Kim Jong-un’s “Fresh Leap Forward” 2014 New Year Speech

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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 “anti-party counterrevolutionary factionalists”. Perhaps in a nod to common experience, the Korean and Chinese language versions characterize the factionalists as “sectarian filth” or “sectarian dregs”. 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. It was unclear in 2013 if Kim Jong-un’s New Year’s speech 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
Kim Jong-un’s 2013 speech overall tone was one of exhortation to fulfill the vision laid out by Kim Il-sung 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 people’s 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.\textsuperscript{[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 (\textsuperscript{[8]}), an acknowledged and authoritative voice of the Workers Party of Korea, North Korea’s notable achievements for 2013 were:

Kim Jong-un’s New Year Address – to the Army and the People. Order is important here. Military first politics (\textit{songun}/\textsuperscript{[9]}) are still clearly in the lead; a 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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 \textit{byungjin nosun}/\textsuperscript{[10]}.

The 7\textsuperscript{th} Session of the 12th Supreme People’s Assembly on the day after the plenary meeting, was singled out as significant for adopting the law on Kumsusan Palace and for \textit{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\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the Fatherland Liberation
For Anglophones this is known as the Korean War and in China it is known as 朝鲜战争. 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” is associated with Kim Jong-un just as “Hui’chon speed” was associated with Kim Jong-il and “Chollima speed” 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 (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 and commercial priorities about two weeks prior to Kim’s New Year’s speech. Japan also released their Defense priorities for 2014 and beyond. 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 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 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” 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. 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” 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.

III. References


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[18] A. George, *Propaganda Analysis: A Study of Inferences Made from Nazi Propaganda in World War II*, Rand Corporation, Row, Peterson and Co., 1959, p. 143. Here, George was referring to domestic Nazi propaganda related to a "secret weapon" that turned out to be the V1 and V2 rocket.

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**IV. ATTACHMENT 1: KIM JONG UN’S NEW YEAR ADDRESS, ENGLISH LANGUAGE**

Jan. 1, Juche 103 (2014) Wednesday


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 far-reaching plan at an early date.

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

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

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

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

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

Comrades,

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

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

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

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

This year we should ensure that the sectors of agriculture, construction and science and technology hold the torch of innovations in the van and the flames of the torch flare up as flames of a leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction.
This year is a meaningful one that marks the 50th anniversary of the theses on socialist rural question made public by President Kim Il Sung.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The metallurgical and chemical industries are twin buttresses of an economic giant. Developing these industries is a major guarantee for economic construction and improving the people's standard of living. These industrial sectors should hold high the slogan of making them Juche-oriented and modern and launch a vigorous campaign for boosting production by relying on our own raw materials and fuels and on the latest science and technology. In this way they should supply sufficient amounts of steel and various kinds of chemical goods that are needed to reenergize the national economy as a whole and improve the people's standard of living.
We should give definite priority to electric-power and coal-mining industries. While taking measures for generating electricity to the maximum at the existing power stations, we should draw up correct prospective plans for radically easing the strain on electricity supply and exert ourselves to carry them out. It is important to produce more electricity with priority given to hydraulic resources and by using wind, geothermal, solar and other kinds of natural energy. We should proactively increase production in coal mines and drastically solve the problem of rail and other types of transport. The electric-power and coal-mining industries and the rail transport sector should make coordinated innovations and thus give strong impetus to the development of the national economy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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: nautilus@nautilus.org. Comments will only be posted if they include the author's name and affiliation.