

Analysis of Kim Il-Sung's Speech Before and After the Korean War: Comparison with Pericles' Speeches in the History of the Peloponnesian War

Soojin Park

Abstract

This study analyzed and compared Kim Il-Sung and Pericles' speeches before and after the wars as political discourse. To analyze speeches, this article used a political discourse framework based on the three principles suggested by Aristotle: ethos, pathos, and logos.

The analyses of four speeches shows that to persuade the audience, both Pericles and Kim Il-Sung successfully used pathos to make their speeches more compelling. However, Kim Il-Sung's speeches were less persuasive than Pericles' speeches in terms of logos. Furthermore, in light of ethos, Pericles' speeches had persuasive power, while Kim Il-Sung's speeches had varying degrees of persuasion contingent on the audience. More particularly, Kim Il-Sung's speeches were compelling for North Korean residents who believed he brought freedom to Koreans, but not to others, in terms of ethos. These analyses demonstrate that Kim Il-Sung's speeches were less persuasive than Pericles' speech, and the power of persuasion could be stronger or weaker depending on whether the audience had faith and trust in Kim Il-Sung.

Key words: *Kim Il-Sung, Pericles, Pericles' Speech, Kim Il-Sung's Speech, Political Speech, Politics of Speech*

I. Introduction

North Koreans, including those who defected from North Korea, consider Kim Il-Sung as the most positive and respected person among the three “Supreme Leaders” in North Korea. Is there a reason why the North Koreans rank him higher than the others? To answer this question, previous research focused on the idolization policy in North Korea, which partly accounts for Kim Il-Sung’s popularity. However, in this study, I seek to investigate whether or not he possessed persuasive power through his speeches that appealed to North Koreans.

According to the survey on Jeon’s 2005 research of North Korean defectors, their perception of Kim Il-Sung was positive. 67.2% of North Korean defectors answered “Yes” to the question of whether they thought Kim Il-Sung was the “greatest man in the world” (Jeon, 2005: 51). This result reveals that even the North Korean defectors, who had escaped from North Korea with any reasons, respected Kim Il-Sung. The news articles about the death of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jung-Il reported that Kim Il-Sung was the most respectable leader among the three (VOA, 2010/07/08; Dong-A Ilbo, 2011/12/21). Given North Korean defectors’ perception of Kim Il-Sung, it is not hard to imagine the evaluation of him among North Koreans residing in North Korea.

How did Kim Il-Sung become the most positive figure among the three “Supreme Leaders” in North Korea? To answer this question, this study tested a hypothesis that Kim Il-Sung successfully persuaded North Koreans to believe that he was qualified as a leader, especially through public speeches, by comparing Kim Il-Sung’s speeches with well-known and highly rated speeches such as Pericles’ speeches. This comparative analysis will allow Kim’s speeches to be evaluated at the universal standards.

Pericles’ speeches are found in the book called *History of the Peloponnesian War*. As a democratic country, in Athens, critical decisions, such as going to war, were made by vote. Thus, through his speeches, Pericles had to persuade the people of his country, who had the right to vote, to support his position before starting a war. Thucydides recorded three of Pericles’ speeches in the *History of the Peloponnesian War*.¹⁾

The two most famous speeches in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* are of Pericles. One speech was given before the war to convince people to begin fighting. The other one, well known as a “funeral speech,” was given after the war to commemorate the dead people of the war. This speech was so compelling that it effectively commemorated the dead people and bonded citizens together politically and socially.

Thucydides repeatedly praised Pericles as “the first man of his time at Athens”

1) Each speech is included in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.140-144, 2.35-46, 2.60-64.

and one of the best political leaders (Thucydides, 1:140:4; Jang, 2016: 26-27). Also, Pericles' speeches are known to have inspired speeches given by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Abraham Lincoln, and U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt (Noh, 2009: 148; Lee, 2015). These claims serve as evidence of Pericles' powerful speeches that successfully persuaded not only people in Athens of his days but also people in this day and age (Kagan, 2020: 21, 30-31).

This study analyzes the structure of Pericles' well-known speeches to evaluate Kim Il-Sung's speeches. To do so, it chose two of Kim Il-Sung's speeches given before and after the Korean War. Two of Kim's speeches for analysis: "Go All Out for Victory in the War," which was addressed to the "entire Korean people" by radio on June 26, 1950; "On the Conclusion of the Armistice Agreement," which was addressed to the "entire Korean people" by radio on July 28, 1953.²⁾ And two of Pericles' speeches were selected to compare with Kim Il-Sung's speeches. These two speeches were delivered before and after the war. Before the war, Pericles spoke to the citizens of Athens to convince them that the war was necessary; after the war ended, he spoke again to unite citizens by commemorating the dead soldiers.

The comparison serves the study for the following three reasons. First, both Pericles and Kim Il-Sung delivered speeches to persuade the audience to back their decisions about the war. Since Athens was a democratic state, Pericles spoke to persuade Athens to initiate and rebuild after the war. According to the concept of perpetual peace, starting a war is difficult or almost impossible in republican states because of the difficulty in persuading citizens of equality to support war. Immanuel Kant's thought was developed into the democratic peace theory, arguing that armed conflict among democratic states has not happened (Doyle, 2005: 463)³⁾. Immanuel Kant argued that they would not choose war because war could bring to them the miseries of war (Immanuel Kant, 1795/1917: 120-128).

In contrast, Kim Il-Sung did not have to persuade Koreans to start the Korean War prior to the war. However, Kim is associated with a positive image in North Korea and is seen as the liberator of Koreans. This perception explains why the Korean War is known as the "Fatherland Liberation War" in North Korea (Rim, 2023: 4, 30; Rodong Sinmun, 2023/07/24). Some of the North Korean defectors were reluctant to acknowledge that the Korean War occurred because North Korea

2) North Korean authorities claim Kim Il-Sung's speech on June 26, 1950, was broadcast right before the outbreak of the Korean War or shortly after the *South Korean* attack. They also claim that Kim Il-Sung's speech on July 28, 1953, was broadcast after they won the war. However, their claims are false. *North Korea* attacked the southern part of the Korean peninsula on June 25, 1950, and they signed an armistice the day before the speech on July 28, 1953. This study seeks to analyze political discourse in the speeches, not to assess the historical facts. Therefore, this study does not focus on examining what historical facts are but analyzes speeches based on the claims of North Korean authorities.

3) This study does not seek to argue about the democratic peace theory. That is beyond the scope of the study.

invaded South Korea (Jung, 2015: 110). This perception refutes that Kim was persuasive after the establishment of the North Korean regime while supporting that Kim's speeches were effectively persuasive enough to North Koreans after he became the "Supreme Leader" of North Korea.

