



FACULTADE DE FILOLOXÍA

A study of the treatment of the Korean conflict in English-language newspapers through critical discourse analysis

Alba Vereza Pérez

Titor: Carlos Acuña Fariña

Curso 2017/2018
Grao en Lingua e Literatura Inglesas

A study of the treatment of the Korean conflict in English-language newspapers through critical discourse analysis

Alba Vereza Pérez

Titor: Carlos Acuña Fariña



Curso 2017/2018
Grao en Lingua e Literatura Inglesas

Index

Resumo	4
1. Introduction	5
2. Historical context	9
2.1. The road that led to the Korean War	9
2.1.1. Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945)	9
2.1.2. The division of Korea	10
2.2. The war (1950-1953)	11
2.3. From the end of the war to our days	12
2.3.1. South Korea: from military dictatorships to democratization	13
2.3.2. North Korea: from collectivization to worldwide enmity	14
2.3.3. Relations between the two Koreas and the US	14
2.4. Recent developments	15
3. Theoretical background	16
3.1. Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis	16
3.2. A Brief History of Critical Discourse Analysis	17
3.3. What is Critical Discourse Analysis?	17
3.4. Methodology and objectives of CDA	18
3.4.1. Fairclough's Dialectic Approach	19
3.4.2. Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Model	19
3.4.3. Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach	19
3.5. Critical Discourse Analysis and Media Discourse	20
3.6. Racism and Critical Discourse Analysis	21
4. Case study	22
4.1. Data sources	23
4.1.1. The Guardian	23
4.1.2. USA TODAY	24
4.2. Analysis	24
4.2.1. War lexis	24
4.2.1.1. War of words	24
4.2.1.2. Charm offensive	25
4.2.1.3. War games	26
4.2.2. Othering	26
4.2.3. Agents: attack, defense, threat and warning	29
4.2.3.1. Attack	29
4.2.3.2. Defend	30
4.2.3.3. Threat and warning	31
5. Conclusions	34
Bibliography	37
Appendix: tables	59
Table 1: "war of words"	60

Table 2: “charm offensive”	60
Table 3: “war games”	60
Table 4: “attack”	60
Table 5: “defend”	62
Table 6: “warn”	62
Table 7: “threat”	64



Formulario de delimitación de título e resumo
Traballo de Fin de Grao curso 2017/2018

APELIDOS E NOME: Verea Pérez, Alba

GRAO EN: Língua e literatura inglesa

(NO CASO DE MODERNAS) ITINERARIO EN:

TITOR/A: Carlos Acuña Fariña

LIÑA TEMÁTICA ASIGNADA: Análise do discurso, lingüística textual e pragmática

SOLICITO a aprobación do seguinte título e resumo:

Título:

A study of the treatment of the Korean conflict in English-language newspapers through critical discourse analysis

Resumo [na lingua en que se vai redactar o TFG; entre 1000 e 2000 caracteres]:

Critical discourse analysis gives us the tools to study the use of language from a social perspective. I aim to give an overview of the main currents and ideas of critical discourse analysis, and afterwards use its methodology to analyse written texts dealing with the Korean conflict in the English-language press.

The Korean conflict has been an ongoing political and military struggle spanning from the end of World War II (1945) to our days. The development of nuclear weapons by the DPRK (Democratic's People Republic of North Korea) and the role of the United States of America in the conflict make it one of the most talked about international topics these days, especially after the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States. Before my analysis of the press, I will contextualise the situation with historical facts, so that any possible bias or manipulation may be counterbalanced.

I will look at the treatment that news and articles give to North Korea and the Korean conflict in English language media through a discourse analysis perspective, and try to find any possible differences and similarities, as well as any recurring patterns. I will pay special attention to the portrayal of North Korean citizens, often shown through an orientalist gaze by western media. Ultimately, this study is about the way that language may condition the way we cognise the world.

Santiago de Compostela, 7 de novembro de 2017.

SRA. DECANA DA FACULDADE DE FILOLOXÍA (Presidenta da Comisión de Títulos de Grao)

Sinatura do/a interesado/a 	Visto e prace (sinatura do/a titor/a) 	Aprobado pola Comisión de Títulos de Grao con data  15 NOV. 2017 Selo da Facultade de Filoloxía
---	--	---

SRA. DECANA DA FACULTADE DE FILOLOXÍA (Presidenta da Comisión de Títulos de Grao)

1. Introduction

Critical discourse analysis is a tool that serves to analyze how ideology is transmitted through language. It allows us to study language use from a social perspective, and observe the mechanisms that are used to maintain the status quo. This paper's aim is to give an overview of the main currents and ideas of critical discourse analysis, and afterwards use its methodology to analyze written texts dealing with the Korean conflict in the Anglo-American written press.

The Korean conflict is a political and military struggle that extends from the end of the Second World War (1945) to our days, although the roots of the conflict go back to the end of the nineteenth century. To give a more nuanced account of this issue, the second segment of the paper is devoted to contextualizing the last 150 years of the Korean peninsula's history, from the last years of the Joseon Dynasty to the present day.

Whilst the Korean War is known in the United States as 'the Forgotten War', the conflict has marked the life of Koreans for several generations. Recent developments have made the conflict one of the most talked about international topics in the press. Since the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States and all throughout 2017, the West has been shaken up with North Korea's threats of using their military power, and tensions kept rising as Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump traded inflammatory rhetoric. But after Moon Jae In, a more liberal candidate than his predecessors, won the elections to the South Korean presidency, there was a change in strategy. Moon defended engagement with North Korea over confrontation, and partly thanks to his efforts the tide changed at the beginning of the present year, when the two Koreas started talking about collaborating during the Olympics. The change of government in South Korea has directly impacted the relations of North and South, but the United States' stance has been ambivalent. Whilst Trump has engaged in threats and insults with the North Korean government, the president of the United States seems to be more willing to cooperate with North Korea than his predecessors. Because he does not come from a traditional political career, his attitude could open up new paths of communication with the North Koreans. Even so, many worry about his volatile personality and militaristic rhetoric, which could endanger the peace talks. The United States cooperation is vital for the end of the Korean War, since the truce after the 1953 armistice was signed by North Korea, China, and the United States; South Korea did not sign, for their leader opposed any truce that left the peninsula divided. Thus, the Korean conflict is not only a local, civil war, but an extension of the Cold War climate that has lasted into our days.

The Korean conflict is relevant not only because of the recent developments and its current popularity in the media, but because of the way the western press portrays it. When dealing with issues such as this particular one, words go beyond the textual and enter into the political and social realms. Critical discourse analysis gives us a tool to go beyond the textual and explore the ideology that mediates the representation of the conflict and of the key players. As it has happened with past conflicts, media can either serve as a tool to justify and support a war, or as a means to denounce it.

In this dissertation, I aim to analyze the ways in which North Korea and the Korean conflict are portrayed in two English-language online newspapers, hoping to find any recurring patterns. Using the theoretical background of critical discourse analysis, I look to identify some of the linguistic strategies that mass media uses to represent the Korean conflict, as well as ascertain whether there may be any motivations behind these linguistic choices.

The text is organized as follows: Firstly, section two is an introduction to the recent history of the Korean peninsula, from the end of the nineteenth century to our days. The purpose of this segment is to contextualize the situation from a historical perspective, following the ideas of the Discourse-Historical Approach to critical discourse analysis, a method of analysis that stands out for its focus on context. Afterwards, section three will give an overview of the main currents and ideas of critical discourse analysis, as well as those that are specifically relevant for this paper, that is, media studies and studies of racism through critical discourse analysis. Section three is again divided into six segments, which give an account of the particularities of critical discourse analysis, its history and its methodology. Segment four of part three also expands on the three main approaches to critical discourse analysis, the Dialectic Approach, the Socio-cognitive Model and the Discourse-Historical Approach.

After presenting the theoretical background, section four will consist of the case study, an analysis of written media texts that deal with the Korean conflict in two English-language online newspapers, following the methodology of critical discourse analysis explained in section three. I have chosen two online newspapers both because of their impact and because of practicality reasons. Firstly, *The Guardian* and *USA TODAY* are well established online newspapers with a wide following, in the United Kingdom and the United States, respectively. Secondly, they both can be accessed online without having to pay subscription fees, making the data easier to access. Lastly, it is worth mentioning the impact

of online press in the current climate of “fake news”, in which social media serves as a means of spreading information quickly.

The case study focuses around three main points: war lexis, othering, and the representation of the different agents of conflict. War lexis, the first part of the analysis, studies the construction of metaphors related to war through three expressions: “war of words”, “charm offensive” and “war games”. The metaphors they construct, are WORDS ARE WARFARE, DIPLOMACY IS WAR and WAR IS GAME, respectively. The section on othering deals with the representation of the North Koreans (and all Koreans by extension) as “other”, describing their attitudes as “mysterious”, “odd”, or “irrational”, which could ultimately lead to their dehumanization. This section also focuses on the representation of Kim Yo-jong, a North Korean politician and Kim Jong Un’s younger sister, and how the ways in which the media portrays her help perpetuate both sexist and racist assumptions. The last part of the analysis focuses on the use of four words: attack, defend, warn and threat. This section seeks to find whether there are any patterns in the choice of subjects and objects of the verbs attack, defend, warn and threat, as well as any patterns behind the semantic choices between ‘warn’ and ‘threat’.

Lastly, section five of the dissertation are the conclusions, in which a synthesis of the main ideas of the analysis is given, as well as an overview of the most relevant findings of the paper.

On *The Language of the Third Reich*, a book considered to be a precursor of critical discourse analysis, Victor Klemperer, a Jewish scholar that lived in and survived Nazi Germany, writes the following about language:

Language does not simply write and think for me, it also increasingly dictates my feelings and governs my entire spiritual being the more unquestioningly and unconsciously I abandon myself to it. And what happens if the cultivated language is made up of poisonous elements or has been made the bearer of poisons? Words can be like tiny doses of arsenic: they are swallowed unnoticed, appear to have no effect, and then after a little time the toxic reaction sets in after all (Klemperer 2013: 15).

The language the media uses when talking about political conflicts may condition the way the readers cognize the world, construing a positive or negative image of different subjects, which will penetrate into the subconscious without our realizing, and affect the way we feel about other humans and their plight.

2. Historical context

2.1. The road that led to the Korean War

To fully comprehend the Korean conflict, the war, and its lasting impact in both Korea's societies, we need to go back to the end of the nineteenth century, when Korea was under the rule of the Yi Dynasty, in what is known as the Joseon Era. The Yi Dynasty ruled Joseon (modern day North and South Korea) for 500 years, from 1392 until 1910 (Britannica 2014); and by the end of the nineteenth century, foreign powers were battling the local government for dominance of the peninsula.

The Korean peninsula has a geopolitically strategic location between China, Japan and Russia, which over the course of its history has led to many invasions of the land by foreign powers (Tiku 2008: 195). At the end of the nineteenth century several countries had their eyes on Korea: through naval warfare, France, the United States and Japan pressured the Yi Dynasty to open up. Ultimately, in 1876, the Japanese Empire succeeded in making Joseon sign the Ganghwa Treaty, which established commercial relations between the two countries, an association that favored Japan (Kang 2006: 452). Under Japanese coercion, Joseon changed its name to Imperial Korea in 1879 (Information Service "Fall").

The Sino-Japanese war in 1894 and the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 concluded with the victory of the Japanese Empire (Tiku 2008: 195), which kept on expanding its power over North East Asia, including the Korean peninsula (Information Service "Fall").

In 1910, Japan finally annexed Korea, after Emperor Sunjong of Korea signed the Treaty of Annexation (Lee et al. 2017; "Treaty"), and Imperial Korea became a colony of the Japanese Empire (Information Service "Fall").

2.1.1. Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945)

The Japanese colonial rule of Korea lasted from 1910 until the end of World War II. During this period, Korean culture was suppressed and the Korean language banned. Koreans were even forced to change their names to Japanese style ones (Information Service "Independence").

The country's resources were exploited by the Japanese, and their men and women forced to relocate to other parts of the Empire, to serve as soldiers and forced laborers (Information Service "Independence"). Korean women in particular suffered during the

colonial period, as many were victims of forced prostitution (Varga 2009). The struggle of these ladies, known as “comfort women”, is still a source of conflict between Korea and Japan to this date (Akaha 2008).

The colonial period saw the rise of several independence movements (Information Service “Independence”), which would set the stage for the division of powers and the conflicting local forces in the Korean conflict (Hickey 1999: 5).

2.1.2. The division of Korea

After the defeat of the Japanese Empire and the end of World War II, the Soviet Union and the United States were deployed north and south of the 38th parallel, respectively (Information Service “Independence”). The 38th parallel was an arbitrary division that was intended as temporary (Armstrong 2005), proposed by the government of the United States (Tiku 2008: 196).

The US government and the Soviet Union could not agree on who should lead the provisional Korean government. The US considered leaving the country, whose economic conditions were quickly deteriorating, but feared the growth of communist power in China (Matray 2007).

From August 1945 to August 1948, the South of Korea was under the rule of the United States of America Military Government in Korea, or USAMGK, which instead of punishing Japanese collaborators, recruited them to govern the newly liberated Korea. The USAMGK was initially destined to occupy Okinawa, but it was suddenly directed to Korea without any real knowledge of the country. Korea was not considered an independent state, but a colony of Japan.¹ These Japanese collaborators once again undertook violent repression of any political opposition, especially as the conflict between the Soviet Union escalated, and anti-communism became a political tool in the South (Shin 2017).

In the north, the Soviet Union sponsored self-government and social and economic reforms (Cumings qtd. in Matray 2007), although some, like Van Ree, consider the USSR was plotting to establish a Stalinist satellite state (qtd. in Matray 2007).

In 1947, the Truman administration decided to stop cooperating with the Soviet Union and sought to establish a US backed South Korean government, seeking legitimacy from the UN (Matray 2007). In May 1948, general elections were held in South Korea under the

¹ For a more detailed explanation of the occupation of the Korean Peninsula at the end of War World II by US Troops see: Shin, Kwang-Yeong. “The Trajectory of Anti-Communism in South Korea.” *Asian Journal of German and European Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, Feb. 2017, pp. 1-4., doi:10.1186/s40856-017-0015-4.

support of the United States and the UN, whilst the northern part of the peninsula refused to participate in UN held elections (Tiku 2008: 197). Syngman Rhee, a US backed Korean nationalist who had been the leader of the Korean Provisional Government in exile (Britannica “Rhee” 2018), became the first elected president of the Republic of Korea (Tiku 2008: 197).

In the north of the country, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea was established in October 1948, backed by the Soviet Union, under the rule of Kim Il Sung², a former anti-Japanese guerrilla fighter. Both governments saw themselves as the legitimate rulers of Korea (Tiku 2008: 197).

According to Matray, the situation in the north was initially better than in the south of the country:

While President Syngman Rhee created a repressive, dictatorial, and anti-communist regime in the south, Kim Il Sung followed the Soviet model for political, economic, and social development in the north. These events magnified the need for the United States to withdraw, since Stalin, acting on a North Korean request, announced that Soviet troops would pull out of the north by the end of 1948. Despite plans to leave the south before 1949, Truman delayed military withdrawal until June 29, 1949 in response to a major uprising against the Rhee government in October 1948 (2007).

