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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

THE KOREAN LABOR PARTY AND THE KIM IL-SONG REGIME

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THE KOREAN LABOR PARTY AND THE KIM IL-SONG REGIME

I. PRE-LIBERATION PERIOD

A. From Founding of Korean Communist Party Until Its Dissolution
(1925-1929)**SECRET**

The Communist system of government with much political power, which came into being after the successful Communist revolution of 1917 in Russia, has had a far-reaching influence. In the 1920's, communist parties were organized successively in China, Japan and elsewhere. It was inevitable that the influence reached Korea. However, the Korean laboring class of that time was not yet matured enough to be able to form its own political party. With the exception of its railroads, Korea in the 1920's had not developed modern industry. Nevertheless, as early as 1 March 1919, when a nation-wide anti-imperialist, people's liberation movement was conducted, the Korean masses felt the need for having their own political party in one form or another.

The Japanese Government General in Korea at that time suppressed completely such a desire on the part of the Korean masses. As a result, only a handful of progressive workers and nationalists began to study some of the Communist theories. On 17 April 1925, the Korean Communist Party, the first political party in Korea, was organized illegally by these people in alliance with the radical elements of the intelligensia. The striking difference between the Communist party in Korea and those of other countries is that in the latter, the Communist parties are formed as opposition to capitalistic liberal party already in existence,

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while in Korea it was just the opposite -- the Communist Party was formed as a national party to counter the foreign oppression and not as an opposition party of a capitalist political party.

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Under these historical conditions, the Korean Communist Party gained a strong support not only from the laboring class but also from the peasantry, intelligensia, and the petite bourgeoisie. One of the many reasons why the leading clique of the present-day Korean Labor Party, led by Kim Il-song, continues to exist despite the repeated and irretrievable failures, is that the party has built up a firm confidence among the Korean masses as a national party. However, because of the heterogenous nature of its membership and the constant oppression by the authorities, the Korean Communist Party at the time of its founding was split up into small groups and strong sectarianism was evident within the party. There were the so-called Tuesday, Marxist-Leninist, Shanghai, and the Seoul factions. In 1929, the Comintern rejected this Communist party as a branch because of the bitter factional strife within the party. During the four years in which the Korean Communist Party existed, it recorded only one success when on 10 June 1926 at the time of the funeral for King Sun Chong, the last ruler of the Yi Dynasty, the party organized a mass struggle, which came to be known as the 10 June Manse Movement.

1. Tuesday Faction (Pak Hon-yong--dominated by South Korean and Domestic factions)

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When the Communist Party was organized for the first time on 17 April 1925, it was a group centered around the Tuesday Faction. The Tuesday Association was the name of a study group devoted to the Communist theory before the establishment of a Communist party. The most famous names within the Tuesday Faction were Pak Hon-yong and Kwon O-sol.

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At that time, Pak Hon-yong, who was a senior student at the Seoul First Higher School, used his own home as a safehouse and participated in the positive organization of the Party, and at the same time organized the Communist youth league and became its leader.

Yi Sung-yop, who did not join the Tuesday Faction officially, nevertheless joined the [Communist] Party as the youngest member while he was still a student at the Inchon Commercial School. In November 1925, Pak Hon-yong was arrested by the police in Sinuiju while he was on his way back to Korea from Shanghai. As a result, he was unable to participate in the 10 June Manse Movement.

The 10 June Manse Movement was actually directed by Kwon O-sol, who was then the leader of the Communist youth league. Kwon O-sol was forced to go underground as a result of this incident, but was finally arrested and died in prison. Around that time, Kwon O-jik, the younger brother of Kwon O-sol, was among the first students to be sent abroad to attend the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in the USSR at the recommendation of the Korean Communist Party. Immediately upon his release from the Taejon Prison at the time of the national

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liberation in 1945, Kwon O-jik joined the Hon-yong, Pak's right-hand man, and organized and assumed chairmanship of the Communist youth league as well as the editorship of the Communist Party organ. In May 1946, he fled to North Korea to escape arrest by the US Military Government in connection with the incident involving the printing of counterfeit notes at the Communist Party Headquarters printing shop. In North Korea, he became assistant editor of Nodong Sinmun, but was forced to resign from this post for writing an article in which he referred to Kim Il-song as a "youthful general." Since the propaganda efforts at that time by the Kim Il-song faction were concentrated in building him up as "the clear-sighted leader of the Korean people," Kwon O-jik provoked Kim Il-song. As a matter of fact, Kwon O-jik's fate then was already doomed for a purge by Kim Il-song. Fortunately for him, Kwon O-jik escaped more severe punishment since his party affiliation was with the South Korean [Labor] Party (it took place prior to the merger).

Since Pak Hon-yong was still in good grace then, Kwon O-jik continued his activity in Haeju along the 38th parallel as head liaison man for the South Korean Labor Party. In 1948, when the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established in P'yongyang, and Pak Hon-yong became a Vice Premier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kwon O-jik was appointed Ambassador to Hungary and subsequently to Peiping. In 1953, when Pak Hon-yong was purged, Kwon O-jik was recalled at once and arrested by Kim Il-song. Today he is engaged in forced labor at a coal mine somewhere.

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Cho Il-myong, who had been active as a student at the Yonhui Technical School under the direction of Kwon O-sol at the time of the 10 June Manse Movement, was shot to death along with Yi Sung-yop as an American spy at the time of the Pak Hon-yong purge. Thus, the top cadres of the Tuesday Faction were completely eliminated by Kim Il-song.

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The only member of this group who survived was Hong Chung-sik, who betrayed both the Tuesday Faction and Pak Hon-yong. He is now serving as secretary general of the United Democratic Fatherland Front. He is well known in South Korea and has many acquaintances among the contemporary political figures in South Korea. For this reason, Kim Il-song is using him in this field. Hong Chung-sik, who was the director of the Awards Bureau of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly during the Korean War, abandoned all the medals and ribbons in his custody and fled during the retreat at the time of the UN counter-offensive, thus provoking Pak Hon-yong, who demoted him to a member of a consumers cooperative in Chinnamp'o (Namp'o). Subsequently, however, when Kim Il-song arrested Pak Hon-yong and held a session to impeach him, Hong Chung-sik volunteered to stand as a witness against Pak Hon-yong, criticizing him severely while most of the members of the Central Committee of the South Korean Labor Party who ^{were} demanded by Kim Il-song to do so, hesitated. In reward for this deed and for pledging allegiance to Kim Il-song, he was appointed as deputy secretary general of the United Democratic Fatherland Front and subsequently became secretary general when Kim Chang-jun vacated that post and was promoted to chairman of the Board.

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The following is a list of individuals noted for their activities with the Tuesday Faction after the liberation:

- a. Pak Hon-yong, head of the Korean Communist Party; vice chairman of the Korean Labor Party; Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs; shot to death.
- b. Yi Sung-yop, member of the Presidium of the Korean Labor Party; Minister of Justice; Minister of Inspection; shot to death.
- c. Cho Il-myong, Deputy Minister of Culture and Propaganda; shot to death.
- d. Yi Chu-ha, South Korean Labor Party; Pak Hon-yong's representative at one time; shot to death by Syngman Rhee.
- e. Mu Chong, artillery commander of the Chinese Communist Army; commander of the Korean Volunteer Army in Yen-an; commander of the Second Army Corps of the Korean People's Army; dismissed and imprisoned by Kim Il-song and died in prison.
- f. Kwon O-jik, Ambassador to Peiping; now serving at forced labor in a coal mine.
- g. Hong Chung-sik, publisher of Choson Inmin; director of the Awards Bureau of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly during the "Seoul Era" [Korean War]; defected to the Kim Il-song side and became secretary general of the United Democratic Fatherland Front.

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Although the top leaders of the Tuesday Faction were criticized completely by the Kim Il-song Faction as stated above, they had represented the main stream of the Korean Communist Party for a long time and mainly had remained at home, instead of fleeing abroad, and lived together with the people in general. As a result, their influence is deep-rooted, and there remain a number of sympathizers not only among the remnants of the South Korean Labor Party, but also within the North Korean Labor Party right under Kim Il-song's nose. An evidence to this fact is that even now the individuals who are being purged by Kim Il-song are criticized for being under the influence of Chang Sun-myong, O Ki-byon, Yi Chu-ha and others, who are affiliated with the Tuesday Faction and Pak Hon-yong.

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The only group which is most likely to tangle with the Kim Il-song in an intra-party struggle in the future is the [combined] group of the Tuesday Faction, the main stream of the Korean Communist Party, the main stream of the South Korean Labor Party, and the main stream faction within the Korean Labor Party opposing Kim Il-song.

The leaders of this group have had relatively long years of experience and command support from the masses. However, when Korea is under a strong foreign influence as is the case today and when the support from the USSR and Communist China is not directed toward them, these people are in a disadvantageous position. In the event Korea becomes a neutral country, this group is expected to gain power over the faction of foreign origin led by Kim Il-song.

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It was the Marxist-Leninist Faction which attacked the Party Center of the Party Center when the original Communist Party led by the Tuesday Faction suffered a wholesale arrest and complete destruction subsequent to the Sinuiju Incident in November 1925. This faction was composed mostly of former students in Japan and the intelligensia. The mainstay of the Marxist-Leninist Faction was Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik, who subsequently fled to China and became the leader of the Korean Independence League in Yen-an and who returned to Korea after the liberation, and at one time formed an alliance with Kim Il-song for the downfall of Pak Hon-yong, and who finally was killed by Kim Il-song when he launched a movement in August 1956 to depose Kim Il-song and to assume power himself. Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik was the elder of the Korean Independence movement. He graduated from the Chuo University in Japan with the assistance from the noted lawyer, Ho Hon.

Since the founding of the Korean Communist Party in 1925, this Marxist-Leninist Faction has struggled against the Tuesday Faction and even after the liberation, it opposed the Tuesday Faction in all matters in the central organ of the Tuesday Faction's Reconstructed Communist Party, since this faction was strongly aware of the factional struggle. Immediately after the liberation, it established a ghost communist party (the so-called Chang'an Faction Communist Party); when this party was dissolved by Pak Hon-yong, the Marxist-Leninist Faction did return to the fold, but continued its destructive scheme by secretly siding with Kim Il-song through Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik of its own faction who then was in North Korea.

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posed of the people belonging to the former Marxist-Leninist Faction who met in the Chang'an Building on Chongno in Seoul on the night of 16 August 1945, immediately after the liberation and announced the formation of the Korean Communist Party on the 17th. Thus this party came to be known as the Chang'an Faction Communist Party and again since it had only the top organization and no subordinate organs, it was referred to as the Ghost Communist Party. At the end of August, Pak Hon-yong announced in his August Thesis at the meeting of the Preparatory Committee for Reestablishment of the Communist Party that the Chang'an Faction Communist Party was a mistake and that the members of this group had been accepted back in the organization of the Reconstructed Communist Party of Pak Hon-yong as individuals after the discolution of the Chang'an Faction Communist Party.)

In August 1946. in South Korea, at the time of the merger of the Special South Korean Committees of the Communist Party, the People's Party, and the New Democratic Party, this Marxist-Leninist Faction, with the support from Kim Il-song, began to openly oppose Pak Hon-yong, first by establishing a subfaction called the Congress Faction within the Party and later by forming the Social Labor Party outside the Party and continued to oppose the party merged under the hegemony of Pak Hon-yong. In North Korea both Kim Il-song and Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik supported the Congress Faction to oppose Pak Hon-yong.

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This Congress Faction was made up of not only the Marxist-Leninist Faction but also included Yi Chong-yuon of the Party Reconstruction Council Faction, Mun Kap-song and Kim Kun, who survived the Ka²-li Communist Party incident in Chien-tao, Manchuria, and Kang Chin, who was born in the USSR. In addition to the abovementioned Communist Party members, the Congress Faction included Yo Un-hyong of the People's Party and Paek Nam-un of the New Democratic Party. Kim Il-song in North Korea summoned these people secretly to P'yongyang and told them that he would spare no moral or material assistance to them if they would seize the leadership of the party away from Pak Hon-yong at the time of merger of the three parties. Subsequently, large sums of money were handed over to them through secret routes.

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Since the Pak Hon-yong headquarters detected their plot and came into the possession of evidence, these opposition elements were expelled from the party. The subordinate echelons of the party, upon learning the rebellious acts, detested the Congress Faction and did not team up with them. Consequently the Congress Faction became completely isolated and tasted an utter defeat. Several of these expelled members then got together and formed the Social Labor Workers Party as an opposition party to the South Korea Labor Party.

Kim Il-song, who had planned to drive Pak Hon-yong out of the South Korean Labor Party, thus ended up in a complete failure in his first objective. He was in fury at the anti-Pak Hon-yong elements, whom he supported even to the extent of providing them with money, for being expelled from the party by Pak Hon-yong and for creating for no reason at all a ghost party, the

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Socialist labor Party, outside of the Party without any support from the South Korean people. Kim Il-song hastily called a meeting of the presidium of the North Korean Labor Party and handed down a severe condemnation for their failure through Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik, who was directly responsible for the anti-Pak Hon-yong operation.

In his report, Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik attacked these elements which formed the Socialist Labor Party in South Korea as "pawns of American imperialists." In reality, the Kim Il-song and Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik not only shifted the entire responsibility for the failure to the Congress Party but also gave an impression that they were protecting the South Korean Labor Party by attempting to patch up their responsibility.

The Social Labor Party came to a deadlock when it was reprimanded by North Korea, on which it relied for support. The majority of members who formerly belonged to the Communist Party rejoined the South Korean Labor Party after self-criticism. Others including Yo Un-hyong and Yi Yo-song of the People Party, Paek Nam-un of the New Democratic Party and Yi Yong, former Communist Party member, organized the Working People's Party as a neutral party.

Another group of members of the Social Labor Party who neither rejoined the South Korean Labor Party nor joined the Working People's Party after the dissolution was absorbed into the clandestine net operated by Song Si-baek, famous agent sent into South Korea by Kim Il-song. As a result, the entire Marxist-Leninist Faction in South Korea ended in a political ruin. This episode reflects how the people in South Korea detest any link with Kim Il-song in North Korea. It also expresses the desire of the people in

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South Korea to be governed by Communists who had been told that they would understand their feeling in the event South Korea were communized.

Most of the members of the Congress faction (successors to the Marxist-Leninist Faction), which was now completely wrecked politically, turned to spying for Kim Il-song in South Korea. They scraped together or fabricated information about Pak Hon-yong and the South Korean Labor Party and sent it via Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik, who was in North Korea, to Kim Il-song's Secret Operations Department (commonly known as Room No 5 of the Central Committee of the Party). Kim Il-song used this information to label each member of the South Korean Labor Party. When the leaders of the South Korean Labor Party who had been careless in speaking, being unaware that they were being watched by this secret apparatus, fled to North Korea during the Korean War, Kim Il-song's organization was waiting for them. Those who had been labelled were completely purged, irrespective of the seriousness of the charges, at the time of the Pak Hon-yong purge. Actually Kim Il-song's organization was more severe with the South Korean Labor Party leaders than either the US Army or Syngman Rhee's military police.

