea using the frames described in Lakoff's study (1991). He articulates the following as main metaphors in the United States news media: Clausewitz's cost-benefit or loss-gain of war, the fairytale or hero story of hero-villain-victim metaphors, the state-as-person metaphor, and the ruler-for-state metonymy. This research also tried to find out the metaphor of "good and evil" referred to as Manichean. This metaphor of "good and evil" is not Clausewitz's.

However, the researcher believed that the U.S. media used this metaphor to "cover things in a Manichean way, "good vs. evil" (Reese & Lewis, 2009, p.790) which could be summed up in "com[ing] down to catching the bad guys" (p. 790). Therefore, the researcher adopted this good and evil metaphor as a criterion for comparison, as well.

Differences between the United States and North Korea are drastic, from their political ideologies (democracy and despotism, relatively) and economic bases (capitalism and communism) to their national values (individualism and collectivism). Thus, the researcher expected each country to employ different frames in its news.

The researcher did hypothesize that the good and evil frame might be similarly utilized in both the United States and North Korea. As for the hero frame, it was not easy to hypothesize that North Korea would use a hero frame. Because there had not been a hero frame in traditional Korean culture, it is likely that the hero frame may not have been adopted by North Korean media.

However, North Korea is a communist country with a Juche ideology that emphasizes "man is the master of everything and decides everything," as written in the *North Korean Literature and Art Dictionary* published in 1972 in North Korea. Under this Juche ideology, contrasted with the Korean traditional culture of "han" and frustrated

heroes, new heroes may exist in North Korea. Thus, the researcher assumes that if North Korea has a hero frame, it would be different from the hero as portrayed in the U.S. media because of the complexity of North Korean culture, which has adopted the Juche idea on its old, tragic history. A North Korean medium, *The Rodong Sinmun*, has likely not used some of the Lakoff frames used by the U.S. media. *The Rodong Sinmun* might use the “dignity-humiliation metaphor” instead of the “gain or loss metaphor” popular in the United States. That is, North Korea might choose a war against the United States, which results in dignified death, rather than the humiliation of surrender. The researcher also expected that North Koreans might have a “collective hero” instead of an “individual hero” frame. This research tried to find frames of North Korean media, focusing on the hero frame and Lakoff’s metaphors. However, this frame analysis was open-ended, and it evaluated the cultural meaning of frames as presented in the media.

The ideal way to compare frames of these two countries would be to examine coverage of the same issue by a certain category of media during a specified time period. However, as written in the literature review, the frames used by the United States for North Korea were not full-fledged and fluctuated between framing North Korea as an enemy and as a partner capable of negotiation. Also, because this research was a cultural frame study in which any tiny nuance and meaning in the text should not be overlooked, this research should not be limited simply by a certain issue.

Rather than conducting a one-to-one comparison, such as a medium of the United States versus *The Rodong Sinmun*, this research compared the overall frames used by the U.S. media to describe the “axis of evil” countries and the frames for imperialist countries used by *The Rodong Sinmun*. The key to interpreting both frames was identifying heroes.



Additionally, subframes described in Lakoff's work were used when analyzing *The Rodong Sinmun* of North Korea. These subframes include the state-as-person frame (such as calling unindustrialized countries "underdeveloped" and implying immaturity), the ruler-for-state metonymy (referring to Iraq through references to Saddam Hussein), risks (or wars) as gambles (describing war as a competitive game, such as chess or football), which were used in justifying the Persian Gulf War and the War on Terror.

The most difficult choice was determining the range of artifacts to analyze. As expected, *The Rodong Sinmun* consisted of articles serving as propaganda. *The Rodong Sinmun* website was composed of two parts: news (or reporting) and analysis (or commentary). For news, *The Rodong Sinmun* had sections that reported on the socialist revolution, politics, the economy, society, culture, unification, and international issues. As for commentary, *The Rodong Sinmun* had sections about "legends during revolutionary war," "episodes of revolution," "fables during revolutionary war," editorials, leading articles, political arguments, comments, analysis of current events, and archives. The "legends during revolutionary war," the "episodes of revolution," and the "fables during revolutionary war" were the main commentary sections in *The Rodong Sinmun*.

*The Rodong Sinmun* provided these items in Korean, English, and Chinese. However, the length and the number of articles written in English and Chinese were much shorter and fewer than the articles written in Korean. The articles written in English were not only too short but also presumably not aimed at North Korean readers. Thus, the news stories and episodes written in Korean were chosen instead of articles written in English, even though there was significant inconvenience in terms of translating and interpreting these texts.

News of *The Rodong Sinmun*, even in the reporting section, was constantly mixed with opinion. Although they were separate sections, there were no substantial differences between editorials, leading articles, political arguments, comments, and analysis sections. The sections “legends during revolutionary war,” “episodes of revolution,” and “fables during revolutionary war” were the most distinct; 39 stories of “legends during revolutionary war” are devoted to Kim Il-Sung and tell of his heroic activities as a military resistance leader against Japan during the Japanese occupation. In the section “episodes of revolution,” 48 stories of Kim Jong-Il’s leadership and teaching are collected. In “fables during revolutionary war,” Kim Joung-Suk, the wife of Kim Il-Sung and mother of Kim Jong-Il, is described as a heroine fighting against imperialist Japan.

The stories in the section of “legends during revolutionary war” were fable-like stories of events during the war against Japan, the imperialist country in East Asia in the first half of the twentieth century. This section was used to analyze the foundation of cultural frames because of the fact that the episodes occurred during the domination of Japan in the first half of the twentieth century. However, this research needed more texts relating to events after the United States rose up to become a leading world power in that area of the world. Thus, the “episodes of revolution,” stories of Kim Jong-Il’s leadership were chosen, additionally.

Kim Il-Sung had leading battles against Imperialist Japan during the 1930s and 1940s. Kim Jong-Il ruled North Korea under the slogan of “war against imperialist America for national liberation”; “imperialist” is a North Korean label for the United States.

By choosing both the text about Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il, this researcher aimed to compare and contrast metaphors to find any change in frames or metaphors. For example, in the expression “the great sun of the people,” one of the titles for Kim Il-Sung, Kim Il-Sung was likened to the “sun.” However, the expression was not used for his son, Kim Jong-Il. This research aimed to document the change of frames and their cultural meaning.

This research analyzed all 39 episodes from the section “legends during revolutionary war,” which are about Kim Il-Sung (February 2008 to May 2012), and all the episodes dated between January 2008 and August 2012 from the section “episodes of revolution,” which included 48 stories about Kim Jong-Il’s leadership and teachings.

Some articles were dated back to 2008, before *The Rodong Sinmun* website was created. While there was no explanation in *The Rodong Sinmun*, this researcher assumed that the articles might be published in the paper version of *The Rodong Sinmun* on those dates and moved to the new website of *The Rodong Sinmun* later.

For analyzing frames of news dealing with the United States and interpreting their cultural meaning, stories in the forms of legend and fable are valuable. As Che (1994) writes, North Korea emphasizes the role of cultural educators in mass media. According to Han’s study (2004), North Korea values legends and fables in oral literature for the education of its people.

Also, the articles directly related to the United States were needed in this analysis. The searching tool on *The Rodong Sinmun* website was so primitive that it was difficult to get more detailed, narrowed-down text. Articles from a certain section or a certain time period could not be searched. If a word was typed in the searching tool, the results came

from all sections of the paper. The only way to narrow down the range of text was to add words to a key word. When the researcher typed “the United States (미국 in Korean)” on March 8, 2012, 1,978 articles were shown as available. The result of using “imperialist (제국주의 in Korean)” resulted in 1,196 articles. Thus, to narrow down the range, both “imperialist the United States (미 제국주의 in Korean),” and “hero (영웅 in Korean)” were typed in the search tool, resulting in a more manageable 45 articles.

The 45 articles consisted of various types of articles. Specifically, six articles were editorials, three were critical works that introduced works of literature considered exemplary, two were commentaries on art paintings, and nine were messages from other countries (for example, letters of congratulations for Kim Jong-Il’s birthday, February 16, and the “Day of the Sun,” April 15, which is the birthday of Kim Il-Sung). Two other articles dealt with the victories of North Korea against the battleships of the United States in 1950 and in 1968. Three articles reported news in brief. The rest of the articles are presumed to be political arguments or analysis of current events.

These articles were not easy to analyze because of their rhetoric and topics. *The Rodong Sinmun* uses simple and straightforward language that has a combative tone. As a medium for propaganda, the paper seemed to rely on repeating and cramming certain adjectives and labels to build up certain ideas in readers’ minds.

*The Rodong Sinmun* uses long articles with long sentences. In every sentence, adjectives such as “great,” “gifted,” “heroic,” “strong,” “revolutionary,” “optimistic,” “loving,” “immoral,” “brilliant,” “glorious,” “eternal,” “invincible,” “merciless,” “sacred” and “blood-boiling” are continually repeated. Verbs asserting that “we (North Korea) will win” and “revenge,” “scourge,” “smash,” “beat,” “destroy,” “march,” “overcome,” “devote,” and “grasp”

are also used repeatedly. In *The Rodong Sinmun*, the enemies of North Korea always “go crazy,” “rampage,” “shudder,” “scream,” “flee,” “misjudge,” and “underestimate.”

Despite significant differences in types of articles and format, all employed similar stereotyped expressions and messages. The issues were described generally with clichéd descriptions and labels. In the articles, there was no clearly structured story line. The topics described were historically rooted and general in focus. To find out new and specific frames, the words typed into the search tool needed to be more specific.

Thus, this researcher chose two additional words: Presidents Barack Obama and George W. Bush. Searches of “President Obama (오바마 in Korean)” and “President Bush (부쉬 in Korean)” called up 72 articles (May 1, 2010 - March 3, 2012) and 31 articles (April 22, 2010-July 7, 2012), respectively. Among them, 11 articles overlapped each other. The issues the articles dealt with were more specific and the messages were clearer than articles that included the combination of “imperialist the United States” and “hero.” By analyzing these 92 articles (72+31-11), more specific articles that include references to President Obama and Bush, to the original 45 articles, this researcher was able to compare and contrast labels, attitudes, and differences of frames both generally and specifically.

The text of this research— 87 episodes about Kim Il-Sung (39) and Kim Jong-Il (48) and 137 articles directly related to the United States containing “imperialist the United States” and “hero”(45) and the articles about President Obama and Bush(92)—was voluminous. This research did not focus a great deal on clichés and stereotyped expressions, which have been studied by other researchers. Rather, this research paid attention to the use of code words, symbols, metaphors, proverbs, labels, and the story

line in articles, and tried to develop superficial findings into deeper interpretations of them. The list of articles analyzed in this research is attached as Appendix 2.

