

**THE HISTORY OF NORTH KOREAN ATTITUDES TOWARD NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AND EFFORTS TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR CAPABILITY**

**DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE
RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE HUNGARIAN STATE ARCHIVE
RECENTLY OBTAINED AND TRANSLATED BY THE KOREA INITIATIVE
OF THE COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL HISTORY PROJECT**

e-dossier

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Document 1

**Conversation between Soviet Ambassador in North Korea Vasily Moskovsky and
North Korean Foreign Minister Pak Song Ch'ol
24 August 1962**

[Source: AVPRF, fond 0102, opis 18, papka 93, delo 5, listy 22-23. Obtained and translated for CWIHP by Sergey Radchenko]

In accordance with instructions, [I] visited Minister of Foreign Affairs comrade Pak Song Ch'ol and informed him regarding the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Pak Song Ch'ol thanked [me] for the information and expressed the following considerations:

First, the control question has been raised again. One cannot rule out the possibility that the USA has already sold the secrets of the manufacture of nuclear weapons to the F[ederal] R[epublic] of G[ermany], and then showed an 'initiative' by calling for a treaty by which the Soviet Union would not be able to do the same thing with regard to other socialist countries.

Second, who can impose such a treaty on countries that do not have nuclear weapons, but are perhaps successfully working in that direction? Recently, said Pak Song Ch'ol, I think this spring, I read a small report by the A[ssociated] P[ress] that expressed a supposition to the effect that the Chinese comrades, for instance, are successfully working in this direction. I do not know from which sources this information originated, but I think – why, indeed, wouldn't the Chinese comrades work on this?

The Americans hold on to Taiwan, to South Korea and South Vietnam, blackmail the people with their nuclear weapons and with their help rule on these continents and do not intend to leave. Their possession of nuclear weapons, and the lack thereof in our hands,

objectively helps them, therefore, to eternalize their rule. They have a large stockpile, and we are to be forbidden even to think about the manufacture of nuclear weapons? I think that in such case the advantage will be on the Americans' side.

Document 2

Conversation between Soviet Ambassador in North Korea Vasily Moskovsky and German Ambassador Schneidewind 20 September 1962

[Source: AVPRF, fond 0102, opis 18, papka 93, delo 5, listy 65-66. Obtained and translated for CWIHP by Sergey Radchenko]

[I] visited ambassador of the GDR comrade Schneidewind. I was interested in the results of the visit of the party-government delegation of the GDR to the DPRK (11-19 September of this year). [...]

[According to Schneidewind] the delegation was received by comrade Kim Il Sung on 17 September. [...] As the Ambassador explained, comrade Kim Il Sung, having characterized the international situation as troublesome and deteriorating, drew the conclusion that all of us have to arm ourselves with patience so as not to let the imperialists provoke a war in Germany, because of Berlin, or in the Far East, because of South Korea or Taiwan. [...]

Competition with the West in creating material wealth is not an easy task and demands labour and time. We know, said Kim Il Sung, that American forces will not leave the South any time soon, and one must have patience and time [to tolerate] that. We have those, we shall accumulate economic wealth, and win the time. We do not need a war.

[...] The comrades who accompanied us – Yi Chu-yon [and others] – on the road, during rest and at receptions, the ambassador said, expressed the opinion that one cannot do without a war, that now, when the USSR has such powerful means of waging war as missiles of all ranges, perhaps it would be better not to wait, but to strike the imperialists. Other Korean comrades who accompanied us also insistently advocated a military resolution of all contradictions between capitalism and socialism. [...]

I thought, Schneidewind said, how does comrade Yi Chu-yon, candidate member of the Politburo, feel during this conversation, when he insisted on the opposite, portraying the military way as the quickest way to reach our common goal. I looked at him, but he was listening to his leader without any expression. In the end, I didn't understand who he is and why he has this particular point of view. He is either a person of Chinese orientation or they had distributed roles among themselves in order to confuse us.

Document 3

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 15 February 1963

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 6. doboz, 5/d, 0011/RT/1963. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

The December session of the KWP [Korean Workers Party] Central Committee passed a resolution to reinforce the defense of the country. According to the resolution, a strong defense system must be established in the whole country, the population must be armed, and the country must be kept in a state of mobilization.

From what I hear, large-scale work is going on throughout the country; not only entrenchments but also air-raid shelters for the population are being built in the mountains. As the Soviet Ambassador informed me, Kim Il Sung explained to him in a conversation that the geographical conditions of the country (a mountainous terrain) give a certain advantage to them in case of an atomic war, for the mountains ward off the explosions to a substantial extent, and a lot of such bombs would be needed to wreak large-scale destruction in the country. The construction of these air-raid shelters is presumably related to this theory.

The Czechoslovak ambassador informed me that the Koreans propagated a theory that cited the South Vietnamese events as an example. In that country, there is essentially a war against the Diem government and the American imperialist troops, and, as is well known, the partisan units have succeeded in winning over more and more territory from the influence of the Diem puppet government. In spite of all this, the Americans make no attempt to use atomic bombs. Does anything support the assumption that the Americans would act otherwise in case of a South Korean war, then? It is obvious that there is nothing to support such an assumption.

Czechoslovak Ambassador Comrade Moravec also told me that at the dinner party held by Deputy Foreign Minister Kim T'ae-hui [...], Major General Ch'ang Chong-hwan, the Korean representative on the Panmunjom Armistice Commission, approached him after dinner, and put the following question to him: "What would you do if some day the enemy took one of the two rooms of your flat?" Comrade Moravec replied, "Whatever happens, I would resort to methods that did not run the risk of destroying the whole building or the whole city [...]." Thereupon [Major] General Ch'ang threw a cigarette-box he had in his hand on the table, and left him standing. [...]

I had a conversation with Soviet Ambassador Comrade Moskovsky about these issues. He told me the following: Recently he paid a visit to CC Vice-Chairman Pak Kum-ch'ol, to whom he forwarded a telegram from the competent Soviet authorities that invited several persons for a vacation in the Soviet Union. During his visit he asked Pak Kum-ch'ol what his opinion was of the fact [...] that Park Chung Hee and the South Korean military leaders recently had a talk with Meloy, the commander of the "UN troops," about the defense of South Korea. In the view of the CC Vice-Chairman, for the time being no adventurist military preparations were to be expected because of the following two reasons: 1) The transfer of power to civilian authorities was going on, that is, they were putting other clothes on the Fascist dictatorship, and they were busy with that. 2) The South Korean economic situation was difficult, and it was inconceivable

under the circumstances that they would make serious preparations to pursue adventurist aims.

The CC Vice-Chairman also expounded their viewpoint concerning South Korea. After Syngman Rhee had been driven away, when Chang Myon was in power, but even as late as the beginning of last year, their view on the South Korean situation was that a successful opposition to the Fascist dictatorship, led by the students and the intelligentsia, was possible. By now it has become obvious that there is no chance of it, and Park Chung Hee has even succeeded in improving the country's economic situation to a certain extent. In these circumstances one cannot negotiate with the Fascist dictatorship on peaceful unification, and the process of the country's unification drags on. [...]

