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E-DOSSIER #13

## North Korean Perspectives on the Overthrow of Syngman Rhee, 1960

January 2013

**NKIDP**



**NORTH KOREAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE OVERTHROW OF SYNGMAN RHEE, 1960**  
**NKIDP E-DOSSIER**

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## **North Korean Perspectives on the Overthrow of Syngman Rhee, 1960**

by Jong-dae Shin, Christian F. Ostermann, and James Person

The close attention which North Korea paid to the popular protest movement in South Korea in the spring of 1960 is made vividly clear in the journals left behind by Aleksandr Mikhailovich Puzanov, then Soviet Ambassador in Pyongyang. Puzanov's diaries—an important selection of which has been translated and reproduced below—catalogue North Korea's immediate responses to the demonstrations which began in the wake of the fraudulent March 1960 presidential election in South Korea, and how the DPRK attempted to take advantage of the events both before, and especially in the wake of President Syngman Rhee resignation.

Following the contested March 1960 election, demonstrators took to the streets in cities such as Seoul, Busan, and Daegu. Concurrently, the leadership in Pyongyang began to take stock of the widening protest movement and debated the strength of the “revolutionary forces” in South Korea. From Puzanov's diaries it is clear, however, that the Korean Workers' Party did not initially anticipate the resignation of Syngman Rhee. It was only after the events of April 19, 1960, which led to the overthrow of the First Republic, that North Korea realized that Rhee's resignation was within the realm of possibilities.

North Korea understood the April 19 Revolution as an implosion of “social contradictions” under the “imperialistic rule” of the United States and took the fall of the Rhee administration as the first victory in the anti-American struggle in South Korea. Pyongyang's leaders believed that the economic development of North Korea and the broader socialist camp contributed to the unrest in South Korea, and the Korean Workers' Party called on the North Korean population to step up efforts to construct a socialist society and aid the cause in the South. However, North Korea also maintained that despite the transition from Syngman Rhee to the Jang Myeon administration, there could be no real change in South Korea without the withdrawal of US forces from the Peninsula.

Pyongyang also identified other factors which led to an overall weakened protest movement in South Korea. Disappointingly, the North Korean leadership suggested that the April 19 Revolution did not develop into an actual revolution because there was no leading party in Seoul and because of defects in the workers and peasants movements. Nevertheless, North Korea did find encouraging signs in the April 19 Revolution. Pyongyang, for example, had new confidence in the South Korean student movement and believed that students would make up for the deficiencies of the workers and peasants. Through the April 19 Revolution, North Korea also identified various reformist organizations in South Korea and attempted to establish contacts with these groups in order to facilitate Korea's peaceful reunification.

Puzanov's diaries make explicit North Korea's proposals for direct North-South exchanges in the wake of the April 19 Revolution. Prime Minister Kim Il Sung even suggested the establishment of a Korean federation in his liberation day speech on August 15, 1960. The federal unification strategy proposed by North Korea was a reflection of how Pyongyang perceived the political and economic gaps between the North and South, South Korea's general mistrust with the North, and North Korea's general sense of superiority of their own regime over South Korea.

Puzanov's journals reveal Kim Il Sung speculating on possible successors to Syngman Rhee. Kim remarked that the United States faced a dilemma, as Jang Myeon and Jang Taek-sang were less than ideal candidates to replace Rhee. Interestingly enough, Kim Il Sung mentioned that leader of the Progressive Party, Jo Bong-am, was executed because Jo made a premature

public statement on his party's platform of "peaceful unification," and admitted that "we too made a mistake." (According to Mongolian documents obtained for NKIDP by Onon Perenlei, Kim Il Sung said that "it is regrettable that we voluntarily nipped a proper successor for the post-Syngman Rhee era in the bud by excessively supporting the leader of the Progressive Party, Jo Bong-am, and causing him to be executed").

The April 19 Revolution also pushed North Korea to revise how it infiltrated into South Korean politics. Realizing that its underground organizations did not play an active role in the course of the April 19 Revolution, North Korea set out to change how it targeted South Korea. For example, Puzanov reveals that the Korean Workers' Party established a Central Bureau for South Korean Issues to administer policies toward the South. The Central Bureau was to resurrect underground party cells in South Korea while distributing propaganda related to Korea's peaceful unification. By July of 1960, Kim Il Sung already boasted of having channels of communication with South Korea's progressive parties such as the Social Mass Party (*Sah-heo dang-jung dang*) and the Korean Socialist Party, and on having an influence on them. He estimated that "possibly up to 35 deputies from newly-organized parties who are associated with and under the influence of the KWP CC will be elected to the new National Assembly." North Korea also established a Communist University (*Gongsan daehak*), another example of how Pyongyang was actively preparing for unification and vigorous North-South exchanges. The university was to train "unification personnel" from among the 100,000 demobilized members of the Korean People's Army with southern Korean origins, who would be dispatched to the South once cultural and economic exchanges between the two Koreas resumed, which Kim predicted would happen after two-to-three years.

This collection of documents contains the most explicit information available to date on Kim Il Sung's plans to modify the pro-industrial policies which had been the main thrust of North Korean development since 1953, to light industry and the production of consumer goods during the first Seven-year Plan (scheduled for 1961-1967) to elevate living standards in the DPRK. This was not just to make the North Korean masses more prosperous. Indeed, Kim seems to emphasize more the benefits of improved living standards in North Korea for improving prospects for reunification. The North Korean leader viewed North Korea's industry and higher living standards as a magnet to attract South Koreans to support the KWP. Kim expressed to Ambassador Puzanov that he believed that South Koreans travelling north of the DMZ after cultural and trade relations were resumed would have the opportunity to witness the DPRK's prosperity first-hand and would report back to their brethren in the still aid-dependent South. It is a reverse of South Korea's present-day efforts to reveal its prosperity to citizens of North Korea to highlight Pyongyang's failed economic policies.

After the April 19 Revolution, the North Korean leaders seemed to have believed that reunification was not only possible, but imminent (with the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea). Moreover, because of North Korea's relative political and economic stability, Kim believed reunification could be achieved on North Korean terms. Yet, North Korea's optimism was short-lived. As documents earlier released by NKIDP reveal, in the immediate wake of the May 1961 military coup in South Korea, the North Korean leadership scrapped plans to re-orient the economy toward the production of consumer goods and light industry and reinforced the pro-industry development strategy. Moreover, days after the coup, the leadership decided to simultaneously build up defense industries (a policy formally adopted in December 1962). These policies, by the end of the 1960s, resulted in a dramatic downturn in economic production in the DPRK; a downturn that was never reversed.



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**DOCUMENT NO. 1**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 23 March 1960**

[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.72-122. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]

USSR EMBASSY IN THE DPRK [faded USSR  
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25 March 1960 9 April 1960]

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[handwritten:  
"to Cdes. [[N. P. Varnov?]] and Samsonov, G. Ye.  
9 April 1960 [[illegible signature]]"]

JOURNAL  
of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A. M. PUZANOV for the period  
16 February through 24 March 1960

Pyongyang

[...]

[Translator's note: the following was also sent to the USSR MFA separately on 25 March as an entry in Puzanov's journal and numbered N° 54. Handwritten notations on the copy instruct it be shown to A. F. Dobrynin, K. V. Novikov, and G. Ye. Samsonov.]

I was present at a press conference about the issue of the military-political situation in South Korea organized by the DPRK MFA for the ambassadors of the socialist countries accredited in Pyongyang. Deputy DPRK Minister of Foreign Affairs Kim Tae-hui gave a statement.

At the start of his statement Kim Tae-hui expressed gratitude to the governments of the USSR and the other socialist countries for support of the DPRK government's position on the issue of the peaceful reunification of the country. He then said the following.

In spite of a general easing of the international situation which has come thanks to the efforts of the USSR and other peace-loving countries, the situation in South Korea continues to worsen. The Americans and South Koreans are striving to increase the tension in Korea. This is evident from the following:

- 1) the modernization of the weaponry of the American army in Korea;
- 2) a reorganization of the South Korean army;
- 3) an increase of American control [*kontrol'*, which can also mean "monitoring"] over the South Korean army;
- 4) maintenance of an atmosphere of war hysteria

5) an increase of provocative statements by Americans and Syngman Rhee supporters [*lisymanovtsy*].

Kim Tae-hui cited a number of examples of gross violations of the Korean armistice agreement by the American side. In particular, the Americans wrecked the convening of a political conference on Korea, unilaterally halting the activity of inspection groups, and at the 75<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Military Armistice Commission in June 1957 declared a refusal to abide by point D of Article 13 of the armistice agreement prohibiting the introduction of new military materials.

Since this time the Americans have been bringing in new types of weapons into South Korea. In 1957 the headquarters of UN forces was moved from Tokyo to Seoul. The Americans are striving to turn South Korea into an atomic base. In July and August 1957 they reorganized the 7<sup>th</sup> Division into the 5<sup>th</sup> division equipped with atomic weapons. The 1<sup>st</sup> Motorized Mechanized [Cavalry] Division transferred from Japan to South Korea was also reorganized into a division equipped with atomic weapons at the end of 1957. At the end of 1957 and the beginning of 1958 Honest John rockets, a Matador guided missile battalion, and a battalion of 280-mm atomic cannon were introduced into South Korea. The Americans are also proposing to bring in Lacrosse missiles. On 26 February 1959 an experimental firing of a Matador guided missile was conducted from the Osan base. The issue of the experimental launches of guided missiles was raised at the 116<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Military Armistice Commission. The Americans declared that this is being done in the interests of maintaining balance in the armed forces. The senior delegate of the Korean-Chinese side stressed that to preserve balance it is necessary for the American army to be withdrawn from the territory of South Korea and the South Korean army to be reduced since the units of the Chinese people's volunteers have been withdrawn from North Korea and the DPRK armed forces were reduced. The strength of the South Korean forces has been increased. in accordance with the 1954 Korean-American protocol the level of South Korean armed forces was 720,000 men by 1955, including 661,000 ground forces, 16,000 naval forces; 27,000 assault [forces]; and 16,000 air forces. In 1953 South Korea had 16 divisions and in 1959, 31 divisions, and the firepower of the divisions had been increased. In May 1960, 250,000 men will be mobilized.

Training has begun in the South Korean army to wage atomic warfare. It is being proposed to reorganize one division into a division equipped with atomic weapons. Officer personnel are being trained in the National Defense Academy to wage an atomic war. Such personnel are being trained in accordance with a four-year (1960-1963) plan. The high command of the South Korean army numbers 220 generals.

Joint maneuvers of the American and South Korean army are widely conducted. In 1959, 64 joint military exercises were conducted, and a state of emergency was declared in the country 10 times. Some maneuvers are conducted in the area of the demilitarized zone in conditions close to an atomic war. Much military construction is being done in South Korea: plants to produce ammunition and repair small arms are being expanded, new air bases are being built to accept jet aircraft, ports are being rebuilt, etc.

The US is helping South Korea strengthen its navy and air force. A new air force division has been created and the delivery of new warships from the US has been promised. However the



South Korean air force and navy are weak compared with its ground forces. Kim Tae-hui also noted that anti-Syngman Rhee and anti-war sentiments are growing among the enlisted men and officers of the South Korean army and the disintegration of the South Korean army is intensifying. In 1959 alone 136,000 men avoided service in the South Korean army.

Now in South Korea they are shouting about the threat of an attack from North Korea in order to maintain war hysteria and tension. At the same time the South Koreans increasingly stress the need to "march on the North".

Syngman Rhee, elected President for the fourth time, declared that he soon plans to conduct a "march on the North" to reunite the country and that the Americans should not interfere in the accomplishment of this task. Speaking at a press conference on 19 March, new Vice President Yi Gi-bung declared his full support for the idea of a "march on the North".

Responding to statements by Syngman Rhee President, Eisenhower stressed that if Syngman Rhee acts this way his actions will produce a protest from supporters of peace in the US.

Therefore there are certain differences between the Americans and Syngman Rhee's supporters on this issue. Syngman Rhee's supporters are expressing dissatisfaction at the reduction of American aid. Less aid was granted in 1959 than in 1958. American aid is being increased somewhat in 1960 and will be \$254,856,000.

In spite of the fact that the Americans openly do not want to take any steps to launch military operations they nevertheless will continue to bring new types of weapons into South Korea and possibly secretly incite Syngman Rhee's supporters to [commit] provocations. There might be individual military clashes in connection with this. However, the might of the socialist camp opposes any provocations.

Kim Tae-hui said, for our part we will wage a tireless struggle to observe the Armistice Agreement and to increase our vigilance. We will oppose the increase of the armed forces, and the introduction of new types of weapons and experimental rocket tests, and will fight for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea through the press, appeals to world public opinion, and mass movement organizations.

Then Kim Tae-hui briefly dwelt on an assessment of the presidential elections held in South Korea on 15 March 1960. The elections, which were anti-popular, occurred in conditions of unprecedented fascist terror and repression. Taking into account the experience of the last presidential elections and the elections of deputies to the National Assembly, Syngman Rhee's supporters conducted careful preparation for the present elections, strengthened the apparatus of state power, and used all means to ensure the victory of their candidates. Syngman Rhee had no opponent when running for President for the fourth time. His only opponent, Jo Byeong-ok from the opposition Democratic Party [*Min-ju dang*], died on the eve of the elections from unknown causes. Jang Taek-sang, another contender for President, was not given an opportunity to register his candidacy. Measures were taken when preparing for the elections to increase the strength of the ruling Liberal Party [*Ja-yu dang*]. Its strength reached 5 million on the eve of the elections. In addition, fascist terrorist organizations were created. During the elections Syngman Rhee's

supporters tried by any means to get 85% of the voters ready in advance to vote for the candidates of the ruling party. Ten to fifteen percent of the voters were fictitious people. In many electoral precincts voting was done openly and in the presence of police.

The majority of the press agencies of the US, British, Japanese, and other countries stress that the elections which were held cannot be considered the genuine will of the people.

An increase of the population's struggle against the Syngman Rhee regime was noted in the course of these elections. Even the Americans are experiencing a feeling of discomfort. Secretary of State Herter expressed regret about the bloodshed in Masan to South Korean Ambassador to the US, Yang Yu-chan.