## 4. Findings and Analysis

This research started with the question of whether the medium, *The Rodong Sinmun*, uses a hero frame. Because of the difficulty in analyzing the present media of the most secluded country, this research could not set up a clear hypothesis as to whether the North Korean media uses hero frames.

However, if a hero frame is used, *The Rodong Sinmun* uses it in a different way than the U.S. media which describe North Korea as one of the so-called “axis of evil” countries. The U.S. media describe the “axis of evil” countries as villains while they describe the United States as a hero. This research hypothesized that, because of the drastic differences between the United States and North Korea, there would be a completely different kind of hero frame used by the United States. Thus, the first aim of this research was to identify if *The Rodong Sinmun* has a hero frame, and the deeper aim was to figure out the cultural meaning of the frame, if it was present.

By reviewing academic and literary works written in Korean, the researcher characterized the Koreans’ most deep-rooted spirit as “han,” a complex emotion of resentment, frustration, and transcendence. The researcher also discovered that, in both Korean history and literature, the hero is nearly always killed.

This researcher analyzed 224 articles, including fable-like, anecdotic stories of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il, as well as articles dealing with United States-related issues containing the following words: “imperialist the United States,” “hero,” “Obama,” and “Bush.”

This research focused on story lines, labels, and metaphors of those articles. To compare the frames of *The Rodong Sinmun* with those of the United States, this researcher borrowed Lakoff's metaphors as criteria, which Lakoff thought the U.S. media had used for framing the countries constituting the axis of evil, such as the hero story, the cost-benefit metaphors, a state-as-person metaphor, a ruler-for-state metaphor, and a risk (war)-as-gamble metaphor.

In this findings and analysis section, the researcher shows the findings from analyzing the text; the articles containing the terms "imperialist the United States," "hero," "Obama," and "Bush." Also the articles about the accomplishments and guidance of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il will be examined. Next, this research examines the findings and attempts to uncover the cultural meaning of them by answering the research questions raised in the literature review—questions about what frames are found in the text of *The Rodong Sinmun*, how they are different from those of the U.S. media, and the cultural meaning of those frames.

As a format issue, in the in-text citations, this researcher specified the last name of the author or reporter, the date of publication of the article and the paragraph in which the citation was located. The reason this research used the exact date of publication instead of the year of publication in the in-text citations was that the text was too voluminous to search with only the year, and, otherwise, same last names and years were likely to be repeated. Some articles indicated "anonymous" in the place of the author's name because *The Rodong Sinmun* did not provide the author's name in that case. Also, for convenience of searching, the list of articles was attached as Appendix 2; individual articles are not fused into the list of references.



### **Metaphors in the articles featuring “imperialist the United States” and “hero”**

The 45 articles with words “imperialist the United States” and “hero” include various writings, from editorials to a short criticism on a poem to a collection of greeting messages from other countries on Kim Jong-Il’s birthday.

Yet even in a short poem or essay, combative and aggressive expressions are easily found. In an essay titled “On the street of flowering June” (Cho, June 24, 2011), the writer likened petals of a flower to bullets that fly and penetrate the chests of enemies. In the article “The poem of hero Lee Soo-Bok, ‘For my country’” (Lee, October 26, 2011) introducing a young soldier’s heroic poem, the reporter referred to the notebook in which the young soldier wrote poems as “a record of revenge (para.6).”

The editorial, “Let’s march with high morale (anonymous, November 29, 2011)” referred to “economic plans” as “battle targets” (para.26). Scientific accomplishments were referred to as “victories of battles.”

For example, in the article “A key for scientific take-off of Chosun” (anonymous, March 29, 2011, para.7), and a story from Episodes of Revolution, “Hong Gil-Dong in the battlefields of high-tech” (Yeo, December 28, 2010) referred to “a scientific accomplishment” as “a battle victory in a high-end-technique field” (para.32).

Moreover, war against imperialist countries is called a “sacred war (para.49)” in the article “The centennial of North Korea, the history of victory and miracles” (Kim, October 27, 2011) and the “war for justice (para.21)” in the article, “7.27 is the starting point of our road to a military-first nation” (Jung & Jung, July 26, 2010). According to *The Rodong Sinmun*, North Korea is an undefeated powerful country which will win

every battle (Editorial “We will win every battle if we follow our party’s lead,” June 19, 2010). This nation is further described in the editorial “Let’s continue to write our victorious history” (July 27, 2010). The North Korean “heroic soldiers are those who fight of their will for just war, different from American disorderly mercenaries who were bought with money,” according to the article “7.27 is the starting point of our road to a military-first nation” (Jung & Jung, July 26, 2010, para.21).

*The Rodong Sinmun* ascribes the excellence of North Korean troops to the leadership of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il. The admiration and idealization of the leaders and troops result in the glorification of history, as seen in this passage:

Not falling to pessimism under harsh conditions, and laughing out duering unfavorable circumstances, great persons [Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il] showed their glory. Due to their greatness, warriors’ revolutionary spirit and mental strength surged into our minds and beacons of the prosperity of this country furiously burned. Therefore, unprecedented, great history spread before our eyes (from “Educating 10 million people into strong soldiers (Lee, January 30, 2011, para.28)”) (translated from Korean).

Metaphors for the United States are very strong and derogatory in North Korean articles. In the piece “Imperishable achievements” (Seo, July 2, 2011), Kim Il-Sung said that if small countries grab the United States and tear off each limb of the United States, for example, North Korea tears off one hand, Vietnam another hand, and Africa does one leg..., then the United States will eventually collapse. In other articles, such as “The centennial of North Korea, the history of victory and miracle”(Kim, October 27, 2011)

and “The great general that led the revolutionary army of Baekdu Mountain”(Kim, August, 22, 2011), the United States is depicted as sitting on small countries and pressing down on them like a huge, octopus-like monster (“Imperishable achievement,”Seo, July 2, 2011, para.22-23).

In the article “The crime of the United States to be retaliated against for a thousand years”(Korean Central News Agency, June 25, 2010), the United States is called “a murder-monger devil (para.26),” and the United States is described as “rampaging with bloodshot eyes (para.7)” in “Imperishable achievements (Seo, July 2, 2011).”

In the article “The poem describing the courageous mind of Chosun” (Lee, September 29, 2011), the United States is “a beast trying to strangle the people in the world with the dollars the United States makes (para.17).” In the article “The centennial of North Korea, the history of victory and miracles” (Kim, October 27, 2011), *The Rodong Sinmun* calls the United States a coyote, saying that “a coyote should be tamed by beating it with a club (para.17),” which is a metaphor indicating the desired treatment of the United States. The United Nations is described as a powerless and gullible institution whose authority has been repeatedly stolen by the United States. In the article “The crime of the United States embezzling the UN’s name cannot be justified by any reason” (anonymous, June 26, 2010), *The Rodong Sinmun* writes that the United States duped the United Nations into dispatching its troops to Korea, and that the United States cleverly “put on the army cap of the United Nations forces” (para.49).

In the editorial “We will win every battle if we follow our party’s lead” (editorial, June 19, 2010), *The Rodong Sinmun* writes that North Koreans are fortunate because they can give inherited loyalty to Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il, generation after generation.

In the article “Keep the accomplishment of the Sun forever in mind!” (anonymous, July 28, 2011), the meaning of a hero in North Korea is clearly revealed. This article is written to commemorate July 27, 1953, the day when North Korea allegedly won in the liberation war against the United States.

According to this article, the soldiers who fought against the United States are considered heroes. They were people of the lowest class, who had been forsaken by society, wandering like worthless stones. They were able to become heroes after Kim Il-Sung taught them their value and rights as the working class. If it had not been for Kim Il-Sung and his enlightenment, the people could not have become heroes.

The editorial “Emulate warriors who did not give up their beliefs” (September 3, 2010) supports the idea of the hero in North Korea. This article praises communist prisoners who were released from South Korea and sent to North Korea; they were initially arrested because of their communist activities in South Korea and never deserted their beliefs. Because of their beliefs, they were imprisoned for several decades. They were admired as heroes, but *The Rodong Sinmun* writes that they could become heroes because Kim Jong-Il did not forget them and made a deal with South Korea in order to receive and care for them.

Thus, heroes do exist in North Korea, but it is always Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il who have made them heroes.

### **Metaphors found in the articles containing “Obama”**

Articles including the word “Obama” (오바마 in Korean) represent a broad spectrum of content related to the United States. *The Rodong Sinmun* includes articles

relating to conflicts in the Middle East, as in “The United States standing on the defensive in Afghanistan” (Lee, July 21, 2012), and to unemployment data from the United States, such as the article “Promising to resolve the unemployment issue is a lie” (Son, July 17, 2012), and to producing fuel from corn in “The production of corn fuel should be banned” (Seo, February 25, 2011). However, reporting facts is only a very small part of a whole article, even one covering a specific topic.

In the article “We impeach the joint military drill of the United States with South Korea” (Korean Central News Agency, August 2, 2010), the United States is described as a brazen and cruel country that perpetrates murder and wages wars as a game, similar to children playing with fire (para.30). The image of the United States in this article is very flippant and impudent. In the piece “When will you break the bad habit?” (Park, February 23, 2012), the United States is described as “pok[ing] its nose into (something) (para.23),” and “wag[ging] its tongue (para.9).” The soldiers of the United States’ military are considered to have committed criminal acts and are called murderers in “A statement by Chosun on the crime of the United States army stationed in South Korea” (anonymous, October 12, 2011).

The image of President Obama is that of a pathetic and ridiculous leader in *The Rodong Sinmun*. Articles such as “Promising to resolve the unemployment issue is a lie” (Son, July 17, 2012) and “The hostile policies towards Chosun will fail” (Che, March 18, 2012) use the expression that President Barack Obama “put on bunggeozi (병거지, a derogative term meaning “hat” in Korean) of president (para.3 and para.14, respectively)” in the place of the more straightforward statement that “Obama became president.”

Another article, “Forsaken President Obama” (Jun, June 10, 2012), states that Obama has been a puppet for Wall Street, but now he is forsaken by bankers on Wall Street. To support this claim, the article provides comparisons of the amount of monetary donations for the presidential campaigns of Obama and Mitt Romney, the presidential candidate for the Republican Party.