By the end of 1949, most foreign troops had left the peninsula (Tiku 2008: 197).

2.2. The war (1950-1953)

The Korean War started on the 25th of June 1950 (Millett 2018), after North Korea had secured the Soviet support of an invasion of the South (Matray 2007). According to current North Korean sources, the war started “[o]wing to the US armed invasion” (Korean Friendship Association 2011). Whilst past historiography believed that it was North Korea who initiated the conflict, it is now acknowledged that South Korea’s President Rhee sought to unify the country by military means, and the South initiated most of the border clashes between the two countries, starting during the summer of 1948, and therefore the two Koreas were already “waging a civil conflict” before North Korea’s attack in June 1950 (Matray 2007).

Initially, North Korea believed that the military reunification of the country would be quick and easy, due to the support of southern guerrillas and a predicted uprising against the Rhee government. Kim Il Sung travelled to Moscow and Beijing to garner support from the

² According to Korean naming conventions, the family name precedes the given name, so this is the order I will use, with the exception of names that have a distinct westernized form, such as Syngman Rhee.

Soviets and the Chinese, who, fearing US retaliation, were at first unwilling to support military intervention, but ultimately reluctantly agreed (Matray 2007).

After the initial North Korean invasion, on the 30th of June, 1950, President Truman sent US ground troops to Korea, for it was feared that without them South Korea would be conquered by the communists. Fifteen nations fought on South Korea's side, but almost all of the manpower and military resources were from the US and South Korea (Matray 2007).

China joined the war on the North's side at the end of 1950, after the US crossed the 38th parallel. The US believed the Chinese would not join the war, and launched their "Home by Christmas Offensive" in October 1950. Two days later, Chinese forces counterattacked and made US troops retreat. After Chinese intervention, the objective of the USA changed from controlling the whole peninsula to restoring the antebellum status quo (Matray 2007).

Truce talks opened after the Soviets advocated for a ceasefire in June 1951. After ten months of negotiation, the talks reached a stalemate regarding the repatriation of prisoners of war (Matray 2007).

By the start of 1953, both Washington and Beijing wanted an armistice. Pyongyang had favored one from even earlier on, whilst Soviet leadership sought a conciliatory approach to the Cold War after Stalin's death. Only Rhee opposed an armistice that left Korea divided, but he finally accepted the truce after Eisenhower promised financial aid and a mutual security pact (Matray 2007).

During the armed conflict, which lasted until the 27th of July 1953, at least 2.5 million people lost their lives (Millett 2018): over two million Koreans, 33,000 Americans, and 152,000 Chinese (Matray 2007). Representatives of the United States, North Korea and China signed an armistice. Even though President Rhee accepted the truce, South Korea did not sign (Tiku 2008: 198). To this date, a peace treaty between the countries that took part on the conflict has not yet been signed.

2.3. From the end of the war to our days

The war devastated both north and south. On top of the loss of lives and the dislocation of millions of Koreans, large regions of the country were destroyed, including the capitals of Pyongyang and Seoul (Tiku 2008: 198).

2.3.1. South Korea: from military dictatorships to democratization

From its creation in 1948 until the late 1980s, the South Korean political system was highly authoritarian, especially in the period of military rule between 1961 and 1988 (Armstrong 2005: 3).

During the course of the war, the Rhee government had become increasingly dictatorial and corrupt, and political opposition was violently suppressed. After the public found out that the ruling party had rigged votes in the 1960 presidential elections, massive protests broke out. The protests turned into a popular revolt which forced Rhee to step down from his position. The constitution was revised and general elections were held, but the new Republic did not last long (Tiku 2008: 198-9).

In May 1961, General Park Chung-hee seized power in a coup d'état. After two years of military rule, Park was elected President, and set up a 5-year economic development plan. The results of this plan brought about what is known as the "Miracle of the Han river": South Korea turned from an impoverished agricultural society into an industrial powerhouse (Information Service "Transition"). South Korea's rise from the ashes of war to being one of the leading economies in Asia has few parallels (Armstrong 2005: 3), but the prize paid for this economic growth was steep: the Korean people had to suffer many years of violent repression and massacres at the hands of its government.

In 1979, Park was assassinated, and General Chun Doo-hwan took control of the country after another coup d'état (Tiku 2008: 202). Chun's government, too, was oppressive and violent. One of his government's most infamous acts was the crackdown on the Gwangju Democratization Movement, a massacre in which hundreds of civilians protesting against Chun's coup were brutally killed by military troops (Tiku 2008: 203).

Chun's rule ended in 1987 with a peaceful transfer of power, after popular movements against his rule spread across the country. The constitution was revised once again, and after the elections, Roh Tae-woo, Chun's military colleague, became the first president of the new Republic (Tiku 2008: 203).

In the last decade of the 20th century, South Korea became a democracy after many years of dictatorial rule, but the plight of the nation was not over yet. Most of its democratic governments have been investigated for corruption, and in 2016, massive peaceful protests against the corrupt government of President Park Geun-hye, daughter of the late Park Chung-hee, broke out across the country, in what is known as the Candlelight Revolution (Park

2017). Park was finally impeached in March 2017 (Choe 2017), and Moon Jae-in, a more liberal president, won the elections, marking a shift in relations with the North.

2.3.2. North Korea: from collectivization to worldwide enmity

After the war, Pyongyang undertook a highly nationalistic program of “self-reliance” (Armstrong 2005: 2), and for the first 20 years of the new country’s history, the efforts paid off: until the 1970’s, North Korea’s economy was ahead of that of South Korea’s (Armstrong 2005: 3). However, as external aid declined, and population and military expenditure grew, the country’s economic growth was stalled from the 1970’s onwards (Lee and Yu 2018).

In 1994, after Kim Il Sung’s death, his son Kim Jong Il succeeded him, consolidating his power over several years. During his regime a guideline of “military first politics” was adopted (Lee and Hahn 2018).

In 1996, North Korea suffered a famine that killed hundreds of thousands of people. A series of natural disasters, coupled with the fall of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the decade, which had left the North Koreans with no international support, led to a dire situation in the country, known as the “arduous march” (Lee and Hahn 2018).

The country’s situation improved on the first years of the 21st century, partly because of the North’s change towards more open trading policies. However, in 2009 the economy suffered a setback after a currency reform devalued won to 1 percent of its former value (Lee and Hahn 2018).

After the death of Kim Jong Il in 2011, his youngest son Kim Jong Un became the leader of the country (BBC News 2018). The new ruler sought to present a friendlier public image than that of his father, but his political stance did not bring about an expected change for the country (Lee and Lew 2018). Since the younger Kim took power, the stance of North Korea in worldwide politics has been tense, but the change in South Korean politics at the beginning of 2018 has marked a shift in the DPRK’s behavior.

2.3.3. Relations between the two Koreas and the US

Since the end of the war, relationships between the two Koreas have been tense. In the South, anticommunism and national security laws prohibit South Korean citizens from speaking positively about North Korea (Shin 2017). As for the North, hatred of the United States is deeply rooted on the state’s propaganda, and South Koreans are seen as “imperialist puppets”.

However, there have been approaches between the two countries over the years. During the 90s, the South Korean government sent humanitarian aid to North Korea to alleviate the damage of the famine. The countries have also held reunions of families separated by the war, and there have been mutual economic projects such as the joint plant at Kaesong.

Nonetheless, there are many points of conflict between the two governments. North Korea opposes the presence of US forces in the South, and often reacts negatively when the South Korean and the US army embark in war games. It should be noted that North Koreans are not the only ones who oppose US military presence in the peninsula, some sectors of the South are also against the presence of US forces in their land and critical of the consequences, such as the spread of camp prostitution or the impact of the THAAD missile system in the health of the locals.

Defectors are also a point of conflict between North and South. Over the years, almost 30,000 North Koreans have crossed the border into China and moved to South Korea (Haas “Forever” 2018). Some want to go back to the north, whilst others even claim to have been kidnapped. Many others make a living making fun of the north in South Korean television or selling the story of their plight, but the majority of them just struggle to adapt to a society that shuns them for being from the North.

2.4. Recent developments

2017 was a year that saw a great rise in tensions between the government of the DPRK and that of the United States. Threats between the leaders of the two countries created a tense climax and an international fear of nuclear war.

However, the first day of 2018 already brought a change, with Kim Jong Un’s overture in his New Year’s speech, and Moon Jae In’s invitation to North Korea to take part on the Olympics. This change of tide culminated in two events this spring: a meeting between the leaders of the Koreas and a meeting between Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump.

The Declaration of Panmunjom, signed by the leaders of North and South Korea on a town located on the border between both countries, had both a great symbolic charge and reopened paths of collaboration between North and South.

Lastly, The North Korean - US Summit took place in Singapore this June. Even though not many expected the summit to take place or to have a positive outcome, Donald

Trump and Kim Jong Un signed a document and ended the meeting on a positive note. As I write, there is hope that the Koreans will be able to sign a peace treaty soon.

3. Theoretical background

3.1. Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

Before we delve into critical discourse analysis, its definitions and main approaches, we need to look at its core meaning. There are numerous definitions of discourse analysis. Both the terms “discourse” and “discourse analysis” have different meanings depending on the scholars and the field of study. For some linguists, “discourse” is defined as “anything beyond the sentence level”, whilst for others it is the study of language in use (Gee 2011: xiii); (Fasold qtd. in Tannen et al. 2015: 1). The power of discourse is to create new meanings through the relationships between sentences (Tannen et al. 2015: 7). However, for critical theorists, “discourse”, used in examples such as “discourses of power” or “discourses of racism”, denotes a combination of social practices, both linguistic and non-linguistic, that reinforce systems of thought (Tannen et al. 2015: 1). Critical analysts Kress & Van Leeuwen, as many of their peers, define discourse as “a socially constructed knowledge of (some part of) reality”, developed in specific social contexts (Sancho 2007: 33-34). From these definitions we can gather that discourse analysis is the study of language in use, above the sentence level, and sometimes combined with the study of the social practices that surround it.

Unlike discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA) puts an emphasis in social change: “what distinguishes critical social analysis from forms of social analysis that are not critical is its emphasis upon existing social realities as humanly produced constraints” (Fairclough 2012: 10). In Cotter’s words, “Critical Discourse Analysis is critical in the sense of revealing societal power operations and invoking a call to social responsibility” (2015: 799). Critical discourse analysis seeks to challenge surface meanings and engage in rational thinking to question prevailing arguments and ideas. Thus, critique serves as a tool for explaining social phenomena as well as for changing society (Wodak 2011: 40).

Wodak traces the use of the term “critical discourse analysis” to the influence of the Marxist school of thought, and particularly the Frankfurt school, both of whom use critique as a mechanism for explaining society (2011: 40).

3.2. A Brief History of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis started to develop in the early 1990s (Wodak 2011: 38), evolving from critical linguistics (Bernardo 2007: 6); (Sancho 2007: 17). Critical linguistics originated at the University of East Anglia (Britain) during the late 1970s, stemming from Halliday’s Functional Grammar (Sancho 2007: 17). Its object of study is ideology in discourse and how ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics (Bernardo 2007: 5). Therefore, critical linguists began drawing attention to “the ideological potential of certain grammar forms” (Wodak 2011: 42).

Compared to critical linguistics, critical discourse analysis adds two new elements in the interpretation of discourse: the role of audiences and the extension of the scope of analysis to the intertextual (Bernardo 2007: 5). CDA adds the critical tradition of social analysis to language studies, bringing to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse and its relations with social elements (Fairclough 2012: 9).

3.3. What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

Critical discourse analysis can be defined as a “problem-oriented interdisciplinary research programme,” which encompasses a variety of approaches, each with its own theoretical model, research methods and objectives. However, all of these approaches have several interests in common, namely power, identity politics and political-economic or cultural change in society (Wodak 2011: 38).

Van Dijk defines critical discourse analysis as a “discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (2015: 466). CDA studies how groups in power use language to stabilize or intensify inequities in society (Wodak 2011: 52), and CDA is therefore concerned with individual text production as an expression of ideological discursive practices (Stockwell qtd. in Attia 2007: 82).

Fairclough (qtd. in Bernardo 2007: 7-8) defines ideology as “meaning in the service of power”. Discourse is therefore ideological, as it contributes to maintaining previously established relations of power and domination (Fairclough 2012: 15). When ideological

processes treat a phenomenon as inevitable, beliefs remain unquestioned, for they are represented as exempt from any possible critical inspection (Verstergaard & Schröder qtd. in Bernardo 2007: 8). However, ideology cannot be detected just by observing linguistic elements, but it must be contextualized and put into perspective from a socio-political or historical point of view (Wodak 2011: 42). CDA must then extend beyond the textual and look at extra textual relationships of power given by the social and historical context.

Critical discourse analysis does not only describe realities, but it also evaluates them and seeks to explain them (Fairclough 2012: 9), working with the objective of addressing social wrongs (Fairclough 2012: 15).

3.4. Methodology and objectives of CDA

There are various diverse tendencies regarding critical discourse analysis, each with their own approaches and methodology (van Dijk 2015: 468). Nonetheless, we can find several ideas which unify and link the different approaches: Attia cites power, control, manipulation and ideology as common keywords (2007: 81), to which van Dijk (2015: 468) adds dominance, hegemony, class, gender, race, discrimination, interests, reproduction, institutions, social structure, and social order.

Van Dijk establishes the following common characteristics of CDA studies (2015: 467):

- Focus on social problems and political issues over the study of isolated discourse structures.
- Multidisciplinary critical analysis of social problems.
- Discourse structures are not just explained, but also described in terms of social interaction.
- Focus on the way discourse structures legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of dominance in society.

Overall, CDA seeks to identify “possibilities within the existing social process for overcoming obstacles to addressing the social wrong in question” (Fairclough 2012: 15).

Research methods vary depending on the schools and the object of study, creating a variety of approaches to CDA (Wodak 2011: 40). These approaches differ in the weight they give to different issues, with some focusing more on social change, whilst others might prioritize cognitive issues (Fairclough 2012: 19).

Following Maalej (2010: 133), Wodak (2011: 42-3) and Sancho (2007: 18-23) we can divide critical discourse analysis into three main tendencies: Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, Wodak's Discourse Sociolinguistics (or Discourse-Historical approach) and Fairclough's socio-semiotic (or relational-dialectic) approach.

3.4.1. Fairclough's Dialectic Approach

Fairclough's line of work has explored the discursive aspect of processes of social transformation, through a dialectical theory of discourse and an approach to social change that combines different disciplines. In his work, CDA is combined with sociology and other social scientific research as a means to investigate the changes in discourse and to explore the social consequences of discursive change (Wodak 2011: 42).

3.4.2. Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Model

Van Dijk approaches critical discourse analysis from a cognitive perspective. His studies have dealt with discourse in relation to racism, ideology and knowledge, showing the link between the racist portrayal of immigrants and refugees by the media and the elites, and the reproduction of racism and perpetuation of ethnic stereotypes amongst the general public (Wodak 2011: 43).