Kim Tae-hui said, our government has not officially taken any steps in connection with the presidential elections in South Korea. We are denouncing the Syngman Rhee supporters through the press and the organization of public rallies and demanding the immediate withdrawal of American troops from South Korea in the interests of the peaceful reunification of the country.

The elections which were held demonstrate the further isolation of Syngman Rhee and his clique from the people. Trying to cover the traces of election fraud, Syngman Rhee is now resorting to subterfuge: he is forcing individual ministers to resign in order to weaken the movement of the population. A further intensification of repression and terror is expected in South Korea after the elections.

At the end of the press conference, replying to a question about the composition of the Japanese delegation which had arrived in the DPRK, Kim Tae-hui reported that that delegation includes Iwamoto Nobuyuki, a deputy of Liberal Democratic Party of the Japanese parliament and Hoashi Kei, deputy of the Leftist Socialist Party. The Japanese delegation sets as its goal to become familiar with the lives of the Korean repatriates and to study the possibility of establishing trade relations with the DPRK.

Qiao Xiaoguang, the dean of the diplomatic corps, thanked Kim Tae-hui for the information.

The information was recorded by Embassy Third Secretary A. [middle initial off the page] Suvorov.

[...]

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK

[signature]

(A. PUZANOV)

Five copies printed

- 1 - Cde. A. A. Gromyko
- 2 - Cde. Yu. V. Andropov
- 3 - Cde. DVO, USSR MFA
- 4 - Cde. I. I. Tugarinov

5 - to file  
N° [208]

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**DOCUMENT NO. 2**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 12 April 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.147-163. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

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[Handwritten notations:  
to [[illegible name] and  
G. Ye. Samsonov]

JOURNAL  
of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A. M. PUZANOV for the period  
12 April through 27 April 1960

Pyongyang

12 April 1960

All the ambassadors were invited to the MFA, where Deputy Minister Kim Tae-hui provided information about the latest events in South Korea and measures being undertaken in connection with this by the KWP CC. Kim Tae-hui said the following:

On 11 April in the city of Masan in South Korea, a new large demonstration of residents of the city was held which had an anti-government nature and was actually a popular uprising. The discovery of the body of a youth, a victim of the repression employed against the demonstrators of this city who opposed the antidemocratic presidential elections of 15 March, served as the cause of the demonstration. Up to 20,000 people took part in this demonstration on 11 April. The demonstrators attacked an armory, seized several carbines and grenades, destroyed a police station and the local publication of the Liberal Party, and the houses of several leaders of this party.

The demonstration occurred under the slogans of "Down with the government of Syngman Rhee!", "Down with the dictatorship!", "Long live freedom and democracy!", "Syngman Rhee, go away!". "Long live a people's republic!" "The people do not want to remain a living corpse!", "Death to Yi Gi-bung!", and others.

Workers and student headed the demonstration and not representatives of the Democratic Party, as it was in the majority of cases previously. The KWP CC assesses the uprising in Masan as a genuinely democratic movement of the popular masses.

The popular unrest in South Korea has important characteristic features. The demonstrators are advancing not just economic, but also political demands; various strata of the population are taking part in the demonstrations; the unrest is taking on the form of a popular uprising; the unrest is encompassing most of South Korea and primarily the largest centers: Seoul, Busan, Taegu, Masan, and others.

The main factors which determine the energizing of the people of South Korea are: the enormous influence on the population of South Korea of the successes of the DPRK and the entire socialist camp in building a new life; the decline of the economy of South Korea and the low standard of living of the population; and the intensification of the repression of the South Korean authorities.

Kim Tae-hui said, it is assumed that the movement of the popular masses in the South of the country will develop quickly.

In connection with the events in Masan, a rally of many thousands of representatives of the city public will be held on 12 April through YeDOF channels in Pyongyang in support of the popular uprising in Masan. Paek Nam-un (a native of South Korea), President of the DPRK Academy of Sciences, will give a speech at the rally on this issue. A letter to the population of the city of Masan and an appeal to the people of South Korea will be adopted at the rally in the name of the YeDOF CC. The main emphasis in the speeches of the rally's participants will be placed on a call to abolish the fascist regime of the Syngman Rhee clique. The rally will take place under the slogan of complete support to the demonstrations of the residents of Masan against the Syngman Rhee regime, the immediate withdrawal of American troops from South Korea, an acknowledgment that the 15 March presidential elections are invalid, and the reunification of the country through general free elections throughout the territory of all Korea. It is intended that the participants of the rally will also make an appeal to the servicemen of South Korea to switch to the side of the Korean people.

At the end of the briefing Kim Tae-hui said that the KWP CC thinks that the recent events in Masan do not yet make the issue of an armed uprising against the Syngman Rhee regime the order of the day.

[...]

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK

[signature] (A. PUZANOV)

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1<sup>st</sup> - to Cde. A. A. Gromyko

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3<sup>rd</sup> - to the USSR MFA DVO

4<sup>th</sup> - to Cde. I. I. Tugarinov

5<sup>th</sup> - to file  
N° 259 29 April 1960

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**DOCUMENT NO. 3**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 20 April 1960**

[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.147-163. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]

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JOURNAL  
of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A. M. PUZANOV for the period  
12 April through 27 April 1960

Pyongyang

[...]

20 April 1960

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Pak Gwang-seon informed the ambassadors about the further progress of events in South Korea. The substance of his information basically comes down to the following.

In recent days the struggle of the South Korean population has expanded considerably. On 18 April a student demonstration occurred in Seoul (40,000 people), Busan (1,300), Jeonju (about 1,000), and other cities. The demonstrations in Seoul were held under the slogans, "Down with rotten democracy!", "We demand new elections!", "Down with the dirty government!". Ten people were killed in clashes between demonstrators and police.

On 19 April a 30,000-person demonstration continued in Seoul. Participants of the demonstration broke into the building of Syngman Rhee's residence, burned the premises of the *Seoul Sinmun* [*Seoul Daily*] and Korean Republic newspaper offices, attacked police stations, set them on fire, and seized weapons. Up to 70,000 took part in the demonstration in the city of Busan. They demanded the release of the students arrested in Masan and that the policemen who committed outrages against the students be held criminally responsible. Mass demonstrations took place in

the cities of Gwangju, Taegu, and Inchon. Eighty-one demonstrators have been killed and up to 300 injured by the police in South Korea. Characteristic features of the South Korean events are: the simultaneity of their appearance in several cities; the ever-expanding groups of the population involved in the demonstrations; and the greatest activity of the student population in the events. The South Korean authorities are bringing military units into combat readiness. To do this, with the knowledge and consent of the American command, the government has withdrawn from the line of demarcation the most reactionary-minded 15<sup>th</sup> division, which has been brought into Seoul along with a tank battalion. A state of siege has been introduced in the cities of Seoul, Daegu, Daejeon, Busan, and Gwangju. Song Yo-chan, the Chief of the General Staff of the Ground Forces, has been entrusted with the command of the troops in this region.

The South Korean authorities have also prohibited the transmission of information about events in South Korea except the broadcast of official reports.

Pak Gwang-seon said, at the instruction of the KWP CC a 300,000-person rally of the capital's population is being conducted in Pyongyang right now. Ri He-sun [sic], Chairman of the CC of the United Trade Unions of Korea and Chairman of the KWP City Party Committee, is giving a report. Today mass rallies and demonstrations of DPRK workers are being held in support of the struggle of the South Korean population in all the provincial capitals.

At the end of the briefing Pak Gwang-seon expressed the hope that public opinion of the fraternal socialist countries will support the population of South Korea in the struggle against the reactionary Syngman Rhee regime in one form or another.

For my part I informed Pak Gwang-seon and those present that the Soviet press and radio are widely covering the events in South Korea.

xxx

...In a conversation held with Pak Seong-cheol before [a showing of a Lenin film at the Soviet Embassy] opinions were exchanged about the events in South Korea. I told the Minister that the Soviet press and especially radio are covering the events in South Korea very widely and in detail, pointing to the fact that they are the result of the colonial dominance of the American imperialists who have led the country to economic collapse and complete suppression of the population's rights...

[...]

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK

[signature] (A. PUZANOV)

Five copies printed

- 1<sup>st</sup> - to Cde. A. A. Gromyko
- 2<sup>nd</sup> - to Cde. Yu. V. Andropov
- 3<sup>rd</sup> - to the USSR MFA DVO
- 4<sup>th</sup> - to Cde. I. I. Tugarinov

5<sup>th</sup> - to file  
N° 259 29 April 1960

\*\*\*

**DOCUMENT NO. 4**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 21 April 1960**

[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.147-163. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]

USSR EMBASSY IN THE DPRK [faded USSR  
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2 May 1960 16 May 1960]

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[Handwritten notations:  
to [[illegible name] and  
G. Ye. Samsonov]

JOURNAL  
of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A. M. PUZANOV for the period  
12 April through 27 April 1960

Pyongyang

[...]

21 April 1960

At the end of the day, Pak Yong-guk, Chief of the KWP CC International Department, informed the ambassadors in the MFA building in the presence of Minister of Foreign Affairs Pak Seong-cheol about the content of a KWP CC Appeal to the population of South Korea broadcast on the radio at 17:00 today.

At the beginning of his information, Pak Yong-guk briefly told about the latest events in South Korea, stressing that the situation there continues to remain very tense: all the educational institutions are closed except primary schools; in Seoul even the primary schools were closed; vehicle traffic in Seoul is prohibited and tanks have surrounded educational institutions to prevent students from gathering; mass arrests of students and the population are being conducted. On the night of 19 April, there was a street battle between troops and demonstrators. The South Korean authorities have prohibited the publication of information about the number of dead and wounded. In our opinion, said Pak Yong-guk, there are several thousand dead and wounded. At the present time some of the demonstrators, predominantly students, (up to 2-3,000) have climbed a mountain near Seoul, many of them armed. The students are continuing the fight from there and replying to police calls to surrender with gunfire.

Touching on the guilt of the US, Pak Yong-guk said that the American imperialists are concerned about the situation which has been created and are trying to shift all the responsibility for this to the South Korean authorities, which is obvious from the content of the statement of Secretary of State Herter and the note delivered by the US State Department to the South Korean ambassador in Washington. In connection with this, stressed Pak Yong-guk, the KWP CC Appeal also speaks about the responsibility of the American imperialists both for the events in South Korea on the whole and for the armed violence against the civilian population.

Reporting about the resignation of all the members of the South Korean government (except Syngman Rhee), Pak Yong-guk characterized it as a maneuver of US ruling circles trying to relieve itself of responsibility for the events in South Korea and to justify its policy.

Pak Yong-guk then said that right now the KWP CC Appeal to the population of South Korea is being translated into Russian and will be sent to embassies on the morning of 22 April.

At the end of the briefing Pak Yong-guk expressed the hope that the fraternal Parties and governments of the socialist countries will support the position of the DPRK in connection with the events in South Korea.

xxx

A festive meeting was held in the evening devoted to the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. Kim Il Sung and all members of the KWP CC Presidium and government leaders were present. KWP CC Presidium member and the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, Choe Yong-geon gave a report. The report stressed the successes of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union based on the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence. The great importance of the visits by Cde. N. S. Khrushchev to the US, Asian countries, and France in the cause of lessening international tension were noted. The report said, "The progress of humanity and the great events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are inseparable from the ideas of Lenin".

A warm conversation was held with Kim Il Sung during the meeting and after it ended.

Kim Il Sung cordially expressed gratitude for the congratulations and gift from the Embassy in connection with his birthday. He then noted that he liked the box with the portrait of V. I. Lenin.

I invited Kim Il Sung, his deputies, and some other Presidium members to my place for dinner on 2 May.

Kim Il Sung accepted the invitation.

Then at his own initiative Kim Il Sung provided information about the following issues.

1. The seven-year plan for the development of the DPRK economy. Kim Il Sung said, in May of this year Gosplan and the State Committees will finishing drafting the target figures for the seven-year plan (1961-1967). They decided to draft a seven-year plan and not a five-year plan as was previously proposed in order to determine the prospects for the development of the country



for a somewhat longer period and to more fully consider the possibilities of the development of individual sectors of the economy, and thereby show the population of South Korea what successes the workers of the northern part of Korea will achieve in seven years.

I asked about the main targets of the seven-year plan.

Kim Il Sung said, the main targets for the development of the most important sectors of the economy will be within the range of the figures named in the report in connection with the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the formation of the DPRK. The pace of development of the country should be high so as to increasingly influence the people of South Korea in order that the DPRK increasingly become an attractive force for the South Korean population. The main attention in the seven-year plan is being devoted to increasing the standard of living of the DPRK population and firstly the supply of food and clothing. Therefore in the current year great attention is being devoted to agriculture, in particular mechanization, and also to carrying out a number of other measures ensuring an improvement in agricultural production. Then Kim Il Sung said that by the start of field work this year agriculture will be given more tractors than in the past [year], and expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for the timely delivery of tractors per the Trade Agreement for 1960 (per the Agreement in 1960 550 tractors are to be delivered and 547 have been delivered).

I asked Kim Il Sung whether an increase in corn crops is planned inasmuch as a sharp reduction in corn crops last year forced the DPRK government to make large purchases of grain abroad.

Kim Il Sung replied that this year it has been decided to plant corn on no less than 800,000 jeongbo (in 1959 it was 478,000 jeongbo). The planting of the corn is going successfully.

Then, speaking of the production of textiles, Kim Il Sung said that they are planning during the first two or three years of the seven-year plan to bring the production of all textiles up to 300 million meters, predominantly from synthetic fiber, or an average of up to 30 meters per capita (in 1959 the production of textiles was 158 million meters and the 1960 plan is for 178 million meters).

Kim Il Sung said, upon completion of the drafting of the seven-year plan we will turn to the governments of the USSR and China to receive our representatives at the end of May or June in order to conduct the necessary consultation and coordination. The draft of the target figures will be discussed at the next 4<sup>th</sup> KWP congress which it is planned to convene in April 1961.

2. The situation in the South of Korea. Kim Il Sung talked about the KWP CC Appeal and reported that a DPRK government statement will be made on 22-23 April. Kim Il Sung especially stressed the Americans' responsibility for the bloody events in South Korea, for the collapse of the country's economy, and for reducing the majority of the population to poverty and loss of rights.