As regards the resolution of the CC, Comrade Moskovsky also thinks that arming the population and keeping it in a state of mobilization is a rather unusual measure in peacetime. The economic situation of both North Korea and China is quite difficult, they have a lot of problems. Under the circumstances a military action is hardly to be expected from them. Or on the contrary? "Would their economic difficulties possibly plunge them into some adventure?" Comrade Moskovsky asked. It is not easy to say yes or no to such questions. The first sentence of the resolution of the December plenum begins as follows: The development of the international situation is favorable to the Korean revolution. However, the remaining part of the resolution tries to refute that, while Pak Kum-ch'ol said they were not threatened by any southern adventurist provocation. If they look upon the situation in that light, [...] why are these unusual defense measures needed?

[...]

József Kovács
(ambassador)

Document 4
Conversation between Soviet Ambassador in North Korea Vasily Moskovsky and
Czechoslovak Ambassador Moravec
15 April 1963

[Source: AVPRF, fond 0102, opis 19, papka 97, delo 4, list 140. Obtained and translated for CWIHP by Sergey Radchenko]

[I] received the Czechoslovak Ambassador Comrade Moravec at his request. [...] The Czechoslovak Ambassador told me in the course of the conversation that he had recently returned from Panmunjom. General Chang was not in Panmunjom, and he was received by a Korean colonel filling in for General Chang, together with General Hill. [...] Comrade Moravec told the colonel that the Soviet Union does not ask small countries to provide any aid in the production of expensive nuclear weapons, that the Soviet people still [...] firmly protect the interest of the socialist countries.

The colonel replied that he knows that the Soviet Union has powerful missiles, that probably these missiles are also stationed in the Far East, but it would be better and quieter if the Soviet Union gave such missiles to the DPRK and to the Chinese.

Document 5
Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry
27 May 1963

[Source: XIX-J-1-k Korea, 5. doboz, 5/f, 1/25/17-1/1963. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

On 23 May [...] we visited the museum in P'yongyang that was built to commemorate the 1950-53 Korean War. [...] an interesting conversation occurred between me [István Garajszki] and the political officer who accompanied us. The latter declared that not even a hydrogen bomb could do damage to such fortifications that had been hollowed into rocks. Thereupon I remarked that the deeper caverns could indeed save those who stayed there in the moment of the explosion, but on the surface everything would be destroyed, and thereafter for a long time people could not leave the caverns because of the radioactive pollution. The officer replied that the people staying in the caverns would be provided with everything that they needed, and the Americans could not devastate the entire country anyway. Therefore „on the order of Comrade Kim Il Sung, we built a network of caverns of this type in the entire country.” When I remarked that two or three hydrogen bombs would be sufficient to destroy an area the size of the DPRK, the officer became embarrassed, and declared „*Comrade Kim Il Sung told us that we won the first war by means of our rock-caverns, and we would also win the second one with their help!*” [emphasis in the original] Understandably, I dropped the subject after that.
 [...]

Károly Fendler
 deputy ambassador

Document 6
Conversation between Soviet Ambassador in North Korea Vasily Moskovsky and
the German Ambassador
26 August 1963

[Source: AVPRF, fond 0102, opis 19, papka 97, delo 5, list 93. Obtained and translated for CWIHP by Sergey Radchenko]

[I] received the GDR Ambassador at his request. [The ambassador] said that the Koreans, apparently on Chinese instructions, are asking whether they could obtain any kind of information about nuclear weapons and the atomic industry from German universities and research institutes. [...]

Document 7**Conversation between Soviet Ambassador in North Korea Vasily Moskovsky and Soviet specialists in North Korea****27 September 1963**

[Source: AVPRF, fond 0102, opis 19, papka 97, delo 5, listy 161-162. Obtained and translated for CWIHP by Sergey Radchenko]

[I] invited Soviet specialists comrades Konstantinov V.M. and Syromyatnikov B.N., who study uranium ore in the DPRK, for a talk at the Embassy. [...]

The Soviet specialists said that the Korean side insistently tries to obtain information about the deposits and quality of the uranium ore mined in the Soviet Union. But our comrades have been instructed on this account, and know how to evade answering such questions.

Our specialists reported that the Korean uranium ore is not rich and is very scarce. The mining and processing of such ore will be extremely expensive for the Koreans. But from conversations with the Korean specialists they learned that the Koreans, despite all odds, want to develop the mining of uranium ore on a broad scale. In all probability, comrades said, uranium ore mined in the DPRK will be supplied to China, since in order to satisfy one's own internal needs for one's own atomic reactor, one needs a very minor amount of uranium ore.

Our comrades are trying to express a thought to the Koreans to the effect that it would be much easier for the economy of the DPRK to satisfy all internal needs by means of purchasing a small amount of the necessary processed "product."

The Koreans replied to this by saying that they must extract uranium ore in large quantity.

I think that by sending specialists to the DPRK from the Soviet Union we are helping China, and at the time of the current struggle against the Chinese splitters, one should not do this.

Document 8**Conversation between Soviet Ambassador in North Korea Vasily Moskovsky and Soviet specialists in North Korea****16 October 1963**

[Source: AVPRF, fond 0102, opis 19, papka 97, delo 5, list 185. Obtained and translated for CWIHP by Sergey Radchenko]

[I] had a talk with the Soviet specialists who are conducting research on uranium ores in the laboratories of the mining institute in Pyongyang. One of them, Comrade B.N. Syromyatnikov said that he recently had a conversation with a Korean engineer who had studied in the Soviet Union. [...] The Korean [...] asked [...] a question: in the opinion of our specialists, can the Koreans create an atomic bomb? Upon hearing the reply to the effect that the economy of the DPRK cannot cope with the creation of nuclear weapons, the Korean said that it would cost much less in the DPRK than in other countries. If we tell our workers, he declared, that we are taking up such a task, they will agree to work free of charge for several years. [...]

Document 9

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 11 January 1964

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 5. doboz, 5/bc, 0015/RT/1964. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

On 10 January 1964 I invited Comrades Soviet Ambassador Moskovsky and Romanian Ambassador Bodnaras, and their wives, to dinner. During the conversation that followed the dinner, Comrade Moskovsky told me the following facts about the problems for the Soviet Union that had arisen in years past regarding the interpretation of the Korean political situation and perspectives.

[...]

Comrade Moskovsky told me that [...] [in 1963] Korean officials had demanded fingerprints from the Soviet technical experts who worked on the construction of a radio station, an experimental nuclear reactor, and a weaving mill (!) that were being built with Soviet assistance and co-operation, and they made them fill out a form of 72 questions, in which they had to describe their circle of relatives and friends in detail, with addresses! A Korean “colleague” told one of the technical experts “if we cannot get you for some reason, we will get your relatives; this is why it [the questionnaire] is needed!”

[...]