Critical discourse analysis focuses on the ways discourse may influence specific mental models and representations, and how beliefs can be manipulated. From his own work analyzing the dominant discourse of immigration in the press, van Dijk draws the following examples (2015: 473-4):

- Headlines might represent preferred narratives and mental models.
- Implications and presuppositions help to show statements as facts, even when they may not be true.
- Metaphors serve to make abstract mental models more concrete.
- The lexical expression of mental models in the discourse of powerful speakers may influence the mental models of recipients.
- Passive structures and nominalizations can be used to downplay or hide agency.

3.4.3. Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) was developed by Ruth Wodak alongside other scholars affiliated with the ideas of the Frankfurt school (Wodak 2011: 43), and it was originally designed for an interdisciplinary study of post-war antisemitism in Austria (Wodak 2011: 44).

The DHA is set apart from other methods for its focus on context: it attempts to integrate “all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text”. The main topics it focuses on are sexism, anti-Semitism, identity politics, organizational discourses and racism (Wodak 2011 43-4).

3.5. Critical Discourse Analysis and Media Discourse

The term “media discourse” refers to written or spoken interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer: it is a public, on record, and manufactured form of interaction. Since it is manufactured, we need to consider how media is made, both literally (looking at the methodology behind it) and from an ideological perspective (O’Keeffe 2012: 441).

Montgomery discerns two main traditions of study of news discourse: the first deals with written media, whilst the second one focuses on the broadcast news interview. This first approach, more relevant to my own research, sees newspapers as “the embodiment of forms of ideology under late capitalism” (Montgomery 2011: 213). Montgomery defines ideology as a “sense of the common beliefs, assumptions and opinions of a determinate group” or as “specific frameworks of meaning that underpin (and routinely disguise) relations of power in particular socio-historical circumstances” (2011: 215).

Critical discourse analysis takes a critical stance to media discourse research (O’Keeffe 2012: 411). Originally introduced in critical communication studies, critical analysis of media discourse has a central place in critical discourse analysis these days. In the 1970s, Roger Fowler became the first to critically study the media in linguistics, showing how the structures of sentences (for instance, the usage of active or passive forms) may enhance the negative representation of certain groups (outgroups) and downplay the negative actions of authorities such as the police (ingroups) (van Dijk 2015: 477).

Media texts do not simply mirror realities, but they create versions of reality that depend on the social position and interests of those who produce them (Fairclough qtd in Sancho 2007: 24). Montgomery finds “the practices that underpin the shaping of mainstream news” questionable, for they show a “limiting construction of reality” (2011: 215). Van Dijk offers an example of this construction (or reconstruction) of social and political realities: the restricted topic selection of news media. The process behind the inclusion or exclusion of news pieces serves the interests of various dominant groups, “elite actors, persons, groups,

classes, institutions, nations or world regions” (Van Dijk qtd. in Bernardo 2007: 9), thus construing knowledge according to their system of values and ideology.

Cotter divides the discourse of the news media into three segments: the text, the production of the text, and its alignment to the audience. Out of these three, texts have traditionally been the primary focus of media research (Cotter 2018: 801). Nonetheless, we must not forget the role that the reader plays in textual interpretation.

Some scholars consider that mass media has the power to influence the public’s perception, whilst others argue that readers select newspapers which reinforce their own views (O’Grady 2009: 60). Montgomery points out that readerships associate a concrete editorial line to each newspaper, and therefore pick whichever is closer to their own ideas (2011: 215). O’Grady argues that we cannot assume that readers are passive consumers, and cites Fairclough’s idea that readers are free to interpret texts in a resistant or a compliant manner (2009: 60).

Conversely, Sancho argues that readers are not trained to examine texts critically, and instead interpret them according to their own background knowledge and the information they usually obtain from mass media (2007: 28). Ultimately, Montgomery cites Scannell’s commentary on hermeneutics of suspicion and hermeneutics of trust, concluding that the habitual attitude of a reader would be a mixture between the two (2011: 227). Whilst we cannot ascertain readers’ reaction to a text, I believe that from a critical discourse analysis perspective we should not put the burden of interpretation in them, but in the text itself and its author.

According to Sheyholislami, the product of the media is the audience of interest to advertisers, therefore leaving mass media open to the effects of commercial pressures (qtd. in Sancho 2007: 27). Additionally, the way media organizations are structured ensures that the voices it gives a platform to are the dominant ones, the political and social establishment. Media discourses, then, “contribute to reproducing social relations of domination and exploitation”, even when there may be exceptions (Fairclough qtd. in Sancho 2007: 27).

3.6. Racism and Critical Discourse Analysis

As I have mentioned earlier, racism is one of the principal topics encompassed by critical discourse analysis. In particular, I would like to emphasize the work of the proponents of the Discourse-Historical Approach, a system originally designed to “enable the analysis of

implicit, coded prejudiced utterances” on anti-Semitism (Wodak 2011: 44), and van Dijk’s research on racism and the press.

DHA, Wodak’s approach to critical discourse analysis, proposes that in order to understand a text, it needs to be placed in its historical context, for without that knowledge it would be impossible to ascertain the motivations of the text producers (O’Grady 2009: 58). The Discourse-Historical Approach studies discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative presentation of others. In this case, ‘strategy’ refers to the practices used to obtain a goal, whether it be social, political, psychological or linguistic (Wodak 2011: 49).

Van Dijk’s studies argued that the racist discourses of mass media and the dominant elites provide the cognitive frameworks and the discursive resource for the reproduction and perpetuation of ethnic stereotypes in the masses (Lin and Kubota 2011: 280); (Wodak 2011: 43).

Besides these two critical discourse analysis approaches, I would like to mention the importance of the ideas of Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, one of the key texts of postcolonial theory, as well as Hall’s theory on the construction of the idea of ‘the West’. According to Hall, the West is not a geography, but a historical construct produced in colonialist discourses, which has an othering capacity: thus, the opposite of ‘the West’ is not ‘the East’, but ‘the Rest’, the inferior and non-White other (qtd in Lin and Kubota 2011: 278).

4. Case study

The discourse of powerful speakers, such as the mass media, can influence the mental models of the readers, as stated by van Dijk (2015: 474). Media influences the public’s perception of certain topics, particularly those in which direct information is hard to access. Even though several scholars point out that readers tend to select newspapers that reinforce their own views, and that we must accept that readers can interpret a text in a resistant manner (O’Grady 2009: 60), readers are not trained to interpret texts critically, and oftentimes the only information they have on a particular topic comes from mass media (Sancho 2007: 28). I believe this is the case with most readers when dealing with news covering the Korean conflict. Most English speakers will not be able to access original Korean sources, so they are left with translations or second hand interpretations of the words of the Korean leaders and the countries’ citizens. Furthermore, the Korean conflict is often presented from a US centric

perspective, representing both Koreas in relation to the United States, instead of contextualizing their issues as individual countries that share a common history and territory.

Additionally, the public image of North Korea is mediated by orientalist tropes, presenting the country as mysterious and inaccessible, even though it has been possible for non-Korean tourists to visit the country.³

In my case study, I analyze media from *USA TODAY* and *The Guardian*, an American and a British online newspaper, respectively, hoping to see what mechanisms they use to portray North Korea and the Korean conflict to their English-speaking audience.

4.1. Data sources

For my practical analysis I have examined news pieces dealing with the Korean conflict from online newspapers *USA TODAY* and *The Guardian*, from the first three months of 2018. I have excluded from my analysis opinion pieces as well as sport news.

I have chosen to collect my data from two online newspapers, both because of the importance of online media nowadays and because of practicality reasons. *USA TODAY* and *The Guardian* are leading English language online newspapers, and unlike some of their competitors they offer their content without a paywall.

Since my analysis seeks to study the discourse of the press, I have also tried to exclude direct and indirect quotations from the data, and focused on what is written as the newspaper's own editorial line.

After having selected the newspapers and restricted the news pieces that I would use for my data, I read all of them and decided to center my analysis around three key points: war lexis, othering and agency. I then organized the collected data in tables.⁴ All the news pieces used for the analysis are included in the bibliography.

4.1.1. *The Guardian*

The Guardian is a left-leaning British newspaper with an international and a US edition. Its origins can be traced to *The Manchester Guardian*, founded in 1821 ("History" 2017).

The online version of *The Guardian* was launched in 1995. By March 2001 it had over 2.4 million unique visitors, making it the most popular UK newspaper website ("History" 2017).

³ The Korean Friendship Association, an official webpage of the DPRK, sells guided tours for tourists who want to visit North Korea. See: <http://www.korea-dpr.info/kfa-delegation-sep-2018.html>

⁴ See Appendix.

4.1.2. *USA TODAY*

USA TODAY is an American multi-platform news and information media company that was founded in 1982. Its online newspaper, *USATODAY.com* was launched in 1995. According to its website, in 2017 USA TODAY sites had nearly 102.2 million unique visitors and 1.2 billion page views (“Marketing”).

The newspaper claims to be “credible, accurate, and up-to-the-minute” and to provide readers with in-depth analysis of larger, far-reaching issues (“Marketing”). *USA TODAY* has been described as a newspaper with a centrist audience, leaning slightly towards the left (“USA TODAY” 2017).

4.2. Analysis

4.2.1. War lexis

Following van Dijk’s idea that metaphors serve to make abstract mental models into more concrete ideas (2015: 474), I have studied the usage of metaphors of war, as well as metaphors related to its semantic field. My analysis of metaphors was also inspired by Lakoff’s work on conceptual metaphors, that sees metaphors as a mechanism that help us understand an idea in terms of other. According to Lakoff, one of the most commonly used metaphors is ARGUMENT IS WAR, which makes us see an argument in terms of a battle. (2011). In my analysis, I have looked in particular at the expressions “war of words”, “charm offensive” and “war games”, and at the three metaphors they support: WORDS ARE WARFARE, DIPLOMACY IS WAR and WAR IS GAME.

I have also found inspiration in past studies that explore how language has been used to create enemies and justify war, such as Reyes-Rodriguez’s.

4.2.1.1. War of words

Both *The Guardian* and *USA TODAY* use the expression “war of words” to refer to the exchanges between Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump⁵. The threats, insults and overall communication between the two leaders are described in terms of warfare in both newspapers.

The Guardian characterizes this war of words as “fiery” (Kuo “KJU Agrees” 2018), and *USA TODAY* as “unprecedented” (Durando “Purported” 2018), creating an image of

⁵ See Table 1 in Appendix

unpredictability and singularity for both leaders. *USA TODAY* continues the war metaphor using the expression “raged on” (Miller 2018). The metaphor WORDS ARE WARFARE extends to other expressions in *USA TODAY*: Cerbin refers to Trump’s rhetoric as “some of the most **bellicose language** uttered by any president since World War II” (2018) (emphasis mine), again adding to the metaphor of war and the idea of the leader’s unpredictability. Writing for *USA TODAY*, journalist Christopher Woolf says that “Kim’s regime in Pyongyang has [...] deployed inflammatory rhetoric” (2018). “Deployed”, a verb that is often used for troops or weapons, is here used to describe the language used by the North Korean government.

On both *The Guardian* and *USA TODAY* words are presented as warfare, equating, on a metaphorical sense, verbal expressions with actions. Unlike performative utterances such as “I declare war”, the expressions to which “war of words” refers to are insults, threats and warnings exchanged between the leaders of the US and North Korea, and its usage seems to serve as a way of characterizing both men as unpredictable and hungry for war.

4.2.1.2. Charm offensive

The expression “charm offensive”, present in both newspapers, adds war-like characteristics to the word “charm”.⁶ Collins English Dictionary defines a “charm offensive” as a “a concentrated attempt to gain favour or respectability by conspicuously cooperative or obliging behaviour”, and adds that it is generally found in journalistic uses, and that it denotes disapproval. Whilst an “offensive” is “a carefully planned attack made by a large group of soldiers”, a “charm offensive” is an attack where the only weapon used is cooperative behavior.

The usage of “charm offensive” by *The Guardian* has a negative connotation, whilst *USA TODAY*’s usage of the term seems more neutral.⁷ *The Guardian* presents North Korea’s “charm offensive” as a distraction “from the country’s prison camps” (Haas “Cheerleaders” 2018) or uses it to give an image of the country as a bellicose one (Branigan 2018).

“Charm offensive” is also used in both newspapers to refer to North Korea’s actions from the perspective of Japan, whether directly or indirectly. This is remarkable from a Discourse-Historical Approach, since Japan has had interests over the Korean peninsula for years (see section 2.1. of the present paper). Additionally, Japan seems to be using the supposed threat that North Korea poses to the country as an argument in favor of

⁶ See Table 2 in Appendix

⁷ See Table 2 in Appendix

strengthening its military power (Deutsche Welle 2018; Maresca “North and South” 2018; Phillips et al. 2018; Hurst “Protocol” 2018). However, we must keep in mind that this is not a direct statement, but a translation of the Japanese government's words into English.

The metaphor at play, DIPLOMACY IS WAR, presents diplomatic actions as a ruse, an attempt of North Korea to distract or confound the US or South Korea, who are presented as their enemy.

The expression “charm offensive” appears quite often associated to the visit of Kim Yo-jong to South Korea, North Korea’s Propaganda Minister and Kim Jong Un’s younger sister. The implications of this association will be studied in section 4.2.2. of this paper.

4.2.1.3. War games

We can find two usages of “war games” in *USA TODAY*⁸, a literal one and a metaphorical one. The latter refers to North Korea’s attitude in the conflict with the US, whilst the former is a description of Foal Eagle, a combined training exercise conducted annually by South Korean and US Forces.

The metaphorical use of “war games” extends the game metaphor to North Korea (or possibly Kim Jong Un), described as “the player representing North Korea”, who “chooses to escalate the conflict in such war games” (Woolf 2018). This North Korean “player” appears in opposition to “Pentagon war-gamers” at the beginning of the paragraph. Woolf uses the WAR IS GAME metaphor to present the conflict between North Korea and the US, a game in which the players are the representatives of North Korea and the Pentagon (2018).

In presenting war as a game, a serious conflict is trivialized and its possible consequences minimized. Wars, like games, can be “won” or “lost”, but their consequences, unlike those of games, are insurmountable.

There are no instances of usage of “war games” in the data collected from *The Guardian*.

4.2.2. Othering

Othering is the practice of ascribing characteristics to a person or a group of people in order to mark them as different or opposite from the speaker. The practice of othering is highly entrenched in colonial and racial discourses. Some examples of this practice can be found in the construction of the Irishman as opposed to the Englishman during the colonization of

⁸ See Table 3 in Appendix

Ireland, or the idea of the Orient as the Other: an exotic and mysterious place opposite to Europe and the Western World, studied by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism*.

Associated with these two concepts is the construction of the West. Sociologist Stuart Hall argued that the West was a historical construct, an idea instead of a geography (Hall 1986). This construction of the West served to create an opposition: whatever is not part of the West is opposite and therefore “Other”.

Oftentimes, North Korea is presented in both *USA TODAY* and *The Guardian* as the common enemy of the western world, using expressions such as “the international community” or “the US and its allies” and opposing them to negative characterizations of the DPRK, such as “the pariah country” (Deutsche Welle 2018) or “the rogue nation” (Australian AP 2018). Other opposites to this international community are countries that used to be part of the Second World, such as China and Russia.