Speaking of the possible successors to Syngman Rhee, Kim Il Sung said that the Americans are in a difficult position. Because of age (he was 85 in March) Syngman Rhee is completely unable to work and has undermined his own authority quite strongly, especially recently. He needs to be

replaced. But there is no sufficiently authoritative and colorful figure. Yi Gi-bung, Chairman of the ruling Liberal Party, the newly-elected Vice President, is not popular. Jang Myeon, a former President [Translator's note: SIC, he was a former Prime Minister] and Chairman of the Democratic Party, is a Catholic and not suitable; Jo Bong-am, leader of the Progressive Party, who did enjoy authority, hurried to announce a program for the peaceful reunification of the country (at this point Kim Il Sung said, "We also made a mistake here; Jo Bong-am needed to be restrained"). For this he was arrested at the order of Syngman Rhee and executed last year. Jo Byeong-ok, the leader of a democratic bourgeois party, a candidate for president in the 15 March 1960 election, died suddenly several days before the election. The most prominent figure among South Korean politicians at the present time is JangTaek-sang, Chairman of the Committee to Fight Communism. But he has pro-Japanese sentiments, and therefore the Americans are wondering whether he can be relied on.

3. The organization of a Komvuz [Communist Higher Educational Institution]. Kim Il Sung said, we had up to 100,000 people in the army who were born in South Korea. The majority of them have now been discharged and work in the economy. The KWP CC Presidium has decided to train some of them as political cadre for the South of Korea. A Komvuz has been organized for this purpose. Study will be done without leaving production with a daily time at study of up to four hours. We think that in two or three years we will be able to establish contacts with the south of Korea about questions of economic and cultural exchange and possibly the line of demarcation will be open for free passage of Korean citizens as is allowed in the GDR. By this time we should have trained a sufficient number of people to send them for political work among the South Korean population.

4. The repatriation of Koreans from Japan. Kim Il Sung reported that the repatriation of fellow countrymen from Japan is going successfully (as of 20 April 17,276 people have arrived). Now the Japanese government cannot impose any impediments. And this is not in their interest right now. The Japanese Communist Party causes the government quite enough "worry". Why does it still bother with Korean Communists? There are many unemployed people and their own citizens in Japan, and here it's still necessary to give work to the Koreans. Why? Better to repatriate them to their homeland. For this reason the Japanese government has now been forced to agitate for the repatriation of Koreans to the DPRK. There is the supposition that the Japanese government will offer to extend the deadline of the Repatriation Agreement this August (the Agreement was signed in August 1959 with a term of one year) and evidently the issue will be raised of increasing the number of Koreans being transported in one trip (right now according to the Agreement two Soviet steamers make one trip a week and carry a thousand or so people). The DPRK government will accept an extension of the term of the Agreement and a certain increase of the number of those being repatriated per trip.

Kim Il Sung also provided information that he had given instructions to send a complete set of V. I. Lenin's works printed in Korean to Moscow finished in time for the Lenin days (Pak Yong-guk reported that the works of V. I. Lenin in Korean would be sent through the Korean Ambassador in Moscow [to] the Chief of the International Department, the Chief of the CPSU CC Agitprop Department, and the CPSU CC's Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

Kim Chang-man expressed gratitude for the albums of photographs of V. I. Lenin which were sent. He reported that the participants of the Pyongyang City Party activists' meeting gave very high praise to the Ambassador's report about V. I. Lenin which he made in the 19 April city Committee conference room. He apologized that he could not be at the Embassy yesterday for the showing of the film yesterday, 20 April, in connection with being extremely busy with a heavy workload of urgent issues connected with South Korea.

[...]

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK  
[signature] (A. PUZANOV)

Five copies printed

- 1<sup>st</sup> - to Cde. A. A. Gromyko
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> - to Cde. Yu. V. Andropov
  - 3<sup>rd</sup> - to the USSR MFA DVO
  - 4<sup>th</sup> - to Cde. I. I. Tugarinov
  - 5<sup>th</sup> - to file
- N° 259 29 April 1960

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**DOCUMENT NO. 5**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 26 April 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.147-163. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

USSR EMBASSY IN THE DPRK [faded USSR  
MFA stamp:  
N° 77 01047s  
2 May 1960 16 May 1960]

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[Handwritten notations:  
to [[illegible name] and  
G. Ye. Samsonov]

JOURNAL  
of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A. M. PUZANOV for the period  
12 April through 27 April 1960

Pyongyang

[...]

26 April 1960

At the instructions of the CC, Chief of the KWP CC International Department Pak Yong-guk, provided information for ambassadors about events in South Korea in recent days through KWP CC channels. Pak Yong-guk reported the following.

Complete chaos reigns in South Korea. Demonstrations continue in Seoul and throughout the entire country. For example, in Seoul on 25 April a demonstration of several dozen thousand people continued until late in the night. There were clashes with troops. The demonstrators have managed to enter into good relations with the tank troops. Demonstrators gave speeches from one tank. According to a report of South Korean radio at 12:00 the number of demonstrators had reached 100,000. Their number is increasing. All life in Seoul is paralyzed. Rebellious masses of the population have destroyed a bronze monument to Syngman Rhee. Yesterday demonstrators wrecked the apartment of Vice President Yi Gi-bung, who was elected on 15 March. It is not known where he is himself. There is hesitation among the police, which has especially increased after rumors spread that former Minister of Internal Affairs Choe In-gyu had fled to Taiwan. Many policemen want to avoid serving in the police under strong pressure from the popular masses and are reluctant go to suppress demonstrations. The Americans and Syngman Rhee's supporters are very afraid of the soldiers of the South Korean army. Therefore they have given orders not to inform the army about the actual events in the country, meetings between servicemen and relatives have been stopped, and correspondence has also been prohibited. Some unreliable units have been disarmed. It has become increasingly difficult for the Americans to cope with the situation which has been created in South Korea. The Americans would like to leave Syngman Rhee in the post of President and just replace the government. But as events are showing the popular masses do not agree with this, they want the elimination of the reactionary Syngman Rhee regime.

At 10:00 26 April, Syngman Rhee made a statement in which he expresses readiness to resign if the people do not support him. Pak Yong-guk said, we think that in such a situation it will be hard for Syngman Rhee to remain in the post of President, but the coming days will show Syngman Rhee's real intentions.

In connection with such a situation in South Korea, continued Pak Yong-guk, the KWP CC intends to hold a meeting with all leaders of public and political organizations of the DPRK on 27-28 April and make the following demands:

the main demand: American troops are to immediately leave South Korea and American aggressive circles are not to interfere in the internal affairs of South Korea;

abolish the reactionary Syngman Rhee regime, disband the government and parliament (the National Assembly); arrest Syngman Rhee and hand him over to a people's court;

immediately cancel the state of emergency in the country, release all those arrested during the demonstrations and all political prisoners from prison;

hold new elections to parliament to which representatives of the workers and peasants should be elected;

the newly-elected parliament of South Korea is to merge with the People's Assembly of the DPRK;

restore the activity of political parties and organizations which were disbanded by the Syngman Rhee government;

hold a Conference of representatives of North and South Korea at which the situation in South Korea and steps to reunify the country are to be discussed.

In conclusion Pak Yong-guk thanked the fraternal socialist countries for the aid and support being given. But, considering the situation which has been created in South Korea, the KWP CC would now like to receive support from the fraternal socialist countries on the issue of the immediate withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and of American non-interference in the internal affairs of South Korea, to support the DPRK that the situation which has been created in the South of Korea is the result of the 15 years of the Americans' colonial dominance.

Pak Yong-guk then said that if strong pressure is put on the Americans in the international arena they will be forced to withdraw their troops, and then conditions will be created for the peaceful reunification of the country.

[...]

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK

[signature] (A. PUZANOV)

Five copies printed

1<sup>st</sup> - to Cde. A. A. Gromyko

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4<sup>th</sup> - to Cde. I. I. Tugarinov

5<sup>th</sup> - to file

N° 259 29 April 1960

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## **DOCUMENT NO. 6**

### **Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 2 May 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.164-183. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

USSR EMBASSY IN THE DPRK [faded USSR

MFA stamp:

01166s

N° 92

31 May 1960

6 June 1960]

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G. Ye. Samsonov]

JOURNAL  
of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A. M. PUZANOV for the period  
29 April through 30 May 1960

Pyongyang

[...]

2 May 1960

A comradely dinner was held at the dacha, as has usually done on this day for a number of years (last year there was no dinner because of Kim Il Sung's illness). At the dinner were: Kim Il Sung, Choe Yong-geon, Pak Jeong-ae, Kim Il, Pak Geum-cheol, Kim Chang-man, Nam Il, Pak Seong-cheol, and his wife. From our side were: Counsellors N. Ye. Torbenkov and V. A. Zharkov, Military Attaché A. I. Mal'chevsky, and Trade Representative I. A. Gladkov. Translations were done by Embassy interpreter D. A. Priyemsky and Deputy Chief of the DPRK MFA First Department Choe Won-sik. Nam Il interpreted a conversation in which Kim Il Sung expressed a desire to go to Moscow to meet with Cde. N. S. Khrushchev.

The dinner and the conversation were held in a candid and friendly atmosphere.

The content of the conversation is in a separate record.

I was on an official trip in Moscow from 3 through 16 May at a CPSU CC Plenum and at the 5<sup>th</sup> session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In connection with the wish expressed by Kim Il Sung in the 2 May conversation Minister Cde. A. A. Gromyko charged me with telling the following to Kim Il Sung on return to Pyongyang: the desire you expressed in the 2 May conversation to visit Moscow to meet with Cde. N. S. Khrushchev has encountered a favorable attitude in Moscow. A desired time for the visit will be sent separately.

Then the Minister informed for me that the time of the arrival will be set on return from Paris.

[Translator's note: the record of the conversation with Kim Il Sung follows:

FROM THE JOURNAL OF  
A. M. PUZANOV

[faded USSR  
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Copy N° 1  
6 May 1960

N° 318/dv

RECORD OF A CONVERSATION  
WITH CDE. KIM IL SUNG

2 May 1960

I held a dinner in the Embassy at which members of the KWP CC Presidium were present: Kim Il Sung, Choe Yong-geon, Pak Jeong-ae, Kim Il, Pak Geum-cheol, Kim Chang-man, Nam Il, and also Minister of Foreign Affairs Pak Seong-cheol. Present from our side were Counsellors N. Ye. Torbenkov and V. A. Zharkov, Military Attaché A. I. Mal'chevsky, and Trade Representative I. A. Gladkov.

In a conversation which took place Kim Il Sung, touching on the May 1 demonstration of the workers of Pyongyang, said that it showed the solidarity of the people around the Korean Worker's Party and DPRK government, the successes in socialist development, and the high labor and political enthusiasm. When he did this Kim Il Sung especially stressed the enormous importance for the DPRK of the material aid and moral support of the Soviet Union. Kim Il Sung said, all our successes in the development of the economy cannot be viewed apart from the comprehensive aid and support of the Soviet people, the CPSU CC, and the Government of the Soviet Union. Then Kim Il Sung reported that at first the participation of armed detachments of the people's guard was suggested. However, on the eve of 1 May they abandoned such a plan since the fact of the participation of the people's guard in the demonstration might be used by enemy propaganda against the peaceloving policy of the DPRK. Moreover, said Kim Il Sung, "you don't scare the Americans with rifles".

In the course of subsequent conversation Kim Il Sung gave a general assessment of the events occurring in South Korea. He noted that broad strata of the South Korean population, especially students, are taking part in them. Political demands were advanced from the very beginning. Syngman Rhee and his government have been overthrown as a result of the popular uprising.

The policy of the newly-created government of South Korea will in no way be significantly different from the policy of the previous government. As everyone knows, the government is formed of American stooges. Therefore, in spite of all kinds of restrictive measures being undertaken by the provisional government of South Korea right now, the population will continue the struggle for the realization of their fundamental demands, first of all for the elimination of the division of Korea and for the withdrawal of American troops. In Kim Il Sung's opinion, in the near future the Americans will undertake a number of steps "to pacify the population", including the use of pressure through aid channels.

The people felt their power in the course of the mass demonstrations by the population. Now they have started to resume the activity of previously banned public and political organizations. The KWP CC thinks that the more progressive-minded parties there are in South Korea the easier it will be for the KWP to pursue work among the broad strata of the South Korean population.

In Kim Il Sung's opinion, socialist development in the DPRK, the successes achieved by the Soviet Union in Communist development, the efforts of the Soviet government and especially Cde. N. S. Khrushchev in relaxing international tension, his successful trips to the US, the countries of Asia, and to France are exerting a great influence on the development of events in the South.

Until recently, continued Kim Il Sung, most of the population in South Korea thought that the US was the strongest country in the world in the development of the economy, science, and technology. But with the appearance of Soviet satellites and missiles it has become obvious to them that the leading country in the field of science and technology is not the US, but the Soviet Union. All this could not fail to have a certain influence on the frame of mind of the population of South Korea.

Kim Il Sung said, we think that after some time we will nevertheless be able to establish contacts between the North and South of Korea (postal traffic, reciprocal visits of representatives of political parties and organizations, and with time, partial movements of populations). He said that it is necessary to diligently and carefully prepare for this, including preparing political cadre. A komvuz was recently created for this purpose where natives of South Korea will study who were demobilized from the army, who number up to 100,000. The KWP CC sees the main goal in the further economic development of the DPRK. Therefore the annual pace of economic development ought to be increased. This will allow the sympathies of the southerners to be won even more. Already workers of the DPRK live better materially than the workers of the South. However, said Kim Il Sung, we still have a shortage of clothing, grain, and other goods. For example, in the DPRK we produce an average of up to 17 meters of various textiles per capita and in fact we sell the population no more than 10 meters per capita. This is little, of course. It is necessary to raise the production of textiles to 30 meters per capita in the next two or three years.

Then Kim Il Sung said, that at the present time the compilation of the seven-year plan for the development of the DPRK economy (1961-1967) is coming to an end. Its most important task is the considerable increase of the population's standard of living, an increase in the production of food and manufactured goods. In agriculture right now the main task is in mechanization. However, said Kim Il Sung, we need the help of the Soviet Union and China in order to perform the tasks set by the seven-year plan.