In 1953 when Kim Il-song arrested Pak Hon-yong on grounds of being an American spy, Kim had Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik, who at that time was Minister of Finance go, accompanied by military police, to Pak's home and arrest him. Ch'oe had never had any relationship with the investigatory agencies before.

Actually Kim Il-song handled the affair skillfully. After Pak Hon-yong's Tuesday Faction and its successor, the Seoul Communist Group, had been purged, the Marxist-Leninist Faction of Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik and the Congress Faction anticipated great rewards, but Kim Il-song was plotting

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...towards the former Marxist-Leninist faction, such as Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik.

At the 3rd party congress, Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik had expected, on the basis of his experiences in the [revolutionary] struggle and his actual power, that he would be made vice chairman of the party's Central Committee and would rank next to Kim Il-song. However, Kim Il-song rejected any further extension of Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik's influence and instead appointed Chong Il-yong, who was without any revolutionary experiences, as vice chairman. By this action Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik recognized Kim's true character. Realizing keenly that unless Kim was toppled his own future was doomed, Ch'oe rapidly launched an anti-Kim Il-song movement.

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However, Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik was immediately crushed by Kim Il-song. The Remnants of the Marxist-Leninist and Congress factions are now mercilessly crushed in North Korea. They are regarded by neither the Kim Il-song Faction, the main stream faction, nor by the South Korean party, the anti-main stream faction, as comrades or even as human beings. They are considered to be factional and opportunist elements.

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This is the ordinary name used collectively for the Seoul Youth Association Faction and the Shanghai Faction. Presently, there are no factions descended from these groups, and only a few forgotten leaders survive. These are Yi Yong, Yi Chong-yun, and Yun Hyong-sik. Because of its involvement in previous factional strife, this faction secretly allied itself with the Marxist-Leninist Faction under the control of Kim Il-song and waged an anti-Pak Hon-yong movement in South Korea. But as in the case of the Marxist-Leninist faction, this faction was simply used by Kim Il-song. When Pak Hon-yong was purged and the faction's utility was at an end, it incurred Kim's oppression and was split up.

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The above three factions are the oldest within the Korean Communist Party but by now they have been destroyed by Kim Il-song.

The important members of the first and second phase of the Korean Communist Party, organized 17 April 1925 and dissolved in 1929, were as follows:

First Communist Party (Tuesday Faction) -

Kan Tal-chung; (leader, died in early period); Pak Hon-yong; Kwon O-sol and Kwan O-jii., brothers; Yi Sung-yop; Yi Chae-yu; Yi Chu-ha; Yi Kwan-sul; Cho Il-myong; Chang Si-u.

Second Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist Faction, Seoul-Shanghai Faction) -

Kim Chun-yon (Temporarily in charge of the party; shifted and became a member of the Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Party and chairman of the Unification Party); Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik; Ha P'il-won; Pak Hak-chong; Ch'oe Ik-han; Yi Yong; Yi Chong-yun; Yun Hyong-sik

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B. Party Reconstruction Period (1930-1945)

In 1929 the Comintern cancelled the right of the Korean Communist Party to serve as the Korean Branch of the Comintern. It advised that factional strife be stopped and that the party penetrate deeper into the working class. This action deprived the factions of the grounds on which each faction claimed that it itself was the sole legitimate Communist party. The various factions, working on the theory that the one which recruits more people will gain hegemony, tried to infiltrate the masses, but because of government pressure, the inexperience of the Korean working class, and because of lack of their own strengths, organizational work did not develop. Nevertheless, by exerting influence on the working class and on the students, despite cruel pressure from the government, factory strikes and school strikes continued every year.

The most active of the three factions described above was probably the Tuesday Faction. This is because the majority of the Communists who grew up following the dissolution of the Korean Communist Party belonged to the Tuesday Faction. Typical of this group is Chu Yong-ha (formerly vice chairman of the North Korean Labor Party, who at the time of the Pak Hon-yong purge was criticized by Kim Il-song as a factionalist because of his close relations with Pak Hon-yong, and who now is a duck farm manager).

Pak Hon-yong of the Tuesday Faction went underground after his release from prison. O Ki-byon temporarily went into exile to the

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rebuild the Korean Communist Party. When he returned to Korea, he was unable to establish contact with Pak Hon-yong, who was in hiding within the country, and traveled on foot throughout Korea three times. Being unable to contact his comrades within the country, O Ki-byon wasted ten odd years. Up to the time of the liberation in 1945, he was never captured. Nevertheless, he was never able to achieve his mission.

Pak Hon-yong, released on parole for illness, went completely underground. The lawyer at this time was the famous Ho Hon, who later became South Korean Labor Party Central Committee chairman.

Pak Hon-yong kept himself disguised by working as a laborer in a brick factory in Cholla-namdo and so avoided the attention of the authorities. Nevertheless, he maintained contact with comrades on the outside through Yun Sun-dal and his girl friend, Yi Sun-gum, who was a sister of Yi Kwan-sul.

1. Seoul Communist Group (1939)

Pak Hon-yong went underground and working through Yi Kwan-sul, Yi Chae-yu and others, strove to expand the organization. However, because Yi Chae-yu was arrested he began to work through Kim Sam-nong and Yi Kwang-sang.

In 1939, with Pak Hon-yong as chief, Kim Sam-nong, Yi Kwang-sang, and Yi Kwan-sul organized the Communist organization called the Seoul Communist Group, with Seoul as the center. This group consisted primarily of students from Seoul and Tokyo universities and special schools, but later they tried to extend [membership] into the ranks of the workers. But while the group was engaged in this, the organization

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was uncovered in Seoul and arrests followed.

After liberation [in 1945], this group became the main stream of the Communist Party which was established in Seoul and also later became the main stream of the South Korean Labor Party. The people included within this faction and this group were generally called the Domestic Faction to distinguish them from the foreign Kim Il-song and Yen-an factions. If Kim Il-song was to achieve hegemony of the Korean Communist Party it was essential that this Seoul Group be overthrown. The antagonism between the Kim Il-song group and the Seoul group was fatal to hegemony within the party.

The role of Pak Hon-yong and the Seoul Communist Group in the history of the Communist movement in Korea is given below.

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1925 - 1945

Korean Communist Party (Tuesday Faction; Pak Hon-yong)

1939

Seoul Communist Group

Pak Hon-yong
Kim Sam-nong
Yi Kwang-sang
Yi Kwan-sul
Kim Ung-bin
Ch'oe Yong-dal
Yi Chu-sang
Pak Kwang-cho
Yun Sun-dal

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September 1945

Reconstructed Korean Communist Party

Pak Hon-yong (Chairman)
Kim Sam-nong (Chairman, Seoul Party Committee)
Yi Kwang-sang (Director, Labor Department)
Yi Kwan-sul (Director, Finance Department)
Kim Ung-bin (Chief, Organization Department, Seoul Party)
Ch'oe Yong-dal (Member, Central Committee; chief, Organization
Department, Konguk Preparatory Committee)
Yi Chu-sang (Secretary)
Pak Kwang-cho (Member, Kyonggi-do Committee)

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Korean Labor Party

- Pak Hon-yong (Vice Chairman; Deputy Premier)
- Kim Sam-nong (Captured and shot by the Rhee Government)
Chief
- Yi Hyon -sang (Commander, Chii San Partisans)
- Yi Kwan-sul (Died)
- Yi Chu-sang (Member, Political Committee, People's Army; Colonel)
- Kim Ung-bin (Chairman, Seoul Party Committee)
- Pak Kwang-cho (Chairman, Kyonggi-do Party Committee)
- Ch'oe Yong-dal (Under surveillance by Kim Il-song in North Korea)
- Yun Sun-dal (Chairman, Cholla-Namdo Party Committee; member,
Military Affairs Committee)

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End of 1952 (Immediately prior to the purge)

Korean Labor Party

- Pak Hon-yong (Vice Chairman; Deputy Premier)
- Yi Hyon -sang (Chief Commander, Chii San Partisans)
- Yi Chu-sang (Deputy Director, Central Cadre Department)
- Kim Ung-bin (Director, Kumgang Academy*)
- Ch'oe Yong-dal (Deputy Minister, Ministry of Justice)
- Pak Kwang-hui (Principal, Chagang-do Cadre School); demoted
- Yun Sun-dal (Member, Division Military Committee)

*Kumgang Academy is a military training school for South Korean partisans located at the northern boundary of the 38th parallel.

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1947

South Korean Labor Party

Pak Non-yong (Deputy chairman; assigned to North Korea)

Kim Sam-nong (Director, Organization Department)

Yi Kwan-sul (Arrested and imprisoned)

Yi Hyon -sang (Director, Cadre Department)

Kim Ung-bin (Acting Chairman, Seoul Party Committee)

Pak Kwang-cho (Studying in the USSR)

Ch'oe Yong-dal (In North Korea)

Yi Chu-sang (Secretary)

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March 1950

(South) Korean Labor Party*

Pak Non-yong (Vice Chairman; Deputy Premier)

Kim Sam-nong (In sole charge of the South Korean covert party)

Yi Hyon -sang (Commander, Chi San Partisans)

Yi Kwan-sul (Imprisoned)

Yi Chu-sang (Chairman, Ch'ungch'ong Nampo Party Committee)

Ch'oe Yong-dal (Criticized by Kim Il-song in North Korea)

Kim Ung-bin (Returned to North Korea after studying in the USSR and standing by)

Pak Kwang-cho (Returned to North Korea after studying in the USSR and standing by)

*Indicated as (South)Korean Party because/although the North and South Korean Labor Parties were amalgamated in 1949, it was kept secret.

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Pak hon-yong (Shot as an American spy)

Yi Hyon -sang (Killed in a battle with the Rhee Army)

Yi Chu-sang (Demoted; whereabouts unknown)

Kim Ung-bin (Escaped when he heard of the capture of Pak
Hon-yong; fate unknown)

Ch'oe Yong-dal (Demoted; whereabouts unknown)

Yun Sun-dal (Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment as an American
spy)

Pak Kwang-hui (Deputy Chairman, P'yongyang People's Committee;
since he was demoted by Pak prior to the Pak Hon-yong
incident, he escaped implications)

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As seen from above, the Seoul Communist Group played an important role in the history of the revolutionary movement in Korea, but after the party lost its foothold in South Korea and fled to North Korea, it could not fight against Kim Il-song and ended tragically with its members killed. Although the leaders of the Seoul Communist Party have been destroyed, their influence still is felt.

When in 1939, Pak Hon-yong came secretly to Seoul to set up an underground organizations, he met secretly with Underwood, principal of the Yonhui College in Seoul, and a US CIA [?] agent on Korean operations, and discussed the international situation and how much aid the US can give in the struggle for Korean independence. It is ironical that years later this meeting served as an excuse for Kim Il-song to accuse Pak Hon-yong as an American spy.

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Kim Sam-nong remained in hiding chiefly in Seoul and together with Ch'oe Yon-dal, professor at Posong College, strove with good results to recruit young students. Kim Sam-nong was arrested soon after and imprisoned in a prison in Chonju until the 15 August Liberation Day.

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After the Liberation, the Seoul Communist Group took over the important posts in the reconstructed Communist Party. The members of the group, however, became self-righteous, asserting that they fought and opposed the cruel oppression of the Japanese regime, and distinguished themselves from other revolutionaries as the "light in a dark night," and the "clear stream among muddy streams." They became cliquish and incurred the opposition of other factions. The result was that many of the other factions went over to Kim Il-song and helped to build up his forces.

2. Other Groups

When the war situation turned unfavorable for Japan from around 1943 and defeat became a possibility, small independence movement groups sprang up in various parts of Korea. The groups included those who were experienced in Communist movements and young men who were dissatisfied with the draft and expropriation.

Among these groups, the important ones are given below.

a. Yi Chong-yun Group

The Party Reconstruction Council Group was headed by Yi Chong-yun, who was an old Communist active in the Seoul Young Men's Association during 1925, and who opposed Pak Hon-yong. This group

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was arrested in the summer of 1945 just before the liberation.

Immediately after the Liberation, Yi Chong-yun gathered a part of the Marxist-Leninist Faction under his wing and opposed Pak Hon-yong's Party Reconstructions Preparatory Committee, but finally merged with Yi Hon-yong's Reconstructed Communist Party. Even after that, Yi Chong-yun secretly kept in contact with Kim Il-song in North Korea and continued his anti-Pak Hon-yong movement.

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During the party merger period in 1946, Yi Chong-yun finally raised the anti-Pak banner officially. However, since he failed, he attacked was beaten by Pak Hon-yong and forsaken by Kim Il-song. He is completely out of power now and is working in a small library in P'yongyang.

b. So Chung-sok Group

The So Chung-sok Group was centered around So Chung-sok and his brother, So Wan-sok, and had an underground organization in Seoul in 1944-1945. The group included Sin Pu-ch'ul, a famous comedian of Korea. This group, also, was arrested by the Kyonggi-do police just before the Liberation.

Immediately after the Liberation, So Chung-sok played an important role as a member of the Central Committee of the Korean Communist Party. So Wan-sok, his younger brother, controlled the Korean Seamen's League at one time. When the parties were merged in 1946, however, So Chung-sok went over to the anti-Pak Hon-yong Faction, and the brothers lost their political positions. Their present whereabouts are unknown.

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c. Ch'ongju Preventive Detention Camp Group

The Ch'ongju Preventive Detention Camp Group was the so-called non-defection group, which was kept imprisoned even after the expiration of the terms of the members of the group. Although the group actually was unable to do anything, it was important as a non-deviation group.

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There was a mixture of factions within this group, including Mun Kap-song and Kim Kun of the Kao-li Communist Party line of Chien-iao in Manchuria, and Kang Chin from the USSR, and Kim Ch'ol-su, etc. Among them, Kang Chin was the most active. Within 10 days after he was released through the 15 August liberation, Kang Chin formed his own faction. Kang Chin had been active in the Primorskiy Kray in the USSR, and later he infiltrated into Korea where he was arrested while engaged in organizational activities.

In Korea, Kang ranked next to Pak Hon-yong in the Political Committee, but when the parties merged in 1946, Kang opposed Pak Hon-yong and organized Congress Faction, and led to the split of the party. Kang Chin launched the anti-Pak movement, also, in league with Kim Il-song, but when the movement failed, Kim Il-song put the blame on Kang Chin, called him to North Korea and imprisoned him. Later, when Pak Hon-yong was arrested, Kang was released, but nothing is known of him at the present time.