József Kovács
(ambassador)

Document 10

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 10 March 1967

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1967, 60. doboz, 40, 002128/1967. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Comrade [Károly] Fendler recently informed Colonel Latyshev, a subordinate of the Soviet military attaché, about the contacts between the Hungarian and Korean People's Armies, then at our request Comrade Latyshev gave the following information about the organizational structure, manpower, and armament of the Korean People's Army:
[...]

According to Soviet estimates, the manpower of the People's Army is approx. 500,000-550,000, of which the land army numbers 400,000, the air force and air defense 45,000, and the navy 17,000. The manpower of the armed police and the troops of the Ministry of Public Security is approx. 100,000. (The USA and South Korea estimate the manpower of the Korean People's Army at approx. 300,000-350,000.)

[...]

Military equipment:

tanks and assault guns

670

field guns

3,500

mortars

approx. 4,000

antitank guns

2,000

missile launchers

75

airplanes

336

of which fighter planes

250

bombers

50

military vessels

160

[...]

Up to about 1966, the DPRK's military concept was based on the experiences gained in the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggles of the 1930s and the Patriotic War of 1950-53. Their views were influenced by the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare, they followed primarily Chinese military views. They did not study missiles, nuclear weapons, or the experiences of other armies.

In 1966 they started to study the experiences gained by the armies of the fraternal countries, primarily the Soviet Army. They introduced the study of military experiences involving missiles and nuclear weapons, under the circumstances of both offensive and defensive struggles.

[...]

The manpower of the South Korean troops is approx. 700,000, of which the manpower of the land army is 660,000, the manpower of the air force and air defense is 30,000, and that of the navy is 17,000.

[...]

tanks and assault guns

800

field guns

approx. 2,000

mortars

approx. 4,000

antitank guns

8,000

fighter planes

approx. 230

bombers

40

transport planes and helicopters

200

military vessels

40

missile launchers

84

The 8th U.S. Army, whose manpower is 60,000, is also stationed in South Korea.

[...]

In conclusion Comrade Latyshev remarked that none of the two sides had reached yet the stage of complete preparedness, but both were intensely preparing. He also mentioned that the DPRK manufactured carbines, submachine guns, machine guns, mortars, and certain light arms by itself. They have a few small-scale service stations. [...]

István Kádas
(ambassador)

Document 11

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 13 March 1967

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1967, 61. doboz, 5, 002126/1967. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

As a result of the incognito visit that Comrade Kim Il Sung made to Moscow at the end of last year, a high-level Korean delegation headed by Kim Il, [who is] a member of the Presidium of the Political Committee, a secretary of the Central Committee, and the first deputy of the premier, visited the Soviet Union from 13 February to 3 March. Other members of the delegation were Yi Chong-ok, [who is] a Political Committee member, a deputy premier, and the chairman of the Academy of Sciences; Deputy Minister of Defense O Chin-u, a deputy member of the Political Committee; O Tong-uk, a Central

Committee member and the chairman of the Commission of Technical Development; and others.

The delegation was received by L. Brezhnev and A. Kosygin, while the head of the Soviet delegation was First Deputy Premier Mazurov.[...]

The Soviet side rejected the Korean request for the delivery of *a nuclear power plant* [emphasis in the original] (the experimental nuclear reactor that had been established with Soviet assistance was opened approx. one and a half year ago, and since then the Soviet comrades hardly know any data about its operation).

[...]

István Kádás
(ambassador)

Document 12

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 8 May 1967

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1967, 60. doboz, 40, 002128/1/1967. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

In the course of the preparations for the visit to Korea by the Hungarian military delegation headed by Comrade [Minister of Defense Lajos] Czinege, in recent weeks we also consulted the Czechoslovak, Polish, Romanian, and GDR military attachés accredited to P'yongyang. [...]

Lieutenant-Colonel Goch, the Czechoslovak military attaché, pointed out that as a result of the adoption of faulty Chinese views, in recent years the development of the Korean People's Army came to a standstill, the Korean comrades did not pay attention to the development of modern military technology and military studies. In his view, the standard of the People's Army was approximately 10-12 years behind modern requirements. Both he and other military attachés emphasized that the new political line of the Korean Workers' Party, reinforced also by the party conference held last fall, manifests itself more and more positively in the military and political field as well since 1966. The Korean comrades started to modernize the army and acquire up-to-date arms.

[...]

Every military attaché pointed out that the general backwardness of technical standards and cadres in the country constituted a serious problem in modernizing the army and adequately acquiring [the use of] the new arms. In the view of the Czechoslovak military attaché, they will need at least 5-6 years to make any serious achievements.

The Romanian military attaché pointed out that it was very sensible that the Soviet Union provided the DPRK with adequate modern arms, and one should also evaluate such Korean demands positively. Due to low technical standards, however, the armaments, including modern arms, get spoiled quickly, the Koreans cannot handle them adequately yet. Comrade Voicu remarked that it was said that now the Soviet Union did not pour modern arms [into North Korea] to the extent that the Koreans asked for but –

very rightly – it also sent technical experts along with the continuous supplies so as to teach and train local experts. Comrade Voicu emphasized that this was a very reasonable measure, for no matter how many arms were here, they were not of much use if they could not handle them adequately and ruined them.

[...]

The military attachés said that recently the People's Army started to conduct military exercises under the circumstances of nuclear war as well. Previously they had been of the opinion that the use of atomic weapons was not effective under the natural conditions of Korea. Nevertheless, it seems that the opinions and experiences of others [i.e., of the Soviets] have induced the Korean comrades to modify their position in this field, too. In the view of Comrade Goch, however, civil defense is still lagging behind, in essence the population has not been prepared yet for the contingency of a nuclear attack.

Comrade Voicu said that in keeping with the positive changes that had become obvious since last year, the Korean comrades have paid increased attention to coastal and anti-aircraft defense. They already defend P'yongyang with missiles, and a substantial military force is stationed near the city. By the way, the bulk of the army is stationed along the Demilitarized Zone, the 1st Army in the west and the 2nd Army in the east.

The military attachés pointed out that the strength of the armed forces was very high in the DPRK, it was approx. 600,000 with the public security forces included. The Korean comrades refer to South Korea so as to justify this strength, which otherwise constitutes a very heavy burden for the national economy. Deputy Premier Kim Kwang-hyop told the departing Soviet Ambassador and the Hungarian trade union delegation that the country had a serious labor shortage because of that, and this also played a role in the fact that they had to prolong the Seven-year Plan.

[...]

István Kádas
(ambassador)

Document 13

Report, Embassy of Hungary in the Soviet Union to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry

25 November 1967.

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1967, 61. doboz, 5, 002126/3/1967. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

According to information received from the competent department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, several signs indicate that Sino-Korean relations keep worsening. Among these signs, we mention first of all that recently new pamphlets were published in Beijing that contain a sharp attack on the Korean Workers' Party and the person of Kim Il Sung, threatening the leader of the Korean Workers' Party that the Korean people would take vengeance on him for his revisionist policy. The estrangement in their relations was also indicated by, for instance, the circumstances under which the latest Chinese holiday

was celebrated in the DPRK. At the reception at the Chinese Embassy, the level of representation on the Koreans' part was very low, the telegram of congratulations the Korean leaders sent to the Chinese was very cold, and no festive mass meetings took place in the country on the occasion of the Chinese national holiday. According to the information available to our [Soviet] comrades, the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in P'yongyang complains that his opportunities to maintain contacts are very limited. [...]

