

## Kim Jong-un's "Fresh Leap Forward" 2014 New Year Speech



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by Peter Hayes and Roger Cavazos

January 2, 2013

#### I. Introduction

Peter Hayes and Roger Cavazos analyze Kim Jong-un's 2014 New Year's speech. They find that the speech provides important clues about North Korea's perception of its domestic and international environment. Kim laid out his priorities primarily to a domestic audience, but many of the areas he wishes to develop, such as improving the economy and also advancing two specific industries; metallurgy and chemical will also necessitate some degree of opening to the outside world. His priorities also require some amount of external reaching out to North Korea or at least non-rejection of North Korean overtures. Kim reaffirmed his "byungjin" policy of simultaneously developing two fronts: the economy and nuclear weapons. He also upholds the decision to rid the party of "antiparty counterrevolutionary factionalists". Perhaps in a nod to common experience, the Korean and Chinese language versions characterize the factionalists as "sectarian filth " or "sectarian dregs宗派污泥浊水". The English-language version is much more anti-septic. Under normal 'songbun' dictates the Kim family would have been subject to jail for being so closely related to a known traitor, but Kim Jong-un established himself as a law unto himself and immune from effects of the law. He is well along the way to establishing himself as the third heir in the "Baektu line". There were almost no "untrodden paths" in the 2014 address as Kim stuck to roughly the same formulae used in the 2013 New Year's address. North Korea raises the prospect of conflict - and nuclear conflict at that - in the coming year. This may bode an even more contentious relationship between the U.S. and North Korea in the upcoming year of the Wooden Horse, and will surely be an irritant in U.S.-China relations if not managed well. However, there are particular opportunities for the international community to interact with North Korea on energy efficiency and energy conservation efforts. North Korea clearly wants to convey the impression they are concerned about nuclear war. However, for the second New Year's address in a row, North Korea has failed to mention nuclear weapons as a "treasured sword" and therefore not a topic for negotiation. The best way to ascertain North Korea's concerns and intentions is to ask them directly by engaging in Track 2 or Track 1.5 discussions.

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### II. Report by Peter Hayes and Roger Cavazos

#### Kim Jong-un's "Fresh Leap Forward" 2014 New Year Speech

Kim Jong-un 2014 New Year Speech: An analysis

Kim Jong-un made his second ever New Year's Speech on 1 January 2014.[1],[2],[3] It was unclear in 2013 if Kim Jong-un's New Year's speech [4],[5],[6] was a one-off or a new trend. Given exactly two data points (2013 and now 2014) we still can't say for sure, but things are at least moving toward Kim Jong-un differentiating himself from his father, Kim Jong-il and more closely hewing toward Kim Il-sung's tradition of personally addressing the country and thus providing electronic presence upon the entire country.

Kim Jong-un's 2013 speech overall tone was one of exhortation to fulfill the vision laid out by Kim Ilsung and Kim Jong-il to unify Korea (under North Korean rule). The means for fulfilling the vision are to study their previously promulgated blueprints, build an economic giant via science and technology, improve the peoples' living conditions, strengthen its military might and ensure the people are "possessed of profound cultural knowledge. Kim's speech followed a tried and true formula but did add a few new twists. He named specific industries on which he'd like to focus. He also tied development to science and technology given the context that North Korea was flush with technological success after having successfully launched a satellite less than three weeks prior to the speech. Some also saw Kim's overtures to South Korea as new. However, his offers amounted to asking South Korea to quit being South Korea. External strategic context received approximately one page of the speech or just over 10% of the speech, but only Japan was mentioned by name; South Korea is referred to using the euphemism "compatriots"—not dissimilar to this year's reference, although Kim refers to the treachery of South Korean authorities and to their "reckless confrontation." It is hard to tell from the few textual clues whether North Korea is now adopting a harder line against South Korea.

This year, only the United States receives a "by name" mention, although it is a dubious honor since the context is negative. The mention may foreshadow even more outright confrontation between the United States and the DPRK in the coming year – something sure to be an irritant in the US-China relationship.

Kim invoked some variation of "Kim Il-sung" by name or title 10 times in 2014 and 10 times in 2013. Kim also raised "Kim Jong-il" by name or title 9 times in 2014 and 11 times in 2013. In so doing, Kim is clearly establishing himself as the (Confucian) filial pious son as well as ensuring orthodoxy to build up his credibility and smoothly transfer or routinize charisma.[7]

#### Speech Context: Struggles within and without

#### **Domestic context:**

Speeches always take place in a context. For Kim's 2014 New Year Address, his primary audience and context is domestic. According to Rodong Sinmun ( / 劳动新闻), an acknowledged and authoritative voice of the Workers Party of Korea, North Korea's notable achievements for 2013 were[8]:

Kim Jong-un's New Year Address – to the Army and the People. Order is important here. Military first politics (songun/ / 先军) are still clearly in the lead; a 3<sup>rd</sup> nuclear test, the historic 31 March 2013 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea setting the new strategic line on parallel and simultaneously developing two fronts: the economy and nuclear weapons, also known as byungjin nosun / /平行发展.