As can be seen above, Kim Il-song manipulated the various factions in South Korea from behind and strove desperately to overthrow Pak Hon-yong.

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3. Overseas Factions

A part of the workers for Korean independence fled to Manchuria, Shanghai in China, and the USSR from the strong suppression in Korea. Many of the refugees gathered in the Chien-tao district in Manchuria, where immigrants from Korea had settled long ago, and made that the base of their independence movement.

At first, the Chien-tao district was the base of Yi Si-yong, a former vassal of the old Korean monarchy, and Kim Chwa-jin, a military man. With the establishment of the Communist regime in the Primorskiy Krai, however, the strength of the Communists in Chien-tao increased rapidly. Yi Si-yong (Vice president at the time of the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948) was pursued by Communists and finally fled to Shanghai. (Kim Chwa-jin (General military officer during the Korean monarchy) was assassinated by Kim Il-song (a different person from the present North Korean Premier Kim Il-song, who was Kim Song-ju). The strength of racialism, thus, was greatly weakened.

Manchuria up to the Manchurian Incident, ^{was} compared to Korea, a relatively free country for Korean independence movement workers. Small armed organizations, thus, were found scattered in various places.

Taking advantage of the Manchurian Incident, organizers of the Japanese Army and the Chinese Communist Party rushed into Manchuria. The Chinese Communist Party strove to strengthen their anti-Japan front in Manchuria through the formation of a united front with Korea. Communist China, thus, took note of the Korean Independence Group in

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Manchuria and tried to reorganize them. The members of the already existing organizations for Korean independence movement, however, although Communists, were so strong in their racial feelings that they did not agree with Communist China's policy which placed first emphasis on liberation of China.

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Communist China, thus, tried to find from among Koreans in Manchuria, those internationalists of the Communist line who thought more of the Chinese revolution than of the Korean independence. The man who filled this requirement was Kim Song-ju (present Kim Il-song), secretary of the Kirin District, Chinese Communist/League Youth.

a. Kim Il-song -- Ch'oe Hyon Group (South Manchuria)

Kim Il-song (real name Kim Song-ju) was born 1912 at Kangyongdae, a suburbs of P'yongyang, as a son of a private elementary school teacher. His mother, Kang Ssi, came from a Christian family. His mother's brother, Kang Yang-guk (presently, member and vice chairman of the Presidium of the North Korean Supreme People's Assembly) was a pastor.

When Kim Il-song (Kim Song-ju) was attending the Ch'u-lin Middle School, Kim Il-song (the real one) slew General Kim Chwa-jin, who was the most powerful Korean in Manchuria, and his name became known all over the Chien-tao area.

Kim Il-song (Kim Song-ju) was expelled from the Yu-lin Middle School and served several months in prison. After his release, he joined the Chinese Communist Party. When Kim Song-ju was trying to

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evade the police after being involved in partisan activities after the 1931 Manchurian Incident, he used for the first time the name of Kim Il-song, who was dead by then.

From around 1935, Kim Il-song (Kim Song-ju) devoted himself to partisan struggles under orders from the Chinese Communist Party. When the Sino-Japanese incident broke out in 1937, Communist China immediately reorganized Chinese-Korean combined armed units. The armed units organized by Communist China was headed by Yang Ching-yu of Communist China. The Korean units were assembled under the 6th Division, and a Korean was decided to be appointed as the division commander. The first choice was Ch'oe Hyon, who was long active in the partisan movement in Manchuria, but since he was totally illiterate and simple-minded, Kim Song-ju (present Kim Il-song), who attended school up to the second grade in middle school, was appointed commander of the 6th Division. Kim Song-ju formally became Kim Il-song from this time.

In 1940, however, the Chinese-Korean partisan units in Manchuria faced destruction by the Japanese Kwantung Army and police. Since Kim would have been completely wiped out if he stayed in Manchuria, he managed to cross over the Soviet-Manchurian border in 1940 and fled to the vicinity of Khabarovsk. He billeted his small number of units which fled with him in nearby private homes. He received political and special education under the command of Major General Suchkov, who was the commander of the military administration in 1945 when the Soviet Army occupied North Korea. After the North Korean government was established in 1948, Suchkov continued to guide

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Kim Il-song as the Soviet ambassador in P'yongyang. Suchkov was charged with the responsibility for failure of the Korean conflict and recalled to the Soviet Union.

Kim Il-song, in his "self-advertisement" in North Korea at present, uses the standard line that when the North Korean people were faced with the most difficult days, he alone bravely engaged in armed struggles against the Japanese imperialism. Actually, however, Kim Il-song was leading a peaceful life in the Soviet Union during the crucial years between 1940 and 1945, when the oppression was most severe.

When Kim Il-song was brought to P'yongyang in August 1945 by the Soviet Army, he could not use the name of Kim Il-song and came as Kim Song-ju. He formally took the name of Kim Il-song in Korea in mid October when he appeared for the first time before the masses at the P'yongyang Municipal People's Assembly.

A characteristic of the Kim Il-song unit is that it has many illiterate persons and lacks experienced ones.

At the time of the establishment of the People's Republic in 1948, not many could appear in the limelight, but presently, men of the Kim Il-song line are in the key positions.

The cadres of the Kim Il-song Unit in 1939 were as follows:

Kim Il-song (Division commander)

An Kil (Chief of Staff)

Kang Keng (Commander)

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Kim Il (Company commander)
Pak Song-ch'ol (Platoon commander)
Ch'oe Myon (Independent unit commander)
Pak Tal (Internal agent)
Pak Kum-ch'ol (Internal agent)

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The cadres of the Kim Il-song line as of October 1959
are as follows:

Kim Il-song (Premier)
An Kil (Died in 1947)
Kang Kong (Chief of the Staff, People's Army in 1950;
killed by a bomb while inspecting the Korean front)
Kim Il (First Deputy Premier)
Pak Song-ch'ol (Foreign Minister)
Ch'oe Myon (Minister of Communications)
Pak Tal (Died spring 1960)
Pak Kum-ch'ol (Vice chairman, Central Committee, Korean
Labor Party)

In the government, Kim Il-song's deputy is Kim Il, who
was a company commander during the partisan days. In the Korean Labor
Party, Kim's deputy is Pak Kum-ch'ol, who was an internal agent during
the partisan days. Among those of the Kim Il-song line, Kim Il is the
only one who finished middle school.

b. Ch'oe Yong-gon Faction (North Manchuria)

Ch'oe Yong-gon was born as a son of a landowner in Namsi

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near Sinuji in P'yongan-Pukto. When young, he participated in the independence movement, fled to China and wandered through North and South China. He settled down in North Manchuria around the 1930s and carried out operations. It may be that he escaped purge by Kim Il-song because he did not form any group. Ch'oe Yong-gon presently is collaborating with Kim Il-song, but he seems a little different from the Kim Il-song Faction. He may be the top personality in North Korea at the present time.

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Ch'oe Yong-gon's younger brother, Ch'oe Myong-gon, is a major general in the People's Army.

c. Independence Alliance (Yen-an Faction)

The Korean Independence Alliance was organized in 1943 at Yen-an, the stronghold of the Chinese Communist Party. The Alliance was a motley group of refugees from Korea, Manchuria, and Shanghai, who organized under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party. The important personages of the faction at the end of 1945 when they returned to Korea were Kim Tu-bong, Ch'oe Ch'ang-pik, Mu Chong, Pak Il-u, Han Pin, Yi Yu-min, Kim Ch'ang-man, Ho Chung-suk, and Yi Hye-sam.

A Korean Volunteer Army was organized under the Central Committee of the Independence Alliance as follows:

- | | | | |
|--|--|---|---|
| Mu Chong (Commander, Korean Volunteer Army) | <table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="939 1336 954 1548">}</td> <td data-bbox="954 1336 1264 1548"> Yi Yu-min (Chief, Organization Division) Kim Ch'ang-man (Chief, Propaganda Division) </td> </tr> </table> | } | Yi Yu-min (Chief, Organization Division) Kim Ch'ang-man (Chief, Propaganda Division) |
| } | Yi Yu-min (Chief, Organization Division) Kim Ch'ang-man (Chief, Propaganda Division) | | |

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Pak Hon-yong
(Unit Commander)

Pak Il-u (Director, Central Politico-Military Institute,
Korean Independence Alliance)

These members of the Independence Alliance were divided into three groups. The first group included Kim Tu-bong, Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik, Yi Yu-min and others who rejected both Kim Il-song and Pak Hon-yong and first plotted to establish their own regime. They planned to enter/into a temporary alliance with Kim Il-song, overthrow Pak Hon-yong by using Kim Il-song, and then overthrow Kim Il-song in the end.

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The second group, which included Mu Chong and Pak Il-u, was inclined toward uniting with Pak Hon-yong rather than with Kim Il-song.

The first two groups already have been purged by Kim Il-song.

The third group included those like Kim Ch'ang-man, who threw off the Independence Alliance, considering it a mere temporary alliance, and strove to establish the Kim Il-song regime. Thus, Kim Ch'ang-man alone was accepted by Kim Il-song, and is now Vice Chairman of the Central Committee, Korean Labor Party.

Among those who remained neutral and quietly followed Kim Il-song is (Madame) Ho Chong-suk, presently Justice Minister [Ministry abolished 2 September 1959], and concurrently, president, Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

There are, also, among this faction, some who were unknown in the early days, but who made a rapid rise after the Chinese Volunteer

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Army joined the Korean Front. They are Yi Il-gyong, Minister of Education, and Ha Ang-ch'on, Director, Science and School Education Department, Korean Labor Party. Since Yi Il-gyong participated in the Japan-North Korea Red Cross Societies negotiations/on the North Korean repatriation problems, his name has become known in Japan.

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THE CONDITIONS IN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE LIBERATION
AND ERA OF PAK HON-YONG HEGEMONY (15 August 1945-November 1946)

A. South Korea Immediately After the Liberation

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When Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration on 15 August 1945, the Koreans thought that Korea suddenly will be separated from Japan and become independent. The Allies, however, believed that a trusteeship of a minimum of 5 years was necessary. Thus, Korea was divided at the 38th parallel and the US and Soviet troops, which were entirely different in character.

In South Korea, the Communist Party was the first to be established under the leadership of Pak Hon-yong. Under the guidance of the Communist Party, the Konguk (Founding of a Country) Preparatory Committee was organized with Yo Un-hyong as chairman and An Chae-hong and Ho Hon as vice chairmen. Following this, the People's Party was organized by Yo Un-hyong, Yi Koi-so (Ki-yan), and Yi Yo-song.

On 7 September the US Forces occupied South Korea. The Korean Democratic Party, which is the political party of capitalists, landowners, and the propertied class, was able to hold an organization meeting under the protection of the US military police on 15 September, a week after the stationing of the US Occupation Forces. The left-wing Konguk Preparatory Committee readied its local organization and reorganized into the Central People's Committee.

Soon after, Syngman Rhee returned to Seoul from the US on an US Army plane. The US Forces, however, immediately put military administration into force and did not hand over the reins of the

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government to the left-wing Central People's Committee, the right-wing Korean Democratic Party, or even to Hyungman Ahn, who was brought over from the US. Finally, at the US-British-Soviet Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow on 29 December 1945, Korea was placed under a 5-year trusteeship. The Koreans were surprised and disappointed and protested. The Korean Communist Party, however, appealed to the people that under such a tense atmosphere, the carrying out of the decisions of the US-British-Soviet Foreign Ministers' Conference was the only road to peaceful control of North and South Korea. The masses did not listen.

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1. Korean Communist Party

As soon as the defeat of Japan was announced, Pak Hon-yong, who had been in hiding as a worker in a brick factory in Kwangju in Cholla-Namdo, appeared before the masses. The police had been saying that Pak Hon-yong had fled to the Soviet Union. enroute from Kwangju to Seoul, Pak stopped over at Chonju, met with Kim Sam-nong, who had been released from the Chonju Prison, and arrived in Seoul together. In Seoul, Pak made as his safe house, the spacious residence of Kim Hae-gyun, professor at Posong College.

When Pak Hon-yong arrived in Seoul, he found that Communists of the Marxist-Leninist Faction and others who deviated had gathered at the Changan Building in Chongno on 17 August and had organized the Korean Communist Party (commonly called the Changan Faction Communist Party). Pak Hon-yong, first of all, asserted that the Changan Faction Communist Party should be dissolved because it was organized without

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government to the left-wing Central People's Committee, the right-wing Korean Democratic Party, or even to Syngman Rhee, who was brought over from the US. Finally, at the US-British-Soviet Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow on 29 December 1945, Korea was placed under a 5-year trusteeship. The Koreans were surprised and disappointed and protested. The Korean Communist Party, however, appealed to the people that under such a tense atmosphere, the carrying out of the decisions of the US-British-Soviet Foreign Ministers' Conference was the only road to peaceful control of North and South Korea. The masses did not listen.

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any principles. Pak then organized the Preparatory Committee for Reconstruction of the Korean Communist Party centering around the Seoul Communist Group.

Pak drew up a thesis for the reconstruction of the party, convened the Korean Communists, Enthusiasts Meeting and announced his thesis, which received unanimous approval of the meeting. A resolution was passed to dissolve the Changan Faction Communist Party and reconstruct the Korean Communist Party along the line of Pak Hon-yong's thesis.

The Korean Communist Party was reorganized along Pak Hon-yong's line early in September with Pak Hon-yong as chairman. Important participants were Yi Kwan-sul, Yi Kwang-sang, Kim sam-nong, Kwon O-jik, Yi Kang-guk from the Pak Hon-yong Faction; and Kang Chin, Yi Chong-yun, Kim Ch'ol-su, and Yi Yong from other factions. Among these people, Kang Chin ranked next to Pak Hon-yong as a member of the Political Committee.

In December 1945, Yi Chu-ha in North Korea disagreed with Kim Il-song and came down to Seoul and collaborated with Pak Hon-yong in the capacity as vice chairman. Since the Reconstructed Communist Party did not recognize the status as a party member of the Kim Il-song Faction who were abroad or the Independence Alliance Faction of Yen-an, they were not elected to the Central Committee.

Pak Hon-yong enlarged and strengthened the local organizations and emerged as South Korea's number one party in the number of party members and influence. The US Occupation Troop command attacked great

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importance to the existence of the Korean Communist Party and Pak Hon-yong.

2. Korean People's Party

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In 1944, Yo Un-hyong, together with Yi Yo-song, organized a secret organization called the Korean Kenguk (Founding of a Country) League in Seoul. This was enlarged into the People's Party, a political party, in September 1945. The party was aimed at the intelligentsia of the neutral faction. The Communist Party sent a party member, Yi Kol-so (Ki-yang) as vice chairman of the People's Party and tried to control the leadership within the People's Party. About 60 percent of the members of the People's Party were members of the Communist Party.