As is well-known, Comrade Brezhnev received Comrade Ch'oe Yong-gon during his stay here [in Moscow, during the celebrations of 7th November]. Comrade Brezhnev raised two groups of issues at this meeting. On the one hand, the problem of an international Communist meeting; on the other hand, the issue of the tension between North and South Korea along the demilitarized zone. [...]

Basically the Soviet Union does not accept the position of the DPRK with regard to the cause of the tension along the demilitarized zone. It thinks – and gives expression to this vis-a-vis the Korean comrades too – that the United States does not intend to increase tension in this region, and that nothing points to the conclusion that [the U.S.] really aims at starting a new Korean War. It is obvious that the various factors of the international situation of the USA, such as the Vietnam War, do not make the perspective of a new Asian war attractive for the United States.

On the basis of the evidence available to it – among others, the statements made by the Czechoslovak and Polish members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission –, the Soviet Union has concluded that the majority of the incidents occurring along the demilitarized zone are initiated by the DPRK.

The Soviets, on their part, expound to our Korean comrades that they understand the necessity of the DPRK's struggle for the unification of the country. They support this struggle, but they are of the opinion that one should pay due regard to the concrete Korean and international conditions of the actual period when choosing the means and methods of the struggle. Therefore the Soviet side doubts that armed struggle is an appropriate method for the restoration of the unity of Korea.

For instance, in a military sense it would be, in all probability, inappropriate to conclude that the numerical superiority the DPRK's army has over the South Korean and American armies stationed in South Korea, and the essential militarization of the country, would render it possible for the DPRK to carry out successful military actions. Besides, the Soviet Union also tries to caution the DPRK against possible ill-considered actions by confining the military assistance it gives to that country to the supply of defensive arms. But the Korean comrades may make the mistake of not taking the nature and characteristics of modern warfare into consideration to a sufficient extent. [...]

József Oláh
(chargé d'affaires)

Document 14

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 29 February 1968

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1968, 58. doboz, 5, 001871/1968. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Recently the GDR chargé d'affaires ad interim in P'yongyang informed our embassy about the visit of the delegation of Korean nuclear experts to the GDR, which took place 4-12 December 1967, and about the discussions they had there. [...]

The three-member Korean delegation was headed by a vice-chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission of the DPRK, the other members of the delegation were a departmental head of the Commission and the head of a major department of the Institute for Research on Atomic Energy. The host of the Korean delegation was the GDR State Planning Commission. During its stay there, the delegation visited several industrial plants, mines, institutes of higher education, and several research institutes related to the field [of nuclear science].

In the course of the final discussions between the hosts and the Korean delegation held on 12 December, the Korean side raised the following issues:

- The DPRK would like to sign an agreement with the GDR in the field of nuclear research. The delegation inquires about the possibility of signing such an agreement and about the opinion of the GDR.
- The DPRK would like to obtain equipment needed for the construction of a nuclear power plant from the German side.
- She asks the GDR to share the experiences gained in the operation of nuclear reactors with her.
- Purchase of equipment needed for producing radioactive isotopes from the GDR.
- They ask for the sharing of the experiences that the Germans gained in the field of radiation protection.
- They proposed the mutual exchange of nuclear scientists.
- In the field of nuclear research the Korean side is ready to send trainees to the GDR.
- The DPRK would like to purchase the following from the GDR:
 - instruments measuring radioactive isotopes
 - measuring instruments used in nuclear physics
 - certain secret equipments used in nuclear research
 - microfilms or copies of articles that were published on nuclear research in Western scientific journals.

The German side gave the following reply to the proposals of the Korean delegation:

- As far as it is possible, the GDR is ready to cooperate with the Korean side in the field proposed by the latter.
- On the other hand, it is not in a position to make wide-ranging cooperation in every field of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy, since the GDR also cooperates with several socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union. Although the signing of a possible agreement seems realistic, they ask the Korean comrades to appeal simultaneously to the countries that cooperate with the GDR.

– The German side acknowledges the verbal request of the Korean delegation, but only as information, for it asks [the North Koreans] to make their proposals on the government level in the form of a written request or to include the whole issue in the agreement on scientific and technical cooperation.

– The German comrades strongly emphasized that the DPRK should appeal to the Soviet Union, because they [the East Germans] could enter into negotiations [with North Korea] only if the latter [the USSR] agrees with it. For instance, they can receive trainees only if the DPRK sends their scheme of work in advance. They [the East Germans] will decide on this basis whether it is possible to receive them.

– The GDR is ready to send a delegation of experts to the DPRK or receive one from that country. They ask that in such cases, the delegations should be given authorization by their governments.

[...]

Korean delegations of nuclear experts had visited Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for a similar purpose, the German chargé d'affaires ad interim said.

István Kádás
(ambassador)

Document 15

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 29 February 1968

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1968, 58. doboz, 2, 001872/1968. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

On his own initiative, on 8 February Comrade Romanian Ambassador Popa visited me in order to inform me about the visit of the Romanian party delegation headed by Comrade Apostol to Korea. [...]

The Romanian party delegation arrived in P'yongyang at the invitation of the KWP. The Romanian delegation was headed by Comrade Apostol, while the Korean one was led by Comrade Kim Kwang-hyop. (Comrade Ambassador [Popa] did not mention which side had initiated the visit.)

[...]

The two sides agreed that relations between the two parties, governments, and peoples were progressing well. [...] The two sides emphasized that they would make further efforts to improve their relations.

[...]

The two delegations informed each other about their achievements in the field of socialist construction. With regard to this issue, the Romanian side pointed out that every socialist country should apply the methods of socialist construction independently, in accordance with its own conditions. Firm action must be taken against servility, the mechanical imitation of the construction methods and experiences of other countries is

unacceptable. The Romanian side informed the Korean delegation about the Romanian party conference held in December.

[...]

The Romanian side expounded its views about the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. Both sides are of the opinion that the big countries that have nuclear capacity should ensure that the small countries would also be able to utilize atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The small countries should not suffer a loss as a consequence of the treaty.

[...]

István Kádas
(ambassador)

Document 16

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 3 June 1968

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1968, 57. doboz, 1, 002815/1968. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

[...]

In the last 2-3 weeks the Romanian Ambassador and he ([Second Secretary Isidor] Urian) met Vietnamese comrades as many as three times. The head of the local NLF [National Liberation Front of South Vietnam] representation and his deputy summarized their opinion of the situation in Korea roughly as follows: the DPRK had missed the opportune moment; it seems that now they once again shelved the issue of liberating South Korea through armed struggle for quite a while. In addition to having missed the opportune moment, the reason for this is either that they have become aware of the balance of power between South and North [Korea] or that the Korean comrades have realized that for the time being the USA really does not want a new Vietnam in Korea; in general, and particularly since the *Pueblo* incident, there are intense defense preparations in the DPRK, they take all contingencies into consideration; the army of the DPRK is being modernized; they already manufacture automobiles, tanks, and various light and heavy arms, including missiles, during which the Korean comrades are greatly hindered by the fact that the Soviet comrades do not provide them with all the documents that they need; for instance, this is why Korean tank production is still unable to solve the technical questions related to [the manufacture of] stabilizers for tank guns.