Articles such as “The answer of the spokesperson of the Commission of Peace and Unification” (October 21, 2011) and “Unsightly adulation and subservience” (Eun, October 25, 2011) liken the relationship between the United States and South Korea to that of “a master and a slave.” However, the degree of contempt for President Obama and the United States is less strong than for Lee Myung-Bak, the president of South Korea, and his regime. Indeed, *The Rodong Sinmun* calls President Lee Myung-Bak and his party “a traitor” (e.g., “The traitor Lee Myung-Bak should be executed,” anonymous, July 7, 2011, para.2), “a spiritless fellow” (“Investor-state dispute settlement being rejected,” Lee, November 15, 2011, para.18) and “rabid dogs that has caught fire” (“The hidden intention of the battle on Yeonpyeong Island to be disclosed,” anonymous, February 24, 2011, para.26). In an article containing ‘imperialist the United States hero,’ President Lee Myung-Bak is called “human night soil” (“The spirit of victory shines on gun barrels,” Kim, April 23, 2012, para.1).

### **Metaphors found in the articles containing “Bush”**

Articles collected by typing “Bush” (부쉬 in Korean) continue to use a clear and consistent metaphor for the United States under Bush’s leadership: a coyote. The article “The impure intention of the development program of unmanned nuclear aircraft” (Son,

May 4, 2012) states that a coyote cannot live eating grass (para.19), once again likening the carnivorousness of the coyote to the aggressiveness of the United States. Similarly, “The centennial of North Korea, the history of victory and miracles” (Kim, October 27, 2011) refers to the United States as “a coyote [that] should be tamed by beating it with a club” (para.17). Images of a thief and murderer are also repeated as ways to label the United States. In the article “The allies of Cuba drove the United States to a corner” (anonymous, April 30, 2012), the following derogatory expression for the United States is used: “to stick its noddle into a meeting” (para.1), instead of “to attend a meeting.”

The article “What caused the Iraq war?” (Cho, June 10, 2012) labels President Bush as the most dull-brained president of the United States, with a very low IQ. The article supports the label by citing Bush’s academic advisor at Yale University. The article “An expression of guilt” (Jun, February 15, 2011) describes the former President Bush as a person who likes to brandish an iron club (para 4). Still, the overall level of contempt for the leaders of the United States is less severe than for South Korea’s President Lee Myung-Bak.

### **Metaphors found in the articles in the “legends during revolutionary war”**

“Legends during revolutionary war” is the name of a section of *The Rodong Sinmun*, in which 39 stories have been collected about the activities of Kim Il-Sung from the 1930s to the 1940s, namely, when he led guerillas over the Korean border to fight Japanese domination.

Also, “legends during revolutionary war” includes the happenings after the 1950s, when Kim Il-Sung visited collective farms and factories to give guidance.

Each article begins with comments by Kim Jong-Il about his father, Kim Il-Sung. In every narrative, Kim Jong-Il emphasizes that “Kim Il-Sung was a God-given leader.” The stories show how excellent Kim Il-Sung was as a great leader who, with only a small number of his men, could defeat well-armed Japanese troops because of his ingenuity and brave heart.

In the episode “A secret of nature” (Kim, February 10, 2008), Kim Il-Sung is described as a man who could read the secrets of nature (the universe) by predicting when the first frost would cover each region. And in the article “Turning a ditch into life-saving water” (Kim, May 13, 2008), Kim Il-Sung is described as being able to hear the sound of running water that no one else could hear because it was buried under thick ice. In yet another story, “A battle of silence” (Kim, July 2, 2009), Kim Il-Sung is seen hypnotizing Japanese soldiers so that they cannot see his soldiers. Kim Il-Sung, in the story “Ascended to the sky or sunk in the ground?” (Hwang, August 15, 2010), conjured up a whirlwind in the field to cloak his soldiers from view when they had to cross a field where a Japanese battalion was stationed.

The main metaphors used to describe Kim Il-Sung are “tiger,” “fire,” “affectionate father,” and “the sun.” These metaphors are not only interwoven in the stories but are also used as titles referring to Kim Il-Sung. According to the legends, “The brave heart of the great leader” (Kim, July 5, 2008) and “A tiger who became a guard in Ilyoung” (Back, August 15, 2011), Kim Il-Sung’s nickname is “tiger commander,” and his men are called “the tiger’s troop.” This passage from another article shows the typical image of Kim Il-Sung built up by metaphors, specifically those of a tiger and fire:



Kim Il-sung put his hands on his waist and laughed loudly to the tiger.... The tiger bowed with its paws rubbing on the ground... in front of the young commander of Baekdu Mountain with eyes that gleamed like fire and whose bold laughter echoed through the surrounding mountains (from the episode of “The brave heart of the great leader”.Kim, July 5, 2008, para.20-24) (translated from Korean)

The strongest metaphor for Kim Il-Sung is “father.” The father image that Kim Il-Sung typifies is taciturn but affectionate. In the story of “The reason why ‘the house of cry’ turned to ‘the house of laughter’” (Hwang, November 15, 2008), Kim Il-Sung finds a house in a mountain where many children are crying from hunger while they wait for their father. Kim Il-Sung lets them all sit on his lap and kindly promises that he will make them have days with full stomachs without fail; and then, Kim Il-Sung gives the children the food intended for his soldiers’ meals.

Kim Il-Sung is not only a father of children as even old people are described as the children of Kim Il-Sung. In the story of “The fur coat from God” (Lee, July 9, 2009), on a freezing night, an old man visits the encampment of Kim Il-Sung’s troops in a mountain; he is there to meet his only son. When the old man parts from his son, he takes off his fur coat and tries to dress his son with it. The son declines this kind act. Kim Il-Sung sees the quarrel between the father and the son but does not say a word. Finally, the old man wins, leaving the camp after having given his coat to his son. Kim Il-Sung follows the old man and gives him his (Kim Il-Sung’s) fur coat.

One of the most repeated labels and metaphors for Kim Il-Sung is “the sun,” as seen in the title for Kim Il-Sung, “the North Koreans’ sun, great leader Kim Il-Sung,”

found throughout articles in *The Rodong Sinmun*. One of the stories, “The mysterious dream” (Hwang, April 5, 2009), exemplifies this metaphor of the sun. The story contrasts Kim Il-Sung’s birth with the birth of the legendary “Baby Commander,” who was born with wings, hidden in a cave, and killed by soldiers.

At the beginning of the story “The mysterious dream,” Kim Jong-Il declares, as usual, that “Kim Il-Sung is our great sun that people have wished to have and waited for for thousands of years” (para.4). In the story, a farmer in Kim Il-Sung’s hometown dreams that the sun has glided on a rainbow and entered a thatched house in the Mangyongdae (the name of region where Kim Il-Sung’s hometown is located). The sun, then, soars up from the house. Soldiers riding on horses with wings appear and guard the sun. In the dream, the village suddenly becomes full of a variety of flowers, fruits, and ripened grains. The farmer tells his dream to villagers, and they all realize that a great person has been born. Thus, they build a brass chest with a carved sun on it and dedicate it to the one-year-old Kim Il-Sung.

The narrative “A failed encirclement” (Rim, November 10, 2009) explains Kim Il-Sung’s beliefs and thoughts on war. In the piece, Kim and his soldiers face a battle in which they are drastically outnumbered and have long odds to win. Sub-commanders and soldiers tell Kim Il-Sung that they should prepare for death, but Kim Il-Sung states firmly, “We will not die. We all will survive and continue this sacred war till we get back our country” (para.7).

In short, metaphors used to describe Kim Il-Sung are a God-given man, the sun, tiger, fire and an affectionate father, and they build up Kim’s image as bright, strong and optimistic.

### **Metaphors found in the “episodes of revolution”**

“Episodes of revolution” is the name of the section in *The Rodong Sinmun* in which 48 stories tell how Kim Jong-Il visited farms and factories and what he did there. The stories reveal a pattern that is developed throughout the narratives. First, most stories start with citations of statements Kim Il-Sung or Kim Jong-Il have made. The composition of the articles is also unique. At the beginning, they are set in the present. Kim Jong-Il has visited some place for field guidance, but in the next article, the story goes back to a time when Kim Il-Sung or Kim Jong-Il visited that place 10 or 20 years prior. Kim Jong-Il once again meets somebody he has met before, or he finds that the place has developed as he had instructed and he is pleased. In most of the narratives, Kim Jong-Il makes funny jokes or reacts with wit to a situation he encounters.

The metaphors used in describing Kim Jong-Il employ images of “sunlight,” “crane,” and “parent,” specifically “mother.” In the article “Smell of love” (anonymous, February 6, 2008), there is an expression that “the sunlight from the sky makes shadows but the sunlight of supreme commander Kim Jong-Il’s love warms all people’s hearts” (para.1). Instead of the strong images used to describe Kim Il-Sung, such as sun or fire, the metaphors for Kim Jong-Il used here build up milder and softer images; Kim Jong-Il’s softer images as a crane and a mother can be easily contrasted against Kim Il-Sung’s depiction as a tiger and father.

In two articles, “Wonder of Yangseobul happening again” (Kim, February 28, 2008) and “Extraordinary happening” (Kim, April 18, 2009), cranes, which Koreans consider auspicious as a symbol of grace, gather around Kim Jong-Il.

The image of Kim Jong-Il is clearly more feminine and diminutive than Kim Il-Sung's image. In the article "The greenhouse filled with flowers" (anonymous, March 7, 2011), Kim Jong-Il visits a research institute of flowering plants and states, "If these beautiful flowers are displayed in public places, people will be so pleased!"(para.6) In another article, "The azalea" (anonymous, March 3, 2011), Kim Jong-Il is reminded that his mother, Kim Joun-Suk, loves azaleas more than any other flower.

In several narratives, Kim Jong-Il is shown in the image of a parent. While the parent metaphor of Kim Il-Sung is that of a taciturn but affectionate father, Kim Jong-Il is a little closer to a mother who is small, humorous, and affectionate. In the article "A musical family with a general's blessing" (Jang, September 24, 2011), Kim Jong-Il watches with a smile as traditional music is performed by the members of a musician's family; he is watching like a mother admiring her children. In the narrative, "A great general and working twin sisters" (Cho, May 20, 2011), factory workers act like children who become excited by praises from their parents when they meet Kim Jong-Il and hear his praises.

The most interesting article perhaps is, "The field jacket that never dried up" (Cha, December 1, 2008). In the narrative, Kim Jong-Il visits a factory, breaking through a heavy storm to provide guidance to workers. Workers see Kim Jong-Il's wet field uniform and feel choked up with strong emotions. The piece likens Kim Jong-Il's wet clothing to a mother's clothing that she does not have time to dry because of the needs of her children.

The love and respect from people towards Kim Jong-Il are sometimes portrayed as so passionate that the sentiment translates closely to strong love between lovers. When workers meet Kim Jong-Il, they cannot control their deep gratitude and they shed tears. In

the article, “A great general and working twin sisters” (Cho, May 20, 2011), twin sisters failing to control their strong emotions run to Kim crying and shouting “Supreme Commander!” The scenes are very dramatic and the descriptions of the characters’ emotions are very powerful.