The 7<sup>th</sup> Session of the 12th Supreme People's Assembly[9],[10] on the day after the plenary meeting, was singled out as significant for adopting the law on Kumsusan Palace and for *sui generis* writing into North Korea's constitution that they consider themselves a "nuclear weapons state" among other achievements. (NOTE: North Korea's self-declaration as a "nuclear weapons state" is NOT the same as the international legal status accorded by signatories to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. In fact, North Korea specifically disavows seeking the status of NPT-Nuclear Weapons Statehood).

North Korea is proud of their commemorations of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Fatherland Liberation War or ; for Anglophones this is known as the Korean War and in China it is known as 抗美援朝. North Korea does not mention any other countries party to the war. They also catalog

their 160 gold medals in more than 70 international games as signal successes of 2013. Construction of their war museum and other monumental structures across the country were built "in the spirit of the speed on Masik Pass". "Masikryong speed/ /马息岭" is associated with Kim Jong-un just as "Hui'chon speed/ /熙川" was associated with Kim Jong-il and "Chollima speed/ /千里马" was associated with Kim Il-sung. They are all meant to signify the speed and diligence with which North Koreans are able to work. On a Weberian sociological level, as Heonik Kwon and Byung Ho-Chung might relate, those pronouncements are meant to invoke the founding revolutionary spirit of North Korea. We ignore North Korea's partisan struggle mind-set at our peril.

Finally, the article makes what they likely consider the most important points, namely that Kim Jong-un met with and unified or consolidated important constituencies to include the cell secretaries of the Workers Party of Korea[11] (Cell secretaries serve as "the Party's nerve endings in the masses" and are responsible for lowest unit of the Party. ), youth groups (thus ensuring the youth start and remain are forever under his control as they grow up in North Korea), light industrial workers (the means of production) and Korean People's Army company commanders and political instructors. As a whole, the report is meant to show that all groups are unified under Kim Jong-un.

#### **International context:**

North Korea was almost certainly aware that China released their 2014 diplomatic[12] and commercial[13] priorities about two weeks prior to Kim's New Year's speech. Japan also released their Defense priorities for 2014 and beyond.[14], [15] However, Kim's speech completely ignores those publicly promulgated priorities. His slight may arise from two broad cases: North Korea doesn't consider either country as a threat -or as a bulwark - to their external security; or Kim's domestic priorities take precedence over all foreign concerns. Yet byungjin nosun//平行发展 or "parallel development of nuclear weapons and the economy" seem to require at least some external interaction and a relatively peaceful external environment whereas Military First policy or songun / /朱军 thrives in an environment of external hostility.

Nor does his speech pay the slightest attention to Japan's new National Defense Priorities for FY 2014. Japan's new priorities for 2014 and beyond show a marked shift in funding priorities from ground forces to Naval and Air Self Defense Forces to deal with regional issues; China and South Korea are extremely concerned about the direction they think Japan is heading. The funding priority shift for Japan is consistent with the security environment articulated in Japan's new National Security Strategy. The guidelines single out China and North Korea. The funding priorities also demonstrate a shift toward capabilities such as Airborne warning squadrons to alert of danger and Aegis-equipped destroyers to deal with threats kinetically. This is not surprising since Kim's primary audience is domestic. However, it may also indicate he doesn't view China or Japan as particularly threatening – or helpful. North Korea's neighbors feel Japan's reactions to North Korea is negatively impacting their national security environment.

#### **Speech Content: Continuities and Changes**

#### **Continuities:**

While there is a fondness for the "untrodden path", this New Year's address stuck to many of the same themes and messages as 2013. It was roughly the same length (~4,300 words vs ~4,100 words in 2013); many of the same topics; many of the same exhortations, all delivered in a similar format. There is reassurance in the continuity. Despite being fairly opaque most of the time, the New Year's address contains information: 1) North Korean leaders (that is Kim Jong-un) want to emphasize domestically; 2) North Korea believes this information is basically true (the Korean version is meant for North Korean domestic consumption. The English and Chinese-language

versions vary in nuance, but do not differ significantly in substance) and 3) the propaganda is used to lead – not deliberately mislead North Koreans .[16], [17], [18] North Korea continues to acknowledge via various modalities that their economic system is not delivering everything that its citizens desire. North Korea wants to improve its economy and its security, but it will absolutely not brook any infringement on its sovereignty.

China is also likely somewhere between annoyed and concerned that North Korea again calls upon Koreans "in the North, in the south and abroad" to work toward Korean reunification. China has almost two million ethnic Korean citizens.