[...]

István Kádas
(ambassador)

Document 17
Report, Embassy of Hungary in the Soviet Union to the Hungarian Foreign
Ministry
12 November 1969.

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1969, 59. doboz, 1, 001607/4/1969. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Comrade Jenő Sebestyén, our new ambassador in P'yongyang, spent a short time in Moscow on his way to his post. During his stay here, on 10th this month, he [...] visited Comrade O.V. Okonishnikov, [...] who had worked in Korea as a counselor, and Comrade V.I. Likhachev, the head of the Foreign Ministry's Far Eastern Department. [...]

The Soviet comrades emphasized that on the part of the Soviet Union as well as the other socialist countries that hold correct views, patient and persistent persuasion was needed to get the Korean position closer to our common position on the big issues of international politics. This task was not an easy one; they cited the Soviet-Korean debate over the nuclear nonproliferation treaty as an example. The Soviet side asked the Korean comrades whether they thought that it would be a good thing if, for instance, Japan – which possesses the required industrial and technical capacity – obtained nuclear weapons. In this concrete case the Korean comrades naturally acknowledged that nuclear nonproliferation was justified, but in general they did not (by which they actually give veiled support to the Chinese position)[...]

[signature]
 ambassador

Document 18
Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry
30 July 1975

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1975, 83. doboz, 81-10, 002835/8/1975. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Kim Il Sung, the general secretary of the KWP and the president of the DPRK, made official visits to

- China (on 18-26 April 1975)
- Romania (on 22-26 May 1975)
- Algeria (between 26 May and 2 June 1975)
- Mauretania (from 30 May to 1 June 1975)
- Bulgaria (on 2-5 June 1975) and
- Yugoslavia (on 5-9 June 1975)

as the head of a party and government delegation. After his visit to China, in the second half of May he also wanted to visit the Soviet Union, but the date he proposed did not suit the Soviet leaders. He also asked to be received in Prague, but the date did not suit [the Czechoslovak leadership] either. His intention to visit Moscow is an important political fact for two reasons. On the one hand, it shows that the DPRK continues to pursue a so-called policy of maintaining the balance of power between the Chinese party and our parties; on the other hand, we should take this intention into consideration while evaluating his trips to China, Europe, and Africa. [...]

We know from Soviet and Chinese sources (the DRV ambassador to P'yongyang informed us about the conversation that he had had with the Chinese ambassador to P'yongyang) that – primarily in China – Kim Il Sung considered the possibility of a military solution. According to the Chinese ambassador, the DPRK wants to create the kind of military situation in South Korea that had come into being in South Vietnam before the victory. Taking advantage of the riots against the dictatorial regime of Park Chung Hee and invited by certain South Korean [political] forces, the DPRK would have given military assistance if she had not been dissuaded from doing so in time.

This dissuasion obviously began as early as [during Kim Il Sung's visit] in Beijing, for it is well-known that – primarily in Asia – China holds back and opposes any kind of armed struggle that might shake the position of the USA in Asia. A new Korean War would not be merely a war between North and South [Korea]. With this end in view, during the Korean party and government delegation's stay in Beijing, the Chinese side strongly emphasized the importance of the peaceful unification of Korea [...]. On his part, Kim Il Sung said nothing, or hardly anything, about his own proposals to find a peaceful solution. On the contrary, he declared that if a revolution flared up in South Korea, the DPRK could not remain indifferent, it would give active assistance to the South Korean people. And if the enemy started a war, it would be met with a crushing repulse. In such a war the DPRK could lose only the cease-fire line, but she might achieve the unification of the country, he said.

[...]

Of the six visits, the ones made to China and Yugoslavia were also important in regard to the military equipment and military technology made available to the DPRK. China provides the People's Army of the DPRK with many kinds of military equipment and arms. The possibility of giving certain tactical nuclear weapons [to North Korea] in order to offset the nuclear forces in South Korea also came into consideration. A deputy minister of the People's Armed Forces in P'yongyang, who on 11 June received the Hungarian military [officers who arrived in North Korea for] vacationing, made an allusion to that. Yugoslavia helps [the DPRK] primarily in the field of naval forces.

[...]

Dr János Taraba
chargé d'affaires ad interim

Document 19
Memorandum, Hungarian Foreign Ministry
26 August 1975

[Source: XIX-J-1-j ENSZ, 1975, 159. doboz, V-730, 004711/1975. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

The socialist countries' fraternal coordinating meeting with regard to the 19th general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (henceforth IAEA) was held on 18-22 August 1975, at the invitation of the Polish Foreign Ministry.

The following states participated in the coordinating meeting: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, Ukraine, Belorussia, Romania, and the representative of the COMECON Secretariat.

[...]

In the course of the coordinating meeting, the fraternal delegations reached an agreement about the following [several items on the conference's agenda, such as No. 7, 8, 9, and 12, were not discussed at the meeting]:

1) They agreed that they would express their protest if a Chilean, Israeli, or South Korean citizen was proposed for any of the posts of vice-chairmen of the General Commission.

Of the socialist countries, they would support the nomination of Poland, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia.

[...]

6) During the discussion of the annual report, the Soviet delegate said that in the speech he was to make at the general assembly, he would analyze in detail

– the results of the Geneva conference [and]

– the Helsinki declaration,

for the duties of the IAEA had increased as a consequence of the aforesaid [conferences], and these [conferences] played a very substantial role in world politics.

The Soviet delegate would go into the issue of making the IAEA safeguards system more effective. Namely, it should be applied to nuclear equipment, materials, and technologies alike. This would mean that the states that had not joined the Non-Proliferation Treaty (henceforth NPT) would not get technological equipment and nuclear materials unless they subordinated their nuclear activity to the IAEA safeguards system.

They would do their best to prevent the IAEA from assisting Chile, South Korea, and Israel. He asked for a firm attitude with regard to the issue of technical assistance, namely, that it should be made available only for those countries that had signed the NPT, for otherwise the operation of the safeguards system would become ineffective.

The bilateral agreements, such as the one signed by the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] and Brazil or the one signed by France and South Korea, had created an alarming situation, for this way certain countries that remained outside the NPT could also obtain the full cycle of nuclear technology. One should achieve the result that the complete nuclear technology be held by regional centers, [rather than by individual countries], Comrade Arkadiev said.

The participants of the coordinating meeting found the budget too high. The Romanian and Korean delegates declared that they did not support the proposed increase.

10) The Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria announced that they would increase their financial contribution.

11) The delegates discussed the cooperation between COMECON and the IAEA, in which the DPRK, the DRV, and Yugoslavia also participated, and evaluated it positively.
[...]