At the time of the merger of the merger of the two Communist Parties in August 1946, the pure members of the People's Party, such as Yo Un-hyong and Yi Yo-song opposed the merger but since they were in the minority, they were expelled from the People's Party.

Later, Yo Un-hyong and others who were purely of the People's Party line organized the Social Labor Party with Communists who opposed Pak Hon-yong. However, when North Korea severely criticized the organization of the Social Labor Party, Communists within the Social Labor Party surrendered unconditionally to the South Korean Labor Party and returned to the South Korean Labor Party. The remnants of the People's Party joined with the remnants of the New Democratic Party (Sin Min Tang) and organized the Working People's Party.

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3. South Korean Special Committee of the New Democratic Party
(Independence Alliance)

The Independence Alliance, which returned to Korea from Yen-an, based its headquarters in P'yongyang and dispatched Ko Ch'an-bo to Seoul early in 1946 to organize a branch there. Ku Chae-su followed Ko Ch'an-bo to Seoul, and the South Korean Special Committee of the Independence Alliance was established with Paek Nam-un, professor at Yonhui College, as chairman. Later, when the Independence Alliance was renamed the New Democratic Party, the branch, also, was renamed South Korean Special Committee of the New Democratic Party.

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The New Democratic Party, similar to the People's Party, was aimed toward the neutral elements.

The foregoing were the three left-wing political parties immediately after the liberation. Their organization line-ups were as follows:

People's Party

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| Yo Un-gyong - (Chairman) | - Yi Kol-so (Com. Party) (Vice Chairman) | - Yo Yo-song (Chief, Organization Dept) |
| | | - Kim U-song (Com. Party) (Chief, Propaganda Bureau) |

New Democratic Party South Korean Special Committee

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Paek Nam-un (Chairman) | - Ku Chae-su (Communist Party) (Chief, Organization Department) |
| | - Ko Ch'an-bo (Communist Party) (Chief, Propaganda Department) |

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The present status of these people are as follows:

A. People's Party Line

1. Pak Hon-yong -- Killed by a pistol shot in 1947 by a terrorist of the A.M. Fu line while riding in an automobile in Seoul.

2. Yi Kwi-do -- Became Vice Chairman of the South Korean Labor Party at the time of the merger with the Communist Party; later, went to North Korea and became Minister of City Management, but lost his position when Pak Hon-yong was purged. His present whereabouts is unknown.

3. Yi Yu-tong, -- Gained politically when he opposed the merger with the Communist Party. Presently, he is living in seclusion doing research work on Korea's old arts and history at the Academy of Sciences and the Museum.

4. Kim H-song -- Became deputy chief of the Propaganda department, South Korean Labor Party when it merged with the Communist Party; later became Vice Minister of Culture and Propaganda, North Korean government. After the purge of Pak Hon-yong, Kim is reported to be living as a carpenter at a construction site in Pyok-ch'on near the northern border.

B. New Democratic Party Line

1. Pak Nam-un -- Although he committed many political errors, since he served as Kim Il-sung's spy while in South Korea, he was able, at the time of the establishment of the North Korean government, to become Minister of Education, representing the Working People's Party.

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Although he was Minister of Education, he was merely a robot. Later, he was relieved of his post and is now president of the Academy of Sciences. He formally joined the Labor Party at the Third Party Congress in 1956, and is a candidate, and is now a candidate member of the Central Committee.

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Ku Chae-su -- Was active as a member of the Central Committee of the South Korean Labor Party when it merged with the Communist Party; became counselor, Korean Embassy in Moscow after the establishment of the North Korean government. He was recalled at the time of the purge of Pak Hon-yong, and is reported to be out in the country at the present time.

Ko Ch'an -bo -- Was very active as chief of the Youth Department of the South Korean Labor Party when it merged with the Communist Party, but was killed in 1951 in P'yongyang by a direct hit of a US Army bomb.

3. North Korea Immediately After Liberation

North Korea differed from South Korea and was occupied by the Soviet Army after the Soviet Army fought the Japanese Army in one part of the region. As the US fostered Syngman Rhee, so did the Soviet foster Kim Il-song. The Soviet Army put the uniform of a Soviet Army major on Kim Il-song and brought him on a military plane as Major Kim Song-ju. The fortunate thing for Kim Il-song was that there was no political center north of the 38th parallel. The lack of political center means that there are no strong political parties or powerful politicians.

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If the weak Kim Il-song with no foothold in Korea had not in Seoul with Pak Hon-yong, who had long experience and a firm foothold, Kim Il-song of today probably will not exist. Some opposition, however, did exist in North/^{Korea} immediately after the liberation. They were O Ki-byon of the Domestic Faction in the Communist Party line, and Cho Man-sik, chairman of the North Korean Democratic Party, in the right-wing line.

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in north of the 38th parallel. At that time, influential Communists/close to the Pak Hon-yong faction were Chu Yong-ha in Hamgyong-do, Yi Chu-ba in Wonsong, and Chang Si-u in P'yongyang. Chu Yong-ha, after coming out of the Taejon Prison with O Ki-byon, had conferred with Pak Hon-yong in Seoul and had returned to his home province of Hamgyong-do. These people did not readily hand over the hegemony of the party in North Korea to Kim Il-song.

← At first, O Ki-byon was the most dominant and Kim Il-song had difficulty in taking over the leadership even with the support of the Soviet Army. Kim Il-song, with the support of the Political Division of the Soviet Army, organized the united front against the Domestic Faction. Those who advised and helped Kim Il-song at this time were Kim Ch'ack from Manchuria and Kim Yong-pom and Pak Chong-ae, husband and wife, of P'yongyang. Kim Il-song followed the plots of these schemers and formed a united front of those who came from the Soviet Union and those of the Independence Alliance Faction from Yen-an.

North Korea was in an economic chaos at this time. The livelihood of the workers in particular was pitiful. Workers deserted the plants

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which could not provide them with a living and wandered around the black markets. O Ki-byon, who was unable to remain a mere spectator to this situation, asserted that since the plants had become state-owned, the national government had to guarantee the livelihood of the workers, and that if the national government could not guarantee the livelihood of the workers, the workers must have the right to strike even when working in state-owned plants.

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Kim Il-song considered O Ki-byon's statement to be a commitment and tried to overthrow O Ki-byon. Theoreticians from the Soviet Union mobilized and attacked O Ki-byon as being an antigovernment, right-wing opportunist.

1. North Korean Branch, Korean Communist Party

Although the central headquarters of the Korean Communist Party was in Seoul, the guidance and control of the central headquarters did not extend north of the 38th parallel, because Korea was divided at the 38th parallel. Thus, a Five-Province Party Federation was organized provisionally in P'yongyang, covering the five provinces in the north. At first, the organization was managed by O Ki-byon, but after he was criticized, it passed completely into the hands of the Kim Il-song Faction.

With this Five-Province Party Federation as the foundation, Kim Il-song organized the North Korean Branch of the Korean Communist Party in December 1945. Presently in North Korea, the Kim Il-song Faction refers to this as the North Korean Organizational Committee instead of the North Korean Branch. Although this was a North Korean

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branches, it became an organization quite independent from the central headquarters in Seoul, and was controlled by Kim Il-song.

Kim Il-song actually began to assume leadership in North Korea from December 1945. ^{four months} In the/previous to this, it was difficult to ascertain who would have the hegemony in North Korea.

Although Kim Il-song overthrew his first competitor, O Ki-byon, General Ma Chong, Commander, Korean Volunteer Army, who came back from Yen-an, was campaigning in various areas and was very popular. Cho Man-sik of the right-wing North Korean Democratic Party, as chairman of the P'yongan-Mando People's Committee, also, had a strong support among the people of P'yongan-Mando.

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Kim Il-song occupied the post of chief secretary of the North Korean Branch at the end of December 1945, and in February 1946, he set up the North Korean Provisional People's Committee without even holding an election and became its chairman, and took control of the administration.

Soon after, Kim Il-song arrested Cho Man-sik, chairman of the North Korean Democratic Party, as a reactionary element, without giving any reasons, Kim kept him imprisoned for years without any trial and made him die in agony of senility.

2. New Democratic Party (Sin Min Tang) - Yen-an, Independence Alliance

The Independence Alliance, after its return to P'yongyang from Yen-an, still maintained its organization, but changed its name early in 1946, to Sin-Min-Tang (New Democratic Party). Kim Tu-bong became its chairman.

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of elements who fled to China from Korea, the internal situation was very complicated. It included such people as Kim Ch'ang-han, who was completely Kim Il-song's element; Kim Tu-bong and Ch'oe Ch'ang-sik, who collaborated temporarily; and Mu Chong, who opposed and fought against Kim Il-song from the very beginning.

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In July 1946, the ^{Party,} New Democratic following along the international line, proposed merger to the North Korean Branch of the Korean Communist Party. Thus, the North Korean Labor Party, which was completely independent of and equal to the Korean Communist Party Central Headquarters in South Korea, was organized in North Korea.

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III. BEGINNING OF DRAFT TO KIM IL-SONG HALLUCINE

(August 1946 to August 1948)

A. Establishment of the North Korean Labor Party

In 1946, as an international line, the merger of Communist parties and socialist left-wing parties were carried out in East European countries and Korea. In Korea, the New Democratic Party Sin-Min-Tang in North Korea first proposed merger with the North Korean Branch of the Korean Communist Party, followed by the proposal in South Korea by the Korean Communist Party to the People's Party. Since the merger plan was according to the international line, it was carried out without any research or deliberations.

In North Korea, the merger was carried out smoothly according to plans. Kim Tu-bong of the New Democratic Party Sin-Min-Tang was set up as chairman for appearance, and Kim Il-song and Chu Yang-ha of the Communist Party were made vice chairmen, with Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik, Pak Il-u, and Kim Ch'aek as Prosidium members. Thus, the Communists in North Korea were able to establish the North Korean Labor Party, which was equal to the South Korean Labor Party of the Communists in South Korea.

The dream of Kim Il-song was half realized. About this time, Kim Il-song lost by death through illness two of his valuable assistants, who were An Kil, who was the Chief of Staff of the Security Force, the predecessor of the People's Army; and Kim Yong-pop (husband of Pak Ch'long-ae), who was a political adviser.

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3. Establishment of the Korean Labor Party

Following a proposal in North Korea for a merger by the New Democratic Party to the North Korean Branch of the Korean Communist Party, in South Korea, the People's Party proposed merger to the Korean Communist Party. At the same time, the South Korean Special Committee of the New Democratic Party (Sin Min Tang), also, proposed merger to the Korean Communist Party. Thus, in South Korea, three parties were merged.

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The situation in South Korea, however, differed from that in North Korea. In North Korea, the party held the reins of the government with the army and the police providing material control power, but in South Korea, Pak Hon-yong had no material control power other than the party regulations. Moreover, Kim Il-song had been promoting agitation by supplying political funds to the anti-Pak Hon-yong faction in South Korea. Kim Il-song impetuously plotted to take over the hegemony from Pak Hon-yong at the time of the merger of the three parties in South Korea. The result, however, was a failure.

First of all, Kim Il-song gave orders to Kang Chin and Yi Chong-yun of the Antimainstream Faction of the Communist Party in Seoul, Yo Un-hyong of the People's Party, and Paek Nam-un of the New Democratic Party Special Committee and instructed them to make the following proposal in order to wrest the hegemony from the Pak Hon-yong Faction:

Proposal for the Line-up of the Supreme Guidance Division,
South Korean Labor Party

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- Vice Chairman - Pak Non-yong (Com. Party)
- Chairman - Yo Un-hyong (Kim Il-song Faction)
- Vice Chairman - Kang Chin (Com. Party) (Kim Il-song Faction)
- Vice Chairman - Paek Nam-un (New Dem. Party) (Kim Il-song Faction)

By carrying out this plan, Kim Il-song plotted to take over control by placing his own faction in three out of the four posts in the Supreme Guidance Division.

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Pak Non-yong, however, opposed this plan and indicated the following compromise:

- Vice Chairman - Pak Non-yong (Com. Party)
- Chairman - Yo Un-hyong (Kim Il-song Faction)
- Vice Chairman - Yi Chu-ha (Com. Party) (Pak Non-yong Faction)
- Vice Chairman - Paek Nam-un (New Dem. Party) (Kim Il-song Faction)

Although the two factions deliberated many times on the two proposals, no decision could be reached. The Anti-Pak Non-yong Faction within the Communist Party then tried to come to a decision by proposing a convention, because it felt that if a convention is held, there was a possibility that Pak Non-yong will be chosen from the Mainstream Faction and Kang Chin from the Antimainstream Faction.

It was, however, absolutely necessary for the Pak Non-yong Faction, the Mainstream Faction, to maintain at least a two against two ratio against the Kim Il-song Faction in the Supreme Guidance Division. The Mainstream Faction, thus, selected Pak Non-yong and Yi Chu-ha in the Central Committee and Political Committee as representatives of the Communist Party. On the demand of the Antimainstream Faction for a convention, the Mainstream Faction asked that the decision

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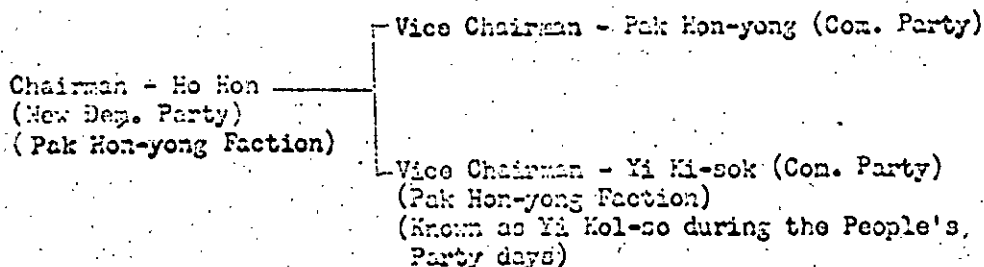
of the Party Central Committee be followed, and asserted that due to the suppression by the US Army, a convention could not be held immediately without any preparations.

This resulted in the Communist Party, The People's Party, and the New Democratic Party being divided into the Pak Hon-yong Faction and the Kim Il-song Faction. The Pak Hon-yong Mainstream Faction expelled Kim Il-song Faction members within their own parties as being antiparty elements. In the New Democratic Party Special Committee, Chairman Paek Num-un was expelled and Ho Hon from outside as the party was chosen/new chairman.

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After three months of disputes since the merger was first proposed in August, the merger meeting was held on 22, 23 November 1946.