The representation of North Korea in the media is often mediated by stereotypes. Van Dijk argued that the racist discourses of mass media provide the cognitive frameworks for the reproduction and perpetuation of ethnic stereotypes in the masses (Lin and Kubota 2011: 280); (Wodak 2011: 43). The representation of North Korea by the western media serves to present a negative image of the country, describing it as “pariah”, “reclusive”, “isolated” or “rogue”, as well as ascribing qualities of irrationality to the country and its leader.

The Guardian presents North Korea as an odd country (Branigan 2018), presenting its behavior as irrational. Even though it contextualizes North Korea’s fear of US threats (the country was heavily bombed during the Korean War), it dismisses the country’s attitude as an excuse: “Having been flattened by US bombs, it is genuinely frightened of future threats– but US aggression is also a convenient excuse for the poverty of a country that once prospered” (Branigan 2018).

What both newspapers seem to purposefully ignore is that North Korean isolation may be understood as partly forced by the US influence in the international community, and that its economic situation could be aggravated by the lack of trade options, which decreased even further after last year’s US sanctions.

The claim that “the North’s siege mentality dates back to its creation” (Branigan 2018) is too, deeply entrenched in prejudice. Before the fall of the Soviet Union, North Korea had international relations with other countries, and even to this date there are embassies in countries such as Sweden (Wertz et al. 2016).

Another typical word associated with orientalist depictions that we can find in the media portrayals of North Korea is “mystery”. In the headline that relates Kim Jong Un’s trip

to China, the train he travels in is described as a “mystery”, although in the news body it is not apparent why the train is qualified as such (Kuo “Mystery” 2018).

Within the representation of North Korea as other, I have found remarkable the portrayals of both Kim Yo-jong and the team of cheerleaders the country sent to the Pyeongchang Olympic Games. Kim Yo-jong, the North’s Minister of Propaganda and Kim Jong Un’s younger sister, visited the South as part of a diplomatic mission before the Olympic games, and was a guest of honor at the Games. In her piece for *The Guardian*, Branigan characterizes both the cheerleaders and Kim Yo-jong as charming “by virtue of gender – not only charming and unthreatening but somehow morally elevated, detached from worldly, manly concerns of power (never mind that, in reality, Kim is at the heart of her brother’s regime)”(2018). The task of all of these North Korean women is then “to normalise the image of a country that looks utterly abnormal to outsiders” (Branigan 2018), reinstating the idea of North Korea’s oddity. This portrayal, although put in the mind of imagined North Korean decision-makers, seems to mirror orientalist depictions of women, and assigns western patriarchal values to their image and actions. This is especially evident in the case of Kim Yo-jong, whose role as a high level minister seems to take a second place to her gender.

USA TODAY represents the politician as “dramatic” for carrying a folder with a letter from Kim Jong Un and placing it on the table where the meeting between the North Korean delegation and the South Korean government took place, a characterization that does not seem to match the situation described, but that can be understood when we observe the ways in which she has been described by the press: “Showing a flair for the dramatic, Kim Yo Jong carried a blue folder with a personal letter from her brother, carefully placing it on a table where the delegation sat across from Moon and his aides.” (Michaels “Invite” 2018). Writing for *The Diplomat*, International Studies experts Antoine Got and Danny Anderson point out the danger in representing Kim Yo-jong in this way:

These stereotypes are powerful and can profoundly shape the way we think and act. If we leave unquestioned the media narratives that reflect them, it will serve to maintain the sort of social hierarchies that contribute to ostracizing women from the realms of global politics and diplomacy, where traditional notions of masculinity – such as might, violence, and power – have historically prevailed.

By relying on such highly gendered representations of women, the media reproduces and perpetuates assumptions that underpin the gender inequality pervading global politics. It narrows the space at the top of the foreign policy realm not only for alternative policy proposals, but also for women and men alike who do not fit a narrow typecast (2018).

Kim Yo-jong’s name often appears alongside the expression “charm offensive” (previously analyzed in section 4.2.1.2.). Diplomacy is, then, equated with softness and

womanly characteristics, and the women's "petite stature and beguiling smiles" opposed to "the North's usual macho bluster and missile tests" (Branigan 2018), associated with men. This association seems to stem from gender prejudices, and willfully ignores that North Korea is a highly militarized society with mandatory conscription for both men and women. Also writing for *The Guardian*, Haas's headline states that Kim Yo-jong has "charmed the media" and talks of her "deadly side-eye and "'nimble' ways", although these descriptions seem to be cases of reported speech and not the journalist's own words (Haas "Humble" 2018). According to Haas, Kim "has been deployed to show a softer side of the North Korean regime, which is better known for perpetrating a host of human rights violations and threatening nuclear war", once again equating her with softness and characterizing North Korean diplomacy as a deception ("Humble" 2018).

4.2.3. Agency: attack, defense, threat and warning

Critical discourse analysis studies the ways that discourse may influence mental models and how beliefs can be manipulated (van Dijk 2015: 473). Van Dijk gives two examples of ways in which this influence can manifest. Firstly, implications and presuppositions serve to show statements as factual truth, presenting them as the given, unmarked option, and therefore as unquestionable. Secondly, passive structures and nominalizations can be used to downplay agency or to hide it altogether (2015: 474).

Following his examples, I decided to study agency when talking about attacks or defenses, as well as the usage of the words "threat" and "warning", to see if there are patterns that point out to particular agents of these threats and attacks, and whether there is any ideological difference in the semantic choice between "threat" and "warning".

4.2.3.1. Attack

In the data I have collected from *USA TODAY* there are two instances in which North Korea are the subject of the verb attack⁹. In one of them, the object of the verb's action is the USS Pueblo, a United States boat, and it is a descriptive sentence that talks about an American ship that was captured by North Korea in the 1960s (Cerbin 2018). The other instance has the United States as its object, but it is a conditional sentence, so it describes a hypothetical attack (Durando "Purported" 2018). There are other two references to a North Korean attack, but in those instances 'attack' is used as a noun, not a verb. These two uses describe how a

⁹ See Table 4 in Appendix

hypothetical North Korean nuclear attack would affect their Chinese neighbors (Law 2018). In *The Guardian*, there is also a mention to a past conflict, in which a North Korean organized an attack in which South Koreans were killed (Bacon 2018). The word ‘attack’ is modified by “nuclear” and “missile” when referring to a North Korean attack that would threaten other countries, like the US or China (Reuters in Palm Beach 2018; Law 2018).

In the data from *The Guardian*, attack is mostly used as a noun. For instance, Haas talks about “the days of Kim Jong-un’s threats to attack the US” (Haas “Disconnect” 2018). Here, Kim Jong Un and the USA are mentioned, but both “threats” and “attack” are nouns, and therefore there is no subject that is actively doing the threatening or the attacking, although the threats are ascribed to Kim Jong Un.

When used as an adjective, the word attack can be found modified by “pre-emptive” in both newspapers. Talking about Trump, an article in *The Guardian* states: “He would not say whether the United States has been considering a limited, pre-emptive attack to show the North that the United States means business” (Reuters in WA. “Accuses” 2018). The adjective pre-emptive is also used by Dorell in *USA TODAY*: “the White House issued a report that discussed pre-emptive attacks on countries like North Korea” (“Dumping” 2018). Describing possible US attacks as “pre-emptive” sets a framework in which North Korea are the aggressors, when the Asian country’s rhetoric regarding their missiles has consistently referred to them as a way to defend themselves from the US. Talking about “pre-emptive attacks” implies that those who you are attacking are planning to do something, and that the attack is the only way to stop them from doing so, but it is a misrepresentation of the actual conflict.

Conversely, an attack of North Korea to the US is described as “suicidal” in Branigan (2018), whilst on the same piece, Pyongyang is said to want “to avoid” a “US attack”. Thus, it seems that the press represents North Korea as threatening enough to have be stopped by military means (pre-emptive attacks), but not powerful enough to pose a real threat, for an attack to the US would be “suicidal” and they want to avoid it at all costs.

4.2.3.2. Defend

The instances of ‘defend’ on the data are all from *The Guardian*, as there were none in the news pieces from *USA TODAY*.¹⁰ The usage of ‘defend’ can be divided into two categories: those expressions related to war or military conflict, and those related to words or ideas. The

¹⁰ See Table 5 in Appendix

first are used when talking about Japan's military in relation to 'the North Korean threat'. The second, when governments or individuals defend someone else's words and actions, or their own.

Regarding Japan's military, the country is presented as lacking ability to "defend itself against North Korea" (Safi 2018). The sale of anti-ballistic missiles from the United States to Japan is "to help defend itself [Japan] against a growing North Korean threat (Reuters "US" 2018). The news that "Japan formally decided in December that it would expand its ballistic missile defense system" (Reuters "US" 2018), are presented in relation to North Korea and the threat they supposedly pose to the island country. As stated earlier on this paper, Japan's government seems to be using the North Korean threat narrative as a way to justify the increase of their military power. *The Guardian's* reporting on the issue does not question the idea that North Korea poses a threat to Japan, but pieces like Safi's do give it context, stating that "Abe and his allies view their country's postwar pacifism as an anomaly" (2018).

In regards to ideas and words, South Korean government officials are said to have defended "the planned use of North Korea's Masikryong ski resort as a training base" during the Olympics against criticism (McCurry "Frosty" 2018). On a different piece, it is the North Koreans who defend their "weapons programmes as essential to deter what it says is US aggression" (Haas "Ivanka Gets" 2018). "Trump" and "Trump's rhetoric" are also the object of the verb defend, for his words on North Korea were defended by Mike Pompeo and Nikki Haley, the US ambassador to the United Nations (Pengelly "Nikki" 2018).

4.2.3.3. Threat and warning

Lastly, I looked at the usage of the words 'threat' and 'warning', to see if there were any clear motifs behind the semantic choice between the two words.¹¹

On a news article that appeared on *The Guardian* early in January, Trump is said to have "warned" that he will consider "all options, including military action" in response to "the threat from North Korea's nuclear programme" (McCurry "South" 2018). Initially, I thought that the word "threat" would often be associated to North Korea, and "warning", to the United States. Nonetheless, this structure seems to be reversed on a news piece written by the same journalist three days later: "Kim's overture, however, came with a warning that Pyongyang would continue to develop nuclear weapons to counter threats by the US"

¹¹ See Tables 6 and 7 in Appendix

(McCurry “NK Agrees to First” 2018). Another instance of this opposition can be found on a news article published on the 23rd of January in *The Guardian*. In this piece, the US administration “warns” whilst “the regime of Kim Jong-un” “threaten[s] the US” (Borger “CIA” 2018).

Even though the choice between ‘threat’ and ‘warn’ does not seem to follow a fixed rule across different newspapers and journalists, Branigan’s usage of both terms in *The Guardian* could be perceived as specially alarming. In her words, a military incursion of US troops in North Korea serves “to warn Kim Jong-un”, whilst Kim’s “threatening the US” refers to North Korea’s verbal assertion that they will use their nuclear weapons in response to an US attack (2018). Besides offering an inaccurate portrayal of the situation, this kind of language could prove dangerous, since it may cause a misinterpretation of the words, strategies and reactions of the DPRK. Presenting a country that sees themselves as threatened by the United States as the instigator of threats, instead of putting their reactions into context, could lead to an escalation of the conflict and a desensitization of the general public towards the citizens of North Korea. However, it should be noted that this use of ‘threat’ and ‘warn’ is preceded by “hawks are arguing for”, so the word usage could be following US hawk’s perspective, although this is not made clear in the text.

Both Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump are often the subject that make the warnings. In *The Guardian*, Kim Jong Un is said to have “warned the United states his country’s nuclear forces” were completed (McCurry “Kim” 2018; Gambino 2018). Almost identical sentences are used in two occasions by two different writers. There is another instance in *The Guardian* of Kim being the subject that warns the United States: “Kim also warned that the entire United States was in range of North Korean nuclear missiles and a nuclear button was always on his desk” (Reuters in WA. 2018). The message is conveyed again using “warning” as a noun: “a warning that Pyongyang would continue to develop nuclear weapons to counter threats by the US” (McCurry “NK Agrees to First” 2018). The aforementioned warning is attributed to Kim. As for Trump, he warns “unlimited military action” against North Korea (Pengelly “Nikki” 2018), and in numerous occasions is said to warn North Korea that if sanctions fail, he will take military action, described as “phase two” (Jackson “White” 2018; Haas “NK Willing” 2018; Borger “NK Wants” 2018; AP in WA. 2018). He also warns North Korea not to make any more threats to the US (Cerbin 2018). But Trump is also the object of warnings in two occasions (Borger “Trump’s” 2018; Page 2018).

Regarding threats, my analysis will focus on three issues: threats related to Japan and their Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, threats made by Donald Trump, and threats made by Kim

Jong Un. While studying the data, I found that instances of threats are more often assigned to Trump than to Kim Jong Un, whilst more often to North Korea than to the United States.¹²

Only one instance relates Japan's government to the word "threat" in *The Guardian*, whilst two examples can be found in *USA TODAY*. In the British newspaper, it is stated that Japan's Prime Minister Abe won the election on the "'national crisis" created by the looming missile threat" (Safi 2018). *USA TODAY* states that "Abe will want assurances that the summit won't allow Kim to continue threatening Japan" (Michaels "Invite" 2018) and mentions "shorter-range missiles that threaten Japan" (Onyanga-Omara "Kim" 2018). This association between Japan, North Korea and the word "threat" maintains the idea of section 4.2.1.2. of this present paper, in which I argued that the Japanese government uses the supposed North Korean threat as a justification of their militaristic urges, and that these intentions are reflected in their language use, in their insistence of a threat and the usage of "charm offensive", analyzed in the aforementioned section.

Kim Jong Un is in several occasions associated with threats, but it should be noted that his name is not used as often as Trump's as the subject that threatens. His threats are "against the U.S. and its allies" (Hjelmgaard "South" 2018), but also portrayed as a fact more than a menace: "Kim Jong-un, declared on Monday the US should be aware that his country's nuclear forces were now a reality, not a threat" (Safi 2018). Kim's actions are also described as responses to US actions: "Kim's overture, however, came with a warning that Pyongyang would continue to develop nuclear weapons to counter threats by the US" (McCurry "NK Agrees to First" 2018) or he is said to be "[r]eplying to threats in a speech" given by Trump (Miller 2018).

In the data that I have collected, Trump's name appears related to the word "threat" up to twenty times. He is often the subject that makes the threats: "Trump has threatened to attack North Korea" (Onyanga-Omara "Kim" 2018), "Trump, who has repeatedly threatened military action" (Pengelly "Nikki" 2018), "Trump, who has threatened to "utterly destroy" the regime" (Agence France-Presse "NK Criticises" 2018), "Trump has threatened to dismantle by force if necessary" (AP in WA. 2018), etc. Amongst the most common references to Trump's threats against North Korea are "fire and fury" (Borger "Doomsday" 2018; Hurst 2018; Michaels 2018; Wolf 2018), "military action" (Pengelly "Nikki" 2018; McCurry "NK Agrees to First" 2018), and to "totally destroy" or "wipe off the face of the earth" North Korea, Kim, or the regime (Hurst "South" 2018; Durando "Purported" 2018;

¹² See Table 7 in Appendix

Agence France-Presse 2018). He has also threatened “very rough” action (Jackson et al. “Trump” 2018). Many of these sentences were conditional, in which he threatened to do something in response to a hypothetical North Korean attack.