14) The session also dealt with the election of the new members of the governing council. The mandates of Bulgaria and Hungary would expire this year, and Poland and Yugoslavia would be nominated for their place. The Soviet delegate went into the issue of admitting the countries of the Far Eastern region into the governing council. He pointed out that hitherto the Philippines had had a so-called „floating” status, but now it applied for the place vacated by South Korea, without coordinating [its action] with the region. On the other hand, Mongolia, Kampuchea, and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea had not been members of the governing council yet. Of the latter, the Soviet representative proposed the DPRK, rather than the Philippines. However, the representative of the DPRK announced – after a consultation – that he did not aspire to membership in the governing council. He explained this by the fact that France had signed a nuclear agreement with South Korea, which, he declared, was dangerous for the DPRK.

[...]

Gyula Szombathelyi

[section head of the Major Department of International Organizations of the Foreign Ministry]

Document 20

Memorandum, Hungarian Foreign Ministry

16 February 1976

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1976, 83. doboz, 6, 002134/1976. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Before the Hungarian health delegation headed by Comrade Medve visited Korea, I received O Song-gwon, the third secretary of the Korean Embassy, and Yi Un-gi, the Korean deputy military attaché, and asked them for information about the situation in Korea. At that time we agreed to meet again after the visit of the delegation. This occurred on 13 February 1976.

[...]

In their opinion, Korea cannot be unified in a peaceful way. They are prepared for war. If a war occurs in Korea, it will be waged by nuclear weapons, rather than by conventional ones. The DPRK is prepared for such a contingency as well, the country has been turned into a system of fortifications, important factories have been moved underground (for instance, recently they relocated the steelworks in Kangson), and airfields, harbors, and other military facilities were established in the subterranean cave networks. The P’yongyang subway is connected with several branch tunnels, which are

currently closed but in case of emergency they are able to place the population of P'yongyang there.

By now the DPRK also has nuclear warheads and carrier missiles, which are targeted on the big cities of South Korea and Japan, such as Seoul, Tokyo, and Nagasaki, as well as on the local military bases, such as Okinawa. When I asked whether the Korean People's Army had received the nuclear warheads from China, they replied that they had developed them unaided through experimentation, and they manufactured them by themselves.

[...]

István Garajszki

Document 21

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 18 February 1976

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1976, 82. doboz, 4, 001570/1976. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Jewdoszczuk, the second highest ranking diplomat of the Polish Embassy, told the heads of the fraternal eight [embassies] the information that they had received from the Polish members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission. That information summarizes the opinion that the South Korean regime has about the military situation and intentions of the DPRK.

[...]

According to the data of the Far Eastern Institute in Seoul, the DPRK spent 60, 165, 135, and 140 million dollars on the purchase of arms in 1970, 1971, 1972, and 1973 respectively. During this time the manpower of the army underwent the following changes: it was 438,000 in 1970, 450,000 in 1971, 460,000 in 1972, and 470,000 in 1973. That is, military preparations continued in the period of [North-South] dialogue as well. The army of the DPRK has 1,100 T-55 tanks and a substantial number of surface-to-surface missiles. The DPRK ordered a substantial amount of diving suits and facilities in Japan. [...]. The number of MiG fighter planes is 200, but they also have Su-7 [fighter-bombers].

At present the DPRK wants to construct nuclear reactors, it is having talks about this issue, in order to become capable of producing atomic weapons in the future.

[...]

Ferenc Szabó
ambassador

Document 22**Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry
15 April 1976**

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1976, 82. doboz, 5, 00854/2/1976. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Comrade György Kuti was given detailed information by his Soviet colleague [...] about one of the most important items on the agenda of the Soviet-Korean intergovernmental economic negotiations that took place in Moscow in late January and early February 1976, namely, the utilization of the new Soviet investment and development loan between 1976 and 1980, and also about the repayment of the accumulated [North Korean] debts, the conduct of the DPRK negotiating delegation, and other related issues.

[...]

The DPRK side also made a request for the construction of a nuclear power plant. For various reasons – primarily military considerations and the amount of the investment – the Soviet side declared that this [request] was now inopportune, and proposed to come back to it only in the course of the next [five-year] plan. The Korean side was very reluctant to accept this Soviet decision and the rejection of a few other investment demands.

Particularly in the course of the negotiations over credit, but also in other issues, from any country and did not let anyone behave in such a way. [...]the head of the Korean delegation – Deputy Premier Kang Chin-t’ae – behaved in an extremely aggressive way, definitely crude and insulting in certain statements vis-a-vis his Soviet counterpart, Deputy Premier Arkhipov. He declared several times that if the Soviet Union was unwilling to make „appropriate” allowances for the „front-line situation” of the DPRK and did not comply entirely with the Korean requests, the DPRK would be compelled to suspend her economic relations with the Soviet Union.

It was only after his visit to Comrade Kosygin that Kang Chin-t’ae changed his conduct, and thus it became possible to sign the agreements. Comrade Kosygin, among others, firmly rebuked him, declaring that the Soviet Union did not accept ultimatums

Ferenc Szabó
ambassador

Document 23**Telegram, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry,
25 June 1976**

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1976, 82. doboz, 5, 00854/5/1976. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

At the 13th session of the Soviet-Korean Intergovernmental Economic Commission, held in Moscow in the first half of June, Comrade Novikov asked Kang Chin-t'ae that the DPRK put an end to the delay that once again occurred in her commercial deliveries (approx. 20%).

[...] The Soviet Union cannot deliver a nuclear power plant to the DPRK in the new five-year plan [1976-80] either, for she has long-term commitments [to construct such plants elsewhere]. For the time being the Soviet Union also failed to give her consent to the extension of the agreement on lumbering in Siberia by 3 years, because there are ecological surveys in progress [in these areas].

Ferenc Szabó
ambassador

Document 24

Memorandum, Branch Office of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Trade in P'yongyang to the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Trade 9 August 1976

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1976, 82. doboz, 5, 00170/7/1976. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Comrade Gnidenko [the Soviet deputy commercial counselor] gave the following information:

1.) Preliminary information about the 13th session of the Intergovernmental Consultative Commission:

The 13th session of the Commission was held on 8-11 June 1976 in Moscow. The minutes of the session were signed by Deputy Premiers I.T. Novikov on the Soviet side and Kang Chin-t'ae on the Korean side.

At the session the Korean side attempted to evade the questions related to foreign trade, for that was a thorny issue for it. However, the Soviet side [...] managed to achieve the fact that at this session of the Commission due stress was laid on the discussion of the commercial relations between the two countries.

Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Grishin as well as the sectoral ministers, who made speeches at the session, raised [the issue of] the fact that in 1976 Korean shipments had substantially decreased in comparison with the same period of earlier years; the [DPRK's] failure to deliver the raw materials that were planned to be imported from Korea caused stoppages in the operation of important Soviet industrial plants, seriously jeopardizing the continuity of production.

In response to the raising of these questions by the Soviets, the Korean side made promises to make up for its underfulfillments in the second half of the year [...] The Korean side stated its demand for a nuclear power plant [...].