The Supreme Guidance Division was decided as follows at the inaugural meeting of the South Korean Labor Party:



over
The Pak Hon-yong Faction took complete control of the Supreme Guidance Division and Kim Il-song suffered defeat in his first offensive operation.

At this time, Pak Hon-yong fled to North Korea to avoid arrest order issued by Lt Gen Hodge of the US Occupation Forces. Pak

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appointed Yi Chug-ha in his place, but Yi Chug-ha was arrested soon after, and Yi Sung-yop took his place. From then on, Yi Sung-yop ranked next to Ho Han within the South Korea Labor Party.

The Central Committee was, also, in the hands of the Pak Hon-yong line as follows:

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|------------------------|
| Organization Department | - | Kim San-mong, Director |
| Propaganda Department | - | Kang Han-sok, Director |
| Cadre Department | - | Yi Hyon-sang |
| Organ Paper | - | Cho Il-ryong, Editor |

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C. Congress Faction - Social Labor Party

When the merger issue was brought up in August 1946, the six members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party who secretly had liaison with Kim Il-song, announced their opposition to Pak Hon-yong's set up. Before this opposition became known in the party, however, it was reported in the Tonga Ilbo, organ paper of the South Korean Democratic Party, a rival of the Communist Party. The six Central Committee members who signed the opposition statement were Kang Chin, Yi Chong-yun, Kim Ch'ol-su, Mun Kap-song, Kim Kun, and So Chung-sok. They were the bosses of the faction close to Kim Il-song.

In response to the opposition statement, Yo Un-hyong and Yi Yo-song of the People's Party and Paek Nam-un from the New Democratic Party launched an intensive movement to oppose Pak Hon-yong's set up. The Communist Party referred this issue to the deliberations of the coll meetings.

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The above-mentioned six Central Committee members were called the Congress Faction. The cells which supported the principles of this Congress Faction existed only within the Tongdoeman District Party in Seoul, Kyongsang-Namdo Party, and a part of the cell in Kyongsang-Pukto. Other local parties were not affected at all.

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The Communist Party Central Committee inflicted severe punishment to the six Central Committee members on charges of violation of the party regulations. Yang Chin, Yi Chong-yun, Kim Ch'ol-su, Han Kap-sung, and Kim Kun were expelled, and So Chung-sock was deprived of his rights.

In the People's Party, too, the Pak Han-yong Faction, which had a majority in the Central Committee, suspended the rights of the Party Chairman and expelled Yi Yo-song, chief of the Organization Bureau. Yi Ki-sock (Kil-so) became the acting chairman for a while.

In the New Democratic Party, the Central Committee members of the Pak Han-yong Faction, who, also, were in the majority, expelled Chairman Paek Han-un and brought in Ho Han from outside the party as the new chairman of the party.

The Congress Faction (Kim Il-song Faction), which was driven out became completely isolated of the party organizations. Believing that Kim Il-song will support them to the very end, the Congress Faction members, who were expelled from various parties, assembled and tried to organize a new party to oppose the South Korean Labor Party. A political party called the Social Labor Party was organized, but this was an organization of only leaders and no members.

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Kim Il-song became angry to find that the leaders of the Congress Faction, whom he had intended to exploit, were incompetent and were losing out to the Pak Hon-yong Faction. Kim Il-song and Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik were placed in an embarrassing position of having their behind-the-scenes connections bared if things did not go well.

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It was at this time that the Congress Faction, without consulting Kim Il-song, suddenly organized the Social Labor Party, a ghost party, and asked Kim Il-song for his approval and support and for political funds. Kim Il-song became furious for he had instructed Kang Chin, Yi Chong-yun, etc. to take away the hegemony from Pak Hon-yong at the time of the merger, but instead, they were driven out by Pak Hon-yong and strengthened his position. Kim Il-song had planned to drive out only Pak Hon-yong and take over the South Korean Labor Party without splitting the party, but Kang Chin and others did not know of Kim Il-song's plan, and several tens of the factional elements had organized a splinter party.

Kim Il-song held Kang Chin, who had come to P'yongyang to report to him, responsible for the defeat and imprisoned him. Kim Il-song then issued orders to the Social Labor Party to disband and return to the South Korean Labor Party.

The Social Labor Party was thrown into confusion upon receipt of such an order from Kim Il-song. The Social Labor Party members who had come from the Communist Party advocated immediate dissolution of the party according to Kim Il-song's orders. However, the

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non-Communist members of the Social Workers Party who had come from the People's Party or the New Democratic Party opposed the dissolution of the party.

The Social Workers Party members from the Communist Party finally withdrew and were accepted back/into the South Korean Labor Party after their self-criticisms. The five Central Committee members, Kang Chin, Yi Chong-yan, Nam Kap-song, Kim Nun, and Kim Ch'ol-su, who were expelled previously, could not return to the South Korean Labor Party.

The former Communist Party members, to make amends, destroyed the Social Workers Party. Those who came from the People's Party and the New Democratic Party, then, formed a new political party.

D. Working People's Party

The party thus organized by the members of the People's Party and the New Democratic Party was the Working People's Party.

The officers of the new party were:

| | |
|---|--|
| | - Vice Chairman -- Paek Nam-un (New Democratic Party) |
| Chairman -- Yo Un-hyong (People's Party) | - Vice-Chairman -- Chang Kon-sang (People's Party) |
| | - Vice Chairman -- Yi Yong (Communist Party) |

Yi Yong of the Communist Party did not return to the South Korean Labor Party but joined with Yo Un-hyong and became vice chairman of the Working People's Party. The control of the party was

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lost, however, when Chairman Yo Un-hyong was assassinated in 1947. After Yo's death, the three vice chairmen managed the party affairs together without a new chairman. However, Paek Nam-un and Yo Yong, who supported the Kim Il-song line and who had special connections with Kim Il-song, disagreed on all matters with Chang Kon-sang, who was critical of the Kim Il-song line.

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After his graduation from an American university [Yale], Chang Kon-sang engaged in the independence movement, joined the right-wing Korean Provisional Government, and lived in Shanghai and Chungking for many years. When the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established in 1948 in P'yongyang, Paek Nam-un and Yi Yong went immediately to P'yongyang, and Paek became Minister of Education and Yi became vice chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly. Chang Kon-sang, however, remained in Seoul. Even during the Korean War, Chang did not go to North Korea but remained in Pusan.

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IV. ERA OF KIM IL-SONG -- PAK HON-YONG STRUGGLE
FOR POWER (1947 - 1953)

Pak Hon-yong was the victor over Kim Il-song in the struggles concerning the merger of the parties. An arrest order for Pak Hon-yong had, however, been issued by the US Occupation command, and Pak had fled to North Korea. Pak was attacked from the front by the US Occupation Forces and Syngman Rhee, and was provoked from the rear by Kim Il-song.

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On the other hand, Kim Il-song, who had met with complete defeat, was not a man to give up. He mobilized the lower echelon of the Congress Faction, who were hostile to Pak Hon-yong, and organized a spy network to check on the actions of the officers of the Pak Hon-yong Faction. Kim Il-song exploited the remnants of the Congress Faction and, on one hand, dispatched Song Si-baek to South Korea. Song Si-baek was a veteran agent who received his training while engaged in operations while going back and forth between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang in China. Song Si-baek's mission, ostensibly, was operations among the neutral factions in South Korea, but actual work was internal and intelligence operations within the South Korean Labor Party. He received ample funds from the South Korean Labor Party, also, and carried out showy operations, but he was arrested in 1947 by the South Korean authorities.

Kim Il-song's anti-South Korean Labor Party operational line was

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as follows:

P'yongyang
Party Headquarters,
Room No 5

Congress Faction Line

Song Si-baek Line

A. Founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Kim Il-song's Assumption of Premiership

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The US-Soviet-British Joint Commission, which tried to peacefully unify North and South Korea according to the decision made at the US, British, Soviet Ministers' Conference held in Moscow in December 1945, was a failure. The US proposed a free general election for the entire Korea under the supervision of the UN Committee, but the proposal was rejected by the Soviet Union.

On 30 May 1948, the US carried out, under the supervision of the UN Committee, an election for South Korea only, and on 10 August 1948, the Republic of Korea was established.

In P'yongyang in North Korea, too, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established to counter the ROK. In the establishment of the DPRK, Kim Il-song and Pak Hon-yong were bitterly opposed on the position of premier. The Soviet authorities, also, were in a dilemma.

Prior to this in 1947, when Yi Kwang-sang, Chief, Cadre Department, South Korean Labor Party, was en route to the Soviet Union for a study abroad, he stopped in P'yongyang and discussed the chairmanship of the Korean Labor Party with Yi Sang-jo, Chief, Cadre Department, and Kim Ch'ang-man, Chief, Propaganda Department of the North Korean Labor

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but she maintained superiority in the Supreme People's Assembly.

Deputies were elected on the basis of one per 50,000 persons. Since South Korea was calculated at 1.8 million and North Korea at 1.1 million, 360 were elected from South Korea and 220 from North Korea.

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Among the deputies from South Korea, there were some Pro-Kim Il-sung factions found in the Working People's Party and the Democratic factions, but the South Korean Labor Party Faction of Pak Hon-yong predominated. Ho Hon of the South Korean Labor Party, thus, was elected Chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly.

All personnel problems were handled under the relationship of South Korean Labor Party versus the North Korean Labor Party.

B. Merge of North and South Korean Labor Parties and Kim Il-sung's Assumption of Chairmanship

When Kim Il-sung became Premier of the DPRK, he was able, for the first time, to dominate over Pak Hon-yong. The South Korean Labor Party, however, existed on equal level, and Kim Il-sung had no voice in the affairs of the South Korean Labor Party. In order to control the party affairs, also, Kim Il-sung proposed the merger of the North and South Korean Labor Parties in June 1949.

Pak Hon-yong hesitated at first, but he had no reasons to oppose the merger, because Kim Sam-nong, Yi Chu-ha, and Yi Kwang-sang were the only important officers remaining in South Korea. Nearly all the Central Committee members already were in North Korea.

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Kim Il-song, who occupied a dominant position in the government with his premiership, gained a dominant position in the party, also, by becoming the chairman of the merged party. Vice Chairmen were Pak Hon-yeong of the South Korean Labor Party and Ho Ka-i of the North Korean Labor Party.

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The members of the Political Committee at the time of the 1949 merger were Kim Il-song (North), Pak Hon-yeong (South), Ho Ka-i (North), Kim Tu-bong (North), Ho Hon (South), Yi Sung-yeop (South), Ch'oe Chang-ik (North), and Kim Ch'aek (North), with the North-South ratio of 5 to 3.

In the Cabinet, however, the most important Minister of Internal Affairs, Pak Il-u, was not a faithful follower of Kim Il-song. Pak Il-u became critical of Kim Il-song's personal dictatorship and began to respect Pak Hon-yeong. Even in the party, Vice Chairman Ho Ka-i, the most influential official who came from the Soviet Union, opposed Kim Il-song's trend toward personal dictatorship and gradually drew closer to Pak Hon-yeong.

Thus, together with Kim Il-song's maneuvers for a rapid rise in power, there appeared internal dissension.

C. Race Struggles for Harmony to Outbreak of Korean War

Although Kim Il-song and Pak Hon-yeong were technically in the same government, they were opposed in their ideas.

In South Korea, oppression by the Syngman Rhee authorities increased, and the Labor Party practically ceased to exist. Moreover, with the arrest in March 1950 of Kim Can-nong and Yi Chu-ha of the Supreme

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Guidance Department of the South Korean Underground Party, the Guidance Department collapsed.

Kim Il-song appeared to have been waiting for this collapse, because if the revolution in South Korea is accomplished by Pak Non-yong Faction, Pak Non-yong will become that much stronger. Kim Il-song had wanted to have the revolution carried out by the People's Army, which he had nurtured. With the power of the South Korean Labor Party destroyed in South Korea, Kim Il-song decided on the armed liberation of South Korea by the People's Party.

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Kim Il-song notified Pak Non-yong of his intentions. Pak Non-yong heartily approved the plan, because he felt that if he stayed in North Korea, which is Kim Il-song's territory, he will be encircled by Kim Il-song and face gradual decline; and that even if South Korea was liberated by the People's Army, if he returned to South Korea, he will, somehow, have more freedom.

The Central Political Committee of the Korean Labor Party then was called, at which time, non-Political Committee member, Ch'oe Yong-gon, Minister of Defense, also, was present. Kim Il-song explained the situation and proposed armed liberation of South Korea by the People's Army. Pak Non-yong and Yi Sung-yop discussed their approval. Other Political Committee members merely approved the proposal. At the end, Defense Minister Ch'oe Yong-gon, in reply to inquiry for his voiced his opposition and views, asked what would happen if the Army operations did not well as predicted by Kim Il-song and the US Forces intervened. Kim Il-song

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did not have any data to convince Ch'oe Yong-gon.

the views of
 Yi Sung-yop then strongly criticized Ch'oe Yong-gon. Kim Il-song supported Yi Sung-yop's views. Ironically, the Kim Il-song and Pak Hon-yong factions were agreed on the provocation of war, although they harbored different dreams on war.

Kim Il-song and Pak Hon-yong ordered temporary confinement to Ch'oe Yong-gon, and Ch'oe was suspended from his position as the Defense Minister and relieved of his Army command.

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Immediately after the outbreak of war, the People's Army swept over South Korea with a crushing force. Yi Sung-yop was invested with full powers and dispatched to South Korea. Kim Il-song and Ho Ka-i separately inspected on secret/South Korea occupied by the People's Army. Pak Hon-yong, however, was confined to North Korea and could not go over to South Korea.

D. Failure of War and the Question of Reparability

Kim Il-song and Pak Hon-yong were too hasty in their analysis of the situation.

Early in 1950, Chairman Connally of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee stated that the US line of defense in the Far East was Japan and the Ryukyu Islands. Secretary of State Acheson, also, issued a similar statement.

Kim Il-song, thus, calculated that even if North Korea occupied South Korea by force, the US will protest only diplomatically and will not actually interfere. Moreover, he thought that even if the US did

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interfere by force, if South Korea could be occupied within 2 weeks by a blitzkrieg, it would be a fait accompli and the US would not attempt landing in South Korea where there were no bridgeheads. The problem, thus, was a tactical one of whether or not South Korea could be occupied within 2 weeks by blitzkrieg tactics.

Pak Hon-yong was in accord with Kim's viewpoints and asserted that since 200,000 members of the South Korean Labor Party were underground in South Korea, the people of South Korea will all be aroused to action as soon as the People's Army went south.

Kim Il-song's staff, thus, drew up plans to occupy Pusan and Mokpo within 2 weeks. Then there arrived in North Korea one division and one regiment of Koreans from Manchuria, which had gained fame by participating in Communist China's domestic wars twice before April 1950.