Kim Il Sung reported that a need has arisen for them to consult in detail with Cde. N. S. Khrushchev about fundamental issues of the further development of the DPRK economy and its foreign policy. At this point Kim Il Sung said that they are awaiting the arrival of Cde. N. S. Khrushchev in the DPRK but they do not yet know when he will have such an opportunity. Kim Il Sung said this to the effect that he, taking into consideration that Cde. N. S. Khrushchev is extremely busy at the present time with very important international matters he could come to Moscow himself to meet with Cde. N. S. Khrushchev and discuss all the issues of concern to the DPRK.

In the course of the conversation I informed Kim Il Sung in detail about the coverage of the South Korean events in the Soviet press and radio. I further said that, as is well known, the Soviet Union has given and continues to give the DPRK fraternal aid. In particular, this year our government has granted the request of the DPRK government for the delivery of food grain and 550 tractors which have already arrived in the DPRK. I also said that the deliveries of Soviet goods in accordance with trade turnover are going successfully, which cannot be said about the deliveries of Korean goods. I reported that at the present time a reciprocal examination of the fulfillment of the trade agreement for the first four months of this year is underway. Senior



officials of the Ministry of Foreign Trade have arrived in Pyongyang for this purpose. I asked Kim Il Sung to receive these officials, who will describe the results of their work. Kim Il Sung agreed, adding, if he is not out of town.

I cautiously tried to find out what sort of aid it is intended to ask of the Soviet Union. Kim Il Sung said that it is still hard at the present time to say specifically inasmuch as the compilation of the seven-year plan is still not complete. Domestic abilities and resources are still being clarified, after which the nature of the aid from the Soviet Union and China will be determined.

It was noted in passing that there will be a shortfall on the order of 0.9-1.0 billion foreign-exchange rubles to carry out the seven-year plan. It would be desirable to receive 15,000 tons of cotton and 100,000 tons of grain from the Soviet Union annually.

I formed the opinion from the conversation with Kim Il Sung and Presidium members that if Cde. N. S. Khrushchev does not manage to visit the DPRK in the next few months then Kim Il Sung would like to visit the Soviet Union. Besides discussions he evidently would like to use his stay in the USSR for treatment (he suffers from kidney disease). Treatment with folk medicine methods which has been done for five months by two Chinese doctors have not produced any results.

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK  
[signature] (A. PUZANOV)

4-SG/in  
1<sup>st</sup> - to Cde. A. A. Gromyko  
2<sup>nd</sup> - to Cde. G. M. Pushkin  
3<sup>rd</sup> - to the General Secretariat  
4<sup>th</sup> - to file  
N° 722-dv.  
6 May 1960]

[...]

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1<sup>st</sup> - to Cde. A. A. Gromyko  
2<sup>nd</sup> - to Cde. Yu. V. Andropov  
3<sup>rd</sup> - to Cde. I. I. Tugarinov  
4<sup>th</sup> - to the USSR MFA UVPI [expansion unknown]  
5<sup>th</sup> - to file  
N° 292 31 May 1960

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**DOCUMENT NO. 7**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 24 May 1960**

[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.164-183. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]

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MFA stamp:  
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31 May 1960 6 June 1960]

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[Handwritten notations:  
to [[illegible name] and  
G. Ye. Samsonov]

JOURNAL  
of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A. M. PUZANOV for the period  
29 April through 30 May 1960

Pyongyang

[...]

24 May 1960

I visited Pak Seong-cheol by previous agreement. Pak Seong-cheol said that as a consequence of the great workload (a meeting in the KWP CC, a city-wide rally) he could not receive me yesterday, as had been arranged on 21 May at the meeting at Pak Jeong-ae's.

I told the Minister that in a conversation with me at the end of April you asked me to find out through the Soviet Representative to the UN the assessment of the situation in South Korea by Representatives of the capitalist countries to the UN. The USSR MFA leadership has charged me with informing you about this issue (see N°N° 53-55 for the content).

Pak Seong-cheol expressed gratitude for the information.

After the briefing a long conversation resulted in which Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Kim Tae-hui took part.

At the beginning of the conversation I asked Pak Seong-cheol to tell about the situation in South Korea at the present time.

Pak Seong-cheol replied that during this period Heo Jeong, who heads the provisional government of South Korea, is not offering a specific political platform, striving to calm public opinion by promising to hold new elections by the end of July. Two groups have formed inside

the ruling Liberal Party one of which insists on the disbandment of the Party and the other, on its reorganization in order to prepare for the new elections. An extraordinary congress of the Liberal Party is set for 31 May.

Jang Myeon, the leader of the Liberal Party [sic, the Democratic Party], is making statements that the overthrow of Syngman Rhee was achieved thanks to the fact that the students and youth of South Korea rose up to fight at the call of the Democratic Party and therefore the credit for the triumph of the April anti-Syngman Rhee movement belongs to the Democratic Party. Jang Myeon's statements stress that if the Democratic Party wins a decisive victory in the new elections and becomes "the first party" then it will oppose the creation of a coalition government and favors the distribution of leadership positions only among members of the Democratic Party.

At the present time a process of creation of new political parties and public organizations is underway in South Korea. They include: the Youth Party to Save the Motherland, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Masses Party, and others.

One of the demands of the Socialist Masses Party is the arrest and imprisonment of Syngman Rhee as the chief culprit in the rigging of the 15 March 1960 elections. The leadership of this party is counting on getting 2 million votes in the new elections and getting 150 seats in the National Assembly.

The struggle of the people of South Korea for their vital rights continues. A characteristic feature of popular statements at the present time is the advancement of specific demands of a mass nature. For example, workers are announcing a strike, demanding an eight-hour workday and an increase in wages. Bus drivers and dockworkers are making such demands, for example. Students are demanding the removal of pro-Syngman Rhee instructors. Merchants are demanding tax cuts. In a number of locations the population is demanding that the chief culprits and participants in the mass killings of civilians during the last war be severely punished. The resignation of Defense Minister Kim Jeong-yeol, the retirement of Song Yo-chan, the commanding general of the troops which implemented the state of emergency, and who expressed a desire to leave the army and live in a village, has had a certain influence on the situation in the country. When Song Yo-chan was Commanding General of the Ground Forces of the South Korean army he removed from their posts about 2,000 officers, many of whom are now expressing their dissatisfaction.

Concluding the survey of the situation in South Korea, Pak Seong-cheol repeated that in the conditions which have been created, Heo Jeong is resorting to various roundabout maneuvers, trying to calm the public, and announcing the holding of new elections.

I asked, what elections this means, the election of a president and vice president or elections to the National Assembly?

Pak Seong-cheol replied that it means the same as the other elections. Only the issue of how the election of the president will be conducted has not been decided, a direct vote or via the National Assembly.

I asked, what actions are the Americans now undertaking in South Korea?

Pak Seong-cheol said that according to incoming reports US Ambassador to South Korea McConaughy and the Commander-in-Chief of the "UN Forces" in South Korea Magruder are continually holding unofficial meetings with Heo Jeong. Talks are being held between the US and South Korea about questions of giving and increasing economic aid. The US intends to conduct an investigation of how the aid they have been giving has been used up to the present time.

I asked, what is the prevailing mood in the South Korean army?

Pak Seong-cheol replied that only the senior officer personnel are sufficiently informed about the events occurring in South Korea. The bulk of the servicemen do not have a correct idea of the latest events in the country since they are forbidden to leave their units, communicate with relatives, or to gather even in small groups for conversations among themselves outside of military classes. Every third day the subunits in the troops implementing the state of emergency are replaced.

I asked, have there been any incidents recently at the line of demarcation?

Pak Seong-cheol said that nothing serious has occurred recently in the area of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. He noted that a large number of correspondents and observers from South Korea were present at the last meeting of the Military Armistice Commission. In conversations with DPRK correspondents the South Korean journalists, evidently expressing the opinion of certain circles, said that the time had come for representatives of the South and North to meet at a roundtable to discuss issues of mutual interest. They expressed the opinion that the current head of the Provisional South Korean government Heo Jeong will not last long in power and that such an old political figure as Jang Myeon will also not be able to normalize the situation in the country. In their opinion, changes in the foreign and domestic policy of South Korea, particularly talks with North Korea, might be carried out when young forces come to power in South Korea.

I asked, does the DPRK government not intend to again propose talks about contacts with South Korea in the near future?

Pak Seong-cheol replied that the DPRK government attaches exceptionally great importance to the 27 April joint statement of the combined meeting of political parties and public organizations in connection with the events in South Korea. He said, it would be very important for us for some South Korean party or organization to express support for this statement.

At the present time the DPRK government is awaiting the reaction to this statement by the political parties and public organizations directed to South Korea. However, there has not yet been a response from South Korea. In the course of events it is evident that some additional steps will be taken. Right now, it is hard to take specific steps when chaos and confusion reign in South Korea for it is doubtful that the Heo Jeong government would meet [us] halfway in establishing contacts between the North and South of the country.

I tentatively asked what proposals about the Korean issue are being planned in connection with the upcoming 15<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly session, taking into account the recent events in South Korea.

Pak Seong-cheol reported that the main principles of DPRK policy with respect to raising the Korean issue at the UN still remain in force. He said, we consider the discussion of the Korean issue at the UN to be illegal. However, if such a discussion nevertheless takes place then we will insist on the obligatory participation of a DPRK representative. Pak Seong-cheol stressed, the DPRK government does not desire for the DPRK to join the UN. However, if the Westerners insist on South Korea being admitted to the UN it would then be desirable for us for the socialist countries to oppose this proposal. As a tactical step we will agree to the submission of a proposal about the simultaneous admission of the DPRK and South Korea to the UN, intending that this measure will block South Korea's admission to the UN.

At the present time the DPRK MFA is preparing a memorandum about the Korean issue which will denounce the activity of the so-called "UN Commission for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction". The memorandum will be sent for distribution among delegations of the UN session. Pak Seong-cheol noted, last year we managed to draw up a similar memorandum in a timely manner. Then the Soviet side quickly sent us the report of the so-called "UN Commission". Pak Seong-cheol said, it is desirable that such a report also be sent in a timely manner this time since we are feeling an acute need for this.

[Translator's note: both men use the term "UN Commission" in quotes, but context suggests it is the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency].

I replied that, as far as [I] know, the "UN Commission" report has still not been distributed. The compilation of such a report is being delayed in the UN, evidently because the Americans are worming their way out of the troublesome situation in which they have found themselves after the recent events in South Korea.

I stressed that we will send Pak Seong-cheol's request to the USSR MFA leadership without fail and I will send the text of the "UN Commission" report as soon as it becomes possible.

Touching on the prospects for the discussion of the Korean issue at the UN, I asked whether the DPRK government intends to especially raise the issue of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

Pak Seong-cheol replied that in principle the DPRK government is in favor of raising this issue. In his opinion, it would be better for this issue to be raised by a delegation of some Asian or African country since such a proposal raised by one of the socialist country delegations would perhaps be immediately rejected.

Pak Seong-cheol then reported that before the opening of the 15<sup>th</sup> General Assembly session the DPRK government intends to send a letter to the Chairman of the Session demanding a DPRK delegation be allowed to take part in the discussion of the Korean issue. The letter would point out that the DPRK government does not recognize any UN decisions if they are adopted without

the participation of its representatives. Pak Seong-cheol said, in the event that any decisions are adopted at the session without a DPRK representative we will send a second letter in which we will declare our non-acceptance of the decisions adopted. Thus, the main idea of these documents will be that the Korean issue should be decided by the Korean people themselves. The recent events in South Korea confirm this truth once again. It is obvious from the example of these events to what disastrous consequences UN interference in Korean affairs has led. This is briefly the substance of the main documents on the Korean issue being prepared at the present time by the DPRK MFA, Pak Seong-cheol said in conclusion. If in the near future circumstances change, the appropriate corrections will be made in these documents.

I asked what would be the DPRK government position if the Westerners make a tactical maneuver by proposing that elections be held simultaneously in South and North Korea under UN observation.

Pak Seong-cheol replied that they still hold to the proposals to hold Korea-wide elections after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea. Pak Seong-cheol said that in the event of a troop withdrawal no observation of elections by the UN will be needed. Korea will be reunited by the efforts of the Korean people themselves.

Pak Seong-cheol stressed that at the present time favorable conditions do not exist for any UN activity in Korea whatsoever. The Korean people well know that it was under the UN flag that a bloody, piratical war was waged against them for three years. The Korean people view this flag as the flag of their enemy. The various "elections" held for 15 years under UN observation in South Korea have brought only misfortune to the Korean people. Until there is a solid majority of socialist countries in the UN or its organizations UN meddling [*vmeshatel'stvo*] in the solution of the Korean issue is unacceptable. The Minister then noted that sentiments in South Korea are steadily spreading in favor of a peaceful reunification of the country. The recent statement by Heo Jeong that proposals and calls by the Communists for peaceful reunification are fraught with serious danger demonstrates this.

At the end of the conversation Pak Seong-cheol reported that in July the DPRK MFA will send the socialist countries the necessary documents about the Korean issue for the upcoming UN General Assembly session and also materials about the situation in North and South Korea.

I noted for my part that these materials will be of great value to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

I thanked Pak Seong-cheol for the interesting and substantive conversation.

[The conversation was interpreted and recorded by Embassy interpreter D. A. Priyemsky.]

[...]

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK  
[signature] (A. PUZANOV)

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1<sup>st</sup> - to Cde. A. A. Gromyko

2<sup>nd</sup> - to Cde. Yu. V. Andropov

3<sup>rd</sup> - to Cde. I. I. Tugarinov

4<sup>th</sup> - to the USSR MFA UVPI [expansion unknown]

5<sup>th</sup> - to file

N° 292 31 May 1960

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**DOCUMENT NO. 8**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 29 May 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.164-183. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[...]

29 May 1960

I met with Pak Seong-cheol at the Chin-San [sic] Reservoir and had a short conversation with him. The Minister reported that Kim Il Sung is not working because of illness (according to the information of our doctor, Cde. Podorozhnyy, Kim Il Sung did not work on 27 and 28 May because of a cold).

Pak Seong-cheol also reported that this morning Syngman Rhee "fled" South Korea on an American plane, fearing being put on trial or the fate to which Yi Gi-bung was subjected (he was killed).

[Translator's note: according to press reports of the time Rhee and his entire family committed suicide].

