

February 19, 1963

**Cable from Hao Deqing, 'Comrade Hao Deqing
Reports on the Contents of the Conversation from
his Meeting with Premier Kim'**

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Summary:

Hao Deqing and Kim Il Sung discuss a visit by Yuri Andropov to North Korea.

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Urgent

Comrade Hao Deqing Reports on the Contents of the Conversation from his Meeting with Premier Kim

To the Party Central Committee:

Copy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

Premier Kim Il Sung met me at the Party Central Committee on the 29th. Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Kim Yeong-nam was also present. We talked for two and a half hours. The part of the conversation regarding the [North] Korean delegation's visit to China had already been reported to the Party's Central Committee and General Staff Department. I will first report on the other three issues below:

1. Details of the Visit by Soviet Union's [Yuri] Andropov to North Korea

Andropov first claimed that he was entrusted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to talk to Comrade Kim Il Sung to discuss peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition, anti-imperialism, and the Cuban issue, etc. He made a special point to explain that Khrushchev entrusted him to talk about the international division of labor and even mentioned how [North] Korean newspapers and magazines had taken a dig at the Soviet Union, and he repeatedly said that on both international and domestic issues, the Soviet and Korean parties were of one mind and had no differences.

When talking about the issues of peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition, anti-imperialism, the Premier said: "This person seems to be able to remember the Moscow Declaration by heart, all he talks about are the things mentioned in the Moscow Declaration." He professed that the Soviet Union was also anti-imperialist and supported the national liberation movement. He talked about peaceful transition and also non-peaceful transition. He did not raise any different view verbally. The Premier said: "They say one thing but do another."

On the Cuban issue, no matter how Andropov explained, he had to concede in the end that the Soviet Union had retreated on the Cuban issue. The Premier said: "Since it had retreated in the face of the enemy, why did it insist on saying that it as a victory and loudly sing the song of victory? We cannot sing this 'victory song' together with you." When Andropov started talking about the international division of labor, Comrade Pak Geum-cheol asked: "Some have accused our self-sufficiency to be nationalism". The Premier also identified the Soviet publications that made such an accusation, but Andropov steadfastly denied this, saying that the Soviet Communist Party did not oppose self-sufficiency. The Premier pointed out that: "If we just talk about agriculture, in the past we used to import three to four hundred thousand tons of grain from the Soviet Union, and four to five hundred thousand tons of grain from China every year. Now that we are self-sufficient and no longer import, isn't that the result of becoming self-sufficient? Of course, it's not that we don't need the help of others. That is second place. Of course, we don't need to manufacture everything on our own."

"Taking a dig at the Soviet Union" referred to [North] Korea publishing an article exposing Yugoslavia. The Premier said: "The Yugoslav revisionists are traitors and agents of the imperialists. This was written very clearly in the Moscow Declaration. When the Soviet delegation visited Yugoslavia, it made our people very perplexed

and they cannot help asking questions. We wrote an article to expose Yugoslavia to answer to our people and not to take a dig at or go against the Soviet Union." "The Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were established by Lenin and the Soviet Union is also our country's liberator. How could we not support it? So long as you are anti-imperialist, we will support you." Andropov mentioned that: "The Sino-[North] Korean relationship is very good, and the relationship between the Soviet Union and [North] Korea should also be very good. The Premier pointed out that "the [North] Korea-China relationship is very good. When the enemy invades China, it will definitely invade [North] Korea first. When the enemy invades [North] Korea, it will definitely invade China thereafter. That is the interdependent relationship between our two countries and such a relationship was built up over the course of more than a decade. Please do not be jealous about it."

Andropov also mentioned "the articles on China published in [North] Korean newspapers and magazines". "There were many items published on China and few items published on the Soviet Union", and "hoped that there would not be open accusations". The Premier said: "We think that the Chinese articles are good, thus we published them. As for the number of items published, we are on a reciprocal and mutually beneficial relationship with China, and the journalists have the freedom to choose. We don't approve of making open accusations. The condition is that you must also not make open accusations.

During the discussion the Premier stressed the principles of independence and equality among the fraternal parties. "It is difficult to denounce great power chauvinism in the face." The Premier pointed out that: "On the one hand, you want to have a good relationship with Yugoslavia, yet on the other hand, you exclude Albania, and claim to want to topple its leaders. What is your motive?" Andropov again flatly denied plotting to subvert the Albanians. The Premier then said: "In 1956, you intervened in our country's domestic politics. We put up with that. Over the years, when we don't agree with you on something, we have always sidestepped the issue. You denounced Albania at your party congress. We didn't agree with you but we kept quiet. Now you go so far as to denounce China. We can no longer put up with that". Based on what you said, there are seemingly no differences between China and the Soviet Union. Both your parties should sit down for a talk".

The Premier also elaborated on many of the so-called views of the Soviet Embassy in [North] Korea, for instance views on not showing Soviet films. "If we show your films, our soldiers will all desert". Or for instance their views on jazz, "you have your reasons for saying that it is good. We have our reasons for saying that it's bad".

Andropov even emphasized the treaty of alliance between [North] Korea and the Soviet Union as well as the treaty between China and the Soviet Union. Should something happen, China, [North] Korea and the Soviet Union shall fight the enemy together. According to the Premier's analysis: "It seems that Andropov's visit this time round is to declare and explain the Soviet Union's stand, while sounding things out at the same time".

Someone from the East Germany foreign ministry said that they would not be responding to [North] Korea's editorial on Jan 30. They felt that the editorial was not aimed at East Germany. The Premier said: "It's beyond one's control, what they said is correct."

[Translator's note: About two and a half pages of content from this point until the end of the letter were blotted out and had not been declassified as of February 5, 2010.]

Hao Deqing
February 20, 1963

Distributed to: Comrades of the Politburo Standing Committee and Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, [Dong] Biwu, He Long, Chen Yi, [Chen] Boda, the International Department Central Committee of CPC, the Publicity Department of the CPC Central Committee, the Investigation Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Office of Foreign Affairs of the CPC Central Committee and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with 14 copies printed in total.

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