Additionally, a country's leader's speeches before and after wars leave a big mark on the history of the war as well as the history of the world (Field, 2014: 8). In particular, the speeches delivered before initiating a war need to be highly persuasive.

Second, both leaders made public speeches before and after the civil wars within one nation, alliance, and country. Pericles spoke before and after the Peloponnesian War, which can be considered a civil war within the Peloponnesian Alliance (Hanson, 2009: 459). Kim Il-Sung delivered speeches before and after the Korean War, which can be seen as a civil war with the invasion of the southern part of the Korean peninsula by the North Korean People's Army.⁴⁾

Since this study concerns the Korean War, a brief account of the North Korean perception of the Korean War seems necessary. North Korean authorities called the Korean War the "Fatherland Liberation War" for freedom and independence from the "U.S. imperialist invaders" and the "traitorous Syngman-Rhee clique." North Korea claims to have won the Korean War.⁵⁾ This claim is accepted as a historical fact in North Korea. The North Korean defectors testified that they had no doubts about it when they lived in North Korea (Jeong, 2015: 100). Even after leaving North Korea, the North Korean defectors were reluctant to admit that North Korea invaded South Korea because of their education along with persuasive propaganda in North Korea (Jung, 2015: 110).

This study examines why Kim Il-Sung is the most popular Supreme Leader in North Korea. Since it does not aim to review the historical facts surrounding the Korean War, it does not refute the claims made by the North Korean authorities about the Korean War but focuses on analyzing and assessing Kim Il-Sung's speeches.

Third, this study aims to assess whether Kim's speeches were persuasive by

4) No consensus has formed among experts on the classification of the Korean War. Some may consider it a civil war while others treat it as a proxy war, international war, and so forth. This study classified the Korean War as a civil war after considering that the "North Korean" leader invaded southern territory in preparation for armed unification and that the Soviet Union did not directly intervene in the Korean War (Jeong, 2015: 93-95; Jeong, 2013: 15-18). In addition, this study sought to argue how Kim Il-Sung's legitimacy came from the North Korean residents, who were educated that South Korea attacked North Korea. More discussions on the subject are found in the later part of this article.

5) The realization of the armistice in Joseon is that our people's ...historical victory ...as a result of a heroic struggle against the "traitorous Syngman-Rhee clique," to defend the country's freedom, independence, and people's democratic system. (in Korean); Institute of History, Academy of Social Sciences (1981), *Joseon History 27: Modern Edition (History of the Fatherland Liberation War 3)*, Pyongyang: Science & Encyclopedia Publisher, p. 509.

comparing his speeches with globally recognized persuasive speeches. Pericles' speeches were selected to compare to Kim's because they were persuasive not only then but also they are in this day and age. Therefore, in this study, I will examine whether or not Kim's speeches were persuasive to North Koreans by comparing them to Pericles' speeches. In addition, this study aims to explain why Kim's speeches are or are not persuasive.

Kim Il-Sung's speeches could be compared with Stalin's or Hitler's because North Korea's political system resembled their political systems characterized by authoritarianism, socialism, and dictatorship. However, this study aimed to see how Kim Il-Sung was respected by North Koreans and some of the North Korean defectors even though he died 30 years ago. The reign of the Kims continued with his son and grandson for almost 80 years through Kim Il-Sung's halo. On the contrary, Hitler and Stalin neither had a successor since their death, and the regime that they created has also collapsed. Additionally, Hitler was a dictator for only 12 years, from 1933 to 1945, and Stalin maintained the position of supreme leader for about 29 years. Therefore, Hitler and Stalin do not appear to be good cases to study on political leaders' persuasiveness.

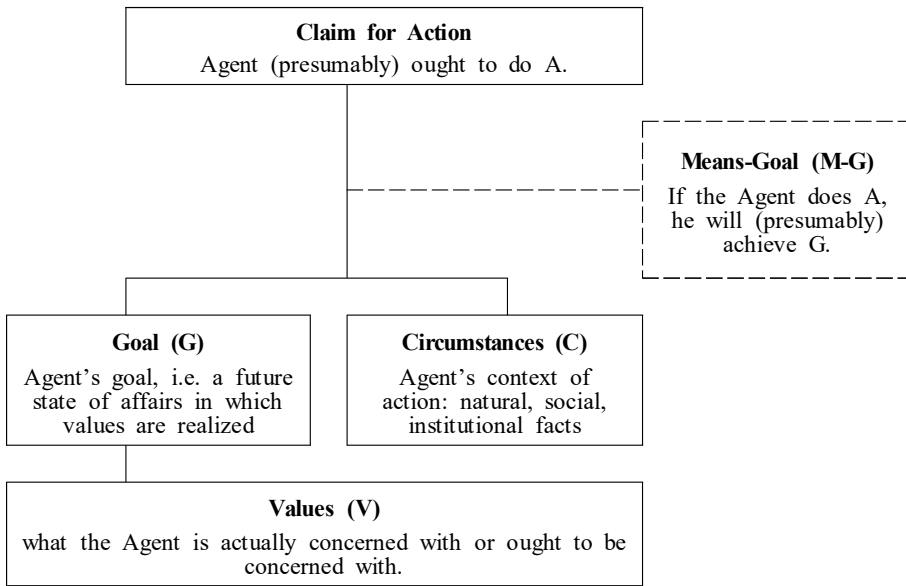
Considering these three reasons, I select and analyze four speeches known to have been given by Kim Il-Sung and Pericles before and after their respective war. Hence, this study analyzes Kim Il-Sung's public speeches in terms of political discourse and compares them with those of Pericles. Through this comparison, I examine whether or not Kim Il-Sung may have gained support from North Koreans as a leader through public speeches.

II. Analysis of Speech as a Political Discourse

In this study, I aim to analyze Kim Il-Sung's speeches as a political discourse and compare them with speeches by Pericles, utilizing three persuasive elements, ethos, pathos, and logos, advocated by Aristotle (Aristotle 2020). Ethos is a method of giving confidence to listeners, usually the public, in a speech through the speaker's character or personality. Pathos intends to elicit emotions from listeners, while logos is used to reach an agreement with listeners through the speech's logicity (Kim, 2012: 30-33). The three methods are most convincing when used together (Kim, 2012: 27-30).

This study will analyze logos and pathos in the speeches, utilizing one of the widely used frameworks for analyzing political discourse in Figure 1 below (Isabela Fairclough, Norman Fairclough, 2012: 11). In addition, this study examines the ethos in the speeches because it is a powerful method for the speakers to gain the trust of the audience (Aristotle, 2020).

