
The United States as a War Maniac State vs. North Korea as a Rogue State: An Analysis of Mutual National Image-Making Based on the Examination of NYT and Rodong Shinmoon, 1994-2004*

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Abstract: Since the conclusion of the nuclear accord in 1994, the United States and North Korea have made a continuous contact through a number of channels. Despite these diplomatic exchanges, it seems that both nations fail to maintain friendly and amicable relations. This raises a significant question of how they see each other.

This paper aims at exploring the U.S. image of North Korea and vice-versa through media coverage. To this end, the author adopts the content analysis of news coverage as a way of analyzing effectively the mutual national image between the two nations. More specifically, this work chooses the New York Times and Rodong Shinmoon to investigate North Korea's image of the U.S. and vice-versa during the period from October 1994 to October 2004.

One of the major findings from our discussion is summed up this way. The American newspaper portrays North Korea as a nation of closeness, unreliable country, describing its society as suffering severe hunger and economic misery. In the meanwhile, the North Korean newspaper attacks the U.S. as a war mongering state, evil empire, and aggressor. Also, this paper does not hesitate to appraise American society as having the racial discrimination, economic disaster, and widespread violence. In short, the Rodong Shinmoon deals more with negative news coverage than positive one in the period under review, while the New York Times focuses primarily on straight news coverage. North Korea's nuclear program has greatly affected the mutual national image and will do unless this issue remains unresolved.

Key words: Rouge state, North Korea, War maniac state, the U.S., Media frame & coverage, Content analysis, National image, The New York Times, Rodong Shinmoon.

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I. Introduction

The nuclear agreement of October 21, 1994 in Geneva marked a major turning point in the relationship between United States and North Korea. Since then, both nations have been in continuous contact to implement successfully. Nevertheless, one can hardly say that the relationship between Pyongyang and Washington is any better than it was before the conclusion of the agreement. North Korea launched a Daepodong missile in August 1998, and admitted in October 2002 that it had a program to produce uranium for nuclear weapons, which led to a worsening in bilateral relations. Most recently, Pyongyang officially declared on February 10, 2005 that it possessed nuclear weapons.

Given the situation of complexity and uncertainty, North Korea and the U.S. have evolved conflicting national images of each other over the last ten years. In other words, both have harbored toward the other good-bad, positive-negative, and amicable-hostile feelings. The U.S. still regards North Korea as one of the rogue states along with Iran, and President George W. Bush even designated the communist country along with Iraq and Iran as “The Axis of Evil” in the his State of Union Address in January 2002.¹ In the meantime, North Korea has been quick to brand the U.S. as a war-mongering nation that has always been eager to resort to war to implement its global policies. Therefore, the purpose of this work is to explore how North Korea and the U.S. perceived each other from October 1994 to October 2004. More specifically, this inquiry set out to analyze the U.S.’ image of North Korea revealed in the *New York Times* (hereafter, NYT) and North Korea’s image of the U.S. reflected on Rodong Shinmoon. To this end, three more specific research questions are addressed as follows:

- 1) Which aspect of the U.S. has Rodong Shinmoon described or reported negatively or unfavorably? Which aspect of the U.S. has

1. See *New York Times* January 30, 2002. A1. & A20.

the North Korean news paper described or reported positively or favorably?

- 2) Which aspects of North Korea has NYT described or reported negatively or unfavorably? Which part or area of North Korea had NYT described or reported positively or favorably?
- 3) How has the U.S. image by Rodong Shinmoon and North Korea's image by NYT changed over that period of time?

The aims of this paper are twofold. First of all, it attempts to explore with a greater exactitude of the U.S.'s image of North Korea and vice-versa. Since the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement, ostensibly at least, both nations seem to have developed a good relationship, but this has co-existed with recurrent conflict and deep distrust between them, especially with regard to the thorny issues such as the nuclear weapons and missile programs of the communist regime. The second significance of this paper is illustrated by its methodological features. U.S.-North Korea relations have been one of the major research themes in the field of international politics over the last several years, and the subject of a great deal of discussion and publication.² Most of existing literature, however, has been based on the historical-descriptive approach, and is confined for the most part to U.S. nuclear policy, US-North Korea nuclear issue, North Korea's missile exports, six-party talks, etc. These works do not, however, adequately demonstrate how US perceives North Korea, and vice-versa. In contrast, this study is to illuminate the changing North Korea's image of the U.S. and U.S. image of North Korea based on the analysis of the news coverage provided in the *Rodong Shinmoon* and NYT.

2. see the following articles: Kerr Paul "U.S. and North Korea at Impasse Over Talks," *Arms Control Today* Jan./Feb. 2004 Vol. 34, No. 1; Oh Kongdan North Korea's Nuclear Politics *Current Histor* September 2004 Vol. 103 Issue 674; Peter Howard Why Not North Korea? Threats, Languages, and Games *International Studies Quarterly* Dec. 2004 Vol. 48, Issue 4.

II. Theoretical Overview:

Image and National Image

Image is referred to as “a picture or theme that features in a work of art such as a painting or a piece of writing, especially one that is considered to represent a particular idea or to have a special meaning.”³ In short, image is viewed as a set of feelings toward a particular object or thing at hand. It can be acquired in many different kinds of ways and through different channels. The concept of image is varied, complicated, and even elusive in nature and thus is difficult to grasp its true substance. It is also closely related to certain other similar terms like perception, belief, and so forth. Ole R. Holsti offers us some information regarding that. He explains:

The belief system, composed of a number of images of the past, present, and future, includes all the accumulated, organized knowledge that the organism has about itself and the world... National images may denote subpart of the belief system.⁴

There seems no question about that belief and image are in practice interconnected. But the distinction between these two concepts is the subject of controversy. In addition, one cannot be sure which is the independent or which is the dependent variable or which is the cause and which the effect. Another aspect of image worth discussing is its relation to reality. Image and reality do not always go hand in hand, although they do so on occasions. Image may contribute to distort or exaggerate reality, which in turn is derived from image. Image could be a reflection of reality. Image sometimes has value-added element and the latter exists independently of the former.

Now let us turn our attention to national image. What is a national

3. See *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*(Glasgow, U.K.: William Collins Sons & LTD, 1988), p.723.

4. Ole R. Holsti *The Belief System and National Images: A Case Study International Politics and Foreign Policyed.* James N. Rosenau(New York, N.Y.: The Free Press, 1969), p. 544

image? Discussions and views on the national image is constitute a controversial topics in the studies of international politics. The literature does not show clearly what the national image is all about. In my view, a national image is largely composed of three different but inter-related layers: (1) Leaders/government (2) Society/people and (3) Policies/Agendas/Issues.