The images of Kim Jong-Il created by the articles are very personal; Kim Jong-Il visits many places and meets or remembers persons he once met there. The relationships existing in the narratives are personal, not institutional. Thus, readers come to feel close to Kim Jong-Il, and the intimacy becomes strong, especially when combined with the sense of humor and personal attraction of Kim Jong-Il.

Kim Jong-Il is also described as a genius and a great teacher. He has no limitation to his memory (“Remarkable memory,” Kye, May 22, 2009). When he visits a fish farm, fish gather around him (“A wish of providing fish to people,” Lee, August 27, 2009); similarly, a dried spring Kim visits starts running again (“Revisiting Kangseo medicinal water,” Myung, August 12, 2011). Despite these minor miracles, the degree of glorification of Kim Jong-Il’s image is not stronger than that of Kim Il-Sung, who is esteemed as a god-like man.

### **Whether *The Rodong Sinmun* uses a hero frame**

By analyzing metaphors found in texts, this researcher has tried to find answers to the question of what frames *The Rodong Sinmun* uses in news about the United States (Q1, Q2A) and other “imperialist” nations. It can be said that *The Rodong Sinmun* does rely on the hero frame. However, the North Korean hero frame is different from that used by the United States.

The noun “hero” and the adjective “heroic” are repeated almost every sentence and in every article in *The Rodong Sinmun*, but the heroes are not always accompanied by villains and victims.

The heroes exist not only on battlefields but also in factories and even at research institutions where villains are not evident. However, the United States is labeled as a villain in *The Rodong Sinmun* in articles such as those discussing the Korean War, or in editorials trying to historically examine the role of the United States in world history, as seen in “The centennial of North Korea, the history of victory and miracles” (Kim, October 27, 2011) and in “The crime of the United States to be retaliated against for a thousand years” (Korean Central News Agency, June 25, 2010). The most derogatory expressions toward the United States are used for these issues.

The interesting finding is that, in regard to the relationships between the United States, North Korea, and South Korea, the victim is unclear. The most likely victim is South Korea or its people, but *The Rodong Sinmun* describes South Korea and its regime as a puppet or flatterer of the United States, rather than a victim. If the scope is extended to world affairs, the communist countries, such as North Korea and Cuba, and some countries in the Middle East are heroes fighting against the United States, as seen in “Invaders fell to their knees” (anonymous, January 31, 2012), “The United States standing on the defensive in Afghanistan” (Lee, July 21, 2012), and “The allies of Cuba drove the United States to a corner” (anonymous, April 30, 2012). However, in these cases as well, the victim remains unclear.

Occasionally, the people of the United States are described as victims, and the Occupy Wall Street movement or sub-prime mortgage crisis are referenced as evidence of

their victimization by a villainous government. This portrayal is seen in “The gloomy economy of the United States” (anonymous, July 1, 2012) and “The tragedy of the United States” (Jin, June 11, 2012). People in the Middle East are hinted at as victims of the United States and Israel in “The strikes of an unmanned United States’ aircraft are impeached” (Seo, February 8, 2011) and “Increasing anti-U.S. sentiment” (Lee, January 28, 2011). However, because people in the Middle East are portrayed as heroes fighting against the United States as well, there is no clear victim even in this setting.

In *The Rodong Sinmun*, among the three roles — those of hero, villain, and victim — the focus is placed on the hero, typically the invincible, heroic, courageous people of North Korea and their leaders, Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il. The United States is an evil being that is almost beyond acting as a mere villain. The dichotomy between good and evil clearly exists, and the description is much exaggerated. In most stories, the hero, who is good, is glorified, while the villain, who is evil, is close to an atrocious monster or a comic character like a fathead. *The Rodong Sinmun* uses a hero frame based on a drastic dichotomy between good and evil, rather than a hero story of hero-villain-victim.

### **Clausewitz’s cost-benefit or loss-gain of war metaphor**

*The Rodong Sinmun* does not use any cost-benefit or loss-gain metaphor for the fight against imperialist America. *The Rodong Sinmun* repeatedly calls the war or resistance of North Korea against the United States a “sacred war” or a “just war.” *The Rodong Sinmun* argues North Koreans are the people who love peace but cannot help but fight when imperialist America provokes wars in the article “The undefeatable nation with military-first spirit.” (Jang, November 8, 2011, para.1-2)

The article “Nuclear weapons and the Chosun peninsula” (anonymous, April 22, 2010) says North Korea makes nuclear weapons to protect itself and maintain self-reliance (para.27). North Korea does not calculate any gain or loss. Interestingly, North Korea believes in its absolute victory in war. The belief is not based on any rationale other than optimism for the eventual triumph, as seen in the episodes “A failed encirclement” (Rim, November 10, 2009), in which Kim Il-Sung firmly states they would not die. In “The reason why ‘the house of cry’ turned into ‘the house of laughter’” (Hwang, November 15, 2008), Kim Il-Sung promises crying children a prosperous country without fail.

### **Characteristics of the hero frame in *The Rodong Sinmun***

*The Rodong Sinmun* uses the hero frame, but what kind of hero is it (Q2-B)? The heroes of North Korea described in *The Rodong Sinmun* are everywhere: battlefields, factories, farms, and research institutions. *The Rodong Sinmun* uses “heroic” more than “hero” in its articles, and the word “heroic” is used habitually to mean the way in which a person does something without fear or hesitation. Additionally, to be heroic, conforming to a leader’s intentions and following a party’s directions are required, as seen in “Respecting Kim Il-Sung is the people’s supreme duty” (anonymous, January 18, 2012) and “Being united in one spirit is the strength of Chosun” (Jung & Jung, October 4, 2010).

This research found significant meaning in regard to how the term “hero” is used in some articles. Specifically, heroic soldiers who fought against the United States are able to become heroes after Kim Il-Sung teaches them their value and rights as the working class. Communist prisoners, who did not give up their cause or political ideology,



were released from South Korea after 20 to 30 years of imprisonment and sent to North Korea; they were heroes.

However, they were not considered as such until Kim Jong-Il did not forget them and made a deal in order to receive and care for them. All merits of heroes are conferred upon Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il. As a result, Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il become the supreme and ultimate two heroes in North Korea.

As stated before, metaphors for Kim Il-Sung are a tiger, the sun, fire, and a taciturn but affectionate father. The tiger, which as an animal appears over and over in the Korean folk stories, becomes shorthand for the image and idea of a hero when it is associated with a man, appearing repeatedly in the stories of “legends during revolutionary war.” However, a hero overlapped with the image of a tiger has been rare in Korean culture because Korean culture has traditionally valued scholars more than warriors.

The tiger, as “king of the mountain,” also traditionally has represented a head, so a hero, as a potential rival to a king, has not dared to not be associated with the image of a tiger. The sun is also easily equated with nobility. In Korea, the metaphor of the sun means an utmost being, such as a king. Thus metaphors equating “tiger” and “the sun” in *The Rodong Sinmun* are not used to refer to a Korean traditional hero figure.

One more significant symbol is a parent. In Korean culture, the ideas of king and parent are interchangeable. In Korea, a king or president is called “the father of state (國父).” There is an old saying that “a king, a teacher, and a father are one (君師父一體),” meaning that they are all the same in their love, thus they should be treated in the same respectful way. A king is considered as a parent (especially a father) to all people; a father

is treated as a king in a family. Thus, the metaphor of a father also implies a king. *The Rodong Sinmun* built a father image around Kim Il-Sung and his legacy, but that is a bit different from the traditional idea of the austere father. The father image of Kim Il-Sung is affectionate and kind, not strict and dominant.

Another hero of North Korea, Kim Jong-Il, is portrayed using different images from Kim Il-Sung in *The Rodong Sinmun*. Most likely, the differences reflect the appearances and personalities of each leader. Kim Il-Sung was tall and sturdy, a taciturn and manly person. Kim Jong-Il was short and thick, a humorous and talkative person. Also, because *The Rodong Sinmun* used the strongest images for Kim Il-Sung as founder of North Korea, *The Rodong Sinmun* seemed to develop a wholly different image for Kim Jong-Il, using metaphors of the crane, sunlight, and mother.

The frame used in describing Kim Il-Sung makes him into something of a supernatural hero. In many articles, Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il perform miracles similar to superheroes in the United States.

In some articles, Kim Il-Sung is similar to American superheroes in a clear relationship of the three roles, hero-villain-victim. When Kim Il-Sung is a hero, the villain and victim become clearer; the villains are imperialist countries, such as the United States and Japan, and the victims are the people of Korea who are invaded and oppressed by these countries. A prime example of the North Koreans as victims is symbolized in their portrayal as crying children in the article “The reason why ‘the house of cry’ turned into ‘the house of laughter’” (Hwang, November 15, 2008). The hero Kim Il-Sung liberates the victims, the Koreans, from Japanese rule. Kim Il-Sung liberates people from the United States by deterring the United States from occupying the Korean

peninsula after the defeat of Japan in the Second World War. However, the portrayed relationship was clear only in the wartime narratives. Now, it seems that the hero frame as a trilateral relationship is not working efficiently, because during a cease-fire the identities of victim and villain become unclear.

### **Descriptions of Presidents**

The metaphors used by *The Rodong Sinmun* for the presidents of the United States (Q2-C) — Obama and Bush — are of a busybody or a moron. Indeed, they are depicted very derogatorily. However, when comparing the degree of contempt towards them with the United States as a country, the former is not that harsh. The United States as an entity is described as a monster, a beast, and an evil being, especially in the narratives related to the Korean War.

The most hated person in North Korea is the president of South Korea, Lee Myung-Bak, not Obama or Bush. In the article “The spirit of victory shines on gun barrels” President Lee Myung-Bak is described as a deadly enemy of North Korea who North Koreans “cannot live with under the same “sky” (Kim, April 23, 2012, para.5). It may imply that the target of the attack of North Korea is more focused on the regime of Lee Myung-Bak than on the Democratic administration of President Obama, who “promised in his inaugural address [2009] that he would offer an outstretched hand to those [in North Korea] who will unclench their fists” (Snyder, 2013, para.1) and the Republican government of former President Bush, who is no longer in power.

### **Cultural meaning of the hero frame in *The Rodong Sinmun***

Any frame has cultural relevance. However, the frames used by *The Rodong Sinmun* seem to have complexity in their cultural relevance. The answer to the question of whether the frames of *The Rodong Sinmun* are rooted in the people's lives (Q3-A) is both yes and no.

Heroes with supernatural abilities and strong minds, other than Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il, are traditionally taboo in Korean culture, as seen in the Baby Commander fable, in which a baby was born with supernatural power but only to be killed by his own family and king, and other stories throughout Korean history. The fable about the Baby Commander exemplifies "han," the emotion of resentment and frustration "derive[d] from experiences of wrongful and premature death by power" (Hong, 2009, p.15). However, this pessimistic emotion does not exist in articles in *The Rodong Sinmun*.