#### Changes: Raising a fierce wind

Kim promises that 2014 for North Koreans will be one of "grandiose struggle" (a phrase which we take to mean "characterized by greatness of scope or intent", not the standard English meaning of grandiose-- "seeming to be impressive or intended to be impressive but not really possible or practical"). 2014 will be "a year of sea changes," one in which the DPRK will make "a fresh leap forward"—not a great leap, or the same old leap, but a fresh start, a new type of leap, on all fronts. The goal, he says, is to make the DPRK an "economic giant," a goal repeated twice (from which one might deduce that the DPRK is less than an economic giant, if not an economic midget) and completely undefined (thereby leaving much room for shortfall in the future). Critical to the credibility of this goal—and Kim's emphasis on various "vanguard sectors"—is his notion that science and technology applied to economics makes it possible for the DPRK to take a "shortcut" to building a modern ("knowledge-based") economy.

This notion of science and technology as a "propellant" for the economy is combined with ideological and cultural mobilization, also referred to as a "propellant" which together, Kim suggests, will enable the DPRK to lift itself by its own bootstraps, only in this case, without any bootstraps, by virtue of these two propellants. A shortcut avoiding "what" is also not stated, but might be inferred to refer to institutional reforms, adoption of markets, emulation of Chinese or Vietnamese or other transitional economic strategies. We will only know in hindsight whether they are able to manage the internal tensions and contradictions in a way that will permit meaningful economic reform, but there's little evidence that either propellant enables a depressed economy to levitate towards economic growth.

Kim shifted priorities slightly within economic development. Kim's emphasis on metallurgical and chemical industries makes a great deal of economic sense since developing those two industries requires developing a knowledge base and logistical infrastructure that will positively impact many upstream and downstream activities. , Of course, from a non-proliferation perspective, metallurgy is a key enabler for everything from building missiles (even on an artisanal scale) to uranium enrichment (on an industrial scale) to civilian nuclear use to weaponizing nuclear material. Chemical industries also support various industries, but the more immediate and mid-term questions arise from industrial pollution likely to be created from a resurgent chemical industry. North Korea's love of Computer Numerical Controlled machines is on display again. There are likely propaganda reasons to highlight those machines, but those in the nuclear industries also immediately understand their importance to "parallel development" of the second front on nuclear weapons.

According to the speech, the DPRK intends to go on a building spree of vertical, horizontal and monumental construction. They also want to build three sets of power stations, but there is no mention of linking into Northeast Asia's transmission and distribution grid. Such expressed desires are normal for New Years' Addresses. The addresses must omit many details lest they drag on too long, but "bootstrapping" exhortations are especially void of practical details such as where the

money or other resources will come from to support monumental edifices or infrastructure projects.

Kim does not refer to the DPRK's own "non-negotiable treasured sword / /宝剑" but he does beat the drum of nuclear threat no less than five times in the speech, referring to nuclear war in and around the Korean peninsula," frantic US "military exercises for a nuclear war against the north," "hostile forces' manoeuvres for a nuclear war against the DPRK," "the dark clouds of a nuclear war against us hovering over the Korean peninsula," and least but not least, the risk of "accidental military skirmish" resulting in a deadly nuclear catastrophe" from which the "United States will never be safe."

Lest anyone doubt that Kim Jong-un is in charge or dares to think of challenging his rule, he declares that the purge of his Uncle Jang Song-Taek and related "factionalists lurking in the Party" consolidated the Party. In case anyone missed it, he goes on to refer to "single-hearted unity under his and the Party's leadership four times. Signaling on-going purification and purging, Kim states:

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

This line does not augur well for institutional reform and openness to new ideas and practices within the DPRK's economy as the basis for becoming an economic giant. It should also impart a sense on those outside of the DPRK of the urgency and delicacy of creating strong people-to-people links with the DPRK.

#### **Conclusion:**

Even though Kim's New Year's speech is primarily for domestic consumption, it has many implications for external parties, especially the ROK, China, and the United States. Kim clearly wants to convey the impression that he is concerned with nuclear war. Yet, just as in his 2013 address, he never refers to North Korea's nuclear capability as a non-negotiable treasured sword/ /宝剑. It is unclear if the omission was purposeful and indicates a willingness to negotiate or if it was omitted for another reason.

As we saw last year, Kim has the capability and will to raise the stakes. The attempt to become an economic giant is highly unlikely to work, and in reality, China controls the degree to which Kim Jong-unn can deliver significant economic growth, infrastructure investment, or welfare gains via the service and agricultural sectors. One can read the purge and on-going purification to achieve "single minded unity" as part of the DPRK "retreating to the mountain" (a classic defensive tai chi move that also draws the adversary in close for counter-attack).