The first layer of national image is related to president, prime minister, king, queen, high-ranking government officials, and government concerned. If the president of one country is bad or good, then it will anyway affect the image of country that the president governs. Or again, a nation's image may be shaped and determined by how the national leaders deal with issues arising in both the domestic and international scenes, or by what measures and action they take. The second layer is concerned with society/people, and is equally as significant as the first layer. In cases where one country's people are lazy, corrupt, and unkind if in the eyes of other people's eyes, this will also influence the image of their nation in the eyes of the latter. That is to say, the national image is somehow related to people's national character and society's phenomena and events. The final layer is linked to policies/agendas/issues. It is easy to see if the population of one country opposes the foreign policy adopted by another country, the latter country's image could be damaged in some way.

These three aspects of national image may be identical with each other, or they may not be. Moreover, the three layers may be overlapping. Whatever the case may be, it seems clear to me that these three layers play an important part in national image, each forming a separate, distinct element in the image of a nation as a whole. Thus, it is necessary to take all these layers into consideration in any account of national image.

Image Builders and Image-Making Process

Another matter of concern in relation to national image is the question of who shapes it. Image cannot be made or articulated in a vacuum. A number of different carriers and senders are required to

construct image and to transmit them to people around the world. They may include individuals, arts, movies, mass media, and leaders, and so forth. As Michael Kunczik argues, “mass media reporting of foreign affairs often governs what kind of image of a country or a culture predominates.”⁵ He emphasizes that mass media can play a pivotal role as image-makers through news coverage. Mass media usually deal with all kinds of news at home and abroad. Therefore, the image of nation may depend in large part on how news media report, describe, and comment on a nation and matters relating to it. In this case, the media create the image of the nation in question. The national image is conveyed and crystallized in the mass media. The national image of a country must be considered important because the reading public may develop its ideas and images of that country on the basis of what it reads in the newspapers. It seems to be the case, however, that different people may accept or not accept or interpret differently the same news items carried by the same paper.

What theoretical setting can be used to explain one country’s image of other or vice-versa? The theory of media frame is most appropriate for this work. According to Robert M. Entman, frame refers “to the process of selecting and highlighting some aspects of a perceived reality, and enhancing the salience of an interpretation and evaluation of that reality.”⁶ According to him, two essential components of media frame are selection and salience.⁷ The contents of mass media’s news coverage and ways to report may affect the thinking and judgments of readers and general public in many

5. Michael Kunczik. *Images of Nations and International Public Relations*(Mahwah, NJ.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers, 1997). p. 20

6. Robert M. Entman *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Chicago, IL.: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 26. For similar discussions, see Robert Entman “Declarations of Independence: The Growth of Media Power After the Cold War” *Decisionmaking in a Glass House* eds. by Brigitte Nacos, Robert Shapiro, and Pierangelo Isernia (Oxford, U.K.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), pp.12-13.

7. Robert M. Entman “Framing : Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” *Journal of Communication* Vol. 43, No. 4 Autumn 1993. p. 52.

different fashions. There are a wide variety of factors that can determine the formation of frame. They may include journalists' views, the structure of media, and social pressure.⁸ Equally, political aspects such as governmental control and censorship, and leaders' desires can play a certain role in shaping media frame. In this view, the way and the process the frame is shaped is far greater complicated and even biased. Whatever mass media report issues and events arising from a human society, people are likely to think, judge, and interpret them on the basis of news coverage. Therefore, the model of frame can provides an analytical framework for analyzing and evaluating the changing image of nations.

III. Methodological Overview

How one can find out one nation's image of another? The forgoing theoretical discussions provide a basis for developing a more concrete method adopted in this work. The methodology that can be used throughout this research is the content analysis. The main reason for the selection of content analysis is that the image conveyed through mass media viewed as a public organ is more reliable than that of any other carriers.

Kimberly Neuendorf defines content analysis as "a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method."⁹ Daniel Riffe, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico explain that "quantitative content analysis is the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication."¹⁰ Although others use slightly different words to define the content analysis, their definitions

8. See Dietram A. Scheufele "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects," *Journal of Communicatio* Vol. 49, No.1 Winter 1999. pp. 107-114.

9. Kimberly A. Neuendorf *The Content Analysis*(Thousands Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications, Inc., 2002), p.10.

10. Daniel Riffe, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. *Analyzing Media Message*(Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associate, Inc., 1998), p.20. This book also presents other scholar of definitions of content analysis.

seem to be quite similar. Apparently, what they have in common is that content analysis seeks to investigate the features of objects and phenomenon in the human world by collecting systematically from mass media or other types of texts. Basically, this method is based on the quantitative process of selecting, categorizing, and characterizing features and trends of acts and behaviors in human world.

Research Method for This Inquiry

As mentioned earlier, the NYT of the U.S. and *Rodong Shinmoon* of North Korea have been chosen for the analysis of the image of North Korea by the U.S. and vice-versa. In practice, there are number of daily newspapers in the United States. The main reason for choosing NYT in the case of the U.S. is simply that this newspaper is considered one of the most influential, authoritative mass media in that country. I, therefore, believe that the choice of the NYT will not prove to be controversial. Broadcasting media were excluded from our consideration because of the technical difficulty of recording, even though they might have been useful.

In the case of North Korea, it has been difficult to identify a news medium comparable to the NYT in the U.S.; especially in view of the fact that there are few commercial daily newspapers in the communist country. The *Minju Chosun* is a daily newspaper of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Another newspaper is the *Pyongyang Times*, which is an English-medium weekly journal, while the *Tongil Shinbo* is a weekly periodical. But in actual fact, there is virtually no independent commercial daily paper, and it is therefore difficult to gain easy access to the sources of North Korea's mass media. Taking all these factors into consideration, it was deemed proper to choose *Rodong Shinmoon* as a counterpart newspaper of the NYT because it best represents the views, opinions, and interests of the communist society. Another reason is the ready availability of this paper.

This research covers the period from October 1, 1994 to October 31, 2004. The rationale for this period of time is that North Korea and

the U.S. signed with the nuclear agreement on October 21, 1994, and that period of ten years is more than sufficient for an evaluation the U.S.'s image of North Korea and vice-versa. The procedure adopted in this paper consists of a number of steps, which are described in more detail in what follows:

STEP #1

The contents of the NYT and Rodong Shinmoon, published from October 1, 1994 to October 31, 2004, have been selected, and all the news coverage by these two newspapers has been sampled. Here news coverage is taken to mean all the news items printed in both newspapers, which include news articles, columns, teachings (instructions), special reports from overseas and wire services. Accordingly, all the news about the U.S. in the *Rodong Shinmoon* and about North Korea in the NYT have been identified and extracted. The data bank of news items on North Korea and U.S., conveyed by both newspapers, from October 1, 1994 to October 31, 2004, was assembled on monthly and yearly bases.