The Soviet side declared that it was unable to deliver a nuclear power plant in the near future, for its productive capacity was already utilized in order to fulfill other demands on which a decision had been taken earlier.

[...]

The situation that developed [in the DPRK] prompted the Branch Office of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade in P'yongyang to make more thorough inquiries. [...]

– The scantiness of rainfall [in 1975 and 1976] produced a substantial effect on the production of electrical energy (in the estimation of the Soviets, hydroelectric power plants constitute 50% of the present power generation capacity), that is, there was no way of utilizing the capacity of the hydroelectric power stations, and they could not generate as much energy as planned.

[...]

István Suhajda
commercial counselor

Document 25

Memorandum, Hungarian National Commission of Atomic Energy to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry

31 August 1976

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1976, 82. doboz, 4, 004522/8/1976. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

On the occasion of the socialist coordinating meeting in Minsk that preceded the General Assembly of the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency], on 26 August 1976, late in the evening, Pak Hon-ch'ol, the head of the DPRK delegation, as well as the representative of the DPRK Foreign Ministry visited me, and described various incidents that had occurred on the South Korean border. [...]

They also informed me that the Technical Assistance program of the IAEA planned to deliver a complete reprocessing plant for the Far Eastern region. The plant is to be established in South Korea, since this region [South Korea] has the most developed technical base.

Their request was that the socialist countries should assist them in preventing the establishment of this plant in South Korea, and if such a plant were established at all in the Far Eastern region, then it should be given to the Philippines.

[...]

Having given me a few small gifts, they once again said thanks for the very valuable advice that they had received from the Hungarian delegation at the coordinating meeting held in Székesfehérvár in 1974. As a result of [this advice], at the general assembly the DPRK got IAEA membership without any difficulty.

[...]

Dr. György Osztrovszki
[chairman of the National Commission
of Atomic Energy]

Document 26

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 8 December 1976

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1976, 82. doboz, 5, 00854/6/1976. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

In February 1976, at the time of the session of the Soviet-Korean Intergovernmental Economic, Technical, and Scientific Consultative Commission, [Deputy Premier] Kang Chin-t'ae, the head of the Korean delegation, handed a letter from Pak Song-ch'ol to Comrade Kosygin. There were three concrete requests in the letter:

- 1) The 1973 agreement on the component supply of the set of rollers in the Kim Ch'aek industrial combine should be modified. [...]
- 2) Four additional blocs, each with an output of 100,000 kW, should be built at the thermal power plant in Pukch'ong.
- 3) The Soviet Union should construct a nuclear power plant in the DPRK.

The Soviet side did not give a concrete reply to the letter. At the session of the commission, the Soviet negotiating delegation took a stand on the extension of Pukch'ong and on the construction of the nuclear power plant by [declaring] that they could not discuss these two issues before the 1980s.

Returning from his tour in Africa, in October DPRK Minister of Foreign Trade Kae Un-t'ae broke up his journey in Moscow. During official discussions, he declared that the Korean side was waiting for a concrete reply to Pak Song-ch'ol's letter. On this occasion, the construction of a nuclear power plant was already missing from the list of urgent questions. Kae Un-t'ae was given a promise that an official reply would be sent as soon as possible.

As directed by the center, the Soviet chargé d'affaires ad interim sought an audience with Deputy Premier Kang Chin-t'ae, who received him on 12 November. The chargé d'affaires gave him the verbal reply of Comrade Kosygin. (After careful consideration, they decided not to reply in writing.) Their reply was that the Soviet Union was still unable to deal with the extension of the Pukch'ong thermal power plant before 1980 and also insisted on keeping the original agreement with regard to the issue of supplying Kim Ch'aek with components. [...]

Kang Chin-t'ae was very dissatisfied with the reply.

On 13 November Kae Un-t'ae asked for an appointment with the Soviet chargé d'affaires. He said that the DPRK was in a difficult economic situation and needed immediate assistance from the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. His concrete request was the following: 200,000 metric tons of oil and 150,000 metric tons of coking coal, as early as this year. (On the basis of the intergovernmental protocol that is in force, this year the Soviet Union supplies the DPRK with slightly more than 1 million metric tons of oil and 1.2 million metric tons of coking coal. By 1 November they completed over 70% of the shipments, and by the end of the year they will send the whole amount without interruptions.) The chargé d'affaires acknowledged the request, and promised to forward it without delay. In the opinion of the Soviet diplomat who told me this information, there is very little likelihood of fulfilling the request. To his knowledge, in the case of Korea the Soviet Union will not satisfy unexpected demands in

the future either. Exceptions can be made only in very justified cases. The Soviet side also takes every possible opportunity to make the Korean side understand that it is the COMECON countries that have priority when [the Soviets] decide on unexpected demands.

[...]

Ferenc Szabo
ambassador

Document 27

Report, Permanent Mission of Hungary to the International Organizations in Vienna to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 3 November 1977

[Source: XIX-J-1-j ENSZ, 1977, 154. doboz, V-73, 005665/1977. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has a representation in Vienna, headed by Comrade Yi Won-bom. Its competence covers not only Austria but also Czechoslovakia. It is obvious that the small, 3-person representation is seriously overloaded with [maintaining] bilateral relations. They cannot participate in every fraternal discussion related to the IAEA. Usually they do so only on the occasion of major IAEA events, e.g., before important board-meetings or general assemblies. On such occasions Comrade Dr. Ch'oe Hak-gun, the director of a major department of the DPRK National Commission of Atomic Energy, usually visits Vienna.

Considering that the employees of the DPRK representation have language problems as well – they know only German – on the occasion of friendly conversations we repeatedly offered to help them with anything or inform them about anything. We repeated that [offer] several times during socialist receptions.

Their statements revealed that they are not sufficiently familiar with international organizations, and thus, understandably, it is difficult for them to ask questions.

On the basis of these facts, all I can propose in reply to your instruction is that the DPRK should upgrade her representation by engaging an employee who would deal with UN organizations and socialist coordination and who would be sufficiently competent linguistically. On the grounds of your request, we will naturally assist them in this issue as much as possible.

Zoltán Fodor
ambassador

Document 28
Telegram, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry
17 February 1979

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1979, 81. doboz, 81-5, 001583/1979. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

The Czechoslovak ambassador said that on 12 February the Korean secretary of the Korean-Czechoslovak Intergovernmental Economic, Technical and Scientific Consultative Commission officially told the first secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy that the DPRK asked Czechoslovakia to

- 1) deliver uranium-mining equipment to the DPRK;
- 2) construct a 440-megawatt nuclear power plant in the DPRK. (I heard from the Soviet ambassador that the DPRK has two important uranium quarries. In one of these two places, the uranium content of the ore is 0.26 percent, while in the other it is 0.086 percent.)

Ferenc Szabó
 ambassador

Document 29
Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry
23 February 1979

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Dél-Korea, 1979, 81. doboz, 82-5, 002289/1979. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

[...]

The construction of the first [South Korean] nuclear power plant began in March 1971 in Kori, near Pusan, and was completed in May 1978. The nuclear reactor and the turbines were put in their final place in October 1974, and the first shipment of enriched uranium, with which the test operation was started, arrived in Kori in June 1975.