<Figure 1> Fairclough and Fairclough's Structure: Political Discourse



Source: Isabela Fairclough, Norman Fairclough, 2012

Figure 1 is significant because the framework helps confirm the values of speakers and audiences, as well as the solutions and arguments presented by the speakers through analysis of the goals, values, and situations in the speeches (Choe, 2022: 26). In a situation where the speaker knows the audiences' core value (V), the speaker can take certain actions (A) through speeches as political discourse. The speaker may speak to audiences to achieve goals (G) in the current situation (C: Circumstances), by certain actions (A) through speeches. In this case, achieving "G" depends on a certain action taken by the audience. The speaker may also tell the audience that in achieving "G," the audience will presumably achieve the "M-G" (Isabela Fairclough, Norman Fairclough, 2012: 44-47).

The circumstances (C) refer to natural, social, or institutional contexts. This study focuses on the social or institutional contexts only, such as the background and reasons for war, because natural contexts do not concern the circumstances surrounding the speeches delivered before and after the war. Through the previous study that analyzed the speeches of former U.S. presidents during the war, this research seeks to provide a more detailed definition of circumstance in the analysis framework in Figure 1 (Susan Stoudinger Northcutt, 1992: 124-128).

III. Analysis of the Kim Il Sung's Speeches Before and After the Korean War

1. Analysis of the speech, "Go all out for victory in the war" (June 26, 1950)

The speech North Korean authorities claim Kim Il-Sung delivered before the Korean War addresses the circumstances (C) surrounding the war as shown in Kim Il-Sung's remarks such as "the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique has launched a fratricidal war." In this speech, Kim asserts that "the traitorous Syngman Rhee" tried to "[sell] the southern half of your country to the U.S. imperialist for a colony" through the "civil war." Kim adds, "the traitorous Syngman Rhee" "stepped up preparations for an armed attack" through the "so-called UN Temporary Commission on Korea." To prepare for the attack, Kim continues, "the traitorous Syngman Rhee" received instructions from "the U.S. imperialist" and "did not even hesitate to begin colluding with the Japanese militarists."

Kim Il-Sung says in the speech that on June 25, "the puppet government of the traitor Syngman Rhee" launched against the northern part of Korea, but "the valiant Security Forces of the Republic," which refers to the North Korean People's Army, did "fighting fierce battles to counter the enemy's invasion." Thanks to "fighting [fiercely]," Kim said, "People's Army drove the enemy back from areas north of the 38th parallel and has advanced 10 to 15 kilometers to the south." These are all the progress of the war that Kim Il-Sung claims in his speech, including the background and cause of the Korean War.

Kim Il-Sung presents the values (V) in the speech to suggest that the North Korean army and Korean people take certain actions. The values addressed in the speech are "country reunification, national independence, freedom, and democracy," which Koreans, who were listening to Kim Il-Sung's speech, were deeply concerned about.

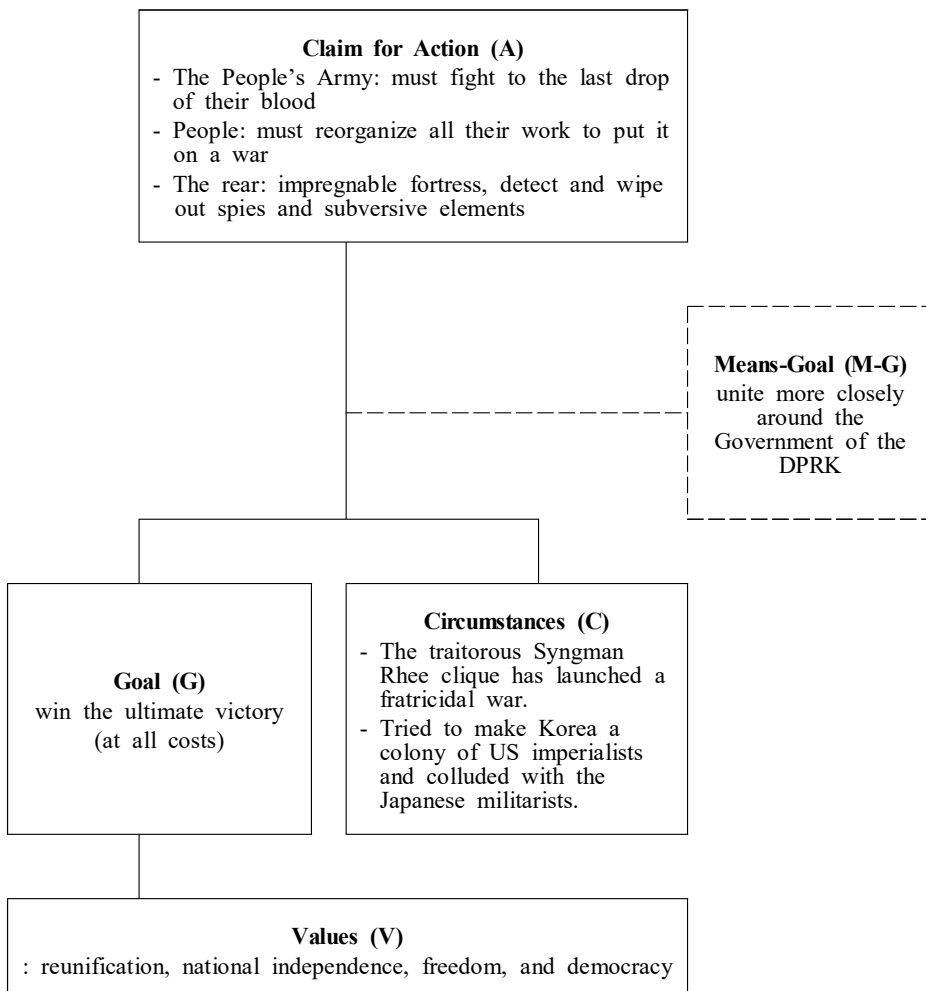
Kim Il-Sung says, "All the People's Army officers and men must fight to the last drop of their blood for the country and the people." He continues that the people in the northern half of Korea "must reorganize all their work to put it on a war." In addition, Kim Il-Sung claims that all the people, including the "rear of the People's Army," must build an "impregnable fortress" and "detect and wipe out spies and subversive elements." These actions (A) are suggested by the speaker to protect the values (V).

All the actions Kim Il-Sung suggests are aimed at the goal (G), which is to "win ultimate victory, at all costs." Kim Il-Sung says that by achieving the goal (G), the listeners could preserve their values. In other words, Kim Il-Sung argues that if North Koreans won the ultimate victory, they could preserve reunification, independence, freedom, and democracy.