And then, all theses news is sorted according to the following three large categories. Each category is based on the way in which the

Table 1. CATEGORY OF NEWS COVERAGE

LARGE CATEGORY	Contents & Comments of NYT & Rodong Shinmoon
Positive-Favorable News Coverage	- NYT either depicts or describes North Korea and its related things in a positive-favorable way. - Rodong Shinmoon depicts or describes US and its related things in a positive-favorable way.
Negative-Unfavorable News Coverage	- NYT either depicts or describes North Korea and its related things in a negative-unfavorable way. - Rodong Shinmoon depicts or describes US and its related things in a negative-unfavorable way.
Factual News Coverage	- NYT simply reports North Korea and its related things based on facts without any judgment or meaning. - Rodong Shinmoon simply reports US and its related things based on facts without any judgment or meaning.

Rodong Shinmoon views, describes, and reports the U.S. and the way in which the NYT deals with North Korea, respectively. These three large categories are (1) positive-favorable news coverage (2) negative-unfavorable news coverage, and (3) fact news coverage, which is charted as Table 1.

STEP # 2

As explained in the discussion of methodology, all the news collected in STEP #1 was classified by large and small categories. A large category is made up of smaller categories. In the case of the

Table 2. CATEGORY OF RODONG SHINMOON'S NEWS COVERAGE

Large category	Small Category
1. U.S.-North Korea Relations	- The Implementation and Violation of Geneva Agreement - U.S. Hostile Policies and Attitudes Toward North Korea
2. U.S.-South Korea Relations	- U.S. Soldiers in ROK and Relevant Issues - U.S.-ROK Military Exercises
3. U.S. Military Actions & Policies(excluding North Korea)	- Military Actions and War Activities
4. U.S. Foreign Policies (excluding North Korea)	- Globalization Policy - Aid and Assistance Policy - Human Rights Policy - Foreign Policy on Particular Country or Issue - Interference Policy
5. U.S. Society Issues and Matters(Internal affairs)	- Racial Discrimination (Black, Women, Minority) - Crimes - Social Misery - Education Problems
6. U.S. Economic Issues and Matters	- National Budget Deficit - Trade Deficit - Increase of Unemployment & Layoff - Widening Gap between Rich and Poor - Economic Recessions - Economic & Trade Matters
7. Others	

Rodong Shinmoon, the large category was subclassified roughly into six subcategories, namely, (1) U.S.-North Korea Relations (2) U.S.-South Korea Relations (3) U.S. Military Actions and Policies (excluding North Korea) (4) U.S. Foreign Policies (excluding North Korea) (5) U.S. Societal Issues and Matters (Internal affairs) (6) U.S. Economic Issues and Matters, and (7) Others. Concerning the third and fourth subcategories, these contain news sources that are not directly relevant to U.S.-North relations. To put it differently, these two categories deal with U.S. military and foreign policies in other countries and issues, which do not bear directly on U.S.-North Korea relations. These seven categories are also divided into more specific categories.

The second category is a small category, by which is meant subdivisions into categories deriving from each of the larger subcategories. Next, the author determines which category each news

Table 3. CATEGORY OF NYT'S NEWS COVERAGE

Large category	Small Category
North Korea-U.S. Relations	- The Implementation and Violation of Geneva Agreement (Nuclear Issue) - Development of Missile Program - South Korea-US Relations
North Korea's Military Actions & Policies(excluding U.S.)	- Military Actions and War Activities
North Korea's Foreign Policy (excluding U.S.)	- South-North Relations - International relations and affairs
North Korea's Social Issues and Matters	- Hunger and Starvation - Communist System - Social Misery - Education Problems
North Korea's Economic Issues and Matters	- Economic Matters
Others	

items should fall under. Based on these descriptions, the following Table 2 is drawn up. All the news items carried by the NYT were classified in exactly the same way as those carried by the *Rodong Shinmoon*. The NYT large category is the same as *Rodong Shinmoon's* but the former's small category has been organized differently. In any application of content analysis, the way in which the contents of a

Table 4. TOTAL NEWS COVERAGE OF NYT AND RODONG SHINMOON: OCTOBER 1994-OCTOBER 2004

Year	Month	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
		1994	NYT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	16	33	95
1995	NYT	6	6	5	3	3	7	1	2	8	4	0	4	49
	RS	33	33	44	78	102	87	42	86	55	71	91	80	802
1996	NYT	4	2	6	12	5	5	5	2	8	5	5	6	65
	RS	80	73	79	63	88	70	33	54	61	55	79	54	789
1997	NYT	2	13	5	8	10	4	7	15	7	3	4	1	79
	RS	55	50	94	48	61	67	33	54	76	76	87	72	773
1998	NYT	1	1	5	3	2	5	4	2	8	2	9	10	52
	RS	65	88	83	69	82	88	89	85	45	78	114	130	1,016
1999	NYT	7	4	6	8	6	19	4	13	8	3	1	6	85
	RS	140	133	120	88	101	138	100	142	105	172	216	127	1,582
2000	NYT	2	1	1	7	5	8	7	7	6	9	3	5	61
	RS	111	124	186	104	186	129	71	128	87	85	80	102	1,393
2001	NYT	4	2	13	1	7	10	10	7	4	5	8	9	80
	RS	66	86	210	196	300	176	141	139	143	90	119	135	1,801
2002	NYT	7	5	7	7	7	4	12	10	18	40	17	30	164
	RS	145	269	214	83	175	173	240	262	268	253	313	480	2,875
2003	NYT	46	10	23	32	10	6	11	21	6	10	3	12	190
	RS	406	292	202	179	162	232	211	194	130	183	241	193	2,625
2004	NYT	10	11	5	3	5	8	5	5	12	4	-	-	68
	RS	192	129	232	130	247	226	214	253	255	254	-	-	2,132
All	NYT	89	56	76	84	60	76	66	84	85	99	66	108	946
Total	RS	1293	1277	1464	1038	1504	1386	1174	1397	1225	1363	1356	1406	15883

NYT-New York Times; RS-Rodong Shinmoon

category can be classified varies from one case study to another. Details of the organization of the NYT categories are shown in Table 3.