Contrary to what I first expected, it does not seem that the choice between threat and warning varies according to the subject, as they seem to be used interchangeably. If anything, they are associated with President Donald Trump.

5. Conclusions

My case study has focused on the analysis of news pieces written in *USA TODAY* and *The Guardian*, two English-language online newspapers, during the first three months of 2018. This analysis initially excluded direct and indirect quotations from the data, although sometimes it was tough to draw the line between reported speech and the newspaper’s own editorial line.

Before my study I expected to find a more neutral language in *The Guardian* than in *USA TODAY*, since *The Guardian* is a newspaper with a leftist readership, whilst *USA TODAY* is more centrist. However, *The Guardian*’s portrayal of North Korea seems to be more skewed: even when trying to present what seems like a nuanced image that looks complexly at the country, they assign adjectives to the nation or its leaders that maintain orientalist tropes.

The test study centered on three main issues: war lexis, othering, and the construction of responsibility through the usage of attack, defend, warn and threat. Inspired by Teun van Dijk’s idea that metaphors serve to turn abstract models into concrete ideas, and Lakoff’s work on conceptual metaphors, I studied the usage of metaphors related to war. In my analysis I focused on three expressions and the metaphors they construct: “war of words” (WORDS ARE WARFARE), “charm offensive” (DIPLOMACY IS WAR) and “war games” (WAR IS GAME). “War of words” was used in both newspapers to refer to the verbal exchanges between Kim and Trump, thus equating words to warfare. From my findings I concluded that this metaphor is used in the press to characterize both leaders as volatile and unpredictable. These conclusions on the usage of “war of words” to present a certain image of Trump seem even more poignant these days, in which US mainstream liberal media has reacted negatively to the Singapore summit between the United States and North Korea. Writing for *Jacobin Magazine*, Branko Marcetic argues that: “One ominous result is that liberals, panicked at the idea that Trump might receive credit for lowering the risk of war, are

starting to become increasingly militaristic. It will be a sad irony if it ends up being Democrats who torpedo Moon's quest for peace" (2018). Wishing to discredit Trump, these people seem willing to overlook the reality of the conflict and the seemingly positive results of the talks.

Contrary to what I first believed, these newspapers do not seem to favor Trump in regard to the Korean conflict for his position as President of the United States. On the contrary, he is often represented as the source of threats. Although in most cases this is an accurate representation of the situation, sometimes Trump's characterization mirrors that of Kim Jong Un: irrational, blood-thirsty and overall dangerous. Whilst I do believe that his behavior justifies the descriptions of the press, I worry that his personality could be used to distract from the fact that US imperialist policies in Korea have not changed in a long time. Focusing on the current US President's rhetoric is a double edged sword: whilst we can get an insight into the ways in which he construes his opponents and justifies his policies and his world view, it could become dangerous because some people would rather have another Korean war than have to give credit to Trump, thus misinterpreting the situation completely and causing a warped image of the conflict to the general public in the West, and especially in the United States.

After my analysis of the collocation "charm offensive" and the metaphor it triggers, DIPLOMACY IS WAR, I found that this expression has a more negative meaning in *The Guardian* than in *USA TODAY*. This metaphor presents diplomacy as a tactic from North Korea to distract or mislead the United States or South Korea, instead of a genuine wish for talks between the nations. In the analysis of the usage of "charm offensive", as well as in the use of "threat", I found something remarkable from the perspective of the Discourse Historical Approach: the narrative surrounding North Korea that includes Japan. From the end of the nineteenth century until the end of World War II, Japan exerted its political, economic and military power over Korea, making it a colony of the Japanese Empire. Even after the end of the war, the relationship between Korea and Japan has been difficult, due to the atrocities committed by Japan during the decades of occupation. Japan has also been using the perceived North Korean threat as a means to justify growing their military power. Put into historical context, their implications that North Korea's actions are a sort of ruse and their insistence on the threat they pose to Japan take on a different weight. However, it must be noted that many of the pieces do contextualize the Japanese government's militaristic objectives.

The last part of the war lexis analysis focuses on the metaphorical use of “war games”, which presents war as a game that can be lost or won, and thus trivializes the real life consequences of such a conflict, consequences which many Korean families still suffer today. Othering, the representation of a group of people or a person as opposite from the speaker, and therefore inferior, mediates many of the representations of North Korea in the press. Initially, I was planning to devote part of my dissertation to studying how average North Korean citizens were portrayed in English-speaking western media. However, I found almost no mention of them on the news pieces that I analyzed. That is, those that appeared on *The Guardian* and *USA TODAY* from the 1st of January to the 31st of March 2018. Nonetheless, I did find that the descriptions of Kim Yo-Jong, a North Korean minister and the younger sister of Kim Jong Un, as well as those of North Korean cheerleaders that participated in the Olympics, were often mediated by orientalist tropes. Kim Yo-jong’s representation seems to follow orientalist depictions of women, assigning western patriarchal values to the minister’s behavior. Yo-jong is presented as the softer side of her brother’s policies, the feminine diplomacy to his male militaristic attitude. I find that this is both a sexist and somewhat racist interpretation, considering that in North Korea, conscription is mandatory for both men and women. The description of the country as a whole is too, presented through an orientalist lens. North Korea is described with epithets such as “rogue”, “irrational”, “pariah”, “reclusive” or “mysterious”, and it is shown as opposite to “the international community” or “the US and its allies”, that is, a common enemy of the western world. Instead of presenting the reasons behind North Korea’s isolation (the fall of the USSR, the enmity of the United States, China’s shift towards capitalism) or its attitude towards the United States (the country was heavily bombed during the war), the country’s behavior is dismissed as an excuse. Partly because of these misconstructions, many still fail to understand why many South Koreans are satisfied with the recent peace talk developments, something that makes no sense to mainstream US media.

Lastly, my analysis focused on the words “attack”, “defense”, “threat” and “warning”, through which I looked at issues such as agency and nominalization. Whilst I expected to find the words “attack” and “threat” associated with North Korea and “defense” and “warning” with South Korea and the United States, the data showed that their usage was interchangeable. Remarkably, “threat” was often associated with President Donald Trump, serving again to represent him as violent and volatile, similar to what I found in relation to “war of words”.

The data studied in this dissertation is highly constrained, in that it focuses on just three months of news across just two newspapers. Because of the current political situation, in the first six months of 2018 we have seen a great deal of change in the relationship between both Koreas and the US. However, from what I have gathered while researching and elaborating this dissertation, there are some common tropes, misconceptions and general attitudes towards the conflict, (whether accidental or intentional) that mediate the image of the Koreas and of the conflict in general.

Thanks to this present paper, I was able to study the issue as it developed, as there were many changes as I worked on the dissertation. Much has changed regarding the relationship between the Koreas and the United States since the end of 2017, when I started researching the topic. I close this dissertation with the hope that these positive changes will be maintained on the future and peace will finally arrive on the Korean peninsula.

Bibliography

"About USA TODAY". *USA TODAY*. Gannett Company.

Agence France-Presse. "North Korea 'Likely' to Join Winter Olympics, Says Regime Official." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 6 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/06/north-korea-likely-to-join-winter-olympics-says-regime-official.

---. "North Korea Criticises Trump's 'Sinister' State of the Union Address." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 4 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/04/north-korea-criticises-trump-sinister-state-of-the-union-address

---. "North Korea's Berlin Embassy Used to Acquire Nuclear Tech, Says Spy Chief." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 4 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/04/north-korea-berlin-embassy-nuclear-tech-germany-spy-chief.

---. "Pyongyang Style? South Korea Wants Pop Star Psy to Play in the North." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 26 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/26/pyongyang-style-south-korea-wants-pop-star-psy-to-play-in-the-north.

Akaha, Tsuneo. "The Nationalist Discourse in Contemporary Japan: The Role of China and Korea in the Last Decade." *Pacific Focus*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2008, pp. 156–188., doi:10.1111/j.1976-5118.2008.00009.x.

Armstrong, Charles K. "Divided Korea at Sixty." *History Compass*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2005, doi:10.1111/j.1478-0542.2005.00104.x.

Associated Press in Incheon. "Unified Korean Women's Ice Hockey Team Play Debut Match." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 4 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/04/unified-korean-womens-ice-hockey-team-play-debut-match.

Associated Press in Stockholm. "North Korean Minister's Swedish Visit Fuels Trump-Kim Expectations." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 16 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/16/north-korean-ministers-swedish-visit-fuels-trump-kim-speculation.

- Associated Press in Washington. "Envoy's Resignation Leaves Void at Head of Trump's Korea Diplomacy." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 27 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/feb/27/joseph-yun-us-north-korea-diplomat.
- Associated Press. "In Further Thawing of Tensions, South Korean K-Pop Singers to Perform in Pyongyang." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 20 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/20/south-korean-k-pop-singers-perform-pyongyang/440799002/.
- . "North Korea Sent Syria Missile and Chemical Weapon Items, Says UN Report." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 28 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/28/north-korea-sent-syria-missile-and-chemical-weapon-items-says-un-report.
- . "North Korea to Take Part in Tokyo Olympics, IOC Chief Says." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 31 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/31/north-korea-to-take-part-in-tokyo-olympics-ioc-chief-says.
- . "North Korean Pop Star Visits South before Winter Olympics Shows." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 21 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/sport/2018/jan/21/north-korean-pop-singer-visits-south-ahead-of-winter-olympics-shows.
- Attia, Mona. "A Critical Cognitive Study: The Egyptian Written Media". *Cognitive Linguistics in Critical Discourse Analysis: Application and Theory*, edited by Christopher Hart and Dominik Lukes, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 2007, pp. 80-106.
- Australian Associated Press. "Australia Must Retain Sanctions on North Korea, Turnbull Says." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 10 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/mar/10/australia-must-retain-sanctions-on-north-korea-turnbull-says.
- Bacon, John. "South Korea: North Korea Willing to Hold Talks with U.S." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 25 Feb. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/02/25/north-korea-offers-talks-u-s/371042002/.
- BBC News, "North Korea Profile - Timeline." *BBC News*, BBC, 9 Jan. 2018, www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15278612.

- Bernardo Paniagua, José María, et. al. "New Advances in Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Texts". *Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Texts* edited by José María Bernardo Paniagua [et al.], Universitat de València, Departament de Teoria dels Llenguatges, 2007, pp. 5-16.
- Borger, Julian, and David Smith. "Trump-Kim Talks: US Signals Hardline Stance as It Scrambles to Define Position." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/09/trump-kim-talks-us-signals-hardline-stance.
- Borger, Julian, and Justin McCurry. "North Korea: Trump Promises 'Peace through Strength' and Denies Strike Plan." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 10 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/10/north-korea-trump-open-talks-maximum-pressure.
- Borger, Julian. "'Doomsday Clock' Ticked Forward 30 Seconds to 2 Minutes to Midnight." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 25 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/25/doomsday-clock-ticked-forward-trump-nuclear-weapons-climate-change.
- . "America's UN Ambassador Dismisses Proposed North-South Korea Talks." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 3 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/02/north-korea-south-korea-talks-un-ambassador-nikki-haley.
- . "CIA Chief Draws New 'Red Line' on North Korea Nuclear Buildup." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/23/cia-chief-says-north-korea-is-a-handful-of-months-from-endangering-us.
- . "Donald Trump and Kim Jong-Un Believe They Are Winning – and the Risks of That Are Epic." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/09/trump-kim-jong-un-believe-winning-risks-epic-analysis.
- . "John Bolton: Foreign Policy Radical Who Backs War with Iran and North Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/mar/23/john-bolton-foreign-policy-radical-who-backs-war-with-iran-and-north-korea.
- . "Kim Jong-Un to Meet Trump by May after North Korea Invitation." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/08/donald-trump-north-korea-kim-jong-un-meeting-may-letter-invite-talks-nuclear-weapons.

- . "North Korea Sanctions: Donald Trump Announces 'Largest Ever' Package." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/feb/23/north-korea-sanctions-trump-announces-largest-ever-package.
- . "North Korea Wants Nuclear Talks but Does Trump Know What He Wants to Say?" *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 7 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/mar/07/north-korea-nuclear-talks-trump-administration.
- . "Trump's Firings Signal Hawkish Turn on North Korea and Iran." *The Observer*, Guardian News and Media, 18 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/mar/17/donald-trump-tillerson-pompeo-mcmaster-bolton-iran-north-korea.
- . "Two Minutes to Midnight: Did the US Miss Its Chance to Stop North Korea's Nuclear Programme?" *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 30 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/news/2018/mar/30/north-korea-us-nuclear-diplomacy-agreed-framework-1999-pyongyang-mission.
- Branigan, Tania. "Has North Korea's Week at the Winter Olympics Diminished the Nuclear Threat?" *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 14 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/14/what-north-koreas-week-at-the-winter-olympics-tells-us-about-the-nuclear-threat.
- Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopædia, "Relations with the South." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 9 Mar. 2018, <http://www.britannica.com/place/North-Korea/Relations-with-the-South-ref338094>.
- , "Syngman Rhee." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 19 Mar. 2018, www.britannica.com/biography/Syngman-Rhee.
- . "Chosŏn Dynasty." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 6 Feb. 2014, www.britannica.com/topic/Choson-dynasty.
- Brook, Tom Vanden. "Korean War II Could Be Bloodier than the First, a Reason Why U.S. and North Korea May Meet." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 10 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/10/korean-war-ii-could-bloodier-than-first-reason-why-u-s-and-north-korea-may-meet/412470002/.
- Cerbin, Carolyn McAtee. "5 Things to Know about the U.S.-North Korea Relationship." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 9 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/08/5-things-know-u-s-north-korea-relationship/409329002/.

- “Charm Offensive Definition and Meaning | Collins English Dictionary.” Complacent Definition and Meaning | Collins English Dictionary, www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/charm-offensive.
- Choe, Sang-hun. “South Korea Removes President Park Geun-Hye.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 10 Mar. 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/03/09/world/asia/park-geun-hye-impeached-south-korea.html.
- Cotter, “Discourse and Media”. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin, Wiley-Blackwell, West Sussex, 2015, pp. 795-821.
- Deutsche Welle. “Korean War Allies Consider Further Sanctions against North Korea.” *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 17 Jan. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/17/korean-war-allies-consider-further-sanctions-against-north-korea/1039351001/.
- Dorell, Oren. “Dumping North Korea Nuclear Weapons: What Does Kim Jong Un Want from Trump?” *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 28 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/28/what-does-kim-jong-un-want-return-dumping-his-nukes/465409002/.
- . “Hawaii Changes Protocols for Alerts after Missile False Alarm.” *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 15 Jan. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2018/01/14/hawaii-changes-protocols-alerts-after-missile-false-alarm/1032522001/.
- . “Meet Susan Thornton, the Woman Who Will Shape U.S. Strategy on North Korea.” *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 9 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/09/meet-woman-who-shape-u-s-strategy-north-korea/410251002/.
- Durando, Jessica. “Kim Jong Un's Purported Birthday Is No Holiday in North Korea.” *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 6 Jan. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/05/kim-jong-uns-purported-birthday-no-holiday-north-korea/1007782001/.
- . “Kim Jong Un's Sister Is Heading to South Korea for Olympics. Here's Why It's a Big Deal.” *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 8 Feb. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/02/08/kim-yo-jong-joins-north-korean-delegation-first-kim-dynasty-visit-south-korea/318876002/.