In the current circumstances (C), what could be achieved secondary in the

process of taking action (A) to protect the values (V) is “to unite more closely around the Government of the DPRK (the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea).” This means they “liberate the southern half of our country from the reactionary rule of the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.” This is the “Means-Goal, (M-G)” in the speech. By this unity, Kim Il-Sung asserts that North Koreans could not only win “the democratic liberties and rights” (V) but also maintain them.

<Figure 2> Analysis of Kim Il-Sung’s Speech Before the Korean War: “Go all out for victory in the war” (June 26, 1950)



2. Analysis of the speech, "On the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement" (July 28, 1953)

The second speech is reported to have been delivered through radio to the "entire Korean people" on July 28, 1953. It is the day after the Korean War armistice agreement was reached. In this speech, Kim Il-Sung argues that the armistice agreement, which means truce, is the result of "our people's heroic struggle to safeguard national freedom and independence against the allied forces of foreign imperialism and the US imperialist stooges, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique." He claims that this meant their victory in the war. This is one of the "current situations (C)" that Kim presents to his listeners.

Kim Il-Sung claims in the speech that the main factor contributing to their "victory" in the war against the "U.S. imperialist invaders" was "a firm alliance of our working class and working peasants and the warm support of the democratic forces of all strata for this alliance." He says that this could be achieved by the spirit of the "political and moral state of the army and the people, and the fighting spirit of the people at the front and in the rear." By exercising this spirit, Kim Il-Sung argues that they could achieve victory against the "U.S. imperialist invaders" despite the "superior military technique."

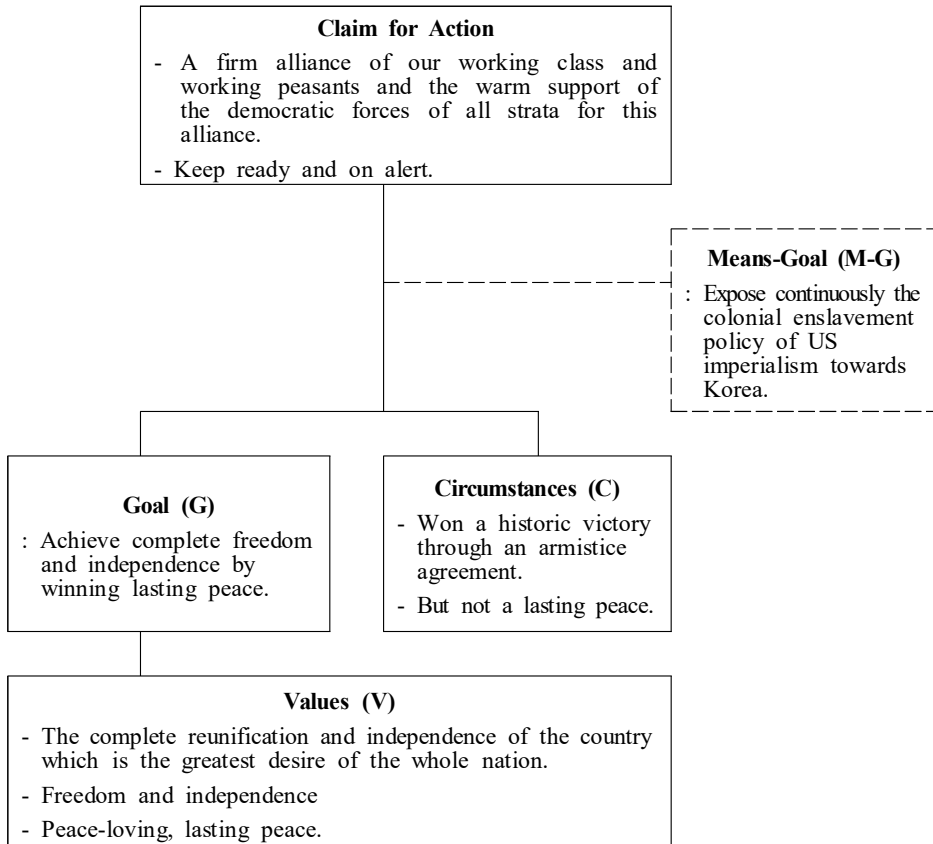
Furthermore, Kim Il-Sung adds that even though they concluded the armistice agreement, they should always keep "ready and on the alert," one of the actions suggested in the speech, because the agreement does not mean that "the U.S. imperialists have completely given up their aggressive plan against our country." Kim Il-Sung claims that "the U.S. imperialist" remains in the southern half of the country, and the "Syngman Rhee puppet regime" advocates a "northward expedition." An element of the circumstances (C), which Kim Il-Sung presented to the listeners, is that the armistice agreement is the result of a "historic victory won by our people" but not a "lasting peace."

Kim Il-Sung urges North Koreans to keep "ready and on the alert" (A) because "the enemy may unleash another war in violation of the Armistice Agreement and, accordingly, a war may break out again in our country at any moment." This "violation" could be hindered from achieving a "lasting peace, reunification and independence of the country," which is the greatest desire and value (V) of the listeners. Therefore, Kim Il-Sung urges his listeners, through the speech, to keep ready and alert to protect the values that are important to the listeners. Furthermore, these actions could be achieved by "a firm alliance of our working class and working peasants and the warm support of the democratic forces of all strata for this alliance."

In the speech, Kim Il-Sung also states that North Koreans could probably "expose continuously the colonial enslavement policy of U.S. imperialism towards Korea" while achieving the main goals. This is the "M-G" in the speech through which Kim Il-Sung suggests that they could expose the "evil nature of the idealized

American-style ‘democracy’ which the US imperialists had tactfully kept under cover for (a) long time” to the world.

<Figure 3> Analysis of Kim Il-Sung’s Speech After the Korean War: “On the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement” (July 28, 1953)



In this speech, Kim Il-Sung presents four main ways to “keep ready and on alert”: 1) “strengthen the fighting efficiency of the People’s Army in every way”; 2) “put the main stress on (the) industry in restoring the national economy”; 3) “against even the slightest degree of idleness and laxity” by tightening the state discipline; and 4) “(to) strengthen friendship and cohesion with peoples of the democratic camp and uphold the banner of internationalism” to obtain “international support and encouragement of the fraternal people.”