When the war did break out, the US immediately called a meeting of the UN Security Council, and a decision was made to dispatch UN troops to Korea.

The People's Army immediately captured Seoul according to their plan of operations and pushed on to Taegju where the 24th Division was annihilated overnight and Major General Dean was captured. The progress up to the capture of Taegju was according to plans, but plans went awry from then.

The surprise landing from the P'chang area to attack the rear of the South Korean Army failed, and Syngman Rhee was able to reorganize his units in Kyongsang-do in the reararea.

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The weakest point in the People's Army was its transport. Although maneuverability is absolutely necessary in blitzkrieg tactics, transport in the People's Army was dependent chiefly upon ox carts. The forces were scattered to occupy an extensive area south of Pusan and the lack of forces became obvious.

The US held the command of the air, and obstructed operations and transportation of the People's Army during the day.

The People's Army's scheduled operational period of 2 weeks was already gone before the People's Army could enter Syngman Rhee's most important rear areas of Cholla-do and Hyongang-do.

People's uprising to help Kim Il-song did not materialize anywhere in South Korea.

Before the outbreak of war, Kim Il-song publicly announced that only Syngman Rhee and eight other top leaders of South Korea will be punished, but after South Korea was actually occupied, he arrested any one who had cooperated with the Rhee regime.

Another error Kim Il-song made was in miscalculating that since the People's Army was the revolutionary army to free the people, the people will volunteer to supply provisions. The People's Army, thus, came south with only weapons and ammunitions, and requisitioned provisions locally. The war months of June, July, and August, however, were in the off season period and farmers did not have any foodstuffs. Farmers refused to cooperate in the requisition of foodstuffs, and urban dwellers began to complain of food shortage.

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The offensive by the US Forces began in the midst of such a crisis. The US Forces landed at Inchon to cut off the rear of the People's Army. About 50,000 of the People's Army's main forces were captured and about 50,000 were killed in action. The 100,000-men main force of the People's Army, trained for 5 years by Kim Il-song, thus, was destroyed. Kim Il-song had to flee to Manchuria.

Kim Il-song's image as an unbeaten, legendary hero disappeared and he was regarded by the people as a tyrant driven from his throne. His prestige fell. Kim Il-song, however, was able to return to P'yongyang with the help of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army.

As Kim Il-song's prestige fell among the masses, similarly, it fell among the cadres of the party and the government.

Kim Il-song, in order to put the blame on someone else and regain his prestige, set up Mu Chong, corps commander, as the scapegoat. Mu Chong formerly was an artillery commander in the Chinese Communist Army, and as a general, had a long record of active service on the China mainland.

During a defeat, when a regimental commander disobeyed a command and tried to flee, Mu Chong became angry and shot him. Kim Il-song used this incident as an excuse to get rid of Mu Chong, who was close to Pak Non-yong, and relieved him of his duties and imprisoned him on the charges that his actions were those of a military clique. Mu Chong died in agony in prison.

Minister of Internal Affairs Pak Il-u did not approve of Kim

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Il-song's treatment of Ma Cheng. At this time, Pak Il-u, at the request of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army, was deputy commander at the headquarters of the Korea-China Joint Command. (Commander was Peng Te-huai.) Pak Il-u was the only Korean to have graduated from the Central Political School of the Chinese Communist Party, and was trusted highly by the Chinese Communist authorities.

Kim Il-song, who shared Pak Il-u's close ties with the Chinese Army, recalled him and appointed him to a powerless post of Minister of Posts and Communications.

Kim Il-song tried to place the blame for war on Ma Cheng and Pak Il-u, but he was not successful. He had to impute the war responsibility to Pak Non-yong.

E. Purpose of Pak Non-yong and Yi Sung-yeon

There was no reason why Pak Non-yong should not rejoice over Kim Il-song's failure and his loss of confidence among the masses.

The members of Pak Non-yong's direct line, Yi Sung-yeon, Cho Il-yeon, Kim Ung-bin, Pak Sung-mun and others, frequently met at Pak Non-yong's official residence. Whenever they met, the discussions always led to political problems and criticisms of the Kim Il-song line. It is doubtful, however, whether they conspired to overthrow the Kim Il-song government by force through the use of the South Korean partisans, as the Kim Il-song Faction claimed.

The Kim Il-song Faction plotted in various ways to shift the

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responsibility of war to Pak Han-yong. Pak Chong-ae, Kim Ch'ang-man, and Han Sol-ya actively participated in Kim Il-song's secret conspiracy.

Kim Il-song first testified/Pak Han-yong made to the Political Committee prior to war that there were 200,000 members of the South Korean Labor Party in South Korea and that there will be an uprising when the People's Army go there. Kim Il-song concluded that Pak Han-yong, under orders from the US, resorted to rebellious act and deceived the party to destroy the party and the country.

Kim Il-song and his group definitely decided that there was no question that Pak Han-yong was an American spy. Then as a second point, they decided that Pak Han-yong and his henchmen met at Pak Han-yong's residence, overthrew the Kim Il-song Cabinet, and formed the Pak-Han-yong Cabinet as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Premier | -- Pak Han-yong |
| Deputy Premier | -- Chi Myong-ha (North Korean Labor Party; Pak Han-yong Faction) |
| Defense Minister | -- Kim Ung-bin |
| Internal Affairs Minister | -- Pak Sung-won |
| Education Minister | -- Yim Hwa |
| Labor Minister | -- Pak Mye (In Japan; returned to South Korea in winter 1949) |
| Chief Secretary, Central Party | -- Yi Sung-yop |

Prior to the arrest, the Kim Il-song Faction had Procurator General Yi Sung-un draw up the draft of the indictment containing the charges as above.

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First, Yi Sung-yop, Cho Il-nyong, etc. were arrested, and Pak Hon-yong was arrested at the last.

Since Kim Ung-bin happened to be in the Hamhung area near the 38th parallel, away from Pyongyang, he quickly received the news about the incident and fled during the night. His whereabouts is unknown.

Ch'oe Yong-gon, who acted as the presiding judge of the special court, handed down the following decisions: death penalty for Pak Hon-yong, Yi Sung-yop, Yi Kang-suk, Cho Il-nyong, Kim Hwa, Yi Sung-won, Pae Ch'ol, Sol Ch'ong-sik, and Paek Hyong-gwon; 15 years imprisonment for Yun Sun-dal and 12 years imprisonment for Yi Wong-jo.

In addition, the following key personalities were purged and expelled for belonging to the Pak Hon-yong Faction but without having any connection with the so-called spy case:

Chu Hyang-ha, former vice chairman of the North Korean Labor Party

Chang Si-u, former Minister of Commerce, member, North Korean Labor Party; death sentence

Pak Il-u, former Minister of Internal Affairs and Minister of Communications, member, North Korean Labor Party

Kim Chon-gwon, Deputy Minister of Light Industry of Light Industry, member, South Korean Labor Party; suicide

Kim Kwang-su, Deputy Minister of Commerce, member, South

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Korean Labor Party

Yi Chu-sang, deputy director, Cadre Department, Central Committee, Korean Labor Party; member, South Korean Labor Party

An Ki-sung, vice president, Revolutionaries Support Association and chairman, Consumers Cooperative Organization Committee

Kim O-sung, Deputy Minister of Culture and Propaganda

Yi Chong-gap, Deputy Minister of Justice

Ch'oe Yong-dai, Deputy Minister of Justice

Kim Chai-su, counselor of the Korean Embassy in Moscow

Kwon O-gil, Ambassador to China

No Chin-hwan, Deputy Minister of Public Health

Kim Ung-bin, director of the Kangang Academy

In addition to the above, most of the department and section chiefs of the central party, government, and social organizations were purged and the officials of the South Korean Labor Party branches in the Korean Labor Party were virtually wiped out. With this, Kim Il-sung's ambition was achieved for the time being.

P. Ho Ma-i, Former Vice Consul and Deputy Secretary Ho Ma-i

Ho Ma-i was dispatched specially from the Soviet Union to strengthen the Korean Labor Party, because he was experienced in the party organization and administration in the Korean Autonomous District in the Soviet Union.

Ho Ma-i and others who came from the Soviet Union believed that the liberation of Korea was due to the role played by the Soviet Union.

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Korean Labor Party

Yi Chu-sang, deputy director, Cadres Department, Central Committee,
Korean Labor Party; member, South Korean Labor Party

An Ki-song, vice president, Revolutionaries Support Association
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Kim O-song, Deputy Minister of Culture and Propaganda

Yi Chong-gap, Deputy Minister of Justice

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and that Kim Il-song had not contributed any to the Korean liberation. They believed that Kim Il-song was merely a robot. They, thus, presented Kim Il-song's self propaganda that he was the one who liberated Korea.

Once during the defeat in the Korean War, Ho was angered and dismissed Kim Il of the Kim Il-song line, who was commander of the People's Army Cultural Department (Political Department), when Kim Il fled leaving his troop behind on the excuse that he could not fight without planes. This incident was the cause of the Kim Il-song direct line's secret hatred of Ho Ka-i.

Ho Ka-i discovered Kim Il-song's ignorance and secretly urged Pak Hon-yong to express his views without hesitation, telling him that he was the one who know^{best} the actual situation in Korea.

Ho Ka-i and Pak Hon-yong, considering the special characteristics of Korea, attempted to make some revision of the Kim Il-song line. This was around the autumn of 1952. When the Kim Il-song Faction found out about it, Ho Ka-i was transferred from the Party vice chairman to Cabinet Vice Premier to remove him the policy making front and assign him to management of the construction field. From this time on, Ho Ka-i and Kim Il-song began to oppose each other openly.

Ho Ka-i decided to overthrow Kim Il-song and seemed to have secretly contacted Pak Hon-yong.

In 1953 occurred the purge incident of Pak Hon-yong and Yi Sung-yep. Just at that time, the US Army bombed the Hyollong Reservoir located

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about 20 kilometers north of Pyongyang. Ho Ka-i was placed in charge of repair work of this beautiful Myollong Reservoir. The Chinese People's Volunteer Army, also, participated in the repair work. Since the mobilization of workers for the work did not go well, complaints came from the Chinese Army. Using this as an excuse, Kim Il-song attempted to hold a meeting to thoroughly attack Ho Ka-i. Since Ho Ka-i was in a state of isolation because Pak Hon-yong already was arrested, he shot himself to death in his home just before the meeting was to be held. Although Ho Ka-i committed suicide all too soon, this incident was for a long time connected with the Pak Ch'ang-ok incident.

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V. STRENGTHENING OF KIM IL-SONG'S DOMINATION AND
RESISTANCE BY THE PEOPLE OF NORTH KOREA

For about 3 years from 1950 to 1955, Kim Il-song purged and banished those of the South Korean Labor Party line, beginning with Pak Hon-yong, with the result that there was no opposition to Kim Il-song within the country. Kim Il-song then called the party congress and tried to organize a central committee centering around his own faction. The Joint Central Committee at the time of the North-South Korean Joint Labor Party was formed mostly of the South Korean Labor Party members. Kim, also, attempted to stipulate the party platform and regulations/^{as} he had inherited the traditions of his revolutionary spirit.

About this time, the 20th Party Congress of the Soviet Union was held, in which Khrushchev criticized Stalin.

A. Influence of the 20th CPSU Congress on Criticism of Stalin

Kim Il-song always had been expressing himself as Korea's Lenin-Stalin. He believed Stalin to be the greatest and the most correct man in the world and tried to make the Korean people believe so, too. He purged his comrades unmercifully without grounds, and assuming an air of self-importance himself, he propagandized the cult of/^{the} individual as being correct. Hiding behind this position, Kim Il-song rationalized his own brutality, tyranny, and defeat. Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin at the 20th Party Congress revealed the invisible cloak used by

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Kim Il-sung. When Kim Il-sung lost his chair, he was revealed as an oppressor of the Korean people, with blood-stained hands.

People of Korea openly shouted:

"Give us freedom of speech!" "Give us freedom to eat and freedom to speak!"

Those middle-class or above officials who did not have to worry too much about eating demanded "Freedom to speak freely," while the poverty-stricken broad masses strongly demanded "Freedom to eat freely."

The top leaders of the Kim Il-sung Faction were placed in a dilemma. If they did not follow the new Khrushchev line they would be opposing the international line, and if they followed the Khrushchev line, there was a danger that their political power would disintegrate. Thus, they tried as much as possible to hide the new Khrushchev line and banned the announcement of Khrushchev's secret report, and adhered to the theme that "Stalin was great and that he was the benefactor of the Korean liberation." They could not see the Korean liberation as the achievement of the Soviet people as a whole. The fact that they consider it as the achievement of Stalin alone verified the fact that the Kim Il-sung Faction had not changed its ideology of the cult of the individual.

B. Third Korean Labor Party Congress

The broad masses and the party members in general expected great changes at the Third Party Congress; either that Kim Il-sung will frankly

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admit his past error and engage in self-criticism and reform, or shoulder responsibility and withdraw.

At the party congress, however, the Kim Il-song Faction still continued to praise themselves and asserted that they were correct in everything and that the Pak Hon-yong Faction were the evil ones. They, thus, imputed all faults to the fault of Pak Hon-yong, which could not give a rebuttal. The people of North Korea were disappointed.

Moreover, in the election of the Central Committee members, only 7 or less than 10 percent of the 71 members were allotted to the members from the South Korea Labor Party.

Discontent over the shameless attitude of Kim Il-song began to appear even among the top officials who were cooperating with Kim Il-song. Kim Tu-song, modest scholar and elderly chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly (president's level), sighed and worried about the future of the country.

[Kim Il-song] appointed Pak Mun-ch'ol and Chong Il-lyong, members of his own faction, as ^{the top posts of} vice chairmen of the Central Committee, of the party. Everyone thought that from his background Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik would become vice chairman.

Setting aside, Pak Mun-ch'ol, Chong Il-lyong had no record of revolutionary movement prior to the liberation. He was merely an office worker in a mine and helped the mine owner exploit the miners. People, thus, thought it was too early for him to become a vice chairman. Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik, who could not become a vice chairman, and Pak Ch'ang-ok,

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who was made to resign from the vice chairmanship, were the two who became most discontent with the new appointment.

D. Kim Il-song's Unsuccessful Trip Abroad

Kim Il-song, at any rate, forced through the Party Congress, and he seemed to have succeeded for the time being. He calculated that all he had to do now was to go abroad and get economic assistance and give them to the people to suppress their discontent. Immediately after the Party Congress, Kim Il-song went on a beggar's tour of the Soviet Union and the East European countries. He went to Poland and Hungary and asked for economic assistance but failed because these countries themselves did not have any economic reserves.