- Elgot, Jessica, and Tom Phillips. "May Hoping to Kickstart Faltering China Relations with Trade Visit." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 30 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/29/may-to-take-business-leaders-on-china-visit-in-search-of-deals.
- Fairclough, Norman. "Critical discourse analysis". *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis* edited by Paul Gee and Michael Handford, Routledge, New York, 2012, pp. 9-20.
- Gambino, Lauren. "Donald Trump Boasts That His Nuclear Button Is Bigger than Kim Jong-Un's." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 3 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/03/donald-trump-boasts-nuclear-button-bigger-kim-jong-un.
- Gee, James Paul. *How to Do Discourse Analysis: a Toolkit*. Routledge, New York, 2011.
- Got, Antoine, and Danny Anderson. "The Trouble With Talk of Kim Yo-Jong's 'Charm Offensive'." *The Diplomat*, The Diplomat, 9 Mar. 2018, thediplomat.com/2018/03/the-trouble-with-talk-of-kim-yo-jongs-charm-offensive/.
- Groppe, Maureen. "Vice President Pence Personally Thanking U.S. Olympic Athletes as Games about to Begin." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 8 Feb. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/02/08/vice-president-pence-personally-thanking-u-s-olympic-athletes-games-begin/320194002/.
- Guardian staff and agencies. "Kim Jong-Un Has Committed to Denuclearisation, Says South Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 19 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/19/kim-jong-un-has-committed-to-denuclearisation-says-south-korea.
- . "Trump Takes Credit for Olympics Talks between North and South Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 6 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/06/trump-north-south-korea-talks-olympics.
- Haas, Benjamin, and Ben Jacobs. "Republican Candidate's North Korea Experience May Not Be All He Claims." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 10 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/mar/10/republican-candidates-north-korea-experience-may-not-be-all-he-claims.
- Haas, Benjamin, and David Smith. "North Korea Open to Relinquishing Nuclear Weapons, Says Seoul." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 6 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/06/north-korea-says-kim-jong-un-keen-for-vigorous-efforts-to-calm-military-tensions.

- Haas, Benjamin. "Forever Strangers': the North Korean Defectors Who Want to Go Back." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 26 Apr. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/26/forever-strangers-the-north-korean-defectors-who-want-to-go-back.
- . "'Humble' Kim Yo-Jong Has Charmed the Media, but the Glow Is Unlikely to Last." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 11 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/11/kim-yo-jong-north-korea-south-media-regime-olympics.
- . "'Peace-Loving' North Korea Claims Credit for Thaw with US." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 21 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/21/peace-loving-north-korea-claims-credit-for-thaw-with-us.
- . "'Shocking, Incredible': What the Experts Say about a Trump Meeting with Kim." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/09/shocking-incredible-what-the-experts-say-about-a-trump-meeting-with-kim.
- . "After Kim Jong-Un's Sister, South Korea Prepares for Ivanka Trump Visit." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 21 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/21/after-kim-jong-un-sister-south-korea-prepares-for-ivanka-trump-visit.
- . "Disconnect between US and South Korea Grows amid Rapprochement with North." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 12 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/12/disconnect-between-us-and-south-korea-exposed-by-seouls-new-approach-to-north.
- . "Ivanka Trump Calls for 'Maximum Pressure' on North Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 24 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/feb/24/maximum-pressure-ivanka-trump-at-odds-with-south-koreas-north-diplomacy.
- . "Ivanka Trump Gets Red-Carpet Welcome for Winter Olympics Visit." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/feb/23/ivanka-trump-red-carpet-welcome-winter-olympics-visit-south-korea.
- . "Kim Jong-Un Praises 'Sincere, Impressive' South Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 13 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/13/kim-jong-un-praises-sincere-impressive-south-korea.

- . "Kim Jong-Un's Sister Invites South Korean President to Pyongyang." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 10 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/10/kim-yo-jong-meets-south-korean-president-in-seoul-as-thaw-continues.
 - . "Kim Jong-Un's Sister to Attend Winter Olympics Opening Ceremony." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 7 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/07/kim-jong-un-sister-kim-yo-yong-visit-south-korea-winter-olympics-opening.
 - . "North Korea Could Co-Host 2021 Asian Games with South, Official Says." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 20 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/20/north-korea-co-host-2021-asian-games-south.
 - . "North Korea Willing to Start Direct Talks with US, Says South Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 26 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/sport/2018/feb/25/north-korea-general-protests-olympics-visit.
 - . "North Korea's Cheerleaders Amaze and Appal at Winter Olympics." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 13 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/13/north-korean-cheerleaders-winter-olympics.
 - . "Pence Skips Olympics Dinner in Snub to North Korean Officials." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/09/kim-jong-uns-sister-arrives-in-south-korea-for-winter-olympics.
 - . "Seoul to Encourage Thaw by Sending Envoy to North Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 2 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/02/seoul-to-encourage-thaw-by-sending-envoy-to-north-korea.
 - . "Soju and Jokes: How 'Rocket Man' Kim Boosted Chances of Meeting Trump." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/09/how-a-meeting-between-donald-trump-and-kim-jong-un-became-possible.
- Hall, Stuart. "The West and the rest: Discourse and power". *Formations of modernity* edited by Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben, Open University. Cambridge, 1992, 184-227.
- Hern, Alex. "North Korea Is a Bigger Cyber-Attack Threat than Russia, Says Expert." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 26 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/feb/26/north-korea-cyber-attack-threat-russia.
- Hickey, Michael. *The Korean War: the West Confronts Communism, 1950-1953*. J. Murray, 1999.
- "History of the Guardian." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 11 Dec. 2017, www.theguardian.com/gnm-archive/2002/jun/06/1.

- Hjelmgaard, Kim, and Thomas Maresca. "North Korea Shows off Tanks, Missiles Ahead of Olympic Games." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 8 Feb. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/02/07/north-korea-military-parade-olympics-opening-ceremony/318592002/.
- Hjelmgaard, Kim. "Here's What We Don't Know about Kim Jong Un and Trump Meeting." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 9 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/09/north-korea-what-could-possibly-go-wrong-when-trump-meets-kim-jong-un/409755002/.
- . "North Korea Accepts South Korea Talks Offer - by Fax." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 5 Jan. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/05/north-korea-accepts-south-korea-talks-offer-fax/1006583001/.
- . "South Korea Floats Summit with North Korea's Kim Jong Un." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 10 Jan. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/10/south-korea-floats-summit-north-koreas-kim-jong-un/1019697001/.
- . "South Korea Proposes North Korea Talks for Jan. 9." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 2 Jan. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/02/south-korea-proposes-north-korea-talks-jan-9/995109001/.
- Hurst, Daniel. "'Protocol Headache' for Winter Olympics as Mike Pence and Kim Jong-Un's Sister Arrive." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 8 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/08/protocol-headache-winter-olympics-mike-pence-kim-jong-un-sister.
- . "Former US Military Commander Warns against 'Bloody Nose' Strike on North Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 20 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/20/former-us-military-commander-warns-against-bloody-nose-strike-on-north-korea.
- . "South Korea Delegation Meets Kim in Pyongyang before Historic Talks." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 5 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/05/south-korea-nuclear-talks-north-historic-moon-jae-in.
- Information Service. "Independence Movement." *KOREA.net Gateway to Korea*, www.korea.net/AboutKorea/History/Independence-Movement.

- . "The Fall of Joseon: Imperial Japan's Annexation of Korea." *KOREA.net Gateway to Korea*, www.korea.net/AboutKorea/History/The-Fall-Joseon.
- . "Transition to a Democracy and Transformation into an Economic Powerhouse." *KOREA.net Gateway to Korea*, korea.net/AboutKorea/History/Transition-Democracy-Transformation-Economic-Powerhouse.
- Jackson, David, and Gregory Korte. "Trump Threatens to Get 'Very Rough' against North Korea If 'Heaviest Sanctions Ever Imposed' Don't Succeed." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 23 Feb. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/02/23/trump-administration-announce-new-sanctions-north-korea/366290002/.
- . "Trump: 'We'll See What Happens' with Possible North Korea Talks." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 6 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/06/trump-well-see-what-happens-possible-north-korea-talks/399617002/.
- Jackson, David. "New National Security Adviser John Bolton Heralds a More Aggressive Trump Foreign Policy." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 23 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/23/new-national-security-adviser-john-bolton-heralds-more-aggressive-trump-foreign-policy/452140002/.
- . "Trump Claims Progress with North Korea, Still Plans to Meet with Kim Jong Un." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 19 Apr. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/28/trump-claims-progress-north-korea-still-plans-meet-kim-jong-un/465086002/.
- . "White House Seems to Add Conditions to Summit with North Korea's Kim Jong Un." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 9 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/09/trump-aides-prepare-risky-meeting-north-korea/409785002/.
- James, Mike, and John Bacon. "North Korea's Kim Jong Un Travels to China for First Foreign Trip since Taking Power." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 28 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/27/did-mystery-train-shuttle-north-korean-leader-kim-jong-un-china/461394002/.
- Johnson, Kevin. "'The United States Is under Attack': Intelligence Chief Dan Coats Says Putin Targeting 2018 Elections." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 14 Feb. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/02/13/intelligence-director-coats-says-u-s-under-attack-putin-targeting-2018-elections/332566002/.

- Kang, Jaeŭn. *The Land of Scholars: Two Thousand Years of Korean Confucianism*. Homa Sekey Books, 2006.
- Kim, Hyung-Jin. "Seoul: N. Korea to Send Nominal Head of State to S. Korea." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 4 Feb. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/02/04/seoul-n-korea-send-nominal-head-state-s-korea/304944002/.
- Klemperer, Victor, and Martin Brady. *Language of the Third Reich: LTI - Lingua Tertii Imperii ; a Philologist's Notebook*. Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Korean Friendship Association. *Democratic People's Republic of Korea: Juche Korea*, 2011, www.korea-dpr.com/founding_dprk.html.
- . *KFA Travel*, 2018 www.korea-dpr.info/kfa-delegation-sep-2018.html.
- Korte, Gregory, and David Jackson. "Trump Agrees to First-Ever Meeting with North Korea's Kim Jong Un." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 9 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/08/trump-major-announcement-coming-north-korea/408781002/.
- Korte, Gregory. "Trump vs. the Wall Street Journal: What Did He Say about His Relationship with Kim Jong Un?" *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 14 Jan. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/01/14/trump-vs-wall-street-journal-what-did-he-say-his-relationship-kim-jong-un/1032368001/.
- . "Why Secretary of State Rex Tillerson Was Fired Now and What It Means for North Korea Talks." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 13 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/13/why-secretary-state-rex-tillerson-fired-now-and-what-analysis-why-now-and-what-means-going-ahead-kor/417732002/.
- Kuo, Lily. "Kim Jong-Un Agrees to Meet South Korea President at Summit on 27 April." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 29 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/29/kim-jong-un-agrees-to-meet-south-korea-president-at-summit-on-27-april.
- . "Kim Jong-Un and the Mystery of the 'Special Green Train' in China." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 27 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/27/kim-jong-un-and-the-mystery-of-the-special-green-train.
- . "Kim Jong-Un Paid 'Unofficial' Visit to Beijing, Chinese State Media Confirms." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 28 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/28/kim-jong-un-paid-unofficial-visit-to-beijing-chinese-state-media-confirms.

- . "Kim Jong-Un's Visit to China Fails to Hide Strain in Relations." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 28 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/28/kim-jong-uns-visit-to-china-fails-to-hide-strain-in-relations.
- . "North Korea: Kim Jong-Un in China for 'Unannounced State Visit'." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 26 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/26/north-korea-kim-jong-un-in-china-for-first-foreign-state-visit.
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Lartey, Jamiles. "Bombs Away: John Bolton's Most Hawkish Views on Iran, Iraq and North Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/mar/23/john-bolton-north-korea-iran-iraq-who-is-he-what-does-he-believe.
- Law, Violet. "China's Advice If a Nuclear Attack from Neighboring North Korea: Duck and Run." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 10 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/07/china-advice-if-nuclear-attack-neighboring-north-korea-duck-and-run/320200002/.
- Lee, Chan, and Bae-ho Hahn. "North Korea." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 9 Mar. 2018, www.britannica.com/place/North-Korea/North-Korea-under-Kim-Jong-Il.
- Lee, Chan, and Woo-ik Yu. "North Korea." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 9 Mar. 2018, www.britannica.com/place/North-Korea/From-1970-to-the-death-of-Kim-Il-Sung.
- Lee, Chan, and Young Ick Lew. "North Korea." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 9 Mar. 2018, www.britannica.com/place/North-Korea/Relations-with-the-South#ref338094.
- Lee, Ki-baik, et al. "Korea." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 21 June 2017, www.britannica.com/place/Korea#ref35020.
- Lin, Angel and Kubota, Ryouko. "Discourse and Race". *The Continuum Companion to Discourse Analysis*, edited by Ken Hyland and Brian Paltridge, Continuum International Publishing Group, New York, 2011, pp. 277-290.

- Maalej, Zouhair. "Doing Critical Discourse Analysis with the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: Towards a Discourse Model of Metaphor". *Cognitive Linguistics in Critical Discourse Analysis: Application and Theory* edited by Christopher Hart and Dominik Lukeš, Cambridge Scholars, 2010, pp. 132-158.
- Madhani, Aamer, and David Jackson. "White House: North Korea Walked Away from Meeting with Pence at Winter Olympics." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 21 Feb. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/02/20/white-house-north-korea-walked-away-meeting-pence-winter-olympics/357350002/.
- Marcetic, Branko. "The North Korea Summit Through the Looking Glass." *Jacobin*, www.jacobinmag.com/2018/06/singapore-summit-korea-kim-trump-moon.
- Maresca, Thomas. "How 3 Days Turned in 67 Years of Separation for These Koreans." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 7 Feb. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/02/06/north-and-south-koreans-separated-decades-hope-olympics-spark-family-reunions/311513002/.
- . "North and South Korea Agree to Form First Unified Olympic Team." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 17 Jan. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/17/north-and-south-korea-agree-form-first-unified-olympic-team/1039764001/.
- . "North Korea Has Held His Dad for Nearly 50 Years." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 21 Feb. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/02/20/north-korea-has-held-his-dad-nearly-50-years/354565002/.
- . "South Korea's 'Peace Olympics' Overture to North Korea Provokes Backlash." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 23 Jan. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/23/south-korean-president-moon-jae-north-koreas-part-winter-olympics-precious-chance-open-door/1056933001/.
- . "Why North and South Korea Marched under Separate Flags at Paralympics Opening Ceremony." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 9 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/09/north-south-korea-march-under-separate-flags-paralympics-opening-ceremony/409779002/.
- "Marketing Information". *USA TODAY*. Gannett Company.
- Matray, James I. "The Korean War." *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*, Oct. 2007, pp. 275–291., doi:10.1002/9780470999042.ch16.