STEP # 3

All the news coverage, carried by the NYT and the *Rodong Shinmoon*, are classified as three parts in order to systematically identify the national image of one country held by the others. As stipulated in the theoretical overview earlier, the national image of country consists of three parts, which are leaders/government, society/people, and policies/agendas/issues. Therefore, all the news items are classified under the headings displayed in Table 4.

IV. Analysis of Findings of News Coverage for NYT and Rodong Shinmoon

1. STEP #1

Rodong Shinmoon's Examination of US

As explained previously in the methodological part of this paper, the first step was to identify and count all the news items relating to the U.S. by *Rodong Shinmoon* and those relating to North Korea carried out by the NYT, respectively. Let us discuss the news coverage of the North Korean newspaper first and then that of the NYT. As Table 5 shows, the sum total of all the news items about the U.S., carried by *Rodong Shinmoon*, from October 1, 1994 to October 31, 2004, amounts to 15,883 of news articles, editorials, and others. The corresponding numbers for news about the U.S. by the *Rodong Shinmoon* are 802 in 1995, 789 in 1996, and 773 in 1997. Since then, however, the volume of news items in the North Korean paper has substantially increased in number. More specifically, the news items in the *Rodong Shinmoon* in 1998 increased by 31% as compared with 1997. Since then, as Table 5 shows, the *Rodong Shinmoon's* news coverage of matters relating to the U.S. has continued to increase, peaking in 2002. The main reason for this is that there have been a

number of thorny issues and critical agenda that were related to the bilateral relationships of U.S.-North Korea, U.S.-South Korea, and North-South Korea.

More specifically, the North Korean newspaper published a large number of articles and stories dealing with U.S. regarding the resumption of Pyongyang's nuclear program in October 2002. It also gave a lot of space to an account of U.S. soldiers stationed on South Korean soil. An incident in which two South Korean girls were killed by a U.S. armored vehicle in 2002, led to extensive coverage in the *Rodong Shinmoon*. Over and above this incident, the *Rodong Shinmoon* reported variously U.S.-related issues; including affairs such as American soldiers' crimes in South Korea, inequalities in the SOFA agreement, and environment pollution by U.S. military bases in South Korea, giving them great prominence. The U.S. war with Iraq in March 2003 was also a huge news event for the *Rodong Shinmoon*, which attributed a heavy responsibility to U.S. by describing the war as an act of American imperialist aggression. The newspaper also focused on internal matters and problems within the U.S. as a crucial part of news coverage. Layoffs and economic recessions are always important news topics for it. News about racial discrimination and deprivation of human rights on minorities and women are frequently found in the *Rodong Shinmoon*.

The major features of the *Rodong Shinmoon's* news coverage highlighted in the initial review can be summarized this way. First of all, the newspaper reported or quoted U.S.-related news and articles provided by other countries' news sources and wire services, These are vast and conclusive extending from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and even include South Korea. Second, *Rodong Shinmoon* gave a lot of space to the past events as well as current issues. For example, it covered the activities of American missionaries in late nineteenth century Korea, U.S. military authorities at the time of Korea's liberation, U.S. soldiers' brutality in the Korean War, the U.S.'s responsibility for the Kwangju Uprisings in May 1980, and even the U.S.'s involvement with Roh Moo-Hyun's impeachment in March

2004. Finally, the range for a matter of concern to this paper is various in contents, dealing with foreign policies, military activities, economic matters, and socio-economic miseries and problems within the U.S.

NYT's Examination of North Korea

Now let us our attention to the NYT's examination of North Korea. As shown in Table 6, the number of news items on the communist country carried by the NYT during the same period is 949 in all, just 6% of the *Rodong Shinmoon's* total news coverage. From 1995 to 2000, no less than 100 articles on North Korea appeared in the paper. During the period 2002-2005, however, the number of the NYT's news items jumped to 164 and 190. This increase was due to North Korea's resumption of development of nuclear weapons, as indicated repeatedly. The news coverage of the NYT in those years was for the most part related to the possibility of a nuclear conflict between the two nations. The number of news items about North Korea in 2004 shows a notable decrease to 68. In my view, one possible reason for this phenomenon is that for the NYT the focal point of world news has shifted from the nuclear issue to the Iraqi War and this is reflected in a gradual shift in the distribution and prominence accorded to these two issues in its news coverage.

The most striking features of the NYT's news coverage are outlined in the following way. First of all, the overwhelming majority of the news items and articles about North Korea, printed in the American newspaper, are concerned with the controversial nuclear accord and its related matters, and North Korea's missile development program. Another significant part of the NYT's news coverage is related to North Korea's situation of food and famine. Second, our findings show that in many cases, the NYT printed articles and news stories based on facts, with no political messages or subjective interpretations included, all of which will be discussed on the next part of the analysis in more detail.

2. STEP #2

Rodong Shinmoon's Examination of US

In this section, all news findings from both *Rodong Shinmoon* and NYT are sorted into three different categories of positive-favorable news coverage, negative-unfavorable news coverage, and factual news coverage, as set out in the Chapter III. Let us begin with the news coverage of the *Rodong Shinmoon* first and then consider the NYT.

i) Negative-Unfavorable News Coverage

As Tables 6 and 9 present, the total number of negative-unfavorable news items which report or portray the U.S. in a negative or/and unfavorably light-in the *Rodong Shinmoon* is 10,970,. These negative news items show a bias toward the President and the Government, society and people, and the policies and agendas of the U.S. The Communist news paper was quick to label the U.S. an imperialist, war mongering state, an invader, destroyer, jackal, an army of occupation, an evil empire, a beast, etc. It is fairly easy to find such symbolic words and phrases with negative connotations in almost any part of *Rodong Shinmoon*. It seems likely that the use of such language to characterize the U.S. would have led readers to form a negative impression of the U.S.

Let us explore some of this negative-unfavorable news coverage through an analysis of the North Korea's newspaper. The major area of the *Rodong Shinmoon's* negative and unfavorable news coverage falls under the category "U.S.-North Korea Relations," which accounts for 30% of all negative and unfavorable news coverage. Let us take some examples. The *Rodong Shinmoon* sharply criticized the U.S. for not implementing sincerely the U.S.-North Korea nuclear agreement in 1994. On this subject the North Korean newspaper published reports along the following lines. "In fact, the U.S. did not carry out its obligations not only to build the war-reactor plant, but also to offer oil, and this failure created severe difficulty and confusion for our economic management, casting a gloomy prospect for nuclear

agreement... Lifting sanctions against us is the duty of the U.S. to carry out the accord.”¹¹ The *Rodong Shinmoon* does not hesitate to portray the U.S. as a violator of the nuclear agreement, indicating that it holds the U.S. responsible for the deadlocked situation. Another statement, made by North Korea’s Department of Foreign Affairs and reported by the North Korean newspaper, indicates that the U.S. made an excessive demand in the six party talks.¹²

Concerning the U.S. policy in North Korea, the *Rodong Shinmoon* launched a vehement attack against the U.S. for taking very oppressive and hostile measures and actions against North Korea. Many of the news articles of that newspaper show that the Communist state has been highly sensitive with respect to U.S. policy toward North Korea. We take a closer at some parts of news coverage of that issue below.