The stakes are so high in relation to the DPRK's stability and the nuclear threat in Korea that it is incumbent upon all parties—the United States included—to explore what each of these elements means, and where there are entry points that might move the DPRK to a less tumultuous future, even if less "grandiose."

One immediate, low-cost antidote is talking. Talking is not a "reward" but a "prophylaxis" strategy meant to prevent a larger problem. As the United States and China attempt to implement a "new type great power relationship / 新兴大国关系" discussions about and with North Korea can be one method of creating a working definition of the relationship. The Six Power-Iran deal also laid out the general principle that in a complex, gridlocked, and nuclear threat strategic environment, the best approach is to seek a comprehensive security settlement in which nothing is agreed until everything is agreed, and only then does implementation of cooperative measures begin. What might constitute such a cooperative security settlement in Northeast Asia, including a nuclear weapons-free zone, is a possible beginning point of bilateral and multilateral dialogue with Pyongyang that could lead to constructive outcomes in 2014.

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## IV. ATTACHMENT 1: KIM JONG UN'S NEW YEAR ADDRESS, eNGLISH lANGUAGE

Jan. 1, Juche 103 (2014) Wednesday

 $\label{lem:http://www.rodong.rep.kp/en/index.php?strPageID=SF01\_02\_01\&newsID=2014-01-01-0001\&chAction=T$ 

New Year Address (Rodong Sinmun provided English-language translation)

#### Kim Jong Un

Dear comrades,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Last year was a proud year in which the entire Party, the whole army and all the people waged an all-out offensive in support of the Party's new line of developing the two fronts simultaneously and

thus achieved brilliant successes in building a thriving socialist country and defending socialism.

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

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

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

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

Last year we consolidated our capabilities for self-defence and achieved a brilliant victory in the acute showdown with the imperialists.

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

Though the circumstances were harsh and complicated last year, our service personnel and people, by pooling their efforts, achieved great successes in the struggle to build their country into an economic giant and improve the people's standard of living.

An upsurge was brought about in production in several sectors and units of the national economy, and the foundations of the self-supporting economy were further consolidated. The officials and working people in the agricultural sector in particular made innovations in production even under difficult conditions and unfavourable natural climate and thus contributed to improving the people's standard of living.

The service personnel and other builders set up numerous monumental structures for the prosperity of their country and well-being of their fellow people and ushered in a heyday of construction.

Having turned out in response to the Party's appeal to create the "Masikryong speed," they carried out many construction projects, like the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum, Unha Scientists Street, Munsu Water Park and Masikryong Ski Resort, in a short period as befitting the creations of the era of the Workers' Party by displaying burning patriotic enthusiasm and working

with devotion. In this way, they showed their country's proud appearance, which is changing with each passing day, and ensured that the people's laughter of happiness could ring out louder. Those who turned out for the reclamation of the Sepho Plateau and other large-scale construction projects tamed Nature, overcoming difficulties, thereby opening a breakthrough in realizing the Party's farreaching plan at an early date.

Also, the sector of culture, including sports and education, made fresh strides last year.

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

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

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

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

#### Comrades,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We should give definite priority to electric-power and coal-mining industries. While taking measures for generating electricity to the maximum at the existing power stations, we should draw up correct

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

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

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

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

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

We should decisively improve the guidance and management of the economy. We should tighten the unified guidance of the economy by the state under the leadership of the Party, enhance the sense of responsibility and creativity of enterprises and encourage all the working people to discharge their responsibility and role as masters of production and management.

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

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

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

We should raise more fiercely the strong wind of conducting sports throughout the country. We should encourage sportspeople to intensify training with a high ambition to become world

champions, and splendidly implement the Party's plan of building our country into a sports power by developing sports science and technology and implementing the policy of making sports mass-based.

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

Strengthening defence capabilities is the most important of all state affairs, and the country's dignity, people's happiness and peace rest on powerful arms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In order to make the flames of a leap forward flare up on all fronts of building a thriving socialist

country, it is crucial to give fullest play to the mental strength of the masses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The driving force for national reunification is all the members of the Korean nation in the north, in the south and abroad; only when we remain steadfast in this standpoint can we reunify the country independently in line with our nation's interests and demands. To go on a tour around foreign countries touting for "international cooperation" in resolving the inter-Korean relations issue, the one related with our nation, is a humiliating treachery of leaving its destiny in the hands of outside forces. The north and the south should uphold the principle of independence which is one of the three principles for national reunification and has been confirmed in the north-south joint declarations, hold fast to the standpoint of By Our Nation Itself, and respect and implement the declarations with sincerity.

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

The US and south Korean war maniacs have deployed legions of equipment for a nuclear war in and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The tasks facing us are gigantic and difficulties stand in our way. However, our revolutionary cause is sure to emerge victorious as we advance under the great banner of Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism.