- McCurry, Justin. "‘Anything to Report?’: Korean Hotline Reopens with Little to Say between Foes." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 4 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/04/anything-to-report-korean-hotline-reopens-with-little-to-say-between-foes.
- . "Frosty Reception for South Korea's Winter Olympics Detente with North." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 19 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/19/frosty-reception-for-south-koreas-winter-olympics-detente-with-north.
- . "Ji Seong-Ho: North Korean Defector Praised by Donald Trump." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 31 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/31/ji-seong-ho-north-korean-defector-praised-donald-trump-state-union-speech.
- . "Kim Jong-Un: North Korea's Nuclear Arsenal Is Now Complete." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 1 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/01/kim-jong-un-north-korea-nuclear-arsenal.
- . "Moon Jae-in Credits Donald Trump for Inter-Korea Talks." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 10 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/10/moon-jae-in-credits-donald-trump-for-inter-korea-talks.
- . "North Korea Agrees to First Talks with South in Two Years." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 5 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/05/north-korea-talks-south-olympics.
- . "North Korea Agrees to Send Athletes to Winter Olympics after Talks with South." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/09/north-south-korea-talks-winter-olympics-nuclear.
- . "North Korea Reopens Hotline with South Hours after Trump Button Boast." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 3 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/03/north-korea-reopens-communications-channel-seoul.
- . "South Korea Offers to Hold Talks with North after Olympics Olive Branch." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 2 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/02/south-korea-offers-talks-with-pyongyang-kim-jong-un-winter-olympics.

- Michaels, Jim. "Kim Jong Un Invites South Korean President for Talks in the North." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 10 Feb. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/02/09/kim-jong-un-south-korea-north-korea-talks/325932002/.
- . "North and South Korea Agree: Neither Wants Defections during Olympic Games." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 21 Jan. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/21/north-korea-south-korea-winter-olympics-defections/1047507001/.
- . "North Korea Invite Is Dramatic Gesture, but Not Diplomatic Breakthrough." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 11 Feb. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/02/11/north-korea-invite-not-diplomatic-breakthrough/326932002/.
- . "North Korea Says 'Self Confidence,' Not Sanctions Led to Easing Tensions." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 21 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/21/north-korea-says-self-confidence-not-sanctions-led-easing-tensions/446259002/.
- . "North Korea-U.S. Talks: Why Make the Offer Now, What Does North Korea Want in Return?" *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 9 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/06/what-you-need-know-potential-u-s-north-korea-talks/399573002/.
- . "South Korean Officials Meet with Kim Jong Un for 1st Time, but It's Unlikely to Solve Issues." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 5 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/05/south-korean-officials-meet-kim-jong-un-1st-time-but-its-unlikely-solve-issues/395615002/.
- . "Trump and Kim Jong Un Expected to Meet. But We Still Don't Know Where." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 29 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/29/trump-and-kim-jong-un-expected-meet-but-these-hurdles-need-cleared/470519002/.
- . "Trump-Kim Summit: Will It Happen and Other Key Questions." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 11 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/11/trump-kim-summit-happen-and-other-key-questions/414711002/.

- . "War vs. Diplomacy: Did the Olympics Help Resolve the North Korea Nuclear Standoff? Sort of." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 27 Feb. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/02/27/north-korea-united-states-olympic-games-diplomatic-activity/377223002/.
- Miller, Ryan W. "Trump and Kim Jong Un Plan to Meet. Here Are the Worst Insults They've Slung at Each Other." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 9 Mar.
- Millett, Allan R. "Korean War." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 12 Apr. 2018, www.britannica.com/event/Korean-War.
- Montgomery, Martin. "Discourse and the News". *The Continuum Companion to Discourse Analysis*, edited by Ken Hyland and Brian Paltridge, Continuum International Publishing Group, New York, 2011, pp. 213-227.
- Moon, Katharine H. S. *Sex among Allies Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*. W. Ross MacDonald School, Resource Services Library, 2006.
- "Nuclear Deterrence Is a Myth. And a Lethal One at That." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 14 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/14/nuclear-deterrence-myth-lethal-david-barash.
- O'Grady, "A Comparative Case Study of the Construal of the Persona of 3 who are 'the worst of the worst'". *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, vol 3 (1), 2009, pp. 58-79.
- O'Keeffe, Anne. "Media and discourse analysis". *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by James Paul Gee and Michael Michael Handford, Routledge, New York, 2012, pp. 441-454.
- "Offensive Definition and Meaning. Collins English Dictionary." Complacent Definition and Meaning. Collins English Dictionary, www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/offensive.
- Onyanga-Omara, Jane, and Jim Michaels. "'The World Is Watching': North Korea Reportedly Would Consider Abandoning Nukes Program." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 6 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/06/north-korea-south-korea-meeting/398233002/.
- Onyanga-Omara, Jane. "Kim Jong Un Committed to Denuclearizing Korean Peninsula, Chinese State Media Reports." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 28 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/28/kim-jong-un-korean-peninsula/465078002/.

- . "North and South Korea Reopen Suspended Communication System." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 3 Jan. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/03/south-korea-north-korea-olympic-games-communication/998852001/.
- . "North Korea Sent Chemical Weapons Materials to Syria: Reports." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 28 Feb. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/02/28/north-korea-sent-chemical-weapons-materials-syria-reports/380408002/.
- . "North Korean Foreign Minister Visits Sweden Ahead of Kim Jong Un's Historic Meeting with Trump." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 15 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/15/north-korea-foreign-minister-visit-sweden/427195002/.
- . "Rare Summit between North and South Korea to Take Place April 27." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 29 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/29/summit-north-south-korea-april-27/468580002/.
- . "U.S. Says North Korea Used Nerve Agent VX to Assassinate Kim Jong Un's Half-Brother." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 7 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/07/u-s-north-korea-used-chemical-agent-vx-kill-kim-jong-uns-half-brother/402478002/.
- Page, Susan. "Analysis: With Historic North Korea Talks, Both Trump and Kim Get Something They Crave." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 11 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/09/analysis-historic-north-korea-talks-both-trump-and-kim-get-something-they-crave/409844002/.
- . "Jimmy Carter Calls Trump's Decision to Hire Bolton 'a Disaster for Our Country'." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 26 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/26/jimmy-carter-decries-donald-trump-decision-hire-john-bolton-disaster-our-country/459458002/.
- Park, Jun Michael. "South Korea's Candlelight Revolution in Pictures." *KOREA EXPOSE*, 18 Mar. 2017, www.koreaexpose.com/korea-candlelight-revolution-pictures/.
- Pengelly, Martin. "Hawaii Democrat: False Missile Alarm Shows Trump Failure on North Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 14 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/14/hawaii-missile-false-alarm-north-korea-trump-tulsi-gabbard.

- . "Mike Pence to Stop North Korea 'Hijacking' Winter Olympics, Aide Says." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 4 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/04/mike-pence-north-korea-winter-olympics.
- . "Nikki Haley: Trump Aimed to 'Keep Kim on His Toes' with 'Nuclear Button' Tweet." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 7 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/07/nikki-haley-trump-kim-nuclear-button-tweet-toes.
- Phillips, Tom, and Daniel Hurst. "China Likely to Greet Trump-Kim Talks with Hope and Trepidation." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/09/china-trump-kim-north-korea-us-talks.
- Pilkington, Ed, and Julian Borger. "John Bolton to Replace McMaster as Trump's National Security Adviser." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 22 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/mar/22/hr-mcmaster-donald-trump-national-security-adviser-resigns.
- Ratcliffe, Rebecca. "North Korea Tops List of World's Most Neglected Humanitarian Crises." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/jan/23/north-korea-tops-list-most-neglected-humanitarian-crises.
- Reuters at the United Nations. "North Korea Supplied Arms to Syria and Myanmar, UN Sanctions Report Finds." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 2 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/02/north-korea-broke-un-sanctions-to-earn-nearly-200m-in-commodity-exports.
- Reuters in Palm Beach, Florida. "Trump Disputes Report He Has 'Very Good Relationship' with Kim Jong-Un." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 15 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/15/trump-disputes-report-he-has-very-good-relationship-with-kim-jong-un.
- Reuters in Seoul. "K-Pop Stars to Perform in North Korea for First Time since 2005." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 20 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/20/south-korea-k-pop-stars-to-perform-north-korea.
- Reuters in Washington. "Trump Accuses Russia of Violating Sanctions to Aid North Korea." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 17 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/17/trump-accuses-russia-of-violating-sanctions-to-aid-north-korea.

- . "Trump Agrees Not to Hold Military Drills in South Korea during Olympics." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 4 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/04/trump-tells-south-korean-president-that-talks-with-north-would-be-a-good-thing.
- Reuters. "North Korea Smuggling: Dozens of Ships and Companies Blacklisted by UN." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 31 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/31/north-korea-smuggling-dozens-of-ships-and-companies-blacklisted-by-un.
- . "North Korea to Send Head of State to Seoul for First Time in Years." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 5 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/05/north-korea-to-send-head-of-state-to-seoul-for-first-time-in-years.
- . "North Korean Ice Hockey Players Arrive in South as Regime Calls for Unification." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 25 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/25/north-korean-ice-hockey-players-south-calls-unification.
- . "US Missile Defense Test Failed in Hawaii, Officials Say." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 1 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/01/us-missile-defense-test-failed-in-hawaii-officials-say.
- Reyes-Rodriguez, Antonio. "Hot and Cold War: The Linguistic Representation of a Rational Decision Filter". *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, vol. 2, 2008, pp. 31-47.
- Safi, Michael, et al. "North Korea Casts Nuclear Shadow over Asia's 2018." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 1 Jan. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/01/north-korea-casts-nuclear-shadow-over-asias-2018.
- Sancho Cremades, Pelegrí. "An Overview of the Critical Discourse Analysis Approach to Mass Communication". *Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Texts* edited by José María Bernardo Paniagua [et al.], Universitat de València, Departament de Teoria dels Llenguatges, 2007, pp. 17-38.
- Shin, Kwang-Yeong. "The Trajectory of Anti-Communism in South Korea." *Asian Journal of German and European Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, Feb. 2017, doi:10.1186/s40856-017-0015-4.
- Siddiqui, Sabrina, and Benjamin Haas. "North Korea Talks: Trump Praises Own Role but Washington Frets over Details." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 10 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/mar/10/north-korea-trump-kim-talks-summit.

- . "Democrats Attack Trump's Choice John Bolton as 'Reckless Partisan'." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/mar/23/john-bolton-democrats-attack.
- Smith, David. "North Korea Cancelled Mike Pence Meeting Last Minute, White House Says." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 21 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/20/mike-pence-north-korea-olympic-games-meeting-cancelled.
- . "North Korea Talks: Where Will Donald Trump Meet Kim Jong-Un?" *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 9 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/09/north-korea-talks-where-will-donald-trump-meet-kim-jong-un.
- "South Korea to Send High-Level Officials to North for Talks." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 4 Mar. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/03/04/south-korea-to-send-high-level-officials-to-north-for-talks/111080178/.
- Staff and agencies in Seoul. "North and South Korea Schedule Talks at Panmunjom within Days." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 24 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/24/north-and-south-korea-schedule-talks-at-panmunjom-within-days.
- Stanglin, Doug. "U.S., South Korea Agree to Delay Military Exercises during Winter Olympics." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 5 Jan. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/01/04/u-s-south-korea-agree-delay-military-exercises-during-winter-olympics/1003364001/.
- Swaine, Jon. "Trump under Pressure over Chaotic Approach to North Korea Nuclear Talks." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 11 Mar. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/11/trump-north-korea-kim-jong-un-denuclearisation-pompeo-shah.
- Tannen, Deborah, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Wiley Blackwell, West Sussex, 2015.
- Taylor, David. "Study Reveals North Korean Cyber-Espionage Has Reached New Heights." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 20 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/20/north-korea-cyber-war-spying-study-fire-eye.
- Tiku, Pran. "A Peninsula of Perseverance: The History of Korea" *Six Sizzling Markets: How to Profit from Investing in Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Korea, and Mexico*. John Wiley & Sons, 2008, pp. 195-203.

- Tisdall, Simon. "Trump's Rhetoric Threatens Peace-Making in Korean Peninsula." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 5 Feb. 2018, www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/05/trumps-rhetoric-threatens-peace-making-in-korean-peninsula.
- Treaty of Annexation*, international.ucla.edu/institute/article/18447.
- "USA TODAY." *AllSides*, 27 Dec. 2017, www.allsides.com/news-source/usa-today-media-bias.
- Van Dijk, Teun. "Critical Discourse Analysis". *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin, Wiley-Blackwell, West Sussex, 2015, pp. 466-485.
- Varga, Aniko. "National Bodies: The 'Comfort Women' Discourse and Its Controversies in South Korea." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2009, pp. 287–303., doi:10.1111/j.1754-9469.2009.01054.x.
- Wartman, Scott. "Trump to Otto Warmbier Family: 'You Are Powerful Witnesses to a Menace That Threatens Our World'." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 31 Jan. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/01/30/otto-warmbiers-parents-attend-state-union/1081432001/.
- Wertz, Daniel, JJ Oh and Kim Insung. *Issue Brief: DPRK Diplomatic Relations*. The National Committee on North Korea, 2016. https://www.ncnk.org/sites/default/files/issue-briefs/DPRK_Diplo_Relations_August2016.pdf
- Witsil, Frank, and Detroit Free Press. "How to Prepare for a Nuclear Blast, Other Disasters." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 16 Jan. 2018, eu.usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2018/01/16/how-prepare-nuclear-blast-other-disasters/1035348001/.
- Wodak, Ruth. "Critical Discourse Analysis" *The Continuum Companion to Discourse Analysis*, edited by Ken Hyland and Brian Paltridge, Continuum International Publishing Group, New York, 2011, pp. 38-53.
- Wolf, Richard. "Democrats Skeptical of Success in Trump-Kim Talks." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 10 Mar. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/09/democrats-skeptical-success-trump-kim-talks/410903002/.

Woolf, Christopher. "The Risks of War with North Korea in 2018." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 1 Jan. 2018, www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/12/30/risks-war-north-korea-2018-kim-jong-un/992255001/.

Appendix: tables

Table 1: “war of words”

The Guardian		
And the head of US forces in South Korea warned on Thursday against raising hopes over North Korea’s peace overture amid a	war of words	over its development of nuclear-tipped missiles capable of hitting the United States.
resuming the	war of words	between the two leaders that began last year with a flurry of personal insults
which saw Kim and Trump engage in a fiery	war of words	.
USA TODAY		
The move toward talks comes after a	war of words	between North Korea and Trump ratcheted up for months
Monday likely will be a typical working day for North Koreans as Kim engages in an unprecedented	war of words	with President Trump.
a	war of words	has raged for a while.