In particular, Kim Il-Sung argues that state discipline could be tightened by “struggle against counter-espionage” through “[sharp] revolutionary vigilance.” After the Korean War, Kim Il-Sung claimed that if the audiences wanted to protect the values of freedom, independence, and the like that concerned them, they should keep struggling against “counter-espionage.” It could be assumed that this “counter-espionage” struggle led to the anti-sectarian struggle led by Kim Il-Sung and influenced the consolidation of the Kim Il-Sung dictatorship.

3. Preliminary Conclusion

This chapter analyzed two speeches delivered on the radio by Kim Il-Sung before and after the Korean War through the political discourse analysis framework. The two speeches targeted the Koreans who had gone through the Japanese colonial era. This could be assumed that the audiences might be gravely concerned with the value of freedom and independence of their nation. Kim Il-Sung also knew that the audience was interested in certain values and urged them to take certain actions (A) to protect their values through his speeches. In his speeches, Kim Il-Sung claimed that “A” would help them protect their values and ultimately win the “lasting peace.”

Kim Il-Sung delivered two public speeches, urging his listeners to struggle to win the Korean War and rebuild the country. It is evident from the two speeches that Kim understood the values important to the listeners, who had survived the Japanese colonial era, and suggested actions to achieve and protect them. Kim's speeches were relatively effective in terms of logos and pathos, two of Aristotle's persuasive elements.

The ethos element is not apparent in the two speeches. Yet, it seems that instead of building trust by revealing his personality or character, Kim used an expression that emphasized the brutality of enemies who broke the “lasting peace.”

Although these two speeches were compelling to North Korean listeners at the time. However, it did not appear to appeal to those living outside North Korea. What explains the discrepancy between people's reactions to Kim's speeches? To answer the question, the study now turns to Pericles' speeches.

IV. Analysis of the Pericles' Speeches Before and After the Peloponnesian War

1. Analysis of Pericles' speech before the War

Pericles delivered speeches to the public ahead of the war. Pericles urged in a speech that war should be started against Lacedaemonians, who were Spartans.

This is the action (A) that Pericles urged the listeners to do. The reason why they should go to war is the Lacedaemonians' unreasonable requirements. According to Pericles, although revoking the Megara decree might be seen as a "trifle" requirement and looked like too slight a cause to start a war, this "contains the whole seal and trial of resolution."⁶⁾

Knowing that the citizens, who are listening to his speech, are interested in maintaining what they have now and keeping their safety and freedom (V), Pericles mentioned them in the speech. He continues to say that the Lacedaemonians "wish complaints to be settled by war instead of negotiation,"⁷⁾ which describes the current circumstance (C). Then, Pericles argues that they should make a decision to go to war before their possessions get harmed and they become slaves.⁸⁾ Furthermore, he adds that if they refuse to fight back, Lacedaemonians might deem that they are frightened and make some greater demands.⁹⁾

Pericles also details the current state (C) of Athens and Sparta in his speech. Pericles claims that in terms of the military capability and individual citizens' abilities, Athens was superior to Sparta because most of the Lacedaemonians had not experienced long wars across the sea, and most of them were peasants. Pericles emphasized that Sparta's military funds were not enough, and their naval power was inferior. Therefore, he insists that they should not be afraid of starting a war against Sparta.

Furthermore, if they showed that they were not afraid of starting a war, they could achieve short-term and long-term goals. In the short term, they could win the war. In the long term, they could hand down their power to posterity, which

6) "I hope that you will none of you think that we shall be going to war for a trifle if we refuse to revoke the Megara decree, which appears in front of their complaints, and the revocation of which is to save us from war, or let any feeling of self-reproach linger in your minds, as if you went to war for slight cause. Why, this trifle contains the whole seal and trial of your resolution." *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.140.4-5.

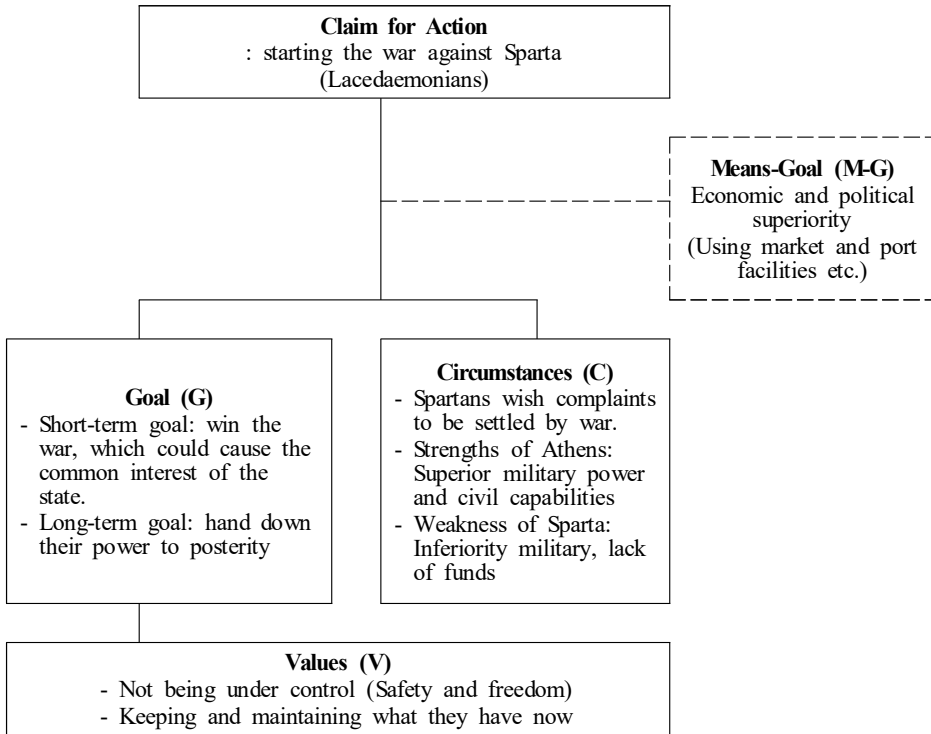
7) "Yet the Lacedaemonians never yet made us any such offer, never yet would accept from us any such offer; on the contrary, they wish complaints to be settled by war instead of by negotiation; and in the end we find them here dropping the tone of expostulation and adopting that of command." *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.140.2

8) "Make your decision therefore at once, either to submit before you are harmed, or if we are to go to war, as I for one think we ought, to do so without caring whether the ostensible cause be great or small, resolved against making concessions or consenting to a precarious tenure of our possessions. For all claims from an equal, urged upon a neighbour as commands before any attempt at legal settlement, be they great or be they small, have only one meaning, and that is slavery." *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.141.1-2.