The Pyongyang-based paper states that “the United States never wants disarmament and reduction of tension on the Korean peninsula and continue to enforce military oppressive actions against us [North Korea]...”¹³

The *Rodong Shinmoon* also made a bitter critique of the U.S. leaders, especially President George W. Bush. For example, some parts of its news articles describe: “Bush II is condemned by people of world as a mentally deficient child, dumb, idiot, war president, tyrant, and boss of gangster”¹⁴

A third category that the *Rodong Shinmoon* reports critically is “U.S. military policy.” In this category, this newspaper reporting of U.S. military acts and policies in the world, excluding North Korea, accounted for 28% of all its negative and unfavorable news coverage. The newspaper describes U.S. military policies and war activities in a very negative way. The edition of December 12, 1998 provides a good illustration of this. Beginning with the headline “The U.S. is an unpardonable demon,” it goes on to say that “as the world knows very

11. *Rodong Shinmoon* October 24, 1999. page 6. See also October 21, 2003. page 6.

12. *Rodong Shinmoon* March 11, 2004. page 4.

13. *Rodong Shinmoon* January 4, 1996. page 6.

14. *Rodong Shinmoon* September 24, 2004. page 6

Table 5. CONTENTS OF RODONG SHINMOON'S NEWS COVERAGE

Year	Month	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
		1	N		4	53	22	40	85	75	35	121	338
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		29	27	33	25	55	36	31	24	68	35	363
2	N		14	38	30	50	96	86	51	253	189	85	892
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		19	35	20	38	37	38	35	16	103	44	385
3	N		17	52	58	45	77	147	168	186	121	174	1,045
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		27	27	36	38	43	39	42	28	81	58	419
4	N		53	41	22	33	55	83	158	75	122	91	733
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		25	22	26	36	33	21	38	8	57	39	305
5	N		53	56	32	45	66	135	255	136	97	171	1,046
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		49	32	29	37	35	51	45	39	65	76	458
6	N		49	48	43	46	100	86	137	142	178	165	994
	P		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	F		38	22	23	42	38	43	39	31	54	61	391
7	N		27	20	20	53	64	35	106	189	152	143	809
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		15	13	13	36	36	36	35	51	59	71	365
8	N		48	34	35	52	88	63	109	170	149	162	910
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		38	20	19	33	54	65	30	92	45	91	487
9	N		35	38	46	19	72	51	116	184	84	171	816
	P		0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	F		20	23	30	25	33	36	27	84	46	84	408
10	N	28	45	31	33	44	129	45	69	151	129	164	868
	P	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	F	14	26	24	43	34	43	40	21	102	54	90	491
11	N	2	58	54	49	57	169	53	95	243	149		929
	P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
	F	14	33	25	38	57	47	27	24	70	92		427
12	N	5	44	29	39	84	86	56	112	402	141		998
	P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
	F	28	36	25	33	46	41	46	23	78	52		408
		95	802	789	773	1,016	1,582	1,393	1,801	2,875	2,625	2,132	15,883

N: Negative-Unfavorable News Coverage; P: Positive-Favorable News Coverage; F: Factual News Coverage

well, the Gulf War of 1991 was in fact the imperialist test war of the U.S.'s lethal weapon... With this brutal act of the U.S., a number of Iraqi people including kids were dead and survivors still suffer the nightmare-like aftereffects of the war like cancer, leukemia, infertility and abortion..."¹⁵ Another significant part of the *Rodong Shinmoon's* negative news coverage falls under the second category; U.S.-South Korea relations, which accounts for 19% of the sum total of its negative news coverage. Let us take some examples to illustrate this point. The North Korean newspaper describes the U.S. presence in South Korea by force and dwells on the atrocities committed by its soldiers in South Korea. Let us take a closer look at some of its stories. "Invasion and act of massacre of the U.S., who occupied South Korea by force, are robber-like and bestial. During the period from September 1945 to the Korean War of 1950, one million innocent [Korean] people were mercilessly slaughtered by U.S. imperialists' incessant mass massacre. . .As long as the U.S. forceful occupation of South Korea continues, its people can't live peacefully even for a moment and will be forced to suffer blood, death, unhappiness, and agony."¹⁶ The North Korean newspaper continually reports on U.S.-related issues such as the withdrawal of its soldiers from South Korea. Here are some extracts from the *Rodong Shinmoon's* comments. "Above all, many circles of South Korea demand that the U.S. stop the military maneuvering for a news war... the U.S. is nothing but the source of calamity and agony."¹⁷

The *Rodong Shinmoon* also allotted a great deal of space to its coverage of U.S. foreign policy, the fourth category related to U.S. foreign policy with the exception of its policy toward North Korea. The newspaper makes it a high priority to attack the U.S. foreign policy. It describes this way:

Nowadays Bushes being as policy cornerstone of the U.S. government is the most dangerous contemporary thought of imperialism with the aim of establishing an empire over the world

15. *Rodong Shinmoon* December 12, 1998. page 6.

16. *Rodong Shinmoon* May 8, 2004. page 5.

17. *Rodong Shinmoon* December 23, 1998. page 5.

dominated by one empire with invasion, plunder, power, and oppression...¹⁸

More specifically on this topic, the *Rodong Shinmoon* takes a negative view of U.S. policy with regard to globalization. The news paper quotes from Kim Jung Il's teachings that "the U.S. policy to globalize the American civilization manifests itself in enforcing American-style human rights and democracy to other countries. . . The U.S. plot for the globalization of its civilization is the humiliation and destructive act of human civilization. To unify the world into the American civilization and dominate it is an anachronistic fantasy."¹⁹ Concerning U.S. foreign policy, what the *Rodong Shinmoon*' tries to highlight is its policy of interference with the rest of the world. For instance, the newspaper states. "In this meeting the U.S. behaved rudely to APEC member nations, demanding political reform and an opening of the market... In particular, Malaysia was infuriated at the U.S. saying its interference was a disgusting action..."²⁰ Yet another aspect of the *Rodong Shinmoon*'s negative-unfavorable coverage of US-related matters, are its comments on U.S. social and domestic matters. The *Rodong Shinmoon* paints a gloomy picture of miserable economic realities in the U.S. in a highly critical way. Here is an example. "The gap between rich and poor in the U.S. gets wider and wider... This shows that the gulf between rich and poor in that country is far greater than that in other capitalist societies."²¹ Other dark sides of American society are described as follows in the *Rodong Shinmoon*. "The U.S. is the kingdom of crime with the sun rise and sun set along with crimes. In this dangerous society, kids become the victims of violent victims... Five thousands kids in average are killed by gunshots

18. *Rodong Shinmoon* September 24, 2004. page 6. See also *Rodong Shinmoon* December 16, 2003. page 11.