Let all of us strive for greater victory in the new year filled with high ambition and unwavering confidence and firmly united behind the Party with a single heart.

## V. ATTACHMENT 2: Original Korean language address on Rodong Sinmun website

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# VI. Attachment 3: Chinese-language translation provided by Rodong Sinmun on their website

亲爱的同志们!

 $http://www.rodong.rep.kp/cn/index.php?strPageID=SF01\_02\_01\&newsID=2014-01-01-0001\&chAction=L$ 

亲爱的人民军官兵、全体人民和同胞兄弟们!

我们送走在主体革命神圣的进军路上留下明显印迹的2013年,满怀着对未来的确信和革命的自豪感,迎来新的一年2014年。

首先,我反映全体人民军官兵和人民无限的怀念和深切的敬仰之情,谨向伟大的金日成同志和金正日同志, 表示最崇高的敬意,致以新年问候。

我向去年为保卫祖国,建设社会主义的斗争,献出高贵生命的烈士,表示敬意,并向跟着我们党开创祖国 繁荣昌盛新时代的全体人民军官兵和人民,致以新年问候。

迎接新年,祝愿全国所有家庭充溢更大的幸福和欢悦。

我还向为争取自主、民主和祖国统一而斗争的南方人民和为祖国的繁荣昌盛献身奋斗的海外同胞以及热爱 正义与和平的全世界进步人民和外国朋友,致以新年问候。

去年是全党、全军、全民遵循党提出的新的并举路线,开展总攻击战,在社会主义强盛国家建设和社会主义保卫战中,取得了辉煌胜利的引以自豪的一年。

去年,我们的军队和人民紧密团结在党的周围,发扬光大伟大的金日成同志和金正日同志的思想和事业, 进一步加强了我们革命队伍的政治思想威力。

我们的军队和人民通过在共和国成立 6 5 周年和战胜 6 0 周年之际举行的政治活动与去年斗争的整个过程,显示了要竭诚拥护伟大的金日成同志和金正日同志,永世弘扬金日成同志和金正日同志不可磨灭的业绩的坚定不移的信念和意志。

我们党实行的尊重人民、关爱人民的政治和把党视为母亲怀抱跟随的人民火热的忠诚浑然一体,党和人民 群众的血肉联系提升到了新的高度。

去年,我们党在为建设强盛国家进行豪迈斗争的时期,采取断然措施,铲除了隐藏在党内的宗派污泥浊水。由于我们党在适中的时期下正确的决心,揭发肃清反党反革命宗派集团,从而,党和革命队伍得到了进一步的巩固,我们的一心团结得到了百倍加强。通过这一斗争,我们党做出了这样的保证:我们党将增强党的战斗职能和作用,作为为人民服务的党尽到时代和历史赋予的光荣使命,更加积极地为人民献身奋斗。

去年,在加强自卫国防力量,同帝国主义的尖锐较量中取得了巨大的胜利。

国防部门的科学家、技术人员和工人阶级以坚定不移的信念和志气突破国防科学的尖端,显示了先军朝鲜的威力,为加强国防力量而做出了巨大的贡献。人民军官兵和人民内务军官兵发扬誓死保卫领袖的精神和保卫祖国的精神,用生命拥护并保卫党和领袖、祖国和人民,节节粉碎了敌人冒险的核战争挑衅活动和反朝对抗骚动,大大显示了共和国的尊严和威力。

去年,在艰苦而复杂的环境中,军队和人民同心协力,在建设经济强国、提高人民生活水平的斗争中取得 了辉煌成果。

在国民经济各部门和单位掀起生产高潮,进一步巩固自立经济基础,尤其是,农业部门干部和劳动者在艰苦的条件和不利的自然气候下,在农业生产中大搞革新,为提高人民生活水平做出了贡献。

人民军军人等建设者大量建起了为祖国的繁荣富强和人民幸福的纪念碑式创造物,开创了建设的最全盛期。

人民军军人和建设者积极响应党要创造"马息岭速度"

的号召,以火热的爱国热情和忘我斗争,在短暂时间内出色地建设了祖国解放战争胜利纪念馆、银河科学家社区、纹绣戏水场和马息岭滑雪场等许多劳动党时代创造物,从而,显示了日新月异的祖国引以自豪的面貌,使人民幸福的欢笑声更高地响起来了。奋起投入洗浦台地建设等大建设战斗的建设者克服重重困难,

征服自然,打开了能够早日实现党的远大构思的突破口。

去年,体育和教育等文化部门也有了新的进展。

遵循党的体育强国建设构想,全国以体育热潮沸腾起来,我们可靠的体育运动员在国际比赛中夺取冠军,以金牌大大显示了祖国的荣誉。旨在实施普遍的12年制义务教育的准备卓有成效地得到推进,在科学技术领域取得很大的成就,现代化的医疗设施具备,对人民的医疗服务得到了改善。音乐艺术部门大量创作时代名曲,使千万军民的心升华到忠诚的世界,有力地鼓舞他们投入斗争,建树丰功伟绩。