I briefly informed the Minister (the conversation was held without an interpreter) about the content of Cde. N. S. Khrushchev's speech at a conference of Communist labor teams at the Kremlin...

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK

[signature] (A. PUZANOV)

Five copies printed at.

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4<sup>th</sup> - to the USSR MFA UVPI [expansion unknown]

5<sup>th</sup> - to file

N° 292 31 May 1960

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**DOCUMENT NO. 9**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 1 June 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.188-208. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

USSR EMBASSY IN THE DPRK

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13 June 1960

2[[7]] June 1960]

[Handwritten notations: to [[illegible name] and G. Ye. Samsonov]

JOURNAL of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A. M. PUZANOV  
for the period  
1 through 11 June 1960

Pyongyang

1 June 1960

I met with Pak Seong-cheol and at the instruction of the USSR MFA informed him of the new proposals of the Soviet government on the issue of general and complete disarmament.

After hearing the information Pak Seong-cheol expressed gratitude for the preliminary report about the new Soviet proposals and said that the substance of the information would be immediately passed to the DPRK government.

Pak Seong-cheol declared that the new proposals will be actively supported by our government as before.

In the course of the conversation Pak Seong-cheol talked about the latest events in South Korea. He stressed that at the present time the working class is increasingly active in the struggle for freedom and democracy and its struggle is taking on ever-stronger and deeper forms. The workers are organizing strikes, advancing demands to set an eight-hour workday and to increase wages. Demonstrations by young people and students are continuing. Large student demonstrations occurred in Seoul and Taegu on 29 and 31 May. What is new in the slogans advanced by the demonstrators is that they are demanding the abolition of the Heo Jeong government, are protesting the asylum given to Syngman Rhee and his wife in the US, and are demanding the return of Syngman Rhee to Korea. Such slogans were particularly being advanced by a student demonstration in Taegu in which about 1,500 took part. During a demonstration by students of the "Tandok[sic]" Institute in Seoul in which more than 1,000 people took part the demonstrators declared that they will defend to the end the honor of the democracy for which their comrades shed their blood. The demonstrators demanded the dissolution of the National Assembly and the removal of those politicians who are striving to use the bloodshed by the students in their own interests. The demonstrators expressed mistrust in whomever tries to inherit



the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee and demanded to find out who bears responsibility for his escape. Along with the slogan "We will make a contribution to the cause of world peace by achieving the reunification of the motherland!" the demonstrators also offered this, "We will achieve the reunification of the motherland by strengthening the ideas of anti-Communism!"

In addition, during the demonstrations the students are demanding the removal of instructors of educational institutions who have accepted bribes or are profit-seekers. The struggle of petty traders, who are demanding the removal of cruel tax collectors, a reduction of taxes, and a division of tax collections into two stages, at the beginning and at the end of the year, is also intensifying. Statements by the South Korean population which demand punishment for those guilty of the mass murders of civilians during the war under the pretext of their ties with partisans which have been uncovered stand out especially. At the present time the South Korean press is publishing reports about the arrests of former high-ranking officials implicated in the rigging of the 15 March elections. But this is all being done by the Heo Jeong government only to give the appearance of legality.

Pak Seong-cheol reported that recently a general of the army, the former chief of the joint staff of the ground, naval, and air forces of the South Korean army, had retired. Right now lieutenant generals are the highest in rank in the South Korean army.

Pak Seong-cheol said that during the 30 May demonstration of the residents of Taegu the demonstrators, incensed at the escape of Syngman Rhee, demanded the removal from South Korea of American Ambassador McConaughy, who facilitated the escape of Syngman Rhee.

I noted for my part that this demand demonstrates the growth of anti-American sentiments and told about the statements of the Soviet press and radio concerning the escape of Syngman Rhee from South Korea.

Pak Seong-cheol said that according to information which has been received Syngman Rhee remains in the Hawaiian Islands at the present time. Pak Seong-cheol then noted that the flight of Syngman Rhee is explained not only by the fact that he feared the people's anger and was afraid for his life but mainly as a consequence of the Americans' fear that in case Syngman Rhee was put on trial, which the people are demanding, the whole truth of the predatory American colonialist policy with respect to South Korea would be revealed. Two people knew about this policy and the evil crimes against the Korean people in South Korea by American ruling circles most completely and with all the details, Yi Gi-bung and Syngman Rhee. Yi Gi-bung is dead and Syngman Rhee has fled. The Americans sought to take him away.

I agreed with Pak Seong-cheol's opinion and noted that the people of South Korea understand this. Under the pressure of the people even deputies of the National Assembly demanded that Heo Jeong report to the National Assembly about the facilitation of the flight of Syngman Rhee. I noted that on 21 April, after a festive meeting devoted to the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin Cde, Kim Il Sung told the ambassadors present at the meeting that the South Korean army, the bulwark of the Syngman Rhee regime, still has not made its presence felt. The Americans and Syngman Rhee supporters, fearing unrest in the army, are striving to isolate it from the population. In the case of the resignation of Syngman Rhee there is no figure among the

political and government leaders in the South Korean army with any authority. When the unrest and demands make their way into the army, important and interesting events might occur.

Pak Seong-cheol said that the South Korean [press] agencies are reporting that the DPRK government is allegedly striving to demoralize the South Korean army. This is partly true, he said, inasmuch as our radio is waging increased propaganda in this direction.

I noted that the Americans are evidently very afraid of unrest in the South Korea army and are striving to keep it under control.

Pak Seong-cheol agreed with this, saying that the Americans recently announced a salary increase to officers and an improvement of the position of the soldiers in the South Korean army.

I then passed Pak Seong-cheol a collection, "Mir bez oruzhiya, mir bez voyn" [A world without weapons, a world without war]" which gives speeches by Cde. N. S. Khrushchev on the issue of disarmament. I asked the Minister's opinion about distributing... [next page not available]

...successes in his Party and government activity.

At the end of the conversation Pak Seong-cheol reported that at the present time Cde. Kim Il Sung is temporarily not working and is resting in one of the sanatoria. Cde. Pak Geum-cheol is substituting for him in the KWP CC for organizational work and Cde. Kim Chang-man for foreign policy. Cde. Pak Jeong-ae is on a business trip at the present time.

I thanked Pak Seong-cheol of the conversation.

[The conversation was interpreted and recorded by Embassy interpreter D. A. Priyemsky.]

[...]

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK

[signature] (A. PUZANOV)

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5 - to file  
N° 308 12 June 1960

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**DOCUMENT NO. 10**  
**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 11 June 1960**

[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 6, p.188-208. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]

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13 June 1960

2[[7]] June 1960]

[Handwritten notations: to [[illegible name]] and G. Ye. Samsonov]

JOURNAL of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A. M. PUZANOV  
for the period  
1 through 11 June 1960

Pyongyang

[...]

11 June 1960

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Ri Jeong-sik reported by telephone that some corrections needed to be made in the materials given [me] yesterday by Pak Yong-guk. He requested [I] send an Embassy official with them.

I sent interpreter B. M. Morozov to the MFA, where Choe Won-sik presented him with a second copy of the materials with additions and corrections which been entered. As Morozov reported about this, after checking Choe Won-sik took the first copy to be sent to the KWP CC.

xxx

I visited Kim Il Sung in the KWP CC at his request.

At the beginning of the conversation Kim Il Sung reported that a KWP CC Presidium meeting was held today at which issues were discussed which it is proposed to raise during the conversation with Cde. N. S. Khrushchev and senior CPSU CC officials. It is proposed to examine the following two issues:

- 1) Discuss and map out the further direction of the KWP's struggle in connection with the current situation in South Korea.
- 2) Discuss certain economic issues and the difficulties which have arisen in connection with working out the seven-year plan for the development of the DPRK economy.

Kim Il Sung said that in connection with this he would like to give the Ambassador two documents in advance:

a) a document about the current situation in South Korea not containing specific figures or information, and giving the general idea of the situation in South Korea which Pak Yong-guk gave you yesterday.

Kim Il Sung said, it is intended to consult and exchange opinions directly during the conversation with Cde. N. S. Khrushchev about the immediate tasks and measures with respect to South Korea.

b) a Memorandum about the economic issues which arise in connection with drawing up the seven-year plan.

After handing [me] this Memorandum Kim Il Sung said that, as was discussed today at the CC Presidium, the first half of the seven-year plan will have the goal of a rapid increase of the people's standard of living. The tasks of the second five-year plan, planned earlier, will be done after the first three years of the seven-year plan, the last four years. The development of the economy in the first three years of the seven-year plan will depend on the correct use of the existing heavy industry base. Kim Il Sung said, we will not build new metallurgical works during this period. We will expand and strengthen the base for the development of light industry, firstly the chemical industry. Plants will be built to produce Vinalon and synthetic fiber from cellulose, and small enterprises will be created to produce nylon and plastic.

As a result of these measures we should achieve the production of 300 million meters of textiles a year in 1963. This is not a very large number, said Kim Il Sung, if one takes into consideration that 50 million meters are consumed annually for the needs of the army and about 50 million meters for industrial needs. Thus, if by 1963 we achieve the production of 300 million meters of textiles then the population will have 20 meters per capita. This will mean that we will not have people in acute need of clothing. Up to now there have been such people. This is especially felt in winter, when it's cold - there aren't enough overcoats and cotton clothes. If we do not solve the clothing problem it will be hard to compete with the South. Of course, there are many people both poor and poorly-clothed, but nevertheless there is clothing in South Korean stores, especially in the market, as a consequence of the fact that the Americans ship a large quantity of their surplus goods there.

Kim Il Sung said, in addition, we are also experiencing an acute shortage of basic consumer goods. We have a strong base of local industry but in view of a shortage of raw material it cannot be used at full capacity. And even though we will also try to supply the shortfall in raw material with our own resources, nevertheless it will be difficult for us to rapidly develop light industry without importing raw material from abroad.

Kim Il Sung continued further, the grain problem has not been finally solved. Agriculture needs to be completely mechanized to solve it. It is also necessary to bring the existing irrigation system into order, to improve reservoirs and cisterns built earlier and build new ones. It is insufficient to solve just the grain problem to improve the feeding of the population; meat and butter, which are still in short supply, are needed. The main key to solving these problems is the mechanization of agriculture.

Kim Il Sung said, if we exclude orchards and mulberry trees from the 2 million jeongbo of land we have under cultivation, then 1.8 million jeongbo remain. Of them 500,000 jeongbo are situated on steep hilly slopes which are difficult to work, for example, to deliver fertilizer. Therefore the harvest is small in these sectors: no more than 300-500 kg per jeongbo. The remaining 1.3 million jeongbo, is land suitable for working.

We have and are continuing to place reliance on cultivating such food crops as corn in order to develop livestock breeding. However, the corn and grain problem cannot be solved with one-time planting; biannual planting needs to be introduced. There are no suitable pastures in the DPRK. Although there are many mountains and hills it is impossible to graze cattle on them and to use [them] to cultivate fodder. Kim Il Sung said, we came to the conclusion that the most correct use of the mountains will be to transplant forests on them of economic importance, for example, to get timber as raw material for the production of cellulose, or to lay out fruit, walnut, and chestnut nurseries.

If the mountains are used to grow fodder then the existing forests will have to be cut down, but this will lead to a disastrous erosion of the fields by the rain flowing down from the mountains in streams of water. Therefore it is necessary not to cut down the forests and bushes, but to replace species of trees of little value with more valuable ones. This will provide an opportunity to preserve both the mountains and land in the valleys.

Thus, continued Kim Il Sung, the fodder problem can be solved by carrying out biannual planting. When this is done the production of biannually-planted crops should be completely mechanized since manual labor require great expenditures of time and therefore biannual planting would not bring the desired results. If there are enough machines then in the autumn after the rice harvest the land that is freed up can be quickly replowed and planted with winter rye, and harvested in the spring to feed cattle. If we employ such a method on 300,000 of the 500,000 jeongbo of the rice fields we have then we can get up to 60,000 tons of meat. Such a second planting of corn and winter wheat has been done for two years in the DPRK on an area of about 200,000 jeongbo and the results achieved in the process are not at all bad. In this event, if the wheat is harvested quickly and corn is also seeded quickly (with the aid of machines) right after it, then it is possible to even get grain. Kim Il Sung said, taking all these circumstances into consideration, after discussion and study of this issue for several years we came to the conclusion about the need to speed up the complete mechanization of agriculture. We will exert every effort to achieve this goal and are planning to completely solve the problem of the mechanization of agricultural work in the next three years (up to 1963 inclusively). Then the problem of livestock breeding will also be solved. We think that it will not be a bad result if we achieve just 20 kg of meat per capita.

When our base of light industry is expanded and established and, particularly, the chemical raw materials are provided for light industry then the issue of supplying the population with housing, food, and clothing will finally be solved.

There is no doubt that in the conditions of an improvement of the lives of the population the people will support our Party with even greater enthusiasm, even more actively, and rally around it even more closely. When the people's lives sharply improve then by the time of the opening of

free visits between the North and South of Korea the residents of South Korea will envy us, and this will create even more favorable preconditions for the peaceful reunification of the country.

However, continued Kim Il Sung, at the present time the situation in the South is quite favorable. Labor troubles, demonstrations, and strikes are continuing there. It is especially important to note such a positive aspect as the creation of a number of parties with a progressive orientation. These parties distinguish themselves by the advancement of good slogans which are to our advantage, which demonstrate that the appeal of the KWP CC to the South Korean people has completely achieved its goal. The truth is, there are also some negative aspects in the platforms of these parties - anti-Communist slogans, calls to cooperate with the UN, etc. However, said Kim Il Sung, this is being done at our instructions so that these parties are not disbanded. In the final analysis, the anti-Communist slogans are easy to remove. The main thing is that the necessary grounds are being prepared for the creation of a Joint Committee of Representatives of the North and South, for mutual consultations and contacts on various issues.

In this situation it is very important for us to quickly improve the lives of the population of the DPRK in order that this constantly exerts an influence on the population of South Korea. Then together with us the South Korean people will exert strong pressure on the Americans, who up to now have clung to South Korea as a convenient military bridgehead. This will eventually lead to desirable changes in the international position of our country - the Americans will not be in South Korea forever.