19. *Rodong Shinmoon* December 23, 1998. page 6.

20. *Rodong Shinmoon* November 30, 1998. page 6.

21. *Rodong Shinmoon* November 30, 1998. page 6.

21. *Rodong Shinmoon* May 15, 1995. page 6.

22. *Rodong Shinmoon* July 7, 200. page 6.

every year...”²²

Coupled with these social miseries and ills, the North Korean newspaper repeatedly reports on the recurrent economic problems facing the U.S. government, including increases in the number of layoffs and in number of jobless and the doubling of its trade deficits and of its national budget deficit. To give just one example, concerning the increase in joblessness, the *Rodong Shinmoon* published the following report. “According to Washington sources, U.S. Department of Labor announced on April 23 that the number of unemployed grew by 317,000 last week, and this is 29,000 higher than last week, reaching a peak of the number for last eight weeks.”²³

ii) *Rodong Shinmoon’s* Positive-Favorable News Coverage

Unlike negative-unfavorable coverage, positive-favorable coverage in the *Rodong Shinmoon* is extremely rare. Only six stories among 15,883 are found. One among six is about U.S. food assistance to North Korea. Let us take a closer look at that report “On September 21 the U.S. government decided to provide North Korea with an additional 300,000 tons of food as a humanitarian measure within this year. The fact that the government decided to offer humanitarian food will create advantageous atmosphere for smooth implementation of the nuclear agreement and for promoting a mutual understanding between the peoples of both nations.”²⁴

iii) *Rodong Shinmoon’s* Factual News Coverage

The total number of straight news stories shown in the *Rodong Shinmoon* is 4,907, which accounts for 31% of a sum total of 15,883 news items. The 4,907 news items deal with various aspects of the U.S. covering natural disasters, car accidents, economic situation, foreign policy, etc. Let us take a closer look at some examples of these. The *Rodong Shinmoon* dedicates a great deal of its space to the description

23. *Rodong Shinmoon* April 28, 1998. page 4.

24. *Rodong Shinmoon* September 24, 1998. page 4.

Table 6. CONTENTS OF NYT'S NEWS COVERAGE

Year	Month	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
		1	N		0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	F		6	4	2	1	5	2	4	7	45	10	86
2	N		1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	5
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		5	2	13	1	2	1	1	5	9	11	50
3	N		1	0	0	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	9
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		4	6	5	4	4	0	12	5	22	5	67
4	N		0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	5
	P		0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	F		3	10	8	3	7	5	1	7	31	3	78
5	N		0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	5
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	F		3	5	9	2	5	3	6	7	9	5	54
6	N		0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
	P		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		7	5	4	5	17	8	10	3	6	8	73
7	N		0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	5
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		1	3	6	4	4	7	9	12	10	5	61
8	N		0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	7
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F		2	0	15	2	10	7	7	10	20	4	77
9	N		1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	6
	P		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	F		7	8	6	7	6	5	4	18	6	11	78
10	N	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
	P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F	13	3	5	3	2	3	9	5	39	9	4	95
11	N	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	-	5
	P	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	1
	F	11	0	5	4	7	1	3	7	17	3	-	58
12	N	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	-	4
	P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0
	F	25	4	6	1	10	5	4	9	28	12	-	104
		53	49	65	79	52	85	61	80	164	190	68	946

N: Negative-Unfavorable News Coverage; P: Positive-Favorable News Coverage.

F: Factual News Coverage

Table 7. THREE MAJOR CATEGORIES OF RODONG SHINMOON

Large Category	Small Category	N	%	P	%	F	%
U.S.-North Korea Relations	- Geneva Agreement (Nuclear Issue) and Its Related Matters	1,511	13	3	0.5		
	- U.S. Hostile Policies and Attitudes Toward North Korea	1,867	17				
U.S.-South Korea Relations	- U.S. Military in ROK and Relevant Issues	1,142	10			183	3.72
	- U.S.-ROK Military Exercises	1,022	9			6	0
U.S. Military Policy (excluding North Korea)	- Military Policies and Actions	3,052	28			2,133	43
U.S. Foreign Policies (excluding North Korea)	- Globalization Policy	45	0				
	- Aid and Assistance Policy	211	1	3	0.5		
	- Human Rights Policy	203	1				
	- Foreign Policy on Particular Country or Issue	535	4			1,418	28
	- Interference Policy	210	1				
U.S. Society Issues and Matters	- Racial Discrimination (Black, Women, Minority)	103	0				
	- Crimes	147	0.01				
	- Social Misery	231	0.02				
	- Education Problems	12	0				
U.S. Economic Issues and Matters	- National Budget Deficit	16	0				
	- Trade Deficit	29	0				
	- Increase of Unemployment & Layoff	342	0.03				
	- Gap between Rich and Poor	29	0				
	- Economic Recession	100	0				
	- Economic & Trade Matters					165	3
U.S. Leaders	- President, National leaders	99					
Others	- Other Matters	26	0			1002	20
Total (=N)	15,883	10970	100	6	100	4907	100

Table 8. THREE MAJOR CATEGORIES OF NYT & RODONG SHINMOON

News Coverage	Rodong Shinmoon		NYT	
Negative-Unfavorable News Coverage	10,970	69%	60	6%
Positive-Favorable News Coverage	6	0%	5	1%
Factual News Coverage	4,907	31%	881	93%
Total News Coverage	15,883	100%	946	100%

of U.S. military actions and policies; 43% of all its factual news coverage. For example, the newspaper reports that “according to Tokyo sources, the U.S-Japan joint military exercise began over the sky in Okinawa on July 11. Japan’s air force of self defense forces and 50 U.S. jet fighters stationed in Japan will join in this exercise scheduled for ten days.”²⁵

Another area of news the North Korean paper tries to cover on a factual basis is U.S. foreign policy, which accounts for 25% of the total of 4,907 news reports. The North Korean newspaper delineates U.S. actions and measures regarding global issues in detail. Finally, another major portion of *Rodong Shinmoon’s* factual news coverage is general news. The 1,002 items on this subject accounts for 20% of the overall total of 4,907. For instance, “the heat wave swept in the Western prairie of the U.S. for about week and temperature was over 38 degree. This killed five people and some others got a heat stroke. . .In the state of Nebraska, the train was derailed on account of high temperature, and 1,000 cows were dead...”²⁶ This category is relatively difficult to classify but is for the most part related to social issues and events, especially accidents and natural disaster.