Kim Il-Sung declared that his men would not die and would continue their sacred war till they got back their country from Japan, before a battle with very little odds of winning. Kim Il-Sung's optimistic view is different from the traditional emotion of "han" in Korean society in general. However, in *The Rodong Sinmun*, Kim Il-Sung's optimistic hero image overlaps with a father image rooted in the ideas of monarchism and patriarchy that Korea has deep in its history.

*The Rodong Sinmun* uses both the hero frame and the parent frame for Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il. They are seen as parents of the North Koreans; Kim Il-Sung is close to a father and Kim Jong-Il is close to a mother. In spite of their supreme status, they are portrayed as being concerned and are shown remembering a worker in a factory

or an old friend. They are also portrayed visiting factories to give field guidance, and they make ties with individual workers.

Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il are thus shown to be heroes who are also very kind and affectionate parent figures. The reason why Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il adopted the image of an affectionate parent is not clear. However, this interpretation is possible; if rulers are just a king-like being with iron fists, a supernatural hero and a strict and strong father, the people could plot rebellion against them. However, if somebody is an affectionate parent, then betraying the good parent could not be easily carried out.

The supernatural heroes with optimistic views are not accepted in Korean history. Thus, the hero frame of supernatural heroes, such as Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il and heroic warriors of North Koreans used in *The Rodong Sinmun*, are heterogeneous to the tradition of North Korea. However, parent frames, which are adopted by *The Rodong Sinmun*, do appear throughout Korea, which is one of the most patriarchal countries in the world. As cited in the Literature Review, Kim's study on *The New York Times* (2004) points out that "traditional society in [North] Korea has always been cemented by a matrix of personal relationships, kinship loyalties, and the Confucian cult of the family" (p.76). Kim's viewpoint, reading patriarchal traits in North Korea, is in accord with the main point of the analysis of this research.

### **Economic base of hero frames**

This researcher tried to answer what economic base could be figured out from these frames (Q3-B). *The Rodong Sinmun* uses a few traditional proverbs, such as "strand a straw rope leftward" (para.4, meaning "making cynical remarks") in "The true character

of the freedom of the press of the United States” (Bae, May 7, 2012), and “a leaking gourd home still leaks outdoors” (para.1) in “Arrogant and arbitrary deeds of the United States” (Bae, April, 22, 2011). The use of these proverbs shows that the basis of North Korea is still agricultural.

However, except for these frames, there is not much evidence to show what economic base North Korea has. The political idea of communism comes to the fore in all of the articles, but the frames that reveal the underlying economic system, for example, the gain-loss frame of the capitalist United States, are not easy to identify. This may suggest that North Korea is a country politically and ideologically focused. This assumption makes sense because *The Rodong Sinmun* calls satisfying production at a workplace “a battle defeating the enemy” (para.31) in the editorial “Let’s continue to write our ever-victorious history!” (July 27, 2011), and achievement of a scientist is referred to as “a battle victory in a high-end-technique field” (para.32) in the article “Hong Gil-Dong in the battlefields of high-tech” (Yeo, December 28, 2010).

### **Hidden intention of hero frames**

Is there any hidden intention in using these frames (Q3-C)? Finding out hidden intentions of a certain frame is very important in research on news frames. According to Altheide (2002), framing is skillful persuasion about “what will be discussed...[and what will] not be discussed.” Thus, it is not easy to perceive any hidden intention in frames by seeing what is visible. Figuring out any intentional drive in the frames unavoidably accompanies a reasoning process close to speculation.

However, the intention of some frames can be figured out using common sense. For example, the repeated words “hero” and “heroic” on farms and factories seem to be used to fortify people’s communist ideology and promote economic productivity. The supernatural hero image of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il overlap a king or god image seemingly to help justify their ruling. The storylines or patterns shown in the articles “Episodes of Revolution” illustrate Kim Jong-Il revisiting a place and recalling old friends or workers whom he had met, and this seems to form the personal intimacy between Kim Jong-Il and workers. Based on the fanatical and extraordinary reactions of the workers who welcome Kim Jong-Il, the molding of the intimacy between Kim and the workers, and the parent-like affection of Kim Jong-Il, seem to be related to building up the cult of Kim Jong-Il.

Some frames seem to be set up under more consideration, such as *The Rodong Sinmun* fabricating a superhero image of Kim Il-Sung. *The Rodong Sinmun* built up a hero image with versatile talents and a humorous mind for Kim Jong-Il.

In addition to these images, Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il are donned with a parent frame in *The Rodong Sinmun*. *The Rodong Sinmun* might have needed strong metaphors and frames for Kim Il-Sung as the founder, so the sun, a tiger, and a father were used. It is possible to assume that *The Rodong Sinmun* could not use images for Kim Jong-Il that might overlap and therefore contradict the legacy of Kim Il-Sung. Thus, Kim Jong-Il was portrayed using milder and gentler images of sunlight, a crane, and a mother.

In *The Rodong Sinmun*, the family ties between the Kims and the people of North Korea were used to create a sense of intimacy that was underscored by affectionate

gestures during field guidance. *The Rodong Sinmun* intentionally uses these intimate images for the Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il to benefit them.

If more speculative reasoning is allowed, one can speculate that the affectionate parent frame might be used because people cannot easily betray their affectionate parents. As stated in the literature review, the North Korean media does not serve as a watchdog for its regime, but rather as a tool for educating and directing people. *The Rodong Sinmun*, which is published by the Workers' Party, is the most likely medium to serve in this way.

The image of the sun, a lofty being, and the sunlight that warms the people of North Korea is easily associated with a king. This king image is clearly built into *The Rodong Sinmun*, especially in the "Legends during revolutionary war" and "Episodes of revolution," which are designed to help North Koreans maintain their inherited loyalty for Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il, as people did in a feudal society; this intention to retain devotion is also seen in the editorial "We will win every battle if we follow our party's lead" (anonymous, June 19, 2010) as found in the line, "we are blessed in that we can give loyalty generation after generation!"(para.3)

### **Difference and commonality with traditional Korean culture**

How are these frames different from or similar to the traditional Korean metaphor or symbol system (Q3-D)? The propaganda of North Korea is extraneous. The optimistic worldview, combative languages, and supernatural heroes found in *The Rodong Sinmun* are very different kinds of views, values, and rhetoric from those of traditional Korean culture. The optimistic and glorious birth of Kim Il-Sung and the people's worshipful devotion to the one-year-old baby are far different from the fear and frustration of Korean



people as seen in the Baby Commander fable in which the family of the Baby Commander considered their baby as a threatening being.

However, these unfamiliar metaphors are incorporated and delivered by familiar genres. As seen in Che's (1994) research, North Korea considers activities, such as group discussions, lectures, songs, and plays, as well as newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting, as media outlets for education and direction of its people; the North Korean regime values orally handed-down genres for the education of the masses. In this situation, the mass media and a government bulletin, *The Rodong Sinmun*, the representative state-run medium, are supposed to be placed at the center of this role by educating people and providing basic materials for them to review.

The articles in *The Rodong Sinmun* overflow with exaggerated, almost comic and derogative expressions, such as stating that Kim Il-Sung "melted" enemies instead of "defeated" them ("A strategy using footprints," Hwang, March, 31, 2009, para.7); that Obama "puts his nose into..." ("When will you break the bad habit?" Park, February 23, 2012, para.15), "a pan (face) with a grimace as if he chewed a gall" ("The water mill in Sodusoo," Hwang, January 22, 2011, para.19); and "we can live without candy balls but not live without cannon balls" ("Let's march with high morale," editorial, November 29, 2011, para.5). These exaggerated expressions and the legends and episodes of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il might be intentionally chosen rhetoric and genres that *The Rodong Sinmun* has adopted to communicate to the people of North Korea.

That is, the image of hero, king, the sun, and genius in *The Rodong Sinmun* are taboo or unfamiliar metaphors to traditional Korean culture. However, the patriarchic symbols, such as parents, and images of a tiger and crane are very familiar to Koreans.

Furthermore, the genres such as legends and episodic stories and the humorous and exaggerated rhetoric have been entertained by people for a long time as a form of orally transmitted art.

### **Lakoff's subframes**

Subframes, such as the state-as-person and the ruler-for-state metonymy, are used in *The Rodong Sinmun*. The United States is described as a person with bloody eyes ("The crime of the United States to be retaliated for a thousand years," Korean Central News Agency, June 25, 2010, para.89) as well as a war-monger ("Arrogant and arbitrary deeds of the United States" Bae, April 22, 2011, para.13). Sometimes, the United States is described as a monster pressing small countries like a huge octopus ("The centennial of North Korea, the history of victory and miracle," Kim, October 27, 2011, para.8).

The ruler-for-state metonymy is not used. Referring to Obama or Bush does not directly mean the United States. Rather, President Obama and former President Bush represent the United States and they are described as morons. However, they are not described as monsters or beasts like the United States is when described as an entity. *The Rodong Sinmun* website was created in 2010 after Bush left office, and he was the leader who labeled North Korea as a member of the so-called axis of evil. Bush's leaving office might be one reason why *The Rodong Sinmun* does not describe President Bush in harsh terms. *The Rodong Sinmun* calls Lee Myung-Bak, President of South Korea, a traitor, spiritless airhead, and most wicked thief, but such terms are not applied to South Korea itself. It may be interpreted like this: These leaders are seen as elected by citizens, men

who will change soon, so *The Rodong Sinmun* does not equate a leader to the nation he temporarily leads.

The frame of “risks (or wars)-as-gambles” is found in *The Rodong Sinmun* when it describes the actions of the United States. According to *The Rodong Sinmun*, the United States perpetrates murder as a game and wages wars similar to children playing with fire (“We impeach joint military drill of the United States with South Korea,” anonymous, August 2, 2010). An article likened the expansion of armaments of the United States to card play (“The card play of expansion of armaments,” Seo, January 12, 2011). However, the war waged by North Korea is sacred and justified in *The Rodong Sinmun*. It seems that North Koreans believe they are economically inferior but ideologically superior to the United States, and that they wage wars for great causes, such as liberation from imperialists and establishment of social equality.

The usage of the “wars-as-gambles” frame is exactly the opposite when the media of the United States uses it for the wars against the axis of evil countries. As seen in several works (Lule 2010; Monahan 2010; Jones 1991), the U.S. media accused Saddam Hussein of playing a game of hide and seek with weapons of mass destruction, while they described the United States’ war on terror as God’s chosen mission or as a moral war to save victims.