Having discussed this issue in the CC Presidium Kim Il Sung summed up: we have come to the conclusion that the main thing right now is in accelerated economic development, in increasing the material security of the people, first of all. At the same time, he said, we will not be able to achieve success without the aid of the USSR and China. The planned economic development can be carried out successfully if we resolve the issue with foreign currency affirmatively. The essence of the problem comes down to the fact that if the commercial importation of goods this year is only about 380 million rubles then, by obtaining a release from the payment of the credits received for special needs, we will have the ability to import from abroad those goods for which we are experiencing an acute need in exchange for our goods.

The solution of the above issue will allow us to ensure the fulfillment of the outlined tasks in the next three years: the creation and strengthening of the base of light industry; mechanizing agriculture; and the solution of the grain problem and the problem of supplying the population with housing, food, and clothing.

Kim Il Sung added that the DPRK government can pay the credits received for special needs, but then we will not be able to solve the urgent problem of increasing the people's standard of living, which is acute for our country. It seems extraordinarily difficult to do this and pay the credits at the same time.

I thanked Kim Il Sung for the interesting information and said that the Memorandum will be sent to Moscow. I noted that Soviet Embassy officials see what great efforts the DPRK government and the KWP CC are making for the development of the economy, how closely the Korean

people have rallied around the KWP CC, and how wholeheartedly it works in carrying out the general line of the Party in spite of the great difficulties in housing, food, and clothing.

I informed Kim Il Sung that the IL-18 aircraft had arrived. Its departure from Pyongyang for Moscow is set for 7 A. M. 13 June Moscow time in accordance with your wish. I asked, are there any comments or wishes?

Kim Il Sung said that he completely agrees with the proposed flight schedule.

Pak Seong-cheol and Pak Yong-guk were present at the conversation.

The conversation was interpreted by Choe Won-sik and recorded by Embassy interpreter D. A. Priyemsky.

USSR AMBASSADOR IN THE DPRK

[signature] (A. PUZANOV)

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N° 308 12 June 1960

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**DOCUMENT NO. 11**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 24 July 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 7, p.16-42. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[...]

24 July 1960

[...]

Kim Il Sung said, during Cde. N. S. Khrushchev's visit we propose to convene a session of the Supreme People's Assembly at which a letter of appeal to South Korea about the issue of the peaceful reunification of the country would be discussed and adopted. The letter would basically present those proposals which have already been mentioned more than once in certain of our documents. What is new will be the proposal of the creation of a Confederation. I will present the main provisions of this letter of appeal in the report about the 15th anniversary of the Liberation of Korea. The report will also say that if the South Korean government is not ready or is afraid to agree to national elections (after the withdrawal of American troops) in South and

North Korea then the DPRK proposes the creation of a Confederation. Without insisting on the disbandment of the capitalist system in South Korea at the present time general issues for all of Korea could be decided through the Confederation. The creation of a Confederation could promote the establishment of contacts and trust between the South and North of Korea, which would prepare the ground for the peaceful reunification of the country. We will ask Cde. N. S. Khrushchev to speak at this session of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly...

[...]

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**DOCUMENT NO. 12**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 25 July 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 7, p.16-42. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[...]

Concerning the South of Korea. No big events have occurred recently in South Korea. Elections to the National Assembly are set for 29 July. In Kim Il Sung's opinion, possibly up to 35 deputies from newly-organized parties who are associated with and under the influence of the KWP CC will be elected to the new National Assembly. The largest newly-organized parties in the South of Korea are the Socialist Masses Party and the Socialist Party, which has ties with and is under some influence of the KWP.

Kim Il Sung also said that the KWP CC had organized a Central Bureau for South Korean Issues for the quick resolution of issues connected with South Korea. The Chairman of the Bureau is Ri Hyo-sun, Deputy Chairman of the KWP CC and member of the KWP CC Presidium, and Deputy Chairman of the Bureau is Seo Cheol, former Chief of the Political Directorate of the Army. Three KWP CC department chiefs are Bureau members: the Department of Communications, the Department of Culture, and the Department for External Issues (the establishment of ties with South Korea through various countries, mainly through Japan). He also noted that Ri Hyo-sun will simultaneously remain Chairman of the CC of the United Trade Unions in order to have the opportunity to go to capitalist countries while occupying this post. In particular, a delegation of Korean trade unions headed by Ri Hyo-sun has been invited and will go to a congress of Japanese trade unions set for the near future.

I informed Kim Il Sung that, as has become known, during President Eisenhower's visit to South Korea in June of this year the Soviet Representative to the UN [Translator's note: SIC; the insertion of a reference to the Soviet Representative here seems to be in error] candidate for Prime Minister Jang Myeon presented him with a special memorandum about the future of Korea. This memorandum provides for holding elections in South and North Korea under UN observation and also requests the US government's help to join the United Nations and to increase economic aid to the country.

I asked Kim Il Sung whether the group of former deputies to the National Assembly of South Korea taken to the DPRK during the war is doing any work.



Kim Il Sung replied that this group does not do any work, and the majority of them are old men.

[...]

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**DOCUMENT NO. 13**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 14 August 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 7, p.16-42. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[...]

14 August 1960

[...]

Dwelling in detail on the situation in South Korea the speaker noted in particular that the reason for the division of Korea and all the sufferings of the South Korean population is the presence of American troops in South Korea. The only way to change the situation in the South and to solve the Korean question is the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and the peaceful reunification of the country.

The speaker then stressed that the most rational means for the peaceful reunification of the country is to hold Korea-wide free and general elections on a democratic basis without foreign interference. If the South Korean authorities do not agree to this then it will be necessary to undertake at least transitional steps to solve such issues as cannot be put off from the point of view of national interests.

Kim Il Sung said, as such a step we propose the creation of a Confederation of South and North Korea. The confederative system of which we speak will be realized by the creation of a Supreme National Committee of representatives of both government which would primarily coordinate the economic and cultural development of South and North Korea in a uniform procedure while temporarily retaining the existing political systems in South and North Korea and the independent activity of the governments of the DPRK and the Republic of Korea. The introduction of such a confederative system will provide contacts between the South and North, and make mutual understanding and cooperation possible by facilitating the elimination of mutual distrust. We think that the subsequent holding of Korea-wide free elections will lead to the complete realization of a peaceful reunification of the motherland.

In the event that the South Korean authorities do not agree to the creation of a Confederation the DPRK proposes to create at least an Economic Committee of representatives of the business communities of North and South Korea which would take upon themselves the exchange of goods between the South and the North, mutual cooperation, and aid in economic development. It is proposed to organize a cultural exchange and ensure the free movement of the population along with the economic exchange between both parts of the country.

The report points out that the North Korean side proposes to the South Korean authorities, political parties, public organizations, and individuals that representatives of South and North Korea immediately meet in Pyongyang, Seoul, or Panmunjom to discuss these issues.

The report also devotes attention to very important issues of the international situation...

[...]

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**DOCUMENT NO. 14**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador to the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 24 August 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opis 16, delo 7, p. 72-101. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[Stamp: Far East Department

SECRET

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23 September 1960]

USSR EMBASSY IN THE DPRK TOP SECRET

N° 153 Copy N° 3

19 September 1960

[Handwritten: to Cde. [[Samsonov]

26 September

N [[9]35

illegible signature,

date off the page [19]60]

Pyongyang

JOURNAL

of Soviet Ambassador to the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for the period 24 August through 9  
September 1960

24 August 1960

In the evening I was at the Korean Workers Party Central Committee together with a delegation of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society. The delegation was received by Cde. Kim Il Sung. Deputy Chairman of the KWP CC Cdes. Pak Jeong-ae [Pak Jong Ae] and Kim Chang-man [Kim Chang Man] took part in the conversation which was held. The delegation was escorted by Cde. Ri Gi-yeong [Ri Ki Yong], Chairman of the Korean-Soviet [SIC] Friendship Society.

Having asked about the health of the members of the Soviet delegation, Kim Il Sung expressed interest in their impressions of what they had seen in the DPRK and whether they were not very overburdened by the delegation's visit plan.

P. A. Antokhin, Second Secretary of the CPSU Primorsky Kray Committee and head of the delegation, expressing gratitude for the opportunity afforded the delegation to take part in the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the liberation of Korea by the Soviet Army, and to familiarize itself with the progress of socialist construction in the DPRK, the lives of Korean workers, and the country's sights, said that the plan had been well drawn up, taking the delegation's wishes into consideration.

Then, introducing the members of the delegation, P. A. Antokhin said that the delegation, like all Soviet people, was well-informed of the situation in the DPRK, the progress of socialist construction in the country, and the lives of the workers. However, what the delegation had seen considerably exceeds the perception of the DPRK which had already been formed. A great impression had been made on the delegation by the large industrial enterprises equipped with modern machines and tools, and the procedure and organization of the work at them. The delegation head then listed the enterprises which they had visited. The delegation directed attention to the extent of the construction all over the country, especially in Pyongyang. It is true, said P. A. Antokhin, that advanced methods are still not being used everywhere in construction. For example, whereas in Pyongyang the modular method is used almost everywhere in housing construction, in the provinces houses are built brick-by-brick. But, as is well known, with about the same expenditure of construction materials while using another method at the same time, in the first case the expenditure of labor is reduced by more than half. The cost of building one square meter of housing is also thereby considerably reduced. P. A. Antokhin stressed that at the CPSU CC Plenum last July N. S. Khrushchev noted the progressive nature of the modern method of construction by assembling houses from ready-made blocks and panels (this was said on the Embassy's recommendation).

An especially great impression was left on delegation members by the people, the manual laborers and office workers of production enterprises, their enthusiasm, and zest for labor.

According to the plan, said P. A. Antokhin, the delegation is to visit an agricultural cooperative. But they have already noted for themselves the good condition of the crops and the maintenance of the fields in exemplary order. The full use of all available land plots stands out, including small patches of land, boundary paths, and roadsides set aside for crops.

The delegation then directed attention to the fact that manual labor is still used to a considerable degree in the countryside. The results of the last August's KWP CC Plenum, which devoted primary attention to the mechanization of agriculture, allows the conclusion to be drawn that this very important problem of socialist construction will be successfully accomplished by the Korean people.

P. A. Antokhin noted that the delegation had formed a very good impression about the morale of the workers of the DPRK and their vigor in achieving successes on the path of socialist construction. The workers of the DPRK have been well informed of the role of the Soviet Union

in the liberation of Korea from the Japanese colonizers and the moral support and material aid which the USSR has given and is giving to the DPRK, and greatly appreciate it.

P. A. Antokhin also noted the important role of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society headed by a great friend of the Soviet Union, the writer Ri Gi-yeong, in familiarizing the Korean workers with the achievements of the Soviet Union.

On return home, stressed P. A. Antokhin, we will also use all available resources we have to tell the Soviet people about the successes of the Korean people, their fraternal feelings toward the Soviet peoples, and to talk about the personal impressions from what they have seen in the DPRK.

Kim Il Sung, thanking the delegation members for the high appreciation expressed for the work of the Korean people, noted that they, the Korean friends of the Soviet people, always need and profitably listen to the opinion of Soviet people who have visited the DPRK, and to hear their impressions from what they have seen. It is especially useful to hear the comments about the shortcomings, for the elimination of which they always take vigorous measures. In this respect they are always glad to hear the opinion of Soviet people who like real friends do not play down the shortcomings they have seen but openly point to them in a comradely manner.

Kim Il Sung then gave a very high opinion of the role of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people in the lives of Korean workers.

Having liberated Korean from the colonizers, said Kim Il Sung, the Soviet people helped in organizing a new life in the country. During the war which the American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique unleashed the Soviet people gave fraternal aid in winning victory in a fierce struggle. During the postwar rebuilding and construction the Soviet people gave us enormous material aid free of charge, immediately allocating one billion rubles.

The war left us in ruins. Now we have excellent modern enterprises built with the aid of the Soviet people and the peoples of the other fraternal countries. We have rebuilt Pyongyang and are also building the other cities. Whereas at the end of the war Pyongyang only had 50,000 residents left who lived in caves and huts, now up to 800,000 people live in Pyongyang, and they are occupying new modern buildings.

We did not have our own national cadre of specialists. Even during the war the Party solved the problems of training cadre. And we received invaluable aid from the Soviet Union in this matter. Our people studied in the USSR, and studied everything advanced and progressive. Soviet specialists came to us who gave all [their] efforts to the matter entrusted to them, ignoring the difficulties. With the aid of the Soviet people and Soviet specialists we have rebuilt and constructed such large enterprises as the [Supung] Hydroelectric Station, the Kim [Chaek] Metallurgical Plant, the Madong Cement Plant, the Pyongyang Textile Mill, and many others.

Your Soviet people and specialists have inspired our workers to feats of labor with selfless work. The honesty, conscientiousness, and responsibility for what was entrusted [to them], this is what characterizes the Soviet people.

Our people not only consider the Soviet people their liberator, but are always full of confidence that at a difficult moment the Soviet people will extend us a fraternal hand and support us. Therefore our people regard the Soviet brothers with great love and respect.

Right now our workers are building a socialist society at a high tempo. The people are firmly convinced that they will achieve victory in this way, and will achieve it with the aid of the Soviet people, who continue to give us enormous material aid. Recently by a decision of the Soviet government we were released from repaying loans [*kredity*] of 760,000,000 rubles given us and loans of about 140,000,000 rubles were deferred.

Essentially, this is new aid of almost 900,000,000 rubles free of charge. Such a magnanimous decision even more inspires us to new feats of labor. Kim Il Sung noted that they have still not informed the population about this decision of the Soviet government. They are thinking of stressing this factor in a communiqué during the visit to the DRPK by Cde. N. S. Khrushchev at the beginning of this October.

Kim Il Sung noted further that the report of the upcoming visit to the DPRK by Cde. N. S. Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the CPSU CC and the head of the Soviet government, was greeted by all the Korean people with enormous enthusiasm. This happy news will provide new strength in the struggle to build new, rich, and happy lives.

Kim Il Sung said that the workers of the DPRK still have much to do for creating an economic basis for the peaceful unification of the motherland. The standard of living in the DPRK is already higher than in South Korea. But it should be considerably higher to serve as a vivid indicator of the path along which the entire Korean people should travel. Our people see the prospect of an even richer life and therefore work with great enthusiasm.