Table 2: “charm offensive”

The Guardian		
Japan, which has repeatedly cautioned the international community to be wary of falling for North Korea’s	charm offensive	,
Pyongyang had sent them as part of a	charm offensive	to help distract from the country’s prison camps
It is a	charm offensive	by a country better known for the latter than the former
USA TODAY		
North Korea did prove it was capable of a	charm offensive	,
North Korea’s charm offensive	charm offensive	at the Olympics has made headlines,

Table 3: “war games”

USA TODAY		
Pentagon	war-gamers	have repeatedly found that a limited war with North Korea is not a realistic option,

while the player representing North Korea consistently chooses to escalate the conflict in such	war games	.
The decision to delay Foal Eagle, one of the largest	war games	in the world,

Table 4: “attack”

The Guardian		
exactly 50 years after Kim Il-sung launched a surprise	attack	across the 38th parallel into South Korea
But a false emergency alert of an impending missile	attack	issued by Hawaii state authorities on Saturday underscored the threat from North Korea
He would not say whether the United States has been considering a limited, pre-emptive	attack	to show the North that the United States means business.
in a challenge to Trump who has threatened to “utterly destroy” the regime in the event of an	attack	.
The days of Kim Jong-un’s threats to	attack	the US seemed like ancient history
though he must know any	attack	would be suicidal
The aim for Pyongyang is clear: to avoid a US	attack	,
Despite his reputation as a dove and the way that Trump has repeatedly undermined relations between Washington and Seoul, such as by	attacking	the bilateral free trade deal, he has no intention of offering the North something for nothing.
it was suggested the UK and US may have launched retaliatory cyber-	attacks	against North Korea.
The UK and the Trump administration blamed North Korea for the WannaCry malware	attacks	which brought chaos to hospitals, banks and other companies in May 2017
Kim is a highly controversial figure to lead the delegation because many in South Korea blame him for the sinking of a naval ship that killed 46 sailors and	attacks	on remote islands in 2010.
The 72-year-old previously headed the Reconnaissance General Bureau and was tasked with foreign espionage and cyber-	attacks.	
North Korea has been implicated in a number of major cyber-	attacks	over the past few years
USA TODAY		
North Korean forces	attacked	and captured the USS Pueblo
making the only realistic U.S. option for a pre-emptive strike being a nuclear	attack	.
Trump has referred to Kim as "little rocket man," "short and fat" and a "madman," and threatened to wipe Kim and his country off the face of the earth	attack	the United States or its allies.

if they		
suspected by Seoul of having masterminded two	attacks	in 2010 that killed 50 South Koreans.
Trump has threatened to	attack	North Korea
Che Yong, a 6-foot-1 native here, shudders at the thought of ducking for cover in a nuclear	attack	.
The Chinese government has offered advice to its citizens along the border with North Korea in case of a nuclear	attack	: duck and run for cover.
But after the 9/11 terrorist	attacks	, Bush named North Korea in his “Axis of Evil.”
Then the White House issued a report that discussed pre-emptive	attacks	on countries like North Korea that were developing weapons of mass destruction.

Table 5: “defend”

The Guardian		
South Korean government officials have also been forced to defend	defend	the planned use of North Korea’s Masikryong ski resort as a training base,
Abe and his allies view their country’s postwar pacifism as an anomaly – a concession necessitated by wartime defeat but which now is an unfair constraint on its ability to	defend	itself against North Korea,
Japan formally decided in December that it would expand its ballistic missile	defense	system with US-made ground-based Aegis radar stations and interceptors
the US government approved the sale of the anti-ballistic missiles to Japan to help	defend	itself against a growing North Korean threat
Senator Lindsey Graham, one of the most vocal	defense	hawks in Congress
US ambassador to UN	defends	president’s rhetoric on North Korea
The CIA director, Mike Pompeo, also	defended	Trump
It	defends	the weapons programmes as essential to deter what it says is US aggression.

Table 6: “warn”

The Guardian		
Kim Jong-un, has warned	warned	the United States his country’s nuclear forces are now “completed”,
Trump has sometimes declared himself open to talks while on other occasions rejecting them as pointless, publicly warning	warning	Tillerson that he was “wasting his time” pursuing contacts.
Some analysts believe Kim is	warned	that he is considering all options,

attempting to drive a wedge between Moon and Trump, who has		including military action,
Kim	warned	the United States his country's nuclear forces were now "completed",
And the head of US forces in South Korea warned	warned	on Thursday against raising hopes over North Korea's peace overture amid a war of words over its development of nuclear-tipped missiles capable of hitting the United States.
But Kim also	warned	that the entire United States was in range of North Korean nuclear missiles and a nuclear button was always on his desk.
[Nikki Haley]	warned	of even tougher steps in response if it did so
Kim's overture, however, came with a	warning	that Pyongyang would continue to develop nuclear weapons to counter threats by the US.
South Korea's president, Moon Jae-in, has credited Donald Trump for creating the political backdrop to this week's inter-Korea talks, and echoed the US president's	warning	that Pyongyang faced more pressure if it continued to conduct missile and nuclear tests.
Pompeo explained for the first time what the administration meant when it	warns	that it would not allow the regime of Kim Jong-un to threaten the US with a nuclear weapon.
Despite personal	warnings	from Donald Trump on Twitter and in speeches,
But he [Lee Ki Beom] warned	warned	the mood could soon change if the expected resumption of joint military exercises between South Korea and the US after the Olympics was used as a trigger by North Korea to restart weapons testing.
hawks are now arguing for a "bloody nose" strategy to	warn	Kim Jong-un off threatening the US
When TVs around the world blare out	warnings	of the latest North Korean provocation
A senior former US military commander and intelligence chief has	warned	against a pre-emptive "bloody nose" strike on North Korea.
The former director of national intelligence	warned	about the difficulty of destroying North Korea's nuclear weapons,
but he [Victor Cha] had	warned	of the dangers of triggering a wider war.
North Korea	warned	against restarting the drills
Experts have	warned	a resumption of field drills could infuriate North Korea and hurt progress made during the Olympics.
Donald Trump announced on Friday a new package of measures against North Korea aimed at cutting off smuggling routes and	warning	that if sanctions fail, the next phase would be "very unfortunate for the world".
Donald Trump	warned	there would be a "phase two" if the move did not produce results.
Trump	warned	last week that if sanctions fail,

But observers	warned	there were still serious issues that would need to be resolved for any progress to be made.
Japan has been cautious about the recent Olympics-driven rapprochement, with Abe	warning	on Thursday that
the president was	warned	that his bellicose rhetoric on North Korea risked triggering a violent backlash from the Pyongyang regime.
He had begun his career as a mathematician and engineer, and was testing a hypothesis: that with the right mix of incentives and dire	warnings	of the alternatives, a comprehensive bargain could be struck.
The general	warned	his visitors
Yun's favourite aunt and frequent babysitter would	warn	him that if he did not behave, North Korean soldiers would come for him.
Perry spends his time travelling the world, accompanied by his daughter, Robin,	warning	of the dangers of a nuclear conflict,
USA TODAY		
[Rex Tillerson]	warned	that a military option may result if the country does not show a willingness to discuss de-nuclearization
Pence	warned	the world to be suspicious of the North's Olympic charm offensive.
He [Trump] did not specify what "phase two" might involve, but he	warned	,
the newspaper	warned	in December
Trump	warned	:
Analysts	warned	that the characterization of Kim as crazy or irrational is flat wrong.
key lawmakers offered cautious support for the prospects of a U.S.-North Korea meeting, while also	warning	against any softening of U.S. policy and against any overly optimistic expectations.
But he [Sen. Lindsey Graham]	warned	the North Korean dictator against trying to "play" Trump.
Former president Jimmy Carter, one of the few U.S. officials who has traveled to North Korea and met with its leaders, expresses hope for the planned White House summit with Pyongyang but	warns	that President Trump may have made "one of the worst mistakes" of his tenure by naming John Bolton to the sensitive post of national security adviser.

Table 7: "threat"

The Guardian		
The North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un, declared on Monday the US should be aware that his country's nuclear forces were now a reality, not a	threat	.
Shinzo Abe, Japan's conservative prime minister, who successfully	threat	.

fought this autumn's general election on the "national crisis" created by the looming missile		
[Haley]	threatened	"even tougher measures" against the regime if he carried out the test.
to address the	threat	from North Korea's nuclear programme.
Trump at times dismissing the prospect of a diplomatic solution to a crisis in which both sides have	threatened	to destroy each other.
Kim's overture, however, came with a warning that Pyongyang would continue to develop nuclear weapons to counter	threats	by the US.
he [Trump] said, in a more allusive version of previous	threats	to turn to military action that have included the promise of "fire and fury"
the two leaders, who have exchanged	threats	and insults,
But a false emergency alert of an impending missile attack issued by Hawaii state authorities on Saturday underscored the	threat	from North Korea.
He declined to comment when asked whether he had engaged in any communications at all with Kim, with whom he has exchanged insults and	threats	,
a nuclear test and	threats	to the US and the South.
Pompeo explained for the first time what the administration meant when it warns that it would not allow the regime of Kim Jong-un to	threaten	the US with a nuclear weapon.
The risk to global civilisation is as high today as it has ever been in the face of twin	threats	, nuclear weapons and climate change,
He [Trump] has	threatened	"fire and fury" against the nation,
and vowed to "totally destroy" if Pyongyang continued to	threaten	the US
the US government approved the sale of the anti-ballistic missiles to Japan to help defend itself against a growing North Korean	threat	.
Trump, who has repeatedly	threatened	military action,
Relations between the two countries reached fresh lows last year with the North launching a series of missiles and staging its most powerful nuclear test to date, in a challenge to Trump who has	threatened	to "utterly destroy" the regime in the event of an attack.
The US president has characterised conciliation efforts as appeasement, demanded South Korea pay more for its defence and	threatened	unlimited military action "to totally destroy" North Korea.
It [North Korea] described Trump's State of the Union	threats	as "the height of Trump-style arrogance, arbitrariness and self-conceit".

the North Korean regime, which is better known for perpetrating a host of human rights violations and	threatening	nuclear war.
The days of Kim Jong-un's	threats	to attack the US seemed like ancient history.
North Korea is a small and impoverished nation distinguished by its isolation, rapidly advancing nuclear programme,	threats	and invective, appalling human rights abuses and, yes, its oddity.
hawks are now arguing for a "bloody nose" strategy to warn Kim Jong-un off	threatening	the US
Having been flattened by US bombs, it is genuinely frightened of future	threats	– but US aggression is also a convenient excuse for the poverty of a country that once prospered.
The aim for Pyongyang is clear: to avoid a US attack, but also to rid itself of the sanctions	threatening	its economy.
The report suggests the group has been active since 2012, but has now graduated to the level of an advanced persistent	threat	.
The report comes after months of increasingly hot rhetoric between Kim Jong-un and Donald Trump amid US fears that North Korea is its biggest	threat	,
The face-to-face encounter in South Korea would have been the first between senior officials from the Donald Trump administration and Pyongyang, which are in a standoff over Kim Jong-un's pursuit of nuclear missiles that	threaten	the US mainland.
discuss its nuclear weapons program, which Donald Trump has	threatened	to dismantle by force if necessary.
Donald Trump responded by	threatening	unprecedented "fire and fury" and to "totally destroy" North Korea if the US was forced to defend itself or its allies.
North Korea pledged to not use conventional or nuclear weapons against its neighbour, despite frequent	threats	from Pyongyang
And Trump's	threat	of steel tariffs would have a damaging economic effect on South Korea, the third biggest supplier of steel to the US.
The Korean war never formally ended and the	threat	of a new devastating conflict has hung over the peninsula for decades.
if it turns out the North Korean leader is not cowed by	threats	and sanctions but emboldened by the development of a nuclear arsenal.
They follow a year of bombastic rhetoric on both sides with North Korea	threatening	to attack the US and Trump saying he could unleash "fire and fury".
Chinese president Xi Jinping has described North Korea's military provocations as a	threat	to his country's national security.
USA TODAY		
Kim also repeated	threats	against the U.S. and its allies.

Trump has referred to Kim as "little rocket man," "short and fat" and a "madman," and	threatened	to wipe Kim and his country off the face of the earth if they attack the United States or its allies.
an exchange of nuclear	threats	and insults between North Korean leader Kim Jong Un and President Trump.
Trump has	threatened	to attack North Korea, exchanged unprecedented insults with Kim and imposed tough sanctions.
North Korea did prove it was capable of a charm offensive, a stark contrast from the past year when Kim Jong Un and President Trump have traded insults and dire	threats	.
the officials were questioned about a multitude of potential	threats	confronting the United States, including North Korea's long-range missile campaign.
The intelligence director expected North Korea to "press ahead" with its testing of long-range missiles and	threats	to strike the USA and its allies in the region.
President Trump on Friday	threatened	"very rough" action if economic pressure doesn't force North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program.
A sincere offer of talks would provide a rare step toward diplomacy after years of missile and nuclear tests and direct	threats	of war from Pyongyang — and from Washington.
President Trump last year dismissed Kim as "Little Rocket Man" and	threatened	to unleash "fire and fury" on North Korea.
A request to cancel the exercises could put the United States in a bind and	threaten	to drive a wedge between Seoul and Washington.
The Chinese here fear they could become collateral damage as North Korea	threatened	to target the U.S. and its territories, including Guam.
Che, born to one of the many ethnic Koreans who have lived in this region for generations, taps outside sources to stay informed about a possible nuclear	threat	.
His use of apocalyptic imagery in	threatening	"fire and fury" against North Korea represented some of the most bellicose language uttered by any president since World War II.
Trump's statement, in response to reports that the communist regime had developed a warhead that could be mounted on a ballistic missile, mirrored a North Korean propaganda machine that once	threatened	to turn the South Korean capital into a "sea of fire."
Replying to	threats	in a speech Trump gave at the United Nations, Kim said he'd "surely and definitely tame the mentally deranged U.S. dotard with fire."
After North Korea	threatened	a ballistic missile strike on the U.S. territory of Guam, Trump vowed "fire and fury like the world has never seen."
The threat	threat	came just hours after reports that country had developed a miniaturized

		nuclear warhead.
The	threat	from Pyongyang's nuclear program has only grown since then.
Trump has used more	threatening	rhetoric than any of his predecessors, vowing "fire and fury" against a North Korea threat.
Trump has used more threatening rhetoric than any of his predecessors, vowing "fire and fury" against a North Korea	threat	.
the two combative and idiosyncratic leaders traded frequent	threats	and insults.
Trump previously	threatened	"fire and fury" for "little Rocket Man" and boasted of having a larger nuclear button.
The two leaders traded insults and nuclear	threats	last year.
The number of dead and wounded multiply if war goes nuclear, as North Korea has	threatened	.
Abe will want assurances that the summit won't allow Kim to continue	threatening	Japan and other countries in the region.
shorter-range missiles that	threaten	Japan at the U.S.-North Korea summit, the Associated Press reported.
In April 2009, North Korea tested a long-range missile and later announced it would no longer negotiate or abide by previous agreements. In all its statements since, it asserted its right to develop nuclear weapons to deter the U.S.	threat	.
Moon will be careful to avoid anything that could	threaten	the Trump-Kim meeting,