去年取得的辉煌胜利和成就,是全党、全军、全民遵循我们党革命的、人民性的路线、政策和英明领导,以一定要建设社会主义强盛国家的坚定不移的信念和意志,果敢地进行英勇斗争取得的引以自豪的成果。

我们通过去年的斗争清楚地证实了我们的思想、我们的力量、我们朝鲜方式最好,向着远大的理想和目标 前进的我们神圣的事业是任何力量都阻挡不了的。

我向怀着对党的无限忠诚和热烈的爱国精神,发扬无比的忘我精神,以惊人的事件装点意义深远的 2 0 1 3 年的全体人民军官兵和人民表示由衷的感谢。

#### 同志们!

新的一年 2 0 1 4 年是将在社会主义强盛国家建设的所有战线大力掀起新的飞跃热潮,开创先军朝鲜繁荣期的庄严的斗争之年、伟大的变革之年。

我们今年的斗争是早日实现人民美好理想和梦的豪迈的斗争,是与将光辉地装点朝鲜劳动党成立70周年大庆典连结的胜利者的进军。

我们要在充满希望的新的一年里满怀对胜利的确信和热情,促进英雄的进军,从而在革命和建设中开创大繁荣期。

"满怀着胜利信心,在强盛国家建设的各条战线大力掀起飞跃热潮!" 这就是今年我们党和人民要高举前进的战斗口号。

今年我们要使农业部门、建设部门和科学技术部门打头阵高高举起革新的火炬,使这把火炬在社会主义建设的各条战线上成为飞跃的烈火熊熊燃烧起来。

今年是伟大领袖金日成同志发表关于社会主义农村问题提纲 5 0 周年的意义深远的一年。

我们要在农村大力开展思想革命、技术革命和文化革命,使农业生产来个根本变化,清楚地证实社会主义农村问题提纲的正确性和生命力。

在今年的经济建设和改善人民生活的斗争中,要把农业当做主攻方向狠抓,对农业集中一切力量。农业部门要积极采用科学耕作法,认真负责地搞好农业生产,一定要占领党提出的粮食高地。要积极发展畜牧业,广泛进行温室蔬菜生产和食用菌栽培,把更多的肉类、蔬菜和食用菌供给人民。

今年要在建设部门开创新的繁荣期。

建设是夯实强盛国家的根基、营造人民享受幸福的乐园的重要战线。建设部门要多进行建设代表先军时代的世界一流建筑物,改善人民生活条件的建设工程,夯实自立经济基础,给人民保障更富裕的生活条件和更文明的生活环境。要力促清川江阶式发电站建设、洗浦地区畜产基地建设、高山果木农场建设、围垦海涂工程、黄海南道水渠工程等重要项目建设工程,使之如期完工。要积极推进住房建设、宿舍建设和改善教育环境和条件的建设,在最高水平上建设好文化服务设施。在今年也要以军民协同作战,搞好平壤市建设使之更加雄伟壮丽,建设好道、市和郡使之独具地方特色。

科学技术是推进强盛国家建设的原动力,人民的幸福和祖国的未来取决于科技发展。

科研部门要解决在发展国家经济、改善人民生活的工作中将要解决的问题和现实面临的科技问题,突破尖端,开辟知识经济建设的捷径。科技工作者要大展党所赋予的科技龙马的翅膀,迸发出一切科学才华和热忱,人人都取得高新科技成果,成为为富强祖国建设做出贡献的真正的爱国者。要在全社会树立重视科技的风气,所有干部和劳动者要高举全民科技人才化的口号,努力学习现代科学技术。

先行部门、基础工业部门等国民经济的所有部门要大力掀起革新热潮。

冶金工业和化学工业是支撑经济强国的两大支柱,发展冶金、化学工业是建设经济和改善人民生活的重要保证。冶金、化学工业部门要高举主体化、现代化的口号,靠我国原料和燃料,采用高新科技,大力展开推动生产的斗争,以圆满生产和保障全面搞活国民经济、改善人民生活所需的铁钢材和各种化工产品。

要切实保证电力工业和煤炭工业先行。要采取措施使现有的发电站最大限度地增加电力生产,同时要制订好从根本上解决紧张的电力问题的远景计划并致力于实现它的斗争,在以水力资源为主的同时要利用风力、地热、太阳热等自然能源生产更多的电力。煤矿要积极增加煤炭生产,同时要彻底解决铁路运输等交通运输问题,电力、煤炭、运输部门要大搞连带革新,积极推动国家的经济发展。