## 5. Conclusion

This research began with a discussion of the heart-breaking fables of traditional Korean culture. The heroes in Korean history and literature have always been thwarted by the established power and cowardly people. Nearly all Koreans, except for a small number of men of influence, flatterers and cowards, could not escape the brutal ruling powers that have reigned throughout Korean history; and so they have held their killed heroes in their minds and have dwelt on the complex emotions of frustration and transcendence, known as “han.” Korean tragic heroes, killed before they carry out their aims, thus, have hardly transformed into a media frame, which is sharply different from the heroes of the United States, such as soldiers, firefighters, captains, and superheroes that are glorified by the U.S. media.

As stated in some literary works, the hero frame in South Korean media is very rare. Thus, a study on heroes who appear in North Korean media provided a good chance to examine the relationship of the frames that news media create and the overarching culture reflected through the frames, much like a cultural mirror. Because the cultural root of both North and South Korea is the same, and the years of division of the two states are comparatively short (within about two generations), this research presumed that it could find the frames of North Korean media and interpret their cultural meaning. Another motivation of this research was a curiosity concerning how a country making up the axis of evil places itself in the trilateral relationship of hero, villain, and victim, under which media of the United States usually place it as a villain.

The choice of *The Rodong Sinmun* as a medium to analyze these concepts is theoretically and practically proper. *The Rodong Sinmun* has a working website, which makes some content available to researchers in the United States. Also, the website's text containing the genres of legends and episodes about Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il, which are difficult to find in other media, and containing various in-depth topics covering both historic issues and current conflicts concerning the United States, were helpful in finding frames and delving into their cultural meaning. However, determining what texts of the medium should be chosen was challenging. Due to the simplicity of *The Rodong Sinmun's* search tool and the difficulty in choosing proper words to find frames, the range of chosen text became wide and voluminous. By skimming stereotypical and clichéd expressions, this researcher planned to focus on the story line, metaphors, and labels of certain key terms.

Nevertheless, identifying the frames of *The Rodong Sinmun* was not easy. Interpreting the frames in a cultural context was even more puzzling. Although initially this research went as expected, the articles in *The Rodong Sinmun* were not easy to read because the articles had a strong propaganda style. However, this researcher could identify the frames in *The Rodong Sinmun* and compare them to the frames of the U.S. media with the help of Lakoff's work "Metaphor and war: The metaphor system used to justify war in the Gulf" (1990).

The main metaphor of hero, which the United States frequently uses in its news media, has also been used in *The Rodong Sinmun*. However, the usage of this metaphor has two levels. The words "hero" and "heroic" are forms of superficial rhetoric habitually used in all articles: Such usage included no clear and elaborated metaphor system. The

second level of the usage of “hero” included workers and soldiers who were called heroes. However, all their merits were ascribed to Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il. Thus, the primary heroes described in *The Rodong Sinmun* were Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il.

The hero frame and the optimistic worldview of the two heroes in *The Rodong Sinmun* seemed not to be rooted in the people of Korea. Before the division of Korea in 1948, the hero image had not been pervasive to the people in the strong monarchism of Korea, and an optimistic worldview is unfamiliar to Koreans, who have lived with the emotion “han,” in short, frustration and grudge, for a long time.

Post-division, South Korea has still not developed a hero frame in its culture and media, while the North Korean media outlet, *The Rodong Sinmun*, became full of hero imagery. Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il are described as supernatural, sometimes overlapping into a king’s image, and are always portrayed as very affectionate.

In the setting of war, Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il are the heroes leading their troops to save innocent people in the story line of hero-villain-victim, in which the United States and Japan are atrocious villains or idiots, and the Koreans under cruel rulers are victims.

Both during wartime and during the cease-fire era, the heroes, Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il, had the affectionate parent image applied to them. *The Rodong Sinmun* seems to arouse the intimacy and a kind of “fandom” to Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il through use of the parent frame.

Conversely, a hero with the characteristics of a loving parent is not easy to find in U.S. media frames. The heroes described in *The Rodong Sinmun* even have the images of kings attached to their identity; they are described as being revered like the sun and the

sunlight and as receiving loyalty generation after generation. This type of hero is also very rare in the media frame of the United States.

Except for the wartime setting, there was no elaborate metaphor system or interrelationship among the hero, the villain, and the victim in the frames of *The Rodong Sinmun*. In the hero frame of the United States, not to mention heroes and villains, the victims played an important role, presumably as an indispensable element to justify a state action—war.

The parent image of the two heroes, Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il, is the most significant metaphor in *The Rodong Sinmun* because it seems to be rooted in the people of Korea, one of the strongest patriarchal countries in the world. In this metaphor, these two rulers have been modified as affectionate and tender parents of their people.

Meanwhile, the frame to describe the United States is very derogatory and harsh. The United States is described as a monster or beast. Individual enemies, such as presidents Obama and Bush, as well as Japanese soldiers and commanders during wartime, are caricatured as morons. These exaggerated images of a beast, a monster, and a moron, and a dramatic storyline might be the inheritance of orally handed-down literature, which the North Korean media employs for the education of its people.

This research originally hypothesized that the news frames of the United States and North Korea would be different because the United States and North Korea are drastically different in terms of their political ideologies, economic bases, and national values. This hypothesis was supported. The United States and North Korea have in common the hero frame, but the details and focus of the frames differ as a result of the

countries' different cultural backgrounds. Understanding Korean culture allowed for a deeper understanding of the "hero" and "parent" frames of *The Rodong Sinmun*.

However, the success of this research is imperfect. Because of the researcher's shallow understanding of U.S. culture, the original aim of the research—namely, to complete a comparative cultural study—was not effectively accomplished. In addition, due to the linguistic differences between South Korea and North Korea, which have accumulated for more than 60 years, the researcher did not exactly understand a few expressions from North Korea. Because of the limits of the researcher's ability of translation, the spite and brutality of the language and the humorous expressions in some articles of *The Rodong Sinmun* were stripped away.

The biggest limitation is that this research was carried out without the overall understanding of the media of communist countries. The legends and episodes of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il in *The Rodong Sinmun* were relatively full of symbols and metaphors that were good for analyzing cultural frames, but strictly speaking, they could not be news stories or journalistic works in the tradition of American journalism. Other articles, such as editorials, commentaries and brief news items were full of dogma and never journalistic in the Western journalism tradition, which emphasizes objectivity.

Thus, it is difficult to determine whether the findings of this research on the frames of *The Rodong Sinmun* are specific to North Korea or whether they are general frames of the media of communist countries. Thus, future studies should be more multilateral. Frames of North Korean media should be compared with those employed in South Korea as well as those employed in other communist countries. The media of communist countries should be studied, and a journalism model and research method for



the media of communist countries should be established. In the extension of this research, studies on the hero frames used for the new, young leader of North Korea, Kim Jong-Un, will be interesting and meaningful pursuits. Kim Jong-Un was announced as the “Great Successor” by North Korean state television, Korean Central TV, right after his father Kim Jong-Il’s death in 2011.

Despite these limitations, this study and its accomplishments are meaningful in that this is the first study to examine North Korean news frames and perhaps the first to do so using cultural analysis.

By understanding the frames and their cultural meaning used by North Korean media, the media of the United States and South Korea perhaps can come closer to objective and balanced news reporting about North Korea. Further studies of news frames employed by various countries with different cultures can provide not only meaningful and informed views on the hidden intention behind their news but insight into how people see and interpret the world from within their own culture.

## **APPENDIX**

### **1. The Political History of North Korea**

To understand North Korea and its relationship to the United States, one must understand the political history of North Korea from 1945, the year Korea was liberated from Japan. During the 10 years after 1945, a long-lasting conflict between South and North Korea originated, keen competition among powerful countries such as the United States, the Soviet Union, and China was maximized, and the initial role of the United States at that time impacted the whole history of the Korean peninsula thereafter.

Han (1983) studies the political history from 1945 to 1952 of Korea, when the conflict about the ideology upon which Korea would be established was at its peak. This conflict ultimately resulted in the establishment of separate states of North and South. According to his studies, all victorious countries of the Second World War, including the United States, knew it was impossible for just one country to exercise its power over Korea because of the tangled interests of countries regarding the Korean peninsula and Korea's enormous geographical importance.

In 1943, during the Second World War, Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kaishek met in Cairo, Egypt, and decided to liberate Korea in due course. This was the first international declaration on the liberation of Korea. This was confirmed at the ensuing the Yalta Conference (1945) and in the Potsdam declaration. In Yalta and Potsdam, leaders of the powerful countries also discussed the division of Korea at the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel.

After the United States' nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviet Union attacked Japanese troops in the northern part of Korea and stationed troops at Chongjin and Pyongyang in North Korea. The United States stationed itself in Seoul, establishing military government in the southern part. The United States did not acknowledge the power of the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (the organization Koreans established before the liberation to keep public safety during the vacuum of government) nor the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (the partially recognized government in exile from Korea, which was based in Shanghai, China). Instead, the United States' military government reemployed former officials who worked for Japan for administrative convenience and continuity.

In December 1945, the United States, United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union agreed through the Moskva Agreement to help the Koreans establish a provisional government and to execute a trusteeship for a maximum of five years over the government before Korea established its formal nation. The Moskva Agreement was shocking and humiliating to Koreans, who were just liberated from Japan. Some political leaders who agreed with the trusteeship or showed only a reserved attitude toward the anti-trusteeship movement were assassinated. The issue about whether to support or oppose the trusteeship tore up the whole Korean peninsula.

At the beginning, the political left of the North and South, the political right and the nationalists all opposed the trusteeship. However, the communist party leaders contacted the Soviet Union and were advised of the profit of establishing a provisional government. The communists of the North and South became pro-trusteeship. Because of their organizational power, they were the most promising political power to occupy the

provisional government. The most influential leaders were nationalists such as Kim Ku of the South and Cho Man-Sik of the North, but they were losing their power because they were not supported by the United States and the Soviet Union. However, the rightists and the nationalists who wanted immediate independence continued to resist trusteeship.

On March 1, 1946, the pro-trusteeship and the anti-trusteeship respectively held mass rallies in adjacent places, and after the rallies, they collided and many were injured. The United States military government outlawed the communist party in the South and ordered the arrest of Park Hun-Young, the leader of the communist party of the South, who was in charge of counterfeiting and the collisions at the rallies. He fled to the North, and the relationship between the communist party of North and South Korea and the United States became hostile.

Because of discord with the Soviet Union, domestic pressure, and strong opposition from Koreans, the United States transferred to the United Nations the issue of by what procedure Korea should become independent. The General Assembly passed a resolution that free elections should be held and foreign troops should be withdrawn (November, 1947). The United Nations Temporary Commission of Korea was created and carried out supervision of the national election (January, 1948), but the Soviet Union and North Korea boycotted the vote and kept the Commission from entering North Korea. Although the nationalists and neutralists leaders of North and South attempted to stop separate elections, the South held a general election and established the Republic of Korea (July, 1948), electing Rhee Syng-Man its first president.