Even the Soviet Union merely warned Kim Il-song to carry out economic reconstruction by the country's own power, and did not show any indication of giving further economic aid to Korea, because it was faced with complicated problems in Eastern Europe. Kim Il-song spent more than a month touring East European countries and came home empty-handed. His failure in this trip placed the anti-Kim Il-song faction in an advantageous position.

D. Joint Activity of the Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik and Pak Ch'ang-ok Groups to Overthrow Kim Il-song

The Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik Faction and Pak Ch'ang-ok of the Soviet Faction, who bore antipathy toward the Kim Il-song Faction's monopoly of the

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top leadership positions in the party, at the Third Party Congress, secretly organized a united front. Commencing Kim Il-song's trip abroad to the Soviet Union, they extended their hands to the party and government officials and began agitation.

The following are the reasons which motivated Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik and Pak Ch'ang-ok and others to launch an anti-Kim Il-song movement:

1. Internationally, Khrushchev criticized Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and attacked the cult of the individual.

In East European countries, also, anti-party leadership movement was begun, making the international atmosphere advantageous to the Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik and Pak Ch'ang-ok factions.

2. Domestically, Kim Il-song's failure in the Korean War dropped the people's confidence in him to the lowest level.

3. The end of Korean War somewhat relaxed the oppression of the wartime precautionary emergency days.

4. Despite the end of war, the food situation became worse and the people wanted a change in the Kim Il-song regime.

This was the more favorable chance for the anti-Kim Il-song group. During Kim Il-song's absence, Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik and Pak Ch'ang-ok made all preparations. They had a prospect of recruiting about one third of the Central Committee members, and if the Central Committee plenum advanced favorably, they could get one third of the neutral faction, making a total of two thirds of the members.

In addition to arranging the coup internally, the interests of the

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Soviet Faction, ostensibly, worked on the Soviet Ambassador in P'yongyang, to have him report Kim Il-sung's failures to the Soviet Government and tried to change the Soviet Government's support of the Kim Il-sung regime. The same maneuvers, also, were made through Yi Sang-jo, Korean Ambassador to Moscow, who belonged to their faction.

Ch'oe Ch'ang and other members of the Yen-an Faction, also, contacted Chinese Ambassador to P'yongyang and had him report Kim Il-sung's failure to the Chinese government.

On 22 August 1956, the Central Committee plenum was held to hear Kim Il-sung's report on his trip abroad. Immediately after Kim Il-sung's report, Yun Kong-hum, Minister of Commerce, started a speech attacking Kim Il-sung. However, members of the Kim Il-sung -- Ch'oe Yong-gon Faction, who knew about the moves of Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik and Pak Ch'ang-ok, interfered by force with Yun Kong-hum's speech. The meeting was thrown into utter confusion when slanders and criticisms were exchanged between the Kim Il-sung--Ch'oe Yong-gon Faction, which tried to stop Yun Kong-hum's speech, and the Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik--Pak Ch'ang-ok Faction, which tried to have the speech continued. Since lunch hour came, the meeting was recessed to be continued in the afternoon.

When Yun Kong-hum and So Hui, and Yi P'il-ira [P'il-ira?] returned to their homes for lunch, they found their telephone wires were cut and their personal automobiles were taken away. Thereby the three immediately went to the home of Kim Kang, Deputy Minister of Culture and Propaganda, and fled into China on Kim Kang's automobile by way of

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Sinaiju.

Thus, the joint anti-Soviet line of Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik and Pak Ch'ang-ik failed through the influence of the Kim Il-song-Ch'oe Yong-gon Faction. This, however, was worth noting because heretofore there never has been such a direct open attack against Kim Il-song.

The persons connected with the incident were as follows:

1. Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik Faction (Yen-an Faction)

Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik (Deputy Premier)

Kim Tu-bong (Chairman, Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly)

Yun Kong-hun (Minister of Commerce; fled to China)

So Hui (Chairman, Korean Federation of Trade Unions; fled to China)

Yi P'il-ku [P'il-kyu] (Chief, Building Materials Industry Bureau; fled to China)

Kim Kang (Deputy Minister of Culture and Propaganda; fled to China)

Ho Pong-gi (Chairman, Kuanghae-Nampo Provincial Party Committee)

Chang P'yong-san (Major General, People's Army)

Yi Yu-min (Chairman, Kangyong Nampo Provincial Party Committee)

Pak Il-hun (Director, Agriculture Department, Korean Labor Party)

2. Pak Ch'ang-ik Faction (Soviet Faction)

Pak Ch'ang-ik (Deputy Premier)

Pak Ui-san (Deputy Premier)

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Kim Sung-il (Minister of Transportation)

Pak Hong-bin (Director, Prop. Planning Department, Korean Labor Party)

Pi Sok-pok (Director, Education Department, Korean Labor Party)

Chen Tong-hyok (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs)

Chong Kang-nok (Also referred to as Chong Kuk-nok) (Chief Korea-China delegate to the Panmunjon armistice conference)

Yi Sang-jo (Ambassador to the USSR; fled to the USSR)

The persons listed above were purged or removed from office or have fled the country resulting from this incident.

E. Second Supreme People's Assembly Election

On 29 August 1957, the second election of the deputies of the Supreme People's Assembly was held, which was the ^{year} 1958/after the first election on 25 August 1948. The constitution stipulates that a general election be held every 4 years. During this 10 year period, election, of course, could not be held because of war, but there was another basic reason. The North Korean Constitution stipulates a government of entire Korea. Thus, in the first election in 1948, an unprecedented underground election was held by ^{in South Korea} the South Korean Labor Party, which was ^{not} directly under the North Korean regime. As a result of this underground election, more than 360 deputies were elected from South Korea, taking over majority of the seats in the Supreme People's Assembly.

The situation, however, was greatly changed from that in 1948.

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With the war, the underground organization of the Labor Party in South Korea disappeared, and it was impossible to hold another underground election. It could not be called an all-Korean regime if deputies elected from South Korea could not participate. Kimbin was a dilemma.

The election, thus, was delayed, and finally, South Korea was given up and the election was held only in North Korea. It is not known how this inconsistency with the Constitution was resolved, but even in form, it became a one-region government. The Pak Hon-yong Faction, of course, was completely eliminated in this designated-candidate election.

In this election, there were no opposing candidates. Only one candidate was designated, and votes were placed in a white (for) or black (against) box. Since there was no facility for secret balloting, and votes placed in either the white or black box could be observed, people were afraid to cast their vote of opposition in the black box. On the election day, everyone was rounded up beginning at 6:00 hours by administrative districts and election districts and forced to vote. Since portable balloting boxes were brought to those sick in bed, no one could abstain from voting. Even then, about 2 percent abstained and one percent voted in opposition. Moreover, election propaganda posters were destroyed during the night by anti-government elements in various localities. It is questionable what will be the results if free general election as conducted in free countries is held.

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By 1957, Kim Il-sung consolidated his power by crushing the Domestic Faction (Ch'oe Yong-un faction), North Korean Native Faction (U Ki-byon, Ch'oe Yong-hu, Chang Sun), Korean Faction (Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik, Kim Tu-bang), Soviet Faction (Ch'oe Ch'ang-oh). The Kim Il-sung regime overcame the crisis, but this does not mean that the Kim Il-sung regime was secure. The Kim Il-sung regime is not a government of the broad masses, but a dictatorial regime of a group of ambitious persons headed by Kim Il-sung. The anti-Kim Il-sung movement, thus, will continue whether economic construction fails or succeeds; that is, if it fails, it is certain opposition movement will occur from difficulty in livelihood; and if it succeeds, and there is adequate clothing and housing, there will be a demand for freedom. If the people become free, there will be no need for the Kim Il-sung regime and it will be dissolved.

Even after 1953, Kim Il-sung has purged top officials from important local government and party organs, such as the people's committees in Hamgyong Pukto, Hamgyong Namdo, Hamgyong-do, and P'yongyang. Those purged were
 An official of the Chang Sun-ryong line in Hamgyong Pukto; chairman, Hamyon; Namdo Provincial Party Committee; Yi Se-uk, chairman, Hamgyong Namdo People's Committee; Kim Non-bong, chairman, Hamgyong-do Provincial Party Committee; and Chong Yon-p'yo, chairman, P'yongyang Municipal People's Committee.

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Others who were affected and their names listed within are:
Han Chon-gon, former minister of Education; Chin Pan-so, former
minister of Commerce; Cha In-nyong, former minister of Marine
Industry; and Ho Chon-tack, former vice chairman, Presidium of the
Supreme People's Assembly.

In addition, Kim Il, Deputy Premier and concurrently, Foreign
Minister, was relieved of his post of Foreign Minister.

Observing the previous examples of Pak Man-yong, Ch'oe Ch'ang-il,
and Pak Ch'ang-oh, as an class of parties, they were first removed from
their current positions and assigned to the posts of deputy premier
without portfolio.

Aside from the Labor Party members, Hwang Ki-mong, chairman of
the North Korean Democratic Party, and Kim Tai-hyon of the Ch'ondokyo
Young Friends Party, also, were removed from their posts and their
whereabouts is unknown.

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Others who were demoted and their assignments unknown were Nam Chon-jong, former minister of Agriculture; Ch'ui Pan-sa, former Minister of Commerce; Chu Kwang-hyong, former Minister of Marine Industry; and Ho Ch'un-b'ack, former vice chairman, Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly.

In addition, Nam Il, Deputy Premier and concurrently, Foreign Minister, was relieved of his post of Foreign Minister.

Following the previous examples of Pak Non-yong, Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik, and Pak Ch'ang-oh, as an case of purge, they were first removed from their current positions and assigned to the posts of deputy premier without portfolio.

Aside from the Labor Party members, Hong Hui-wang, chairman of the North Korean Democratic Party, and Kim Tai-hyon of the Ch'ondogyo Young Friends Party, also, were removed from their posts and their whereabouts are unknown.

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VI. CONCLUSIONS

the Soviet Union raised the people's livelihood and raised their standard of living in the 15 years after the revolution. What did the people demand after their livelihood was stabilized and elevated? It was peace and freedom.

Stalin, however, taught the people to hate foreign countries (free nations) instead of giving them peace, and imposed control and suppression instead of giving them freedom. No matter how great Stalin's deeds were, the Soviet people could not be satisfied with this situation. The one who represented the feelings of the Soviet people was Khrushchev. Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin was the Soviet Union's second revolution and a peaceful revolution.

Kim Il-sung, like Stalin, has been preaching hatred and hostility instead of peace and imposing control and suppression instead of giving freedom, to maintain his own regime.

Although Khrushchev and Kim Il-sung are leaders of some Communist countries, they are opposite in their words and contradict each other. Herein lies Kim Il-sung's dilemma and his weakness.

Khrushchev is the promoter of the Soviet soft policy, and as an effect of this soft policy, Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik and Pak Ch'ang-ok launched the large-scale anti-Kim Il-sung movement.

Although the Kim Il-sung regime has not been able to get a firm foothold among the Korean people and anti-Kim Il-sung movements have

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broken the agreement. The agreement of the government has also been pushed back to the government. The Kim Il-sung regime has been able to survive because of the international assistance given by the Soviet Union and China.

The disagreement between the Soviet Union and Kim Il-sung can be considered to be a serious crisis for Kim Il-sung. in their directions

Kim Il-sung's removal of Foreign Minister Nam Il, the only member of the Soviet Faction in the North Korean political circle, and the appointment of Pak Song-ch'ol of his own line as Foreign Minister, can be seen as a sign of direct contradiction between the Soviet Union and the North Korean authorities.

There is a common point between Kim Il-sung's stand and China's stand, which is not in complete accordance with Khrushchev's soft policy. Nam Il's denunciation can be understood when viewed from this standpoint. Complex problems have arisen among the Soviet Union, China, and North Korea from the time of the withdrawal of the People's Volunteer Army from North Korea. Khrushchev advocated withdrawal of the Chinese Army from North Korea because he felt that this would lessen China's influence upon North Korea, and at the same time would contribute toward easing of tensions in the Far East.

In a part of China, there was some opposition to Khrushchev's policy on the grounds that as long as the US Forces were stationed in South Korea, there was no need for the Chinese Army to withdraw from North Korea. The one who advocated this stand was Peng Te-huai,

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broken out successively, although the government had since been pushed back to the north of the 38th parallel, the Kim Il-sung regime has been able to continue to exist because of the international assistance given by the Soviet Union and China.

The disagreement between the Soviet Union and Kim Il-sung/^{can} in their directions be considered to be a serious crisis for Kim Il-sung.

Kim Il-sung's removal of Foreign Minister Nam Il, the only member of the Soviet Faction in the North Korean political circle, and the appointment of Pak Song-oh of his own line as Foreign Minister, can be seen as a sign of direct contradiction between the Soviet Union and the North Korean authorities.

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China's Defense Minister, the Korean front area commander.

Mao Tse-tung, caught between the opposing stands of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Army, was placed in a difficult position. Mao, who calculated that it was more advantageous to continue cooperation with the Soviet Union, thus, had to dismiss Defence Minister Peng Te-huai when Khrushchev visited Peiping on 1 October National Day, after his visit to the US.

During this time, Kim Il-sung had wanted the Chinese Army to remain in North Korea. Thus, when Kim Il-sung saw at the National Day celebration in Peiping the dismissal of Peng Te-huai, who had advocated the same view as his, Kim Il-sung immediately went home on 2 October.

In China, however, there are many cadres who advocate the same stand as Peng Te-huai, and even Mao Tse-tung does not fundamentally oppose such a stand.

Kim Il-sung knows of this difference between the Soviet Union and China. If he blindly follows Khrushchev, his regime may be sacrificed when Khrushchev and Kim Il-sung come to terms. Herein lies Kim Il-sung's fears.

Kim Il-sung has appointed Pak Song-oh'ol, who has been directly connected with him since the partisan days, so as to have a strong tie with China and to limit to a minimum Khrushchev's soft policy in Asia. Faced with a shift in the world situation, Kim Il-sung is in a quandary over his contradiction with Khrushchev's policy.