25. *Rodong Shinmoon* July 14, 1995. page 6.

26. *Rodong Shinmoon* July 18, 1995. page 6.

NYT's Examination of North Korea

i) Analysis of NYT's Negative-Unfavorable News Coverage

The total number of NYT's negative-unfavorable reports on North Korea is sixty, which is only 6% of total number of items in the sample. These news items for the most part focus primarily on the U.S.'s deep concern about nuclear agreement. Let us examine how the American newspaper describes this concern.

North Korea is again threatening to restart its weapon-oriented unclear program if progress is not made in talks aimed at modernizing its nuclear reactors... we can not continue to unilaterally fulfill our obligation-a nuclear freeze-if the U.S. side does not fulfill its obligation concerning the provision of light-water reactors... The United States, which fears that North Korea may have already developed one or two nuclear weapons...²⁷

This news statement is noteworthy because it reveals a deep concern about North Korea's pledge to observe a nuclear freeze, casting a shadow over prospect for the successful implementation of the nuclear accord even at the time of less than one year from its conclusion. This negative view of North Korea's sincerity as one of the parties to the accord persists in subsequent coverage. Here is an example. "Some experts still doubt that the program will ever be completed, but for many the surprise is that it has gotten as far as it has."²⁸ The second largest category of NYT's negative and unfavorable news coverage is North Korea's communist system, which is the topic of 19 news articles, comprising 31% of the total number. Concerning this category, the American newspaper focuses on the closed nature of North Korean society. Here is an example. "Meanwhile, for security reasons, the North Korean capital of Pyongyang had remained all but sealed. Visiting business people and tourist groups were banned weeks ago... North Korea, which rarely allows foreign journalists into the

27. *The New York Times* October 1, 1995. 9.

28. *The New York Times* August 20, 1997. A6.

country anyway, has rejected all requests to cover the meetings except for fifty South Korean journalists who were allowed after protracted negotiations to visit.”²⁹ The NYT also describes North Korea’s internal environment unfavorably from another angle. “Kim Jong Il’s government so tightly controlled what North Korean see and think and the country has been isolated so long, the meetings were highly unlikely to have significant political effects soon.”³⁰

The NYT also devotes a significant properties of its news coverage to North Korea’s ‘s domestic problems such as starvation and hunger. The NYT is particularly critical of starvation in North Korea. The following is related to that issue. “Vast numbers of North Korea’s 23 million people may be starving, but the North Korean leadership has been reluctant to accept direct aid ... The entire population is in the process of slow death...”³¹ A similar, negative description is also found in another issue of the NYT: “North Korea, now dependent on food aid for survival, today reported that another drought had hit all parts of the country, devastating spring crops.”³²

In addition, the American newspaper takes a very dim view of North Korea’s socio economic situation. It expresses its view as follows.: “North Korea’s economy has been sinking since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rest of the Eastern Bloc... With rations cut, more than 1,200 North Korean peasants and workers are said to have risked execution by sneaking into China in search of food.”³³ This reveals clearly how pitiful socioeconomic living conditions of North Korean people have been in the past several years. North Korea’s missile development also attracts the attention of the NYT, which indicates its deep concern with regard to this program, reveals its belief that it could pose a serious threat to the Korean peninsula. Let us look at some parts of the NYT’s news coverage. “Despite recent sign

29. *The New York Times* June 13, 2000. A12.

30. *The New York Times* June 22, 2000. A8.

31. *The New York Times* May 29, 1997. A6

32. *The New York Times* June 9, 2000. A3

33. *The New York Times* February 14, 1996. A7.

of a diplomatic warming on the Korean peninsula, a new Pentagon report has concluded that North Korea remains a dangerous military threat, pouring its limited resources into a build up of conventional forces and the development of short- and long-range missiles.”³⁴

ii) NYT’s Positive-Favorable News Coverage

In the case of the NYT, only five positive-favorable news articles are found amounting to barely 1% of all the news items contained in the sample. Some of them show that the U.S. government regarded North Korea as a reliable partner in complying with the terms and conditions of the nuclear agreement between these two nations. One example puts it in this way.

Inspectors from the United Nations atomic monitoring agency have verified that North Korea has halted its nuclear program and stopped building two nuclear reactors in accordance with its agreement with the United States... North Korea agreed to freeze its nuclear program in return for Western help and money to replace its reactors with light-water models that produce less of the plutonium that can be used to make weapons.³⁵

North Korea’s missile program has been a serious matter of concern for the U.S. government. As regards this, the NYT reported the news favorably stating that “United States officials on Sunday hailed two days of talks here with North Korea on its missile program as ‘a good beginning’... the talks have been useful, and we have gotten off to a good start.”³⁶ Concerning positive and favorable news coverage, another piece of positive and favorable news coverage concerns the U.S. sanction policy with regard to North Korea. It reports as follows. “The United States formally eased 50-year-old sanctions against North Korea today, in keeping with an announcement by President Clinton in September.”³⁷

34. *The New York Times* September 22, 200. A12.

35. *The New York Times* November 29, 1994. A10

36. *The New York Times* April 22, 1996. A4.