However, this is just the beginning, for the South Korean government prepared a long-range plan to construct additional nuclear power plants by 2000. The first stage of this [plan] will last until 1986, by which time 6 additional [nuclear power plants] (one per year) will be built. By 1986 the amount of investment will be 156 billion won and 174 million US\$. The most important investors are the American Westinghouse Electric Corp., ITT, the British GEC, various French companies, and, of course, several South Korean enterprises, such as the newly created Korea Nuclear Energy Co.

[...]

With the nuclear power plant in Kori included, the output of electric power generation in South Korea reached 6,59 million kW. With the completion and activation of the sixth

nuclear power plant, in 1986 its output will reach 20 million kW. By the end of 1986 they want to complete and operate 7 nuclear power plants, 5 hydroelectric power stations, 24 thermal power stations, and an ebb and flow power plant. 26 nuclear power plants will be built by 2000 [...].

If we compare the output of electric power generation that South Korea plans to reach by the end of 1986 with that of the DPRK (since the DPRK will also complete its 7-year plan by that time), the South Korean output is about three times that of the DPRK. This may explain why from this year on, but also earlier, the DPRK strongly urged the socialist countries – for instance, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and China – to provide it with equipment for nuclear power plants or even to build a nuclear power plant. She tries to make up for her lag behind South Korea in this way, with the hidden intention that later she may become capable of producing an atomic bomb.

Ferenc Szabó
ambassador

Document 30

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry 22 May 1979

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Dél-Korea, 1979, 81. doboz, 82-5, 003675/1979. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balázs Szalontai]

[...]

Assisted by the USA, the [South Korean] defense industry, with the exception of those weapons whose production needs great technological precision, is developing rapidly. South Korea started to manufacture guided missiles. A successful test of the latter took place in last September. In 1980 they will start to manufacture the electronic equipment of arms and airplanes. Recently, in the 22 December 1978 issue of *The Washington Post*, American journalists Roland Evans and Robert Novak pointed out that „South Korea already possesses the technological documentation needed for the independent production of nuclear weapons.”

[...]

Ferenc Szabó
ambassador

Document 31**Memorandum, Hungarian Academy of Sciences to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry
7 March 1983**

[Source: XIX-J-1-k Korea, 1983, 73. doboz, 81-73, 2856/1983. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

At the recent session of the government representatives in the United Institute for Nuclear Research (Dubna, 1-3 March 1983), Professor Ch'oe Hak-gun, the representative of the Democratic Republic of Korea and the chairman of the National Atomic Energy Commission, told me the following information in a private conversation, asking me to forward it to the competent Hungarian authorities:

Through official diplomatic channels, the DPRK will ask Hungary to receive Korean experts for training in the field of operating and managing the nuclear power plant [in Paks] as part of the cooperation between the two countries, since the DPRK will soon start building its first nuclear power plant.

István Láng
Hungarian government representative
in the United Institute for Nuclear Research

Document 32**Letter, Hungarian Foreign Ministry to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
6 April 1983**

[Source: XIX-J-1-k Korea, 1983, 73. doboz, 81-73, 2856/1983. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Dear Comrade Láng!

The letter [...] you sent to Comrade Deputy [Foreign] Minister Vencel Házi was forwarded to me, as I am competent to deal with this. The Foreign Ministry's position on the subject of the letter is that the Hungarian nuclear power plant is being built on the basis of Soviet documents and with direct Soviet support, its machinery is also largely Soviet made. For some time it will be operated with the support of Soviet experts, the training of Hungarian experts has just gotten underway. That is, these objective conditions prevent us from fulfilling the request of the DPRK. In case of a possible [official] request, we may advise them to submit their request directly to the competent Soviet authorities.

With comradely greetings,
Ferenc Szabó
head of the [4th Regional] Major Department

Document 33**Memorandum, Branch Office of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Trade in P'yongyang to the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Trade
28 July 1983**

[Source: XIX-J-1-k Korea, 1983, 73. doboz, 81-51, 5607/1983. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

Comrade V.A. Marushkin, the economic counselor of the Soviet Embassy, gave me the following information about the subject [the 18th session of the Soviet-Korean Intergovernmental Economic, Technical, and Scientific Consultative Commission]:

The session of the Commission was held in P'yongyang, the minutes were signed on 18 May 1983 by Deputy Premier N.V. Talizin on the Soviet side and Deputy Premier Kae Ung-t'ae on the Korean side.

[...]

The Koreans proposed that [Soviet-DPRK] cooperation should be extended to the field of space telecommunications and space research. The Soviet side said that this was possible only if the government of the DPRK joined the relevant international agreement.

[...]

Imre Rudi
commercial counselor

Document 34**Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry
4 August 1983**

[Source: XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1983, 78. doboz, 81-40, 004628/1983. Obtained and translated for CWIHP and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) by Balazs Szalontai]

The Embassy of Bulgaria in P'yongyang was instructed by its Center to inquire whether Korea might join the 1963 [nuclear test-ban] treaty [...].

With regard to this issue, the ambassador was received at the Foreign Ministry's Department of Treaties and Legal Issues, while the second highest-ranking diplomat [of the embassy] was received at the Atomic Energy Commission. The Bulgarian side referred to the fact that a substantial number of states had signed the treaty, and to the favorable political-psychological effect of the DPRK's possible joining, which could be successfully used for propagandizing P'yongyang's peaceful aspirations.

In both places [the North Korean officials] showed understanding towards the Bulgarian arguments, but they evaded giving an unequivocal and final answer. As an explanation they mentioned that as long as the United States stored atomic weapons and

weapons of mass destruction on South Korean soil, there was no objective ground for the DPRK to join the treaty.

Urged by the Bulgarians, the Korean side promised to continue studying the issue.

Ferenc Rátkai
chargé d'affaires ad interim

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Report on the Visit by Erich Honecker to the DPRK, 18-21 October 1986

[Source: Foundation Archive of the Parties and Mass Organizations in the Federal Archive [Berlin] (SAPMO-BA), DY 30, 2460. Translated by Grace Leonard.

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[in the course of a far-ranging discussion with GDR leader Erich Honecker, whom Kim Il Sung referred to as his “best friend,” Kim stated]

[...]

As to the situation in South Korea, Comrade Kim Il Sung stated that the anti-American mood has grown even more among the population, and in religious circles. But no rapid change in relations among the powers is to be expected.

The US rejected proposals made by the DPRK for reducing tensions on the Korean peninsula because it [would] lose its reason for remaining in South Korea if the initiatives were realized.

Comrade Kim Il Sung affirmed that the DPRK does not intend to attack South Korea, nor could it. More than 1,000 US nuclear warheads are stored in South Korea, ostensibly for defense, and it would take only two of them to destroy the DPRK. The DPRK supports the proposals made by Comrade Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Reykjavik. Many problems could not be solved with South Korea. Progress in relations between the Soviet Union and the US would also help to resolve the Korea problem.

[...]