要致力于发展在改善人民生活中独当一面的轻工业。轻工业工厂要积极实现现代化、CNC化,提高原料和材料的国产化比重,实现生产正常化;所有市、郡都要适应自己地方的实际发展地方工业,更多地生产各种优质人民消费品。

要采取国家措施振兴水产部门。

水产部门要学习人民军水产部门坚决贯彻最高司令官命令,获得鱼类大丰收的榜样,实现渔船和渔具的现代化,用科学方法大力进行捕鱼战斗,使每个渔港响起鱼满舱的汽笛声,还要大力进行浅海养殖。

要保护和积极增加地下资源、山林资源、海洋资源等国家宝贵的资源,以群众性运动大力进行植树,使所有的山变得树木葱茏。

国民经济各部门要在充分挖掘生产潜力和内部潜力,增加生产的同时,大力开展节约斗争。节约乃是生产,是爱国精神的表现。全社会要加强节约斗争,哪怕一瓦特电力、一克煤、一滴水也极力爱惜俭用,树立人人都要以高度的爱国精神和主人翁的态度,精心搞好国家经济生活的风气。

要大大改进对经济工作的领导和管理。要在党的领导下,加强国家对经济的统一领导,提高企业的责任心和创造性,使所有劳动者在生产和管理中尽到作为主人的责任,起到主人的作用。

要在教育等文化建设中迈出一大步。

教育部门要适应革命的要求、发展的时代要求,改善教育内容和方法、教育条件和环境,在中等一般教育等教育工作中来个新的转变。保健部门要致力于增进人民健康的治疗预防工作,使社会主义保健制度更好地惠及人民。

在强盛国家建设中,文学艺术是革命进军的号手、有力的推动力。文学艺术部门要与我国革命的前进速度 和沸腾现实协调步伐,大量创作思想性和艺术性高、扣动人们心弦的时代名作。

要在全国大力掀起体育热潮。要使运动员提出夺得世界冠军的高目标加强训练,发展体育科学技术,贯彻体育的大众化方针,出色地实现党的体育强国建设构想。

要继续下大力量加强国防力量。

加强国防力量是国事中的国事,祖国的尊严、人民的幸福与和平都靠强大的枪杆子。

要把人民军进一步加强和发展成为无限忠于党和领袖、祖国和人民的白头山革命强军。今天加强人民军的中心环节,是加强军队的基本战斗单位、军人的生活据点连队。要把所有连队都建设成为从政治思想上、

军事技术上做好准备的最精锐战斗队伍,洋溢着骨肉亲情的心爱的老家。要加强对军人的政治思想教育,使他们成为誓死保卫锦绣山太阳宫和党中央委员会的思想和信念的强者。要加强战斗训练,大力开展神枪手、名炮手运动,把军人造就成为具有百发百中的射击本领、健康的体力、铁的纪律的以一当百的战斗员。

要在朝鲜人民内务军内切实树立党的领军体系和革命的军风,使他们尽到保卫领袖、保卫制度、保卫人民的崇高使命和任务,工农赤卫军要加强战斗训练,随时都保持战斗动员态势。

国防工业部门要更多地制造实现了轻量化、无人化、智能化、精密化的我们朝鲜式的现代化武器装备,进一步巩固自卫的国防力量。

要进一步巩固我国革命的政治思想阵地。

政治思想阵地是决定社会主义保卫战胜败的决定性堡垒,从政治思想上加强革命队伍是我们面临的最重要任务。

今年是金正日同志宣布全社会金日成主义化纲领 4 0 周年的意义深远的年份。我们要在今年,从组织思想上巩固党,把社会的所有成员都造就成为热诚的金日成金正日主义者,进一步加强革命队伍的一心团结。

要在党内切实树立唯一领导体系,切实保障党队伍的纯洁性,增强党组织的战斗职能和作用。要在干部、党员和劳动者中间加强思想教育工作,使他们抱着在何时何地都只相信伟大的金日成同志、金正日同志和我们党的坚定信念,按照党的思想和意志思考和行动。要对妨碍党和革命队伍的统一团结,破坏一心团结的微小的现象和因素都提高警惕,彻底加以克服。要加大清除蛀蚀我们制度的异己思想和颓废潮流的斗争的力度,坚决粉碎敌人的思想文化渗透阴谋活动。

要在社会主义强盛国家建设的各条战线大力掀起飞跃热潮,就要最大限度地发动群众的精神力量。

创造和革新的最大潜力、创造奇迹的根本钥匙就在于发动千万军民的精神力量。要掀起为使党员和群众的精神力量迸发出来的思想战、宣传鼓动的热潮。要使所有党员和劳动者把金正日爱国主义化为体质,把它彻底体现于实践,在建设富强文明的社会主义祖国的豪迈的斗争中成为丰功伟绩的创造者。