9) "If you give way, you will instantly have to meet some greater demand, as having been frightened into obedience in the first instance; while a firm refusal will make them clearly understand that they must treat you more as equals." *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.140.5.

includes wisdom and strength.¹⁰⁾ Additionally, he argued that Athens could provide more favorable conditions for Sparta to accept economically and politically. This corresponds to “M-G” in the analysis framework of the study, which encompasses incidental benefits obtained by showing a resolve to start a war.

<Figure 4> Analysis of Pericles' Speech Before the War



Thucydides, the author of the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, deems Pericles' speeches effective. He wrote in the book, “the Athenians persuaded of the wisdom of his (Pericles’) advice, vote as he desired, and answered the Lacedaemonians as he recommended... the complaints settled in a fair and

10) “Did not our fathers resist the Medes not only with resources far different from ours, but even when those resources had been abandoned; and more by wisdom than by fortune, more by daring than by strength, did not they beat off the barbarian and advance their affairs to their present height? We must not fall behind them, but must resist our enemies in any way and in every way, and attempt to hand down our power to our posterity unimpaired.” *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.144.3

impartial manner by the legal methods, which the terms of the truce prescribed.” This passage shows that Pericles’ speech delivered before the war was convincing to Athenians in those days as well as those at that time.

2. Analysis of Pericles’ speech after the War: The Funeral Speech

After the war, Pericles delivered a speech at a funeral. Funeral speeches in Athens at that time after the war usually offered praise for the dead, comfort for the families of the dead, and recommendations for citizens preparing for the future (Loroux, 1986; Ziolkowski, 1981; Bosworth, 2000). Unlike the previous funeral speeches at that time, Pericles’ funeral speech focused more on the current situation in Athens.

Pericles gave a funeral speech because he was nominated as the speaker. The funeral oration was given under the circumstances (C) of the funeral after the victory of the war. Pericles’ speech begins with praise for the excellence of the Athenas and Athenians, noting that these qualities were inherited values from their ancestors. He emphasized that their superiority was attributed to the freedom and equality they inherited from their ancestors.¹¹⁾ Since the Athenians valued freedom and equality (V), they fought with courage and honor to protect them and, thus, easily won the war.¹²⁾

The praise for the greatness of Athens is used for the “definite proofs established” for blessing loss and celebrating their heroism. Pericles also emphasized the honor of the dead and made concrete suggestions (A) for the families of the dead, such as giving birth to more children to maintain their excellence, before finishing his speech with a promise to take care of the families of the dead.

When they were winning the war (C), Pericles instructed certain actions (A) to the citizens who were listening to his speech. Pericles offered his praise for the ancestors and the deaths during the war. As they did courageously, Pericles prescribed detailed specific actions for the citizens to take.

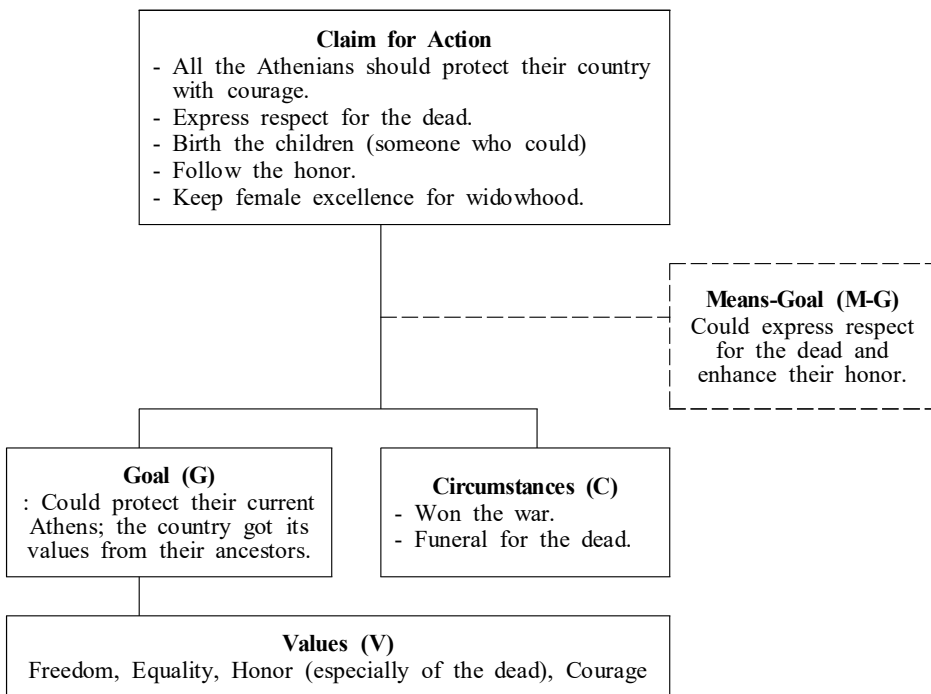
Among the families of the dead, those “who are still of an age to beget children must bear up in the hope of having others in their stead.” On the other hand, if someone has “passed (their) prime,” which means someone who is too old to get a child, it should be considered that their life was “fortunate,” and they should love

11) “This is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; ...The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life.” *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.37.1-2.

12) “While we Athenians advance unsupported into the territory of a neighbour, and fighting upon a foreign soil usually vanquish with ease men who are defending their homes. ...so that, wherever they engage with some such fraction of our strength, a success against a detachment is magnified into a victory over the nation, ...we are still willing to encounter danger.” *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.39.2-4.

their honor and rejoice in the heart of age since the honor never grows old. Lastly, Pericles mentioned that for female excellence, widowhood should not be “talked of among the men, whether for good or for bad.”¹³⁾ Pericles argues that all of the aforementioned actions are to protect the Athens (G) and offer them an opportunity to express respect for the dead and enhance their honor while taking actions (M-G).

<Figure 5> Analysis of Pericles' Speech After the War: The Funeral Speech



Pericles' funeral speech after the war was thought to be different from the other general speeches at the time. However, the speech was highly persuasive at the time in that it honored and paid respect for the dead while highlighting the values of honor and freedom that the listeners of the time were highly interested in. Pericles logically suggested in this speech that the Athenians should strive to protect the honor of Athens and its citizens with freedom, equality, and the courage that they inherited from their ancestors.

13) Extracted from the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.44.1-3, 2.45.1-2.

V. Comparison between Kim Il-Sung's and Pericles' Speeches

The analyses of four speeches uncover the pathos and logos in Kim Il-Sung and Pericles' speeches. They reveal that both Kim's and Pericles' speeches delivered before the War accurately identified the values that were important to their respective listeners and offered a specific course of action to protect the values.