Meanwhile, Kim Il-Sung took the reins of North Korea with the help of the Soviet Union. When the troops of the Soviet Union entered Pyongyang in August, 1945,

they did not establish a military government. They helped the Koreans organize the People Committee branches throughout the northern part of Korea and influenced the appointment of the leaders of the temporary administrative bodies and communist party. The army of the Soviet Union “held a mass rally (October, 1945) welcoming and dramatically introducing Kim Il-Sung, a 33-year-old young man, as a hero of Korea” (Han, 1983a, p.9).

Kim Il-Sung initiated a sweeping land reform in 1946. He confiscated the lands of landlords and distributed them equally among farmers. He also seized factories owned by private companies and nationalized them. As a result, farmers and laborers were absorbed into the communist party. The Soviet Union supported Kim Il-Sung, who was leading the Kabsan faction (in other name, the Partisan faction) that concentrated on military resistance against Japan. However, there still existed rival communist factions. One was the Soryun faction (蘇聯派), which consisted of the elites who had lived in the Soviet Union and entered the North Korea with the troops of the Soviet Union. The other was the Yeonan faction(延安派), which was influenced by Chinese communism.

These groups united and established the new Constitution (May, 1948) and announced the establishment of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (September, 1948), with Kim Il-Sung as its prime minister. The army of the Soviet Union left North Korea in December 1948, but pro-Soviet Union officers occupied the vice presidencies of government agencies and remained important figures in the military. After the foundation of North Korea as a nation, Kim Il-Sung started to remove his rivals. In the election of March 1949, the rivals of Kim Il-Sung were replaced by men in favor of Kim Il-Sung and communists entered the country from the South. Kim Il-Sung waged the Korean War

(June, 1950) to communize South Korea. In spite of the sweep of North Korean troops over the Korean peninsula at the beginning, the Korean War became more and more unfavorable to the success of North Korea, because of the participation of the United Nations.

During a stalemate in the Korean War (1953), Kim Il-Sung arrested Park Hun-Young, vice-premier, and Park's supporters. Kim Il-Sung charged them with planning a coup, spying for the United States, and causing their defeat in the Korean War. Kim Il-Sung ascribed the defeat not only to Park Hun-Young but also to the Yeonan faction and the Soryun faction because Kim Il-Sung wanted to remove his rivals and escape the influence of the Soviet Union. Kim Il-Sung's purge was successful, but the power struggle recurred during the 1960s and '70s. Again, Kim Il-Sung overcame these crises through purging the country of his rivals and by philosophical rearmament with Juche ideology, Suryong theory, and military-first ideology.

## **2. The list of text**

### **Legends during revolutionary war**

#### **Title/Name of Reporter (Date)**

A legend of a great person woven around the spring of Mankyungdae...Hwang, M.H. (May 14, 2012)

A tiger who became a guard in Ilyoung...Back, Y.M. (August 15, 2011)

Wings which a great man gave...Kim, M. H. (August 14, 2011)

A wonder made by a great man's notice...Kang, C. N. (August 7, 2011)

The year of liberation predicted by a keen insight...Kim, M. H. (August 1, 2011)

A vegetable garden made during wartime...Lee, K. B. (June 14, 2011)

The water mill in Sodukssoo...Hwang, M. H. (January 22, 2011)

A mysterious battle...Hwang, M. H. (August 19, 2010)

Ascended to sky or sunk in the ground?...Hwang, M. H. (August 15, 2010)

The secrets of nature found by a great person...Kim, D. C. (April 19, 2010)

The tactic of splitting...Lee, S. K. (March 22, 2010)

A thrilling pleasure...Kim, C. K. (March 16, 2010)

The gifted artifice...Hwang, M. H. (February 27, 2010)

An encounter helped by Heaven...unknown (December 31, 2009)

A failed encirclement...Rim, J. H. (November 10, 2009)

The subjugation that completely failed...Kim, Y. J. (October 20, 2009)

The victory of Honggiha Battle...Kim, Y. J. (August 16, 2009)

Hoof prints that confused the enemy...Yum, C. H. (August 12, 2009)

A smart battle...Lee, S. K. (July 16, 2009)

The fur coat from God...Lee, K. B. (July 09, 2009)

A story about six wild birds...Yum, C. H. (July 07, 2009)

A battle of silence...Kim, D. C. (July 02, 2009)

The treasure found in the ground...Lee, K. B. (June 05, 2009)

The reason that they call this rock as "the general's rock"...Yum, C. H. (May 17, 2009)

The mysterious dream...Hwang, M. H. (April 5, 2009)

A strategy using footprints...Hwang, M. H. (March 31, 2009)

The mysterious story of the pit with fire...Yum, C. H. (March 3, 2009)

The mysterious dream of an old man...unknown (January 29, 2009)

The wild pear tree of Onsung...Hwang, M. H. (December 10, 2008)

The reason why 'the house of cry' turned to 'the house of laughter...Hwang M. H. (November 15, 2008)

The prediction that came true...Kim, D. C. (November 13, 2008)

The message at a fruit farm...Rim, J. H. (November 2, 2008)

The secret of a lake revealed by a great leader...Choi, S. P. (October 13, 2008)

The master of Baektu Mountain...Lee, S. K. (July 19, 2008)

The brave heart of the great leader...Kim, J. H. (July 05, 2008)

Turning a ditch into life-saving water...Kim, D. C. (May 13, 2008)

A welcoming rain on a national holiday in April...Kim, J. H. (May 9, 2008)

Specimen of wild edible greens...unknown (April 16, 2008)

A secret of nature...Kim, D. C. (February 10, 2008)

## **Episodes of Revolution**

### **Title/Name of Reporter (Date)**

The persimmon tree company and great soldiers of Baektu Mountain...Kye. S. N. (August 25, 2012)

The restless days of a great general...unknown (March 24, 2012)

The gloves of a great general...Lee, K. B. (March 13, 2012)

The competition put on by great general...Kim, I. S. (February 29, 2012)

Seeing a small product...Lee, K. B. (February 26, 2012)

A doctor's degree given by people...Lee, M. H. (February 10, 2012)

The reason why we could not have built the statue of a great general...Lee, S. J. (December 25, 2011)

Twin brothers to whom a great general gave blessing...Park, O. K. (December 17, 2011)

A new legend of Gubongryung...Park, O. K. (December 12, 2011)

A great general and the girls of Pyeongyang...Lee, C. O. (December 10, 2011)

A musical family with a general's blessing...Jang, E. Y. (September 24, 2011)

Revisiting Kangseo medicinal water...Myung, H. S. (August 12, 2011)

Competition for good taste of apples...Kim, H. R. (June 10, 2011)

A great general and working twin sisters...Cho, H. S. (May 20, 2011)

The signal post of victory...unknown (March 14, 2011)

The green house filled with flowers...unknown (March 7, 2011)

The azalea...unknown (March 3, 2011)



Hong Gil-dong in the battlefields of high-tech...Yeo, M. H. (December 28, 2010)  
 A warm snow scene...Kim, S. N. (December 17, 2010)  
 A lyric revived...Rim, H. S. (December 10, 2010)  
 The double-yoked egg...Tae, M. H. (October 23, 2010)  
 When fertilizer falls like a cascade...Politics Team (June 9, 2010)  
 The wadded boots of Ryanggagdo...Politics Team (May 23, 2010)  
 The smell of apples...Son, Y. H. (April 2, 2010)  
 A key to a good harvest that the great general told...Tae, M. H. (December 21, 2009)  
 The change of distance table...Kang, J. H. (11-15-09)  
 The great general and a couple in a temple...Park, D. S. (October 18, 2009)  
 The elevator of love...Koh, H. J. (October 8, 2009)  
 Marines come back...Lee, W. C. (October 4, 2009)  
 A wish of providing fish to people... Lee, W. C. (August 27, 2009)  
 The great mind and respect...Hwang, M. H. (June 29, 2009)  
 Daydream, ideal and reality...Myung, H. S. (June 17, 2009)  
 Greenhouse full of light of love...Rim, H. S. (June 2, 2009)  
 Remarkable memory Kye, S. N. (May 22, 2009)  
 Extraordinary happening...Kim, S. N. (April 18, 2009)  
 Music from the TV that the great general sent...Han, Y. J. (March 17, 2009)  
 Stairs of love...Cha, S. (March 16, 2009)  
 Pleasure in Sohan (the coldest day of winter)...Park, O. K. (March 7, 2009)  
 Red skies in Kangsun...Kim, D. C. (January 22, 2009)  
 The field jacket that never dried up...Cha, S. (December 1, 2008)  
 The blessed female soldier...Kim, S. N. (November 29, 2008)  
 Soy meat...Song, M. R. (April 22, 2008)  
 Several hundred miles turned back...Song, M. R. (April 12, 2008)  
 A cosmos pin graciously given...Park, O. K. (March 23, 2008)  
 Smell of spring on the anniversary of March 8th...Son, Y. H. (March 21, 2008)  
 Wonder of Yangseobul happening again...Kim, H. R. (February 28, 2008)  
 Smell of love...unknown (February 6, 2008)  
 A deep meaning in a humorous comment...Myung, H. S. (January 26, 2008)

## **Imperialist the United States hero**

### **Title/Name of Reporter (Date)**

The spirit of victory shines on gun barrels...Kim, I. S. (April 23, 2012)

We impeach the military drill of the United States and South Korea...Korean Central News Agency (March 9, 2012)

The world supports fights for justice of North Korea...unknown (March 6, 2012)

The large river of endless yearning...Sim, C. Y. (February 13, 2012)

Invaders fell to their knees...unknown (January 31, 2012)

Blessing on North Korean people...unknown (January 20, 2012)

Respecting Kim Il-Sung is the people's supreme duty...unknown (January 18, 2012)

At the time of passing away of Kim Jong-Il...words of condolence (December 27, 2011)

Let's march with high morale...Editorial (November 29, 2011)

The undefeatable nation with military-first spirit...Jang, Y. N. (November 8, 2011)

The centennial of North Korea, the history of victory and miracle...Kim, I. S. (October 27, 2011)

The poem of hero Lee Soo-Bok, 'For my country'...Lee, S. J. (October 26, 2011)

The poem describing the courageous mind of Chosun...Lee, S. J. (September 29, 2011)

The great general that led revolutionary army of Bakdu Mountain...Kim, Y. J. (August 22, 2011)

Monument of Victory...Kang, C. N. (July 30, 2011)

Keep the accomplishment of the Sun forever in mind!...unknown (July 28, 2011)