要在革命斗争和建设工作的所有领域整饬革命的纪律和秩序。

加强革命的纪律和秩序,这是高度发挥我国社会集体主义的优越性,保证在所有工作中取得成果的重要因素。所有部门、所有单位要坚决执行党的政策和方针、国家法律、决定和指示,所有干部和劳动者要怀着作为我们社会的主人和共和国公民的高度自觉遵守法规和秩序。

干部要为尽到作为革命的指挥员、人民勤务员的本分而奔波再奔波。

干部要具有对党的绝对忠诚、对工作的高度责任感和旺盛的工作热情,大刀阔斧地展开工作,顽强地加以推进,把它进行到底,一定要实现党的构想和意图。

干部要把人民的要求与利益当做工作的绝对准则,做人民希望和高兴的事情,无论做什么事情,都要使之 惠及人民。干部要无限忠于人民的要求和群众的呼声,始终作为为人民献身奋斗的人民的真正勤务员生活 和工作。

今年是伟大的金日成同志在生命的最后时刻,在有关祖国统一的历史性文件上签字的20周年。

今年,我们要遵循伟大的金日成同志和金正日同志的遗训,在统一祖国的运动中取得新的进展。

要根据全民族的意愿和要求去解决我国的统一问题,就要排斥外来势力,坚持由我们民族自己来的立场。

祖国统一的主体是北方和南方以及海外的全朝鲜民族,只有坚持由我们民族自己来的立场,才能根据民族的利益和要求,自主地实现国家的统一。把我们民族问题和北南关系问题拿到国外去央求"国际共助" ,是把民族的命运交给外来势力使他们当做玩物的可耻的事大卖国行为。北方和南方必须坚持祖国统一三 项原则和北南共同宣言所阐明的自主原则,坚决站在由我们民族自己来的立场,尊重并诚实地履行共同宣言。 言。

要为维护民族的和平与安全而进行积极的斗争。

美国和南朝鲜好战分子,在朝鲜半岛及其周边大量引进核战争装备,疯狂地进行北侵核战争演习,由此造成小小偶发的军事冲突,也会引发全面战争的严重形势。要是在这块疆土上再次发生战争,就将会带来难以想象的核浩劫,美国也不会平安无事。全朝鲜民族决不要容许并要断然制止和粉碎内外好战势力的对抗和战争阴谋活动。

要营造旨在改善北南关系的氛围。

我们民族被外来势力分居在南北两地,这是令人痛心的事情,况且同族之间互相诽谤和反目仇视是不可容许的,这只能使不希望朝鲜统一的势力得到渔夫之利。要结束有百害而无一利的诽谤中伤的时刻已经到了,再也不要做有害于和解与团结的事情。南朝鲜当局不要进行冒险的同族对抗和"从北"

骚动,而要倾听要求自主、民主和祖国统一的民族的呼声,走上改善北南关系的道路。只要是重视民族希望统一的人,我们就不管他是谁,不咎既往,一同携手前进,为了改善北南关系,今后也将做出积极的努力。

北方、南方和海外的全民族要在真正爱国的旗帜——

由我们民族自己来的理念下紧密团结起来,奋起投入统一祖国的全民族斗争,从而,今年必须打开自主统一与和平繁荣的新局面。

去年,在国际舞台上威胁主权国家的自主权和人类生存权的帝国主义的干涉与战争活动不断持续。

特别是在世界最大热点地区——

朝鲜半岛,由于敌对势力旨在扼杀我们共和国的核战争阴谋活动,出现了一触即发的战争危险,严重威胁 了地区和世界的和平与安全。

对我国人民来说,和平是无比宝贵的,但是和平并不是因为指望或乞求而能得来的。在针对我们的核战争的乌云时常笼罩朝鲜半岛的情况下,我们绝不袖手旁观,将用强大的自卫力量维护国家的主权与和平,坚 决捍卫民族的尊严。

我们党和共和国政府一如既往,今后也将坚持自主、和平、友谊的对外政策理念,扩大和发展同尊重我国的主权、友好对待我们的所有国家的友好合作关系,为实现世界的和平与稳定、人类共同的繁荣而做出积极的努力。

虽然摆在我们面前的斗争任务艰巨,我们的前进道路上有困难,但是在伟大的金日成金正日主义旗帜的指引下前进的我们的革命事业是不可战胜的。

让我们都要满怀远大的抱负和坚定的信心,同心同德地紧密团结在党的周围,为争取新年更大的胜利奋勇 前进吧。

## Vii. Nautilus Invites Your Responses

The Nautilus Peace and Security Network invites your responses to this report. Please leave a comment below or send your response to: <a href="mailto:nautilus@nautilus.org">nautilus@nautilus.org</a>. Comments will only be posted if they include the author's name and affiliation.

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