We still have much to do, said Kim Il Sung. The results of the past show that we are on the right path. Now guests are coming to us from various countries. It is interesting to note that Japanese visiting the DPRK speak of the great difference in the various areas of life in the DPRK and South Korea. They note that the standard of living is higher in the DPRK than in the South. But we understand very well that we need to strive for more. Regardless of the difficulties we are fully determined to achieve the goal that has been set. Confidence in victory inspires us with the awareness that next to us is the powerful socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union which will always extend a fraternal hand of aid at a difficult moment. Right now in the first two or three years of the seven-year plan we are planning to mainly complete the mechanization of agriculture and direct efforts at the development of light industry and sectors of heavy industry which supply light industry with raw material.

Kim Il Sung then said that at the present time the drafting of the Seven-Year Plan is being done. This draft has already to be discussed at enterprises. The draft will be discussed at the upcoming KWP CC November-December Plenum. After careful comprehensive national discussion it will be considered at the next IV Workers Party Congress in 1961. Fulfillment of the seven-year plan will begin with the following year. Confidence in its fulfillment will be obtained in practical experience and then it will be officially made law at a session of the Supreme National Assembly.

Preliminary drafts allow [us] to judge the possibility of the successful accomplishment of the seven-year plan. In this event one can decidedly say the DPRK will be turned into an industrial country.

Kim Il Sung added that these issues have been discussed in Moscow with Cde. N. S. Khrushchev, who expressed agreement with giving the necessary aid and approved the KWP policy in the matter of increasing the standard of living of the population, stressing that only this way can peaceful economic competition with capitalism win.

Kim Il Sung said that we are convinced of the successful accomplishment of the tasks which are being proposed. A guarantee of this is the indestructible fraternal friendship between the peoples of Korea and the Soviet Union and the moral and political unity of the Korean people, who strongly support all the measures of the Workers Party and government of the republic. Right now we are faced with the task of organizing the working masses and the fulfillment of the new tasks of the seven-year plan.

In conclusion Kim Il Sung, thanked the members of the delegation for the comradely frank conversation, and said that at first it had been planned to hold this conversation at the conclusion of the planned visit of the Soviet delegation, but in connection with the upcoming departure of Pak Jeong-ae for the DRV and his [own] departure for the provinces they held the conversation today.

The conversation was conducted frankly for two hours in an friendly atmosphere. The conversation was interpreted by DPRK MFA official Choe Won-sik [Choe Won Sik]

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**DOCUMENT NO. 15**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador to the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 25 August 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opis 16, delo 7, p. 72-101. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[Stamp: Far East Department  
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USSR EMBASSY IN THE DPRK TOP SECRET

N° 153 Copy N° 3

19 September 1960

[Handwritten: to Cde. [[Samsonov]  
26 September

N [[9]35

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Pyongyang

JOURNAL

of Soviet Ambassador to the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for the period 24 August through 9 September 1960

25 August 1960

I received GDR Ambassador Schneidewind at this request.

The Ambassador provided information about the work of the last CC Plenum of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The Ambassador also talked about an increase in the activity of the Chinese Embassy in the GDR. In particular, when making a report about people's communes, the Embassy counselor in Leipzig said that it is time for the GDR to also switch to the organization of people's communes. In connection with this there was an article in the GDR national press signed by an observer which rebuffed the inaccurate assertions of the Chinese Embassy counselor. Officials of the Chinese Embassy have made a practice of inviting the heads of provincial Party committees to the Embassy and holding conversations with them about the other issues of international life in which there are differences of views between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Parties of the socialist countries.

The Ambassador then reported that the leadership of the GDR ministry [of foreign affairs] has given him the following instructions: touch base with the Soviet Ambassador about your activity with respect to relations with the Chinese Ambassador concerning existing contentious issues.

It was arranged that we Ambassadors should not enter into special discussions with the Chinese Ambassador about issues concerning which there are differences between the CPC and the Communist Parties of the socialist countries. However, if the Chinese Ambassador or officials of the Chinese Embassy popularize mistaken anti-Leninist views among officials of the diplomatic corps about the most important issues of the present day and the international Communist movement, then give a forceful rebuttal to these mistaken views. As regards the newsletters recently being distributed by the Chinese Embassy in which articles are placed from Chinese newspapers and magazines containing anti-Leninist views, [we] have decided to return such newsletters to the PRC Embassy.

Kurt Schneidewind talked about the meeting of the SED CC Foreign Policy Commission. The Ambassador noted in this regard that in the latest report of Kim Il Sung about the 15th anniversary of the liberation of Korea a program for the unification of the country, which had not previously existed, was laid out quite clearly. Obviously, the Ambassador noted, the advice of the Soviet leadership had been taken into consideration in Kim Il Sung's speech. The Ambassador also made critical comments about the KWP CC not giving an appraisal of the election platform of the Democratic Party of South Korea and, in his opinion, is not analyzing

the differences between the Democratic Party groups, the New Faction [Shinpa] and Old Faction [Gupa].

I did not agree with the Ambassador's opinion that the friends did not have a clear program for the unification of the country before Kim Il Sung's latest speech at the festive meeting on the occasion of the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the liberation of Korea. I talked in detail about the measures successively adopted by the Korean friends directed at the peaceful unification of the country on democratic principles. I said that the issue of the creation of a Confederation of North and South Korea had actually been a subject of discussion between Cde. N. S. Khrushchev and Cde. Kim Il Sung during their meeting in Moscow in June of this year.

The Ambassador thanked me for the explanation and said that now he is better informed about the steps of the KWP CC leadership and DPRK government concerning the peaceful unification of the country.

Kurt Schneidewind expressed his ideas about the Korean friends adopting the experience of the Chinese comrades on a number of issues. In particular, he pointed to the planning of the economy - the theory of uneven development, and the creation in two districts of the DPRK of farms combining all the enterprises and agricultural cooperatives of the district along the lines of the people's communes.

I agreed with the Ambassador that in the past year the Korean friends had tested the uneven method [Translator's note: *skachkoobraznoe razvitiye*; however, this is certainly a reference to the contemporaneous experiment in the PRC called *bol'shoy skachok* in Russian, known in English as the "Great Leap Forward"] of economic development of the country on the model of the Chinese comrades and were convinced by experience that disregard of the socialist law of systematic development of the economy leads to serious consequences and damage. As regards agriculture, in my view, the Chinese experiment was not manifested in the organization of the two state farms on the model of people's communes, as the Ambassador said, but in the excessive and completely unjustified ballyhoo about getting high rice grain harvest yields of 10-15 tons per jeongbo [Translator's note: a Japanese measure of the area of rice fields], and four to five tons of corn per jeongbo, that is, two to three times more than the harvests obtained in 1958. Attention was not paid to cultivated area when this was done. As a result, the total crops, especially grains, including corn, were sharply reduced last year, but the obligations to obtain high harvest yields naturally turned out not to have been met. All this led to a sharp underfulfillment of the plan for the gross grain harvest and even its decline compared to the actual 1958 gross grain harvest. With regard to the people's communes, from the very first days of this movement in China until recently, both Kim Il Sung and the KWP CC leadership and DPRK government have taken a consistently correct position. They think that the organization of people's communes is inadvisable in DPRK conditions and that only correct way is the agricultural workers' cooperatives of the Soviet Union, taking into consideration the local and national characteristics of Korea. As is well known, the development of DPRK agriculture is taking this path.



Based on last year's experience the Korean leaders themselves are convinced of what violating the law of proportionate development of the economy leads to, and at their December CC Plenum they adopted certain measures to correct the mistakes which had been made.

The Ambassador thanked [me] for the explanation and expressed complete agreement with the ideas stated.

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**DOCUMENT NO. 16**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 5 October 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 7, p.130-150. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[...]

5 October 1960

I met with Pak Seong-cheol at his request.

At the beginning of the conversation Pak Seong-cheol said that the public movement in South Korea advocating a peaceful reunification of Korea is expanding. As an example Pak Seong-cheol pointed to a meeting which was held recently by students of Korea University in Seoul. Many of those who spoke at this meeting favored the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, the establishment of contact between the North and South of the country, the creation of a Committee of representatives of North and South Korea, and the holding of national elections in both parts of Korea under the supervision of observers from neutral countries. A National Committee to speed up the peaceful reunification of Korea was created at the meeting of students.

Another example, Pak Seong-cheol continued, is the statement of representatives of the so-called "Institute for the Study of the Korean Question" in New York that after reunification Korea should become a neutral country not connected with either of the camps.

In addition, said Pak Seong-cheol, at the present time there exist many other opinions and rumors in South Korea about the issue of peaceful reunification. Accordingly, we think that there is a need to again make a statement in our legislative body, the Supreme People's Assembly, about the peaceful reunification of the motherland. This statement will not contain anything new, it will only give concrete expression to Cde. Kim Il Sung's proposals about the creation of a confederation of the North and South and other steps concerning peaceful reunification.

Then Pak Seong-cheol said that when drawing up the program for Cde. N. S. Khrushchev's visit to the DPRK a provision was made for his speech at a session of the Supreme People's Assembly on this issue. He continued, in connection with the situation developing in South Korea we plan to convene the session on 15 October but, not knowing when Cde. Khrushchev will be able to come to the DPRK, I would like to consult with you about this issue.

I replied that the facts indicative of the public movement in South Korea for peaceful reunification about which Pak Seong-cheol spoke deserve attention. They say that the consistent and persistent policy of the KWP CC and the government of the republic directed at a peaceful solution of the Korean question are producing positive results. The new proposals of Cde. Kim Il Sung presented in his report devoted to the 15th anniversary of the liberation of Korea are attracting great attention from the population of South Korea and world public opinion. The Soviet government has a very high opinion of these proposals. Speaking at the 15th UN General Assembly session Cde. N. S. Khrushchev supported them completely as reasonable and meeting the national aspirations of the Korean people.

I said that in connection with the sentiments in South Korea mentioned above there is also a clear need to discuss this issue in the DPRK legislative body in order to adopt the corresponding documents which would give concrete expression to Cde. Kim Il Sung's proposals about the peaceful reunification of the country. The question of when to convene the session of the Supreme People's Assembly should in my opinion be decided by the Korean friends themselves. Regarding the date of arrival in the DPRK of Cde. N. S. Khrushchev I still do not have any information concerning this matter. As everyone knows, at the present time Cde. N. S. Khrushchev and the other heads of state of the socialist camp are doing great and important work in the UN for peace throughout the entire world.

I expressed my view that inasmuch as the suggestion for a speech by Cde. N. S. Khrushchev at a session of the Supreme People's Assembly was made by the KWP CC, then in the situation specifically unfolding right now [you] probably should act as the KWP CC considers necessary.

After the views I stated above, Pak Seong-cheol said the following:

"The KWP CC intends to convene a session of the Supreme People's Assembly on 15 October. But we do not know whether Cde. N. S. Khrushchev will be able to take part in the session at this time and would like to consult with the CPSU CC: if Cde. N. S. Khrushchev will not be able to be in the DPRK at this time then should we not postpone the convening of the session until his arrival. The KWP CC will take the views expressed by the CPSU CC into consideration".

I replied that I will immediately send the above request to Moscow.

Then, taking advantage of the occasion, I informed Pak Seong-cheol about the number and content of the welcoming letters and telegrams coming to the Embassy addressed to Cde. N. S. Khrushchev.

Pak Seong-cheol noted that all these letters and telegrams are an expression of the feelings of eternal friendship and love for the Soviet people which the Korean people constantly carry in their hearts.

Deputy Foreign Minister Kim Tae-hui took part in the conversation from the Korean side. Embassy Third Secretary D. A. Priyemsky was present at the conversation and interpreted.

[...]

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**DOCUMENT NO. 17**

**Note about a Conversation in the Soviet Embassy with Comrade Puzanov, 30 August 1960**

*[Source: Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv (SAPMO), Zentrales Parteiarchiv der SED (ZPA), IV 2/20/137. Translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer.]*

SED Central Committee

Department of International Relations

Archival Signature: SAPMO-BA, DY 30, IV 2/20/137

[GDR Embassy in DPRK]

Pyongyang, 30 August 1960

Note  
about a Conversation in the Soviet Embassy with

Comrade Puzanov

I provided Comrade Puzanov with a translation of our [SED] Central Committee's communique and resolution on the results of the Bucharest Meeting, as well as with some oral information. Comrade Puzanov gave me some oral information about the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. In the further course of conversation we talked about the KWP's position regarding the decisions made in Bucharest. Comrade Puzanov told me that Kim Il Sung visited Beijing in May 1960 upon invitation by Mao Zedong. During his visit in Moscow, Comrade Kim Il Sung informed Comrade Khrushchev about attempts by the Chinese comrades to pull the Korean comrades into the plot against the CPSU leadership. Comrade Kim Il Sung had told Comrade Khrushchev that they [the Koreans] strictly rejected this Chinese suggestion. In this meeting, Comrade Khrushchev asked for extensive information about Korea's economic development. He provided ample advice how to draft the DPRK's Seven-Year-Plan and promised the Korean comrades substantial Soviet aid if they pursue correct economic policies. Comrade Khrushchev recommended to Comrade Kim Il Sung to practice a somewhat more flexible policy towards South Korea. He suggested to learn more from the German comrades' experiences and follow the concept of a confederation vis-a-vis South Korea. Comrade Kim Il Sung promised to share these questions and suggestions with the KWP Presidium. (Meanwhile it has become known that those suggestions were honored.) According to Comrade Puzanov's opinion, at their recent Central Committee meeting the Korean comrades have taken a clear stand concerning the policy of the Soviet Union. They are in complete support of the course adopted by the majority of the communist and workers parties as they were reflected again at the Bucharest Meeting. They condemn the position of the Chinese comrades.