Unlike Pericles' speech, however, Kim Il-Sung's speech is not appealing to people who live outside North Korea. Pericles emphasized that they should not be afraid of war to keep their values, while Kim Il-Sung strongly suggested that they should "detect and wipe out" their "spies and subversive elements." This prescription appeared similarly in the process of establishing the Kim Il-Sung dictatorship.

In addition, Pericles tried to objectively describe Sparta's military and economic situations rather than criticizing them despite the Lacedaemonians being an enemy. On the other hand, Kim Il-Sung made a subjective criticism of its counterpart by labeling him as the "traitorous Syngman Rhee clique." This difference weakens the justification, rightfulness, and logical basis of Kim Il-Sung's speech.

Lastly, Pericles and Kim Il-Sung offered different reasons to start the war. Pericles proposes to Athenians that they should start the war to protect their interests including their values, even though there was no war yet. On the other hand, Kim Il-Sung laid the blame for the war on the "traitorous Syngman Rhee clique" even though Kim himself started the war. This is one of the main reasons why his speech is not convincing to those who are aware that Kim Il-Sung actually started the war and tried to blame the war on the enemy.

Kim Il-Sung's speech delivered after the war reveals that Kim had a clear understanding of the values in which his listeners were interested such as complete freedom and peace in reunification and independent Korea since the Koreans had gone through the Korean War and survived the Japanese colonial era. To protect their values, Kim Il-Sung argued for the firm alliance of the working class, urging North Koreans to be ready and on alert to prepare for war. However, in the process of protecting their values, Kim Il-Sung argued that they could presumably combat "U.S. imperialism's enslavement policy towards Korea." This rhetoric only persuaded the speaker himself and his supporters. Therefore, unlike Pericles' speeches, Kim Il-Sung's speeches had the elements of pathos, but those of the logos were lacking.

So, how do the two speakers differ in terms of ethos, which refers to gaining the trust of their audience? Thucydides evaluated Pericles as "the first man of his time at Athens," although there were "many speakers who came forward and gave their support to one side or the other, urging the necessity of war."¹⁴ The

Athenians were persuaded by Pericles, not others; they subscribed to the wisdom of his advice, voted as he inspired, and followed his recommendations.¹⁵⁾ Thucydides also argued that Pericles gained more respect after his death because his foresight kept Athens safe.¹⁶⁾ For example, he urged them “to pay attention to their marine” and not “to expose the city to no hazards during the war.” Unlike the speakers in that era, Pericles’ bits of advice were not to take care of his interests but for Athens’ security.¹⁷⁾

Moreover, Pericles was regarded as a persuasive speaker with various speech techniques. For example, he made speeches with “dignified and restrained” positions with “high spirits.” As a result, Pericles was elected as a general every year, but he did not attempt to change democracy or covet greater power that he should not get (Donald Kagan, 2006: 33).

Pericles’ evaluation remains positive even now. Pericles is regarded as a reformer who established Athens’ democratic government from an early age. He is also seen as a person who is respected militarily and politically not only at the time but also nowadays (Bettany Hughes, 2012: 150-151). In addition, Pericles’ leadership and perspective are not easy to obtain or find in modern times, even though we are living in a more politically advanced system (Donald Kagan, 2006: 459). In other words, Pericles has enough ethos to be highly respected since his time.

On the other hand, Kim Il-Sung started the Korean War, as can be inferred from historical facts and speech analysis. Yet, he kept trying to blame the war on others. The ostensible goal of each action presented through the speeches is to defend and maintain the “freedom, independence, and peace” of Korea. However, Kim Il-Sung used the speeches to strengthen his dictatorship, since he emphasized strengthening antipathy against the enemy and spies who he defined. As a result, Kim’s speeches helped to establish a dictatorship that continued the three

14) There were many speakers who came forward and gave their support to one side or the other, urging the necessity of war, or the revocation of the decree and the folly of allowing it to stand in the way of peace.; *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.139.3

15) Among them came forward Pericles, son of Xanthippus, the first man of his time at Athens, ablest alike in counsel and in action, and gave the following advice.; *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.139.4; 1.145.1

16) He outlived its commencement two years and six months, and the correctness of his previsions respecting it became better known by his death.; *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.65.6

17) He outlived its commencement two years and six months, and the correctness of his previsions respecting it became better known by his death. He told them to wait quietly, to pay attention to their marine, to attempt no new conquests, and to expose the city to no hazards during the war, and doing this, promised them a favourable result. What they did was the very contrary, allowing private ambitions and private interests, in matters apparently quite foreign to the war, to lead them into projects unjust both to themselves and to their allies—projects whose success would only conduce to the honour and advantage of private persons, and whose failure entailed certain disaster on the country in the war.; *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.65.6-7.

generations of succession till now. To this end, Kim Il-Sung also denied the fact that he started the Korean War to expand his political power on the Korean Peninsula, not for the everlasting Korean independence, freedom, and peace.

Additionally, Kim Il-Sung attempted to build trust in his speech by emphasizing the brutality of the “enemies,” rather than revealing his personality or character. As a result, it is challenging to find the elements of ethos in Kim Il-Sung’s speech. The only way to build trust was his brief “anti-Japanese struggle” experience in the past. If so, how did the North Korean authorities and Kim Il-Sung himself win the support of the North Korean residents? They blocked external information and deified Kim Il-Sung by exaggerating the anecdotes of Kim Il-Sung’s “anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.”

First, North Korean authorities blocked information from the outside world and taught North Koreans that “the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique” launched the Korean War even though Korea could become a “U.S. imperialist” colony as a result of the war (Kim, 1950: 10-11). Due to inadequate education based on falsehood and no exposure to outside information, North Koreans believe that the Korean War began with the invasion of “the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique” forces. It also makes them think that the war could lead to a serious crisis that would deprive Koreans of the freedom and independence acquired after liberation.

Moreover, the North Korean authorities claim that Kim Il-Sung’s outstanding command led to victory in the War. Thus, they celebrate July 27 as the “Day of Victory in the Great Fatherland Liberation War,” although July 27 is the day when the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed. The North Korean authorities had to propagate that thanks to his excellence, Kim Il-Sung was able to liberate North Korea from “the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique” and “the U.S. imperialist aggressors.”