Let's make our tradition and history, following the lead of the general!...unknown (July 27, 2011)

The marvelous leader helping us to keep our dignity and self-reliance...Lee, K. B. (July 27, 2011)

Let's continue to write our ever-victorious history!...Editorial (July 27, 2011)

Torpedo boat 21 and the warship Baltimore...Lee, K. I. (July 27-2011)

The great accomplishment of the Backdu Mountain general...Lee, H. N. (July 27, 2011)

Helping people acquire an ever-victorious spirit...Lee, J. S. (July 26, 2011)

An encouraging exhibition in the 1950s...Kim, M. S. (July 24, 2011)

Voice of admiration toward a great general...Kim, H. C. (July 19, 2011)

Establishing this nation...Park, C. J. (July 15, 2011)

Imperishable achievements...Seo, N. I. (July 2, 2011)

On the street of flowering June...Cho, H. S. (June 24, 2011)

Winning with courage and boldness...Kim, C. H. (June 15, 2011)

Brilliant paintings made during the history of 'Juche'...Cha, S. (May 22, 2011)

To respective general Kim Jong-Il...unknown (April 14, 2011)

Worldwide memorial ceremonies...unknown (April 6, 2011)

A key for scientific take-off of Chosun...unknown (March 29, 2011)

Celebrating the birthday of great general Kim Jong-Il...messages of congratulations (February 28, 2011)

The boldness of the great general is the national power of Chosun...Heirula, Y. J. (February 12, 2011)

Educating 10 million people into strong soldiers...Lee, S. K. (January 30, 2011)

Praising voices from overseas...unknown (January 2, 2011)

Being united in one spirit is the strength of Chosun...Jung, K. B. & Jung, S. C. (October 4, 2010)

Emulate warriors who didn't give up their belief...Editorial (September 3, 2010)

Let's continue to write our victorious history...Editorial (July 27, 2010)

7.27 is the starting point of our road to a military-first nation... Jung, K. B. & Jung, S. C. (July 26, 2010)

The crime of the United States embezzling the UN's name cannot be justified by any reason...unknown (June 26, 2010)

The crime of the United States to be retaliated against for a thousand years...Korean Central News Agency (June 25, 2010)

Our people's anti-imperialistic mind...Kim, J. S. (June 24, 2010)

We will win every battle if we follow our party's lead...Editorial (June 19, 2010)

Let's make our heroic spirit to the world well known...Editorial (May 31, 2010)

## **President Obama**

### **Title/Name of Reporter (Date)**

Meddlesome admonition...unknown (07-31-12)

The United States standing on the defensive at Afghanistan...Lee, K. S. (July 21, 2012)

Promising to resolve the unemployment issue is a lie...Son, S. Y. (July 17, 2012)

The hostile attitude and policies of the United States toward Chosun...Lee, H. D. (July 16, 2012)

History shows who is the real offender...Lee, H. J. (July 15, 2012)

Do you have time to worry about other countries?...Kim, J. S. (July 12, 2012)

The evil design behind the criticism of human rights...Jun, Y. H. (July 11, 2012)

Wake up from this delusion...Kim, J. S. (July 7, 2012)

Cyber wars without the sound of gunfire...Cho, S. C. (July 6, 2012)

On the Magnitzki case...Cho, S. C. (July 2, 2012)

The gloomy economy of the United States...unknown (July 1, 2012)

Unchanged intention to occupy by force...unknown (June 22, 2012)

The Russia-America relationship is aggravating...Cho, T. B (June 21, 2012)

Unfairness of the president of the United States...Korean Central News Agency (June 18, 2012)

The tragedy of the United States...Jin, C. (June 11, 2012)

Going for wool and coming home shorn...unknown (June 11, 2012)

Forsaken President Obama...Jun, Y. H. (June 10, 2012)

The heated struggle for power...unknown (June 9, 2012)

The world ridden by thieves...unknown (June 1, 2012)

Tangled relationship between Russia and the United States...O, S. K. (May 28, 2012)

The United States is the base of strangling human rights...Korean Central News Agency (May 23, 2012)

Absurd vision on the far east of the United States...Kim, J. S. (May 19, 2012)

Continuing insult on Islam countries...Son, S. Y. (May 19, 2012)

What plot is in their mind?...Jun, Y. H. (May 14, 2012)

The United States being ridiculed...Son, S. Y. (May 12, 2012)

The aggressor's defeat...Bae, K. H. (May 8, 2012)

The true character of the freedom of press of the United States...Bae, K. H. (May 7, 2012)

The dignity fallen in a gutter...Kang, C. S. (May 2, 2012)

The solidarity with Cuba, the United States driven to a corner...unknown (April 30, 2012)

The mounting tension between the United States and Russia...O, S. K. (April 25, 2012)

The satellite launch is legitimate...unknown (March 31, 2012)

The omen of decline...Shin, K. S. (March 23, 2012)

The United States' crippled policy to Iran...O, S. K. (March 20, 2012)

The sanction yielded contrary effects...Jun, Y. H. (March 19, 2012)

South Korea is the most dangerous nuclear bomb magazine in the world...Chosun Anti-Nuclear Peace Committee (March 15, 2012)

The true character of democracy of the United States...O, S. K. (March 3, 2012)

When will you break the bad habit?...Park, S. Y. (February 23, 2012)

Iran fighting against the United States with firm determination...unknown (February 20, 2012)

The president is becoming the target of criticism...Jin, C. (February 6, 2012)

We don't trust the result of the probe on the sunken Chonanham (the name of Korean warship)...unknown (January 28, 2012)

The shout of anti-U.S. sentiment from Latin America...Shin, K. S. (January 27, 2012)

Increasing cooperation and exchange...Cho, S. C. (January 26, 2012)

Contemptible terror and our firm standing against it...Cho, S. C. (January 23, 2012)

Absurd strategy to China...Jun, Y. H. (January 16, 2012)

Investor-state dispute settlement being rejected...Lee, S. H. (November 15, 2011)

The true character of the humiliating “alliance”...Bok, E. H. (October 31, 2011)

Unsilently adulation and subservience...Eun, J. C. (October 25, 2011)

The answer of the spokesperson of the Commission of Peace and Unification  
...(October 21, 2011)

A statement by Chosun on the crime of U.S. army stationed in South Korea...(October 12, 2011)

Unilateral unjust deeds...Shin, K. S. (August 21, 2011)

The crisis of the United States caused by the budget cut issue...Jun, Y. H. (August 1, 2011)

The traitor Lee Myung-Bak should be executed...unknown (July 7, 2011)

The issue on the U.S. air base in Hutanma...Seo, N. I. (July 5, 2011)

The origin of conflict between the U.S. and Russia...Shin, K. S. (June 29, 2011)

The origin of the fierce armament race...Che, I. C. (June 20, 2011)

Unbearable insult on the Koreans...Lee, H. D. (June 7, 2011)

The time bomb behind negotiations and diplomacy...Bae, K. H. (May 22, 2011)

The production of corn fuel should be banned...Seo, N. I. (February 25, 2011)

The hidden intention of the battle on Yeonpyeong Island to be disclosed...(February 24, 2011)

The continuing diplomatic troubles...Lee, K. S. (February 15, 2011)

The ringleader who drives a new cold war and arms race...Lee, H. D. (February 10, 2011)

The strikes of unmanned US aircraft should be impeached...Seo, N. I. (February 8, 2011)

The evil design of the United States in the armament race...Che, I. C. (February 5, 2011)

Increasing anti-U.S. sentiment...Lee, K. S. (January 28, 2011)

Hu Jintao visiting the United States...Korean Central News Agency (January 23, 2011)

The game of expansion of armaments...Seo, N. I. (January 12, 2011)

We impeach joint military drill of the United States with South Korea...(August- 2, 2010)

A statement of a spokesperson of the Commission of Peace and Unification...(July 2, 2010)

The truth on the Chuananham(Korean warship) accident cannot be covered...(June 23, 2010)

The statement of a spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs...(May 29, 2010)

The statement of a spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs...(May 22, 2010)

A white paper on the human rights of South Korea...(May 1, 2010)

## **President Bush**

### **Title/Name of Reporter (Date)**

Promising to resolve the unemployment issue is a lie...Son, S. Y. (July 17, 2012)

The economic sanction of the United States toward Chosun will fail...Cho, T. B. (July 16, 2012)

The Russia-America relationship is aggravating...Cho, T. B. (June 21, 2012)

What caused the Iraq war?...Cho, T. B. (June 10, 2012)

The accusation of former high officials of the Bush administration...unknown (May 20, 2012)

We impeach the double standard of the United States...(May 19, 2012)

The United States being ridiculed...Son, S. Y. (May 12, 2012)

The true character of the freedom of press of the United States...Bae, K. H. (May 7, 2012)

The impure intention of the development program of unmanned nuclear aircraft  
...Son, S. Y. (May 4, 2012)

The allies of Cuba drove the United States to a corner...unknown (April 30, 2012)

The influx of socialism in Chosun...unknown (April 22, 2012)

The hostile policies to Chosun will fail...Che, I. C. (March 18, 2012)

South Korea is the most dangerous nuclear bomb magazine in the world...Chosun Anti-Nuclear Peace  
Committee (March 15, 2012)

The attempt to loot South Korea is revealed...Cho, T. B. (March 14, 2012)

Liquidation of the past should never be avoided...Cho, T. B. (February 12, 2012)

The universe is the common wealth of people...(November 29, 2011)

The ugly original form of the pro-U.S. reactionary party...Song, Y. S. (October 11, 2011)

Unilateral unjust deeds...Shin, K. S. (August 21, 2011)

The significant declaration...unknown (August 14, 2011)

The true character of “democracy” of the United States’ election system...Korean Central News Agency  
(July 23, 2011)

Why is the United States sticking to the development of unmanned aircraft?...Bae, K. H. (July 4, 2011)

The time bomb behind negotiations and diplomacy...Bae, K. H. (May 22, 2011)

Anybody against the mind of the people will bring the punishment of Heaven...unknown (April 26, 2011)

Arrogant and arbitrary deeds of the United States...Bae, K. H. (April 22, 2011)

The brutal character of the infringer upon human rights...Cho, T. B. (April 4, 2011)

An expression of guilt...Jun, Y. H. (February 15, 2011)

The boldness of the great general is the national power of Chosun...Heyrulla, Y. J. (February 12, 2011)

The vice of production of biofuel...Jun, Y. H. (February 9, 2011)

The game of expansion of armaments...Seo, N. I. (January 12, 2011)

A white paper on the human rights of South Korea...unknown (May 1, 2010)

Nuclear weapons and the Chosun peninsula...unknown (April 22, 2010)

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