37. *The New York Times* June 20, 2000. A8.

iii) NYT's Factual News Coverage

Of the sum total of 946 news articles published in the NYT, the number of the straight news items is 881, accounting for 93% of the total. Unlike the Rodong Shinmoon, the NYT devoted a great deal of its news-space coverage of factual stories about North Korea. Let us examine them more closely. As Table 9 shows, the largest category of factual news reports is the Geneva agreement and its aftermath. The

Table 9. DISTRIBUTION OF NYT'S NEWS COVERAGE

Large Category	Small Category	N	%	P	%	F	%
North Korea-U.S. Relations	- Geneva Agreement (Nuclear Issue) & and Its Related Matters	23	41	3	60	228	25
	- Development of Missile Program	2	3			39	40
	- North Korea-US Relations	2	2	2	40	160	18
North Korea's Military Actions & Policies (excluding U.S.)	- Military Actions and War Activities					109	12
North Korea's Foreign Policy (excluding U.S.)	- South-North Relations					181	20
	- International relations and affairs	1	1			107	12
North Korea's Social Issues and Matters	- Hunger and Starvation	7	11				
	- communist system(human rights)	12	31				
	- Social Misery	4	6				
	- Social Matters					29	3
North Korea's Economic Issues and Matters	- Economic matters					24	2
North Korea Leaders	- National Leaders	9					
Others	- Other Matters					4	0
Total (=N)	946	60	100	5	100	881	100

NYT editorializes as follows. “Washington’s top priorities with North Korea are limit its ability to build nuclear weapons. . . Three years ago Washington negotiated an agreement to replace North Korea’s existing nuclear reactors with new ones less susceptible to the diversion of bomb-making material...”³⁸

The second largest category is South-North relations. In this category, the NYT deals mostly with inter-Korea contacts, family reunion, and economic cooperation between the two Koreas. The NYT reports as follows. “North and South Korea agreed to hold a new round of family reunification visits in December and extended their talks...”³⁹ With respect to this category, the American newspaper reports on military meetings between the two Koreas. In one place it is reported that “in the most important meeting between North and South Korea since their leaders met in June, the defense ministers from both countries traveled here today to discuss lowering tensions across their border...”⁴⁰ Other news reports in the NYT deal with North Korea’s diplomatic ties with Russia.

3. STEP # 3

The total number of news items contained in the samples for the *Rodong Shinmoon* and the NYT are 10,970, and 881, respectively. As explained in the theoretical review, the national image consists of three major layers. Now let examine and classify these figures from this perspective.

As table 10 shows, 68.1% of the negative and unfavorable news coverage by the North Korean newspaper focuses on the category, “policies/agendas/ issues.” It takes an unfavorable view of U.S. foreign policy in fields ranging from defense to trade and culture, etc. It also raises many of the different issues and agendas facing the U.S.

38. *The New York Times* August 29, 1997. A22.

39. *The New York Times* November 14, 2001. A8. A similar news report is also found in *The New York Times* December 1, 2000. A4.

40. *The New York Times* September 26, 2000. A10

Another category of negative and unfavorable news coverage is “society/people,” which accounts for 31% of 10,970 news articles. The *Rodong Shinmoon* attempts to expose the gloomy sides of the U.S. society to its readers and possibly to the world as far as it can by describing racial discrimination, the gap between the rich and poor, drug crimes, and the faults of U.S. capitalism. The last category in this type of coverage includes accusations and allegations against the U.S. leaders, particularly President George W. Bush, sometimes vilifying him and his leadership. At the same time, only six positive articles appear. These relate mostly to policies/agendas/issues.

In the case of the NYT, negative and unfavorable news coverage accounts for only 6% of a total of 881 news items contained in the sample. In this category, the paper deals negatively with regard to North Korea’s will to comply with the nuclear accord, to its missile development and to the growing threat it poses to the area. The second part of the NYT’s negative coverage is related to hunger, malnutrition, and human rights in North Korea. The American newspaper paints a very negative picture of North Korean society in its presentation of the Communist system and in its comments on the closed nature of its society. In addition, critical news articles are directed against Kim, Jong Il, who is portrayed as “reclusive leader.”

Table 10. COMPOSITION OF NATIONAL IMAGES FOR US & NORTH KOREA

Layers	News	Rodong Shinmoon			NYT		
		N	P	F	N	P	F
Leaders Government		99	0	2	9	0	0
		0.9%	0%	0.0%	15%	0%	0%
Society/People		3,413	0	1,002	23	0	57
		31%	0%	22.6%	38.3%	0%	6.47%
Policy/Agenda/Issue		7,458	6	3,903	28	5	824
		68.1%	0.0%	77.4%	46.7%	1%	93.5%
Total Number		10,970	6	4,907	60	5	881
		69%	0%	31%	6%	1%	93%

V. Conclusion

The main goal of this paper was to appraise the national images that the U.S. and North Korea have of each other by analyzing the news frames in of the NYT and the *Rodong Shinmoon*. Now let us now give answers to the three questions formulated in the first chapter.

As to the first question, the *Rodong Shinmoon* gave a lot of space to negative and unfavorable news frames, especially to U.S. hostile policy toward North Korea. The major reason for this dominant tendency in its news coverage was the continuing conflict between the two countries surrounding the nuclear issue. Beyond this, the North Korean newspaper attempted to disclose the dark side, the gloomy realities, the capitalist evils of American society. One of the most striking features of North Korean news coverage is that the paper seemed to do its utmost to expose the U.S. as a nation full of evil and misery by mobilizing all the news sources available around the globe. This trend is rarely found in the case of the NYT news coverage. On the other hand, favorable news coverage was relatively scarce and most of it was limited to U.S. aid policy.

Concerning the second question, the NYT has dealt with more unfavorable than favorable news items. Since 1994, the NYT has reported critically on the topic of North Korea's sincerity in nuclear matters. The NYT has also focused on starvation, economic difficulties and the domestic problems of the communist society. As Table 10 shows, the North Korean newspaper had more news coverage about the U.S. than the NTY had on North Korea. The main reason for this is that the *Rodong Shinmoon* has concentrated most of its efforts on disclosing the negative and dismal aspects of life in the U.S, mobilizing news sources from around the world in the process.

Concerning the last question, from 1994 to 1998 the *Rodong Shinmoon* maintained a less critical view of the U.S., but thereafter, described the U.S. as imperialist, war manic, and even as a terrorist state using harsh words and cynical expressions. The major targets of this negativism and criticism were primarily the U.S., President Bush,

and his militaristic and hostile policies. On the other hand, most of the news coverage carried by the NYT was unbiased, though there were a number of negative-unfavorable news stories during the period under investigation. Some of the negative news stories are at pains to show that North Korea is a closed, untrustworthy nation, and that its society has suffered greatly because of food shortages and famine.

One of the major findings from this research is that the nuclear issue has been at the centre of the conflict in relations between the U.S. and North Korea over the last ten years, which have led to the formation deeply negative national and societal images of each other. In my view, both nations are likely to continue to develop this kind of national image and belief system for as long as the nuclear matter remains unresolved.

To conclude, I would like to address briefly issues regarding the methodological and theoretical scheme to be adopted in future studies. First of all, some of the comments made in news were mixed in tone and contained mixed messages. In such cases, one may face a technical problem with regard to which category the items in question should fall under. Second, newspaper readers may have different feelings and interpretations with regard to the same piece of news. In short, these kinds of issues need to be properly resolved so that readers may grasp the images of the two nations projected by each other more objectively and systematically.

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