When discussing the course of the KWP so far, Comrade Puzanov conceded strong tendencies of personality cult which represent a certain obstacle to the implementation of the party's policy. During last year as well, the Korean comrades attempted to apply some methods similar to those of the Chinese comrades (the policy of leaping forward, some methods of economic guidance et cetera). Also, at the [KWP] December Plenum in 1959 the acceptance of disproportions in the economy was defined as a deterministic element for the construction of socialism. Currently there exist two so-called complex cooperative economies, which are similar to the [Chinese] people's communes. Yet Comrade Puzanov does not consider this to be substantial issues. Also, in his opinion they have already corrected some of those mistakes. They have made their own experiences and already moved away from the Chinese experiments. In March 1960 they already omitted the phrase about the determinism of disproportions, and today it is no longer in use. Following my mentioning of policy towards South Korea, Comrade Puzanov said the Korean comrades now conduct a mostly correct policy. Like myself, he also thinks the Democratic Party in South Korea is a conservative party. Existing contradictions within this party must not be overestimated since those are just internal power struggles. In addition, Comrade Puzanov told me the Korean comrades have close ties with the Socialist Mass Party in South Korea, certain trade unions, some independent politicians and local student organizations in Seoul, Busan, and Masan. He said that all those receive political and material support from the North Korean comrades. During celebrations for the [DPRK's] 15th Anniversary, representatives of these organizations were illegally present [in Pyongyang] and subsequently had a meeting with members of the KWP Presidium.

In order to make policy towards the South more operational and effective, a special office for dealing with South Korea was established with the Presidium of the [KWP] Central Committee. It has the following departments: Direct Ties with the South, Agitation and Propaganda, and Japanese-South Korean Ties. The head of the office is a Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the KWP Central Committee. During our discussion, Comrade Puzanov explained the Korean comrades primarily make efforts to find an organized base in the working class and among the youth [in South Korea].

Furthermore, Comrade Puzanov told that all material sent by the Chinese comrades containing attacks against the policy of our party [CPSU] and popularizing their [Chinese] false ideas, is returned [by the Koreans]. When asked to state their positions during discussions, they [Koreans] respond frankly. They continue to send their own material to the Chinese comrades (within the framework of the diplomatic corps). Puzanov suggested all representatives from socialist countries should do it this way. In his opinion, the Chinese comrades [in the diplomatic corps] are right now very cautious. You can just tell by the fact that they join diplomatic events only with second-ranking representatives.

Comrade Puzanov promised to inform me immediately when the exact date of arrival and length of stay for Comrade Khrushchev [in the DPRK] is finalized. We will certainly have to talk later how to arrange our reception, in which Comrade Khrushchev will certainly participate. Comrade Puzanov thanked for the information and proposed to meet more frequently from now on, also within the larger framework of adding other representatives of the socialist countries.

The conversation was trusting and friendly. Although I do think that Comrade Puzanov is minimizing some of the mistakes the Korean comrades allowed to occur, and which are still not yet fully overcome. Those mistakes are also criticized, for instance, by the Czechoslovak Ambassador, the First Secretary of the Polish Embassy, and by other diplomats from the socialist countries.

[signed]

K. Schneidewind

[GDR Ambassador]

CC:

3x Deputy [Foreign] Minister Ambassador Comrade Schwab

(maybe 1 copy to Section [Far East] and Comrade Florin)

1x Ambassador [Pyongyang]

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**DOCUMENT NO. 18**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 7 October 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 7, p.130-150. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[...]

7 October 1960

(meeting of ambassadors at the KWP CC in connection with the 15th anniversary of the formation of the KWP:

...Then Deputy Foreign Minister Kim Tae-hui told about the current situation in South Korea.

He said, after the April uprising the love and respect for our Party and government is constantly increasing among the population of South Korea. At the same time a hatred of the American imperialists is growing and the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the motherland is expanding.

As is well known, this struggle does not have enough organization. But anti-American sentiments are constantly increasing among the population of South Korea.

At the present time what is most characteristic of the situation in South Korea is that the issue of the peaceful reunification of the country is at the center of attention of broad strata of the population and public opinion. Previously people were subjected to brutal repression for merely

a single statement about this issue. But recently the people can make demands for the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

A movement for active support of our proposals concerning the peaceful reunification of the country is becoming increasingly stronger in South Korea, especially the recent proposals offered by Cde. Kim Il Sung on 14 August 1960.

The population of South Korea is expressing its opinion about the issue of peaceful reunification in the form of conversations, discussions, and statements in the press.

Recently students of South Korean institutes have been demanding the quickest possible achievement of the peaceful reunification of the country and have been organizing broad discussions on this issue. The new school year began on 1 September and discussions about the peaceful reunification of the country began on this day in the institutes of South Korea. In Seoul a conference of students about the issue of the peaceful reunification of the country was held at Korea University at which student [Ku Hon Nam] declared, "For 15 years our political leaders could not reunite Korea, and therefore I think the time has come for students to take the cause of the peaceful reunification of their country into their own hands". Many students proposed demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the organization of a joint Committee for the Reunification of the Country of representatives of South and North Korea with equal rights, and also the holding of nationwide elections under the supervision of neutral countries.

The struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country is increasing among teachers and instructors, and also among peasants and workers.

Demands about the peaceful reunification of the country are appearing in the South Korean press with increasing frequency. The editorial of the 16 August [issue] of the newspaper *Kukche Ilbo* devoted to this issue said, "We all should think again about the proposal of the Premier of North Korea. The proposals about the peaceful reunification of the country offered by Kim Il Sung in the new theater in Pyongyang are an issue which requires deep study by our public figures and the entire population".

The article spoke in detail about the substance of the proposals made by Cde. Kim Il Sung.

South Korean newspapers are writing that South Korea should move away from old positions and treat the present situation realistically. The newspaper *Tonga Ilbo* writes that the proposal about the creation of a Federation has the goal of hastening the reunification of the country, but at the same time pursues the goal of disarming South Korea before North Korea.

Kim Tae-hui continues, it can be said that there is a lively discussion of the issue of the peaceful reunification of the motherland in South Korea. There is also a lively discussion about economic issues. The newspaper *Kukche Ilbo* writes that there are rich natural resources in North Korea but South Korea is the country's granary, and therefore they need to be developed together and then an independent economy can be achieved. The newspaper stressed that the problem of electrical energy in South Korea cannot be solved without North Korea.

Under the pressure of such statements the ruling circles of South Korea have also been forced to speak on the issues of peaceful reunification. Of course, they are opposed to the proposals of the DPRK, but have been forced to reckon with the situation which has been created and the demands of public opinion.

For example, on 24 August the South Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs stated, "We have to hold nationwide elections in the North and the South under UN observation". On 30 September Premier Jang Myeon in his policy speech in parliament said in particular, "In the event that respect for the interests of our country are shown in a UN General Assembly resolution then we will reunify the country under the observation of and with the assistance of the UN". It is significant that he did not use the word "anti-Communism" in this speech, which is the result of the vigorous action of the public and the people against the brutal repression of the Syngman Rhee clique which occurred previously. Such a situation which is developing in South Korea at the present time graphically confirms the vital force of the proposals of our Party and government concerning the peaceful reunification of the country.

The Deputy Minister said in conclusion that the situation which has been developing recently in South Korea requires even more vigorous activity from our side, for it opens up vistas where our proposals will be certainly realized.

Then the ambassadors who were present asked some questions in connection with the information about the situation in South Korea.

GDR Ambassador Kurt Schneidewind asked about an increase of various credits granted to South Korea by capitalist countries, particularly the FRG.

Answer. Up to now the main source of economic aid to South Korea has been the US. As of the end of 1959 South Korea had received aid from the US in the amount of ten billion four hundred thousand dollars. Seventy-four percent of this aid was received in the form of military equipment and military materiel, and the rest in the form of various goods. This aid is given under the false slogan of helping revive the national economy of South Korea. In fact the national economy of South Korea is in serious condition. Therefore the government of South Korea is promising to help small businessmen through foreign capital brought in from Japan and the FRG. South Korea is striving to get technical assistance from the FRG, especially equipment for chemical enterprises. However, according to available information, no specific agreement on this account exists between the FRG and South Korea.

The information was recorded by Embassy First Secretary A. M. Yulin.

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**DOCUMENT NO. 19**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 7 December 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 7, p.172-200. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[...]

7 December 1960

[...]

Kim Il said that the KWP CC and DPRK government leadership express gratitude and appreciation to the CPSU CC and Soviet government in connection with the USSR Government Statement. Support by the Soviet government for our proposals concerning the peaceful reunification of the country exerts great influence on the public opinion of all countries and the population of South Korea.

I said for my part that the USSR MFA has given instructions through Soviet ambassadors in neutral countries to make diplomatic overtures and exert influence with respect to the position of the governments of these countries concerning the Korean question. In addition to the information previously sent to Cde. Pak Seong-cheol I reported that according to information which has been received the Iraqi delegation to the 15th UN General Assembly session will take a more constructive position than previously. While flying to the session Jwad, the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs, will contact V. A. Zorin, Soviet Permanent Representative to the UN. in order to determine Iraq's possible assistance to the success of the solution of the Korean question.

Kim Il expressed gratitude for this report. Then, touching on the situation in South Korea, he said that the pressure of the popular masses and world public opinion is forcing the leaders of the political parties and public organizations of the South to define their positions about the issue of the peaceful reunification of the country. For example, the new democratic party, which split off from the Democratic Party in spite of its reactionary composition, essentially favors the idea of peaceful reunification. The Socialist Masses Party completely supports this idea. Even the head of the government, Jang Myeon, favors talks about an exchange of correspondence and mutual talks between the South and North at a suitable moment. Such public strata as intellectuals, merchants, and others also express themselves increasingly actively in support of peaceful reunification. At the present time the Jang Myeon government is in confusion in connection with the increasing struggle of the people for their vital rights and the peaceful reunification of the motherland. Kim Il said, the people's struggle in South Korea serves as confirmation of that position of the Moscow Declaration which points out that the aggressive intrigues of imperialism can be curbed as a result of vigorous actions by the popular masses for peace. He added, we think that as a result of the active assistance of the USSR and all countries of the socialist camp the international situation is developing favorably for a solution of the Korean question by peaceful means and in the interests of the Korean people.

I noted for my part that the familiarization of representatives of neutral and African countries in the UN with the specific and well-presented proposals of the DPRK government will have great importance.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pak Seong-cheol who was present at the conversation asked the USSR MFA to distribute the documents of the seventh DPRK Supreme People's Assembly



which were sent to DPRK Ambassador in the USSR Ri Song-un to be presented to the USSR MFA among the delegates of the General Assembly.

I replied that I would pass on this request to the USSR MFA.

The conversation was interpreted by Embassy Third Secretary D. A. Priyemsky and the Minister's interpreter.

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**DOCUMENT NO. 20**

**Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 13 December 1960**

*[Source: AVPRF fond 0102, opus 16, delo 7, p.172-200. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]*

[...]

13 December 1960

...then Pak Seong-cheol provided information about the situation in South Korea at his own initiative. He said, previously the official authorities of South Korea had rejected all the proposals of the DPRK and swept them under the carpet, asserting that this is Communist propaganda. This time the South Korean authorities were forced to publicly discuss our proposals. Pak Seong-cheol said, I personally think that all the political leaders of South Korea can be divided into two categories - the most reactionary, who reject the DPRK proposals, and the moderates, who at least in word favor the neutralization of South Korea and the establishment of contact with North Korea. The first includes Prime Minister Jang Myeon, President Yun Bo-seon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Trade and Industry. Although the news of our proposals has still not completely reached those regions of South Korea where there is no radio and newspapers, in the cities our proposals are known among the educated sectors of the population. The workers are inclined in favor of the reunification of the country. The latest reports from South Korea show that the workers and peasants of South Korea have already perceived the proposals as an action program. For example, recently about 200 unemployed people demanded the government develop the one million jeongbo of virgin and vacant land as was mentioned in the DPRK proposals. Anti-American sentiments are growing among the students. Students of the University of the city of Taegu demanded the return to the university of the educational building occupied by the Americans. Demonstrations often occur in front of the American Embassy in Seoul in which demands are made that American and Soviet troops be simultaneously withdrawn from Korea. At a meeting of the Military [Armistice] Commission in Panmunjom held five days after the eighth session of the Supreme People's Assembly South Korean correspondents asked DPRK correspondents for the documents of the session on the issue of peaceful reunification and their request was granted.

At the present time they talk about peaceful reunification in South Korea on the streets and in the cafes, and this issue is discussed in the press and on the radio. Intellectuals and students

insistently demand permission from the Jang Myeon government to enter into contact with representatives of the DPRK. Accordingly, the so-called "UN Forces Command" has declared that all issues of contact with North Korea, including at the government level, can only be decided with its consent, that is, with the consent of the Americans.

Pak Yong-guk added that the issue of peaceful reunification is being decided not only by contacts between the governments of North and South Korea but also by the struggle of the South Korean people for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea, which is a top-priority condition for the reunification of the country. Therefore, he said, when approaching the Korean question it needs to be considered that although outwardly the issue of the peaceful reunification of Korea seems to be an issue to be solved between the South and North of Korea, this issue actually lies in the conflict between the Korean people and the American imperialists occupying South Korea. It will be difficult to reunite Korea without resolving this conflict. In relations with the authorities of South Korea the DPRK government and KWP CC rely on the principle of peaceful coexistence with countries with different social and economic systems and offer a peaceful path for the reunification of Korea. It has always been so and so it will always be. Pak Yong-guk said, the issue of peaceful coexistence was stressed in the Moscow Declaration with all importance.

I said for my part that the clear and consistent proposals of the KWP CC and DPRK government about the peaceful reunification are a concrete expression of the KWP CC foreign policy of peaceful coexistence. I stressed that the CPSU CC and Soviet Government not only agree with the approach to the solution of the Korean question expressed above but actively support it, which is demonstrated by the fact that in the Declaration of the Soviet Government about the Korean question it points to the need for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea as a top-priority condition for reunification.

In connection with the rapidly-developing events in the South and the favorably developing international situation I expressed a desire that, if possible, the MFA and the relevant KWP CC Departments acquaint Embassy officials more widely with the situation in South Korea and new trends with respect to the DPRK proposals about the peaceful reunification of the country. This would give the Embassy the opportunity to more quickly inform Moscow, which would facilitate more effective support to the DPRK position in the international arena by the Soviet Union. In addition, when this is needed and with the permission of the friends, Soviet representatives in international organizations might exert influence in the necessary direction on the representatives of South Korea in these organizations.

Pak Yong-guk and Pak Seong-cheol promised to do this and expressed complete satisfaction with the conversation which had taken place.

In conclusion I thanked Pak Yong-guk and Pak Seong-cheol for the conversation and the information.

The conversation was interpreted by Embassy 3rd Secretary D. A. Priyemsky and the Minister's interpreter Ri Il Seb [sic].

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