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| <u>NAME</u> | <u>POSITION</u> | <u>Party as/for Faction</u> |
|------------------|--|--|
| Kim Tu-bong | Chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly | Yon-oh Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Ch'oe Ch'ang-il | Deputy Premier | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Yun K'ang-lum | Minister of Finance | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| So Hui | Chairman, General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Yi P'il-gu | Director, Building Materials Industry Bureau, Cabinet | North Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Kang | Deputy Minister of Culture and Propaganda | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Ko Pong-gi | Chairman, Hwanghae Province Party Committee | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Chang P'yong-sun | Major-General, Korean People's Army | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Chin Pan-su | Minister of Culture | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Yi Yu-sin | Ch. of the Hwangpyong-lands People's Committee | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Ma Chong | Corp. Commander, Korean People's Army | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Pak Il-u | Minister of Internal Affairs; Minister of Communications | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Pang Ho-unh | General, Korean People's Army | Yon-an Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Pak Il-lun | Director, Agricultural Dept., Central Committee | North Korean Labor Party |
| Ro Hui-i | Vice Chairman of the Party; Deputy Premier | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |

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| Pak Ch'ang-oh | Deputy Premier | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Pak Yong-bin | Director, Organization Dept and Propaganda Dept, Central Committee | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Sung-hwa | Minister of Construction | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Sok-pok | Director, Education Dept, Central Committee | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Chen Tong-myok | Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Cheng Kung-nok (Cheng Kuk-nok) | Major Gen, delegate to the armistice conference representing Korea-China | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Pak Ui-wan | Deputy Premier | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| T'ae Song-ju | Deputy Minister of Culture and Propaganda | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Yi Sang-jo | Ambassador to the USSR | North Korean Labor Party |
| Pak Yong | Chairman, Kangyong-ondo Party Committee | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Yoi | Chairman, Kangwon-do Party Committee | Soviet Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Ung | General, Deputy Minister of Defense | North Korean Labor Party |
| O Ki-byon | Minister of Procurement and Food Administration | Domestic Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Chu Yong-ha | Ambassador to the USSR | Domestic Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Chang Si-u | Minister of Commerce; Director, Rear Services Dept, Korean People's Army | Domestic Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |

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| Chang Suk-yeong | Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Central Committee | Democratic Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Won-song | Chairman, Agriculture Party Committee | Democratic Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Hyon Chong-min | Chairman, Heavy Industry Party Committee | Democratic Faction of the North Korean Labor Party |
| Han Chon-yeong | Minister of Agriculture | North Korean Labor Party |
| Cha Hwang-byon | Minister of Fishery | North Korean Labor Party |
| Ho Chun-chock | Vice Chairman, President, Supreme People's Assembly | North Korean Labor Party |
| Hong Ki-hwang | Chairman, North Korean Democratic Party | North Korean Democratic Party |
| Kim Tal-hyon | North Korean Ch'ongdo Sect, Ch'ong'u Party | North Korean Ch'ongdo Sect, Ch'ong'u Party |
| Pak Non-yeong | Deputy President, Vice Chairman of the Party | South Korean Labor Party |
| Yi Sung-yop | Minister of Justice; member, Politburo, Central Committee | South Korean Labor Party |
| Yi Ki-sook | Minister of City Management; Vice Chairman, South Korean Labor Party | South Korean Labor Party |
| Kwon G-jik | Ambassador to Peking | South Korean Labor Party |
| Ch'oe Yong-dal | Deputy Minister of Justice | South Korean Labor Party |
| Yi Kang-guk | Director, Hungarian Hospital | South Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Ung-bin | Chairman, Seoul Municipal People's Committee | South Korean Labor Party |
| Yi Chu-sang | Deputy Director, Cadre Dept, Central Committee | South Korean Labor Party |
| Cho Chin-song | Chairman, Non-union Party Committee | South Korean Labor Party |

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|----------------|---|---|
| Kim O-sang | Deputy Minister of Culture and Propaganda | South Korean Labor Party |
| Yi Chong-gye | Deputy Minister of Justice | South Korean Labor Party |
| Pak Sung-won | Chairman, Hyonggi-do People's Committee | South Korean Labor Party |
| Hyon Hun | Chairman, General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea | South Korean Labor Party |
| No Chin-hwan | Deputy Minister of Public Health | South Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Kwang-ju | Deputy Minister of Commerce | South Korean Labor Party |
| Yi Hyon-sang | Director, Cadre Dept, South Korean Labor Party | South Korean Labor Party |
| An Ki-song | Chairman, Council of Cooperatives Organization Committee | South Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Chong-gwon | Deputy Minister of Light Industry | South Korean Labor Party |
| Yu Yong-gun | Vice Chairman, President, Supreme People's Assembly | South Korean Labor Party |
| Cho Pok-ye | Vice Chairman, Women's League | South Korean Labor Party |
| Cho Il-myong | Vice Minister of Culture and Propaganda | South Korean Labor Party |
| Yi Won-jo | Deputy Director, Propaganda Dept, Central Committee | South Korean Labor Party |
| Hun Yong-dal | Member, Political Committee, Korean People's Army | South Korean Labor Party |
| Yi T'ae-jun | Vice Chairman, Writers League | Affiliated with the South Korean Labor Party but not a member |
| Yim Hwa | Vice Chairman, Korean-Soviet Cultural Association | South Korean Labor Party |
| Kim Nam-ch'on | Member, Central Committee, Writers League; author, critic | South Korean Labor Party |

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|-----------------|---|--|
| Kim Sun-man | Vice Chairman, Workers and League | South Korean Labor Party |
| Pae Ch'ol | Director, Liaison Dept., Central Committee | South Korean Labor Party |
| Song Song-ch'ol | Counselor of the embassy in Peking | South Korean Labor Party, residing in Japan |
| Kim Tu-yong | Deputy Director, Propaganda Dept., Central Committee | North Korean Labor Party, residing in Japan |

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C. Key Leaders of the Regime

The six top leaders in the Kim Il-sung regime are Pak Chong-ae, Pak Mu-sh'ol, Kim Ch'ang-man, Kim Il, Pak Song-sh'ol, and Han Sob-ya. In addition, Yi Chong-ek and Cheng Li-yang, also, are assisting in economic construction problems, as shown in the chart below.

Kim Il-sung, Premier (Party Chairman, Supreme Commander of the People's Armed Forces)

- Party Central Committee -
 - Pak Chong-ae, Vice Chairman (Secretary, general affairs)
 - Pak Mu-sh'ol, Vice Chairman (Organization)
 - Kim Ch'ang-man, Vice Chairman (Propaganda)
 - Yi Chong-ek (Assists in economic construction)

- Cabinet -
 - Kim Il, Deputy Premier (Kim Il-sung's alternate)
 - Pak Song-sh'ol, Foreign Minister (Foreign policy)
 - Cheng Li-yang, Deputy Premier (Assists in economic construction)

Presidium, Supreme People's Assembly: Han Sob-ya, Vice Chairman (Strategy, culture, propaganda)

- Army - Kim Il, Deputy Premier

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Ch'oe Yong-gun (Chair of the Politburo), Deputy Premier Nam Il, and Minister of Internal Affairs Kim Ch'ang-nan are also to be included in the inner circle of the Kim Il-sung lineage. Both Nam Il and Pang Hak-so belong to the Soviet Faction and maintain considerable differences of views. Kim Hae, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, also, is close to Nam Il and Pang Hak-so. Presidium member, Kim Kwang-hyop, belongs to a pure Chinese Faction, while Yi Myo-sun is the only one belonging to the North Korean Native Faction of the Domestic Faction lineage.

The following is a breakdown by faction of the current top leaders of the Korean Labor Party: (Names in parentheses are those close to the faction.)

1. Kim Il-sung Faction
Kim Il-sung, Pak Chong-ae, Kim Il, Pak Nam-ch'ol, Kim Ch'ang-nan, and (Chong Il-yong)
2. Ch'oe Yong-gun Faction
Ch'oe Yong-gun
3. Soviet Faction
Nam Il, (Yim Hae)
4. Chinese Faction
Kim Kwang-hyop, (Kim Ch'ang-nan - shifted to the Kim Il-sung Faction)
5. Domestic Faction
Yi Myo-sun - North Korean Native Faction

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The names of the members of the Kim Il-sung lineage actually have no relation.

The hard core members of the Kim Il-sung lineage are discussed below.

1. Pak Chong-ae

Pak Chong-ae was born in Changjin in North Korea (near the border of P'yongan-do and Kangyong-do). She entered the labor movement during her days as a worker in a rubber factory in P'yongyang. Later she studied in the Soviet Union. She married Kim Yong-pom, a Communist Party member.

Pak Chong-ae is fluent in Russian. When the Soviet Army occupied North Korea in August 1945, she frequented the Political Division of the Soviet Army and organized the North Korean Democratic Women's League and became its chairman. Her husband, Kim Yong-pom, became Kim Il-sung's political advisor and formulated plans for Kim Il-sung to assume the hegemony of North Korea. He was greatly trusted by Kim Il-sung. He died of illness in 1947 in P'yongyang before Kim Il-sung became premier.

Since Kim Il-sung's wife, Kim Chong-suk, also, died later of extra-uterine pregnancy, the relationship between Kim Il-sung and Pak Chong-ae became closer, and Pak Chong-ae, also, began to look after Kim Il-sung's private life.

In the fall of 1950, when Kim Il-sung was driven by the UN Forces and fled, he selected Pak Chong-ae as secretary of the

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She played a leading role in the party of Pak Hong-yong.

At the Fifth Central Committee plenum in the spring of 1953, when Kim Il-song reported that the yield increased although the planted acreage was decreased, Chu Yong-ha questioned the possibility of such a thing. Pak Cheng-so became enraged and shouted at Chu Yong-ha why he could not believe in the miracle under the guidance of General Kim Il-song. Chu Yong-ha was punished at this time.

Immediately after the Korean armistice in the fall of 1953, Pak Cheng-so, as a means to gain popularity, gave orders to the people to slaughter and eat cattle freely, saying that since so many Mongolian cattle are coming into the country, it would not matter. Within two months, the free slaughtering of cattle was banned. Pak Cheng-so had believed that Mongolian cattle will be the same as Korean cattle as soon as they come into Korea.

Pak Cheng-so has the habit of making rash statements through ignorance. In Korea, there is a proverb which says, "If a female bird sings, home will be destroyed." Thus, whenever Pak Cheng-so speaks, people in North Korea dread it, saying "Some bird is singing."

Pak Cheng-so is the one most feared in North Korea. Her destiny will be with Kim Il-song till the very end.

2. Kim Il

Kim Il was born in Chongju-gun in P'yongan-Pukto. After his graduation from the private Osan Middle School in Chongju, he fled to

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Manchuria, where he became a follower of Kim Il-sung. Later, he became a company commander in Kim Il-sung's partisan units. Since Kim Il-sung is the only graduate of a middle school in the Kim Il-sung unit, he can be called the top intelligence of that group.

Kim Il-sung and Kim Il-sung returned together with the Soviet North Army to Korea. He engaged in the organization of the army, and when the Kim Il-sung government was formulated in September 1948, he became Deputy Minister of National Defense and head of the Cultural Department (Political Department) of the People's Army.

During the Korean War, Kim Il-sung went south as commander, but while retreating, he fled without urging his men to fight, saying that he could not fight without airplanes. He was criticized by Ho Ka-i and removed from office.

Later, when the tide turned against Ho Ka-i, Kim Il-sung came back and jeered Ho Ka-i as being an obstructionist of the Party. He urged Kim Il-sung to severely punish Ho Ka-i and finally drove Ho Ka-i to commit suicide. Kim Il-sung, thus, succeeded in having his revenge on Ho Ka-i. He was reinstated and became a Party vice chairman, deputy premier, and concurrently, Minister of Agriculture. Presently, Kim Il-sung is First Deputy Premier, Kim Il-sung's alternate. He believes himself to be Kim Il-sung's successor.

Kim Il-sung is not popular among the broad masses, but he is strongly influential among the military. He represents those who came from the partisan unit of the Kim Il-sung lineage.

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3. Pak Kum-ch'ol

Pak Kum-ch'ol was born in Napsan in Hamgyong-do of a poor peasant family. The life of the family has been a typical poverty-stricken area in North Korea. Since Pak Kum-ch'ol was closely connected with Pak Tai, Kim Il-sung's personal agent in Korea, he joined early in Kim Il-sung's domestic operational network.

When Kim Il-sung attacked Hyesanjin and Poch'ongbo in Hamgyong-Pukto, Pak Kum-ch'ol drew up a map of the entire area, which he presented to Kim Il-sung, and aided him by acting as a guide.

Later, Pak Kum-ch'ol was arrested with Pak Tai and served 7 years in ~~the~~ Sedomon Prison in Seoul. He was released with the liberation on 15 August 1945. Immediately after the liberation, he went to P'yongyang and requested a meeting with Kim Il-sung, but he was turned away. He then went to Kanggye in P'yongan-Pukto and learned about organizational work at the lowest level. Pak Kum-ch'ol was forgiven by Kim Il-sung for 5 years until the Korean War, and suffered hardships.

However, since there was no way Pak could address Kim Il-sung could trust when he was returning, during the Korean War, he selected Pak Kum-ch'ol as deputy chief, Political Bureau of the People's Army. Later, when the Pak Hon-gor, incident broke out, Pak Kum-ch'ol became chief of the Education Department of the Party in place of Pak Ch'ol of the Pak Hon-gor, faction. Soon after, he became chief of the Cadre Department of the Party, and joined, for the first time, Kim Il-sung's top staff.

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As chief of the Cadres Department, Pak Kum-ch'ol displayed his skill and built up the firm foundation as a politician. He played a leading role in the preparations for the Third Party Congress, and became vice chairman of the Party.

Left in 11 Oct 1951 at Pyongyang

Pak Kum-Ch'ol is gentle and sincere, modest and prudent, and has the appearance of a wealthy person. He is the youngest among the top hierarchy of the Kim Il-sung faction, but he is the most capable politician. At present, he has control of the party organization and has the status of being Kim Il-sung's alternate.

If anything happens to Kim Il-sung, Kim Il probably will take charge of the government and Pak Kum-ch'ol will handle the Party for a while. Then, there is a possibility that a clash will occur between Pak Kum-ch'ol and Kim Il. If Kim Il-sung is compared to Stalin, Kim Il can be Molotov and Pak Kum-ch'ol be Khrushchev.

Since many among the Pak Il-sung lineage have never seen South Korea, Pak has the advantage of having spent 7 years in a prison in Seoul during which time he formed friendship with revolutionists in South Korea.

h. Kim Ch'ang-man

Kim Ch'ang-man is from Hamgyong-do and is a graduate of the Changyong School in Seoul. He fled to Yan-an and worked under Ma Cheng as chief of the Propaganda Dept. of the Korean Volunteer Army. When he returned to Korea after the liberation, Kim Ch'ang-man, unlike other members of the Yan-an faction, pledged his loyalty to

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Kim Il-sung and worked hard for him. He strove to overthrow Ma Ch'ang, who turned against Kim Il-sung and who was Kim Ch'ang-man's superior during the Korean days.

Major Kim was posted with Pak Ch'ang-ok of the Soviet Faction, and was expelled from the Party for a while by Pak Ch'ang-ok. During the three talks at P'hamunjon, he served as a liaison officer under an alias of Chang Ch'un-sun. When the three talks were held, liaison officer, Col Chang Ch'un-sun, who stopped the UN news reporters and created a problem, was actually Kim Ch'ang-man.

Then, Kim Ch'ang