To elaborate on Kim Il-Sung’s excellence, the North Korean authorities claim that Kim Il-Sung led the front line of the war with “firm conviction,” “great courage,” and “strong will” that helped him win the war.¹⁸⁾ They argue that Kim Il-Sung had an “iron will and outstanding leadership” and this made their revolution, which included the “Fatherland Liberation War” continue (Kim, 1992: 7). Thus, the North Korean authorities are deifying Kim Il-Sung by exaggerating his ‘excellence.’¹⁹⁾

18) *Kim Il Sung, Eternal Banner of Victory*, Explore DPRK; <https://exploredprk.com/articles/kim-il-sung-eternal-banner-of-victory/> (accessed on February 13, 2024)

19) President Kim Il Sung defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors, who boasted of being the “strongest” in the world, to win a shining victory in the Fatherland Liberation War. ...The U.S. imperialists ...employed all the cruelest and brutal methods of war. It was unimaginable at that time for the young DPRK to fight against the formidable imperialist foe, ...the President ...led the war to victory with his *Juche*-based military idea, strategies and tactics and outstanding commanding art. ...The war methods advanced by him were entirely new and unique ones, unprecedented in the history of wars. ...Thanks to his rare military stratagem and wise

As a result, Kim Il-Sung's speeches were persuasive to the North Korean people who could not access external information, by harmonizing ethos, pathos, and logos. However, Kim Il-Sung's speeches were not convincing to most outsiders who could access more objective information.

VI. Conclusion

North Korea is one of the countries where a leader's speech has absolute authority. What North Korea's "Supreme Leader" mentioned or is reported to have mentioned plays a crucial role in determining how the country operates (Kim & Kim, 2022: 1). Since North Korea maintains its regime based on the hereditary system starting from Kim Il-Sung, North Korea cherishes Kim Il-Sung's words and considers them more important rules than their law.²⁰⁾

In this study, I evaluate and analyze Kim Il-Sung's speeches to examine if they are important enough for North Korean researchers to uncover the intentions of the North Korean authorities (Kim, 2021: 24-31; Park, 2019: 43-59; Park, 2015: 58-61; et al.). While the North Korean authorities do not disclose internal information, the North Korean "Supreme Leader's" speeches have a high political significance and must have contained the North Korean authorities' intention.

As this study reveals, the political use of speech is not unique to North Korea. Speech politics is also one of the old and effective political tools as evidenced in Pericles' speeches in the History of the Peloponnesian War. World history during and after the war was significantly influenced by pre- and post-war statements given by leaders. In this study, I selected and analyzed four speeches that were known to have been given by Pericles and Kim Il-Sung before and after the conflict.

This study focused on the three components of logical speech presented by Aristotle. Among the three components, pathos and logos were identified using the Figure 1 analysis frame. Considering the historical situation at that time, this study looked at the pathos in the speeches by determining whether the speeches contained the value (V) that the listener was interested in or should have been interested in. Furthermore, this study examined the logos in the speeches through

leadership, the Korean people shattered the myth of "mightiness" of the U.S. imperialists and defended the dignity, honor and sovereignty of the DPRK and prevented a new world war to safeguard human peace, thus bringing about a great event to be specially recorded in the history of the Korean nation and the world history of revolution.; *Iron-willed Commander Who Led Fatherland Liberation War to Victory*, July 27, 2023, Uriminzokkiri; et al.

20) Kim Jong-Un's recent actions, for example, abandoning the unification goal with the South, have raised questions about the importance of the quotes by Kim Il-Sung, nowadays. However, since this study does not address this issue, it follows the previous perception of what Kim Il-Sung said.

the goals (G, M-G) that the speakers suggested and whether the action plan (A) for the goal was logical. Through this, it was possible to figure out whether the pathos and logos of each speech worked internally. Then, this study looked at information about the speakers and investigated whether they could earn the trust of the listener by examining the ethos of each speech.

The analyses of each speaker's speeches using the three components show that Kim Il-Sung's speeches lack logos when compared to Pericles' speeches. In addition, the ethos of the speeches was subject to the identity of the listeners. In other words, Kim Il-Sung's speeches are convincing to North Koreans who are presumed to have deified Kim Il-Sung because the ethos of the speeches could be found for them. However, Kim Il-Sung's speeches are not convincing for listeners who do not deify Kim, because Kim Il-Sung's ethos is lacking.

This study compared Kim Il-Sung's speeches with Pericles' speeches to examine why Kim Il-Sung's speeches were persuasive to North Koreans while they were not convincing to people living outside North Korea. The answer lies in individual listeners' attitudes toward Kim Il-Sung. The finding implies that if the ethos of Kim Il-Sung no longer works for North Koreans or if external information flows into North Korea, Kim Il-Sung's speeches' credibility and persuasive power will be weakened.

Some media reports show that negative perceptions of Kim Il-Sung have increased recently, especially among young intellectuals who do not remember the time when Kim Il-Sung was North Korea's Supreme Leader (RFA, 2013/04/15). Additionally, according to a report published on a survey of North Korean defectors in February 2024 by the Ministry of Unification in the Republic of Korea, the level of North Koreans' support for the hereditary succession of the Baekdu Bloodline, descendants of Kim Il-Sung, has decreased over time.²¹⁾ This means the North Korean residents' evaluation of the "Supreme Leader" has changed.

In response, in December 2020, the North Korean authorities adopted the Reactionary Ideology and Culture Rejection Act (Rodong Sinmun, 2020/12/05). The act was enacted to strongly punish those who consume or distribute external information and cultural contents of capitalist countries, especially South Korea

21) According to the data, 57.3% of North Korean defectors who defected from North Korea before 2000 selected "Yes," 20.0% selected "Neutral," and 22.7% selected "No." On the other hand, the percentage of respondents who answered "Yes" continued to decrease until 2022, with 29.4% of North Korean defectors who defected from North Korea between 2016 and 2020 selected "Yes," 15.7% selected "Neutral," and 54.9% selected "No.;" The percentage of people who chose "Yes": 57.3% (defected before 2000), 52.0% (defected between 2001~2005), 45.6% (defected between 2006~2010), 38.8% (defected between 2011~2015), 29.4% (defected between 2016~2020); Lee, Woo Young et al. (2024), *North Korea's Economic and Social Perception Report: the reality of North Korea informed by 6,351 North Korean defectors*, Seoul: Ministry of Unification, p. 248.

and the United States (Han, 2022a: 10-21). North Korean authorities revealed that the act considers “viewing, listening to, or possessing South Korean movies, video recordings, books” as a crime and strengthens punishment.²²⁾ This proves that the influx of external information is considered an extremely dangerous situation for North Korean authorities to maintain their regime. Thus, ethos against Kim Il-Sung will become more challenging to fully function if North Korean residents' memory of Kim Il-Sung diminishes, and external information flows in, making it difficult to deify Kim Il-Sung. This could cause great difficulties in maintaining the North Korean regime.

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22) Referred to Chapter 4, *Reactionary Ideology and Culture Rejection Act*(2022); Han, 2022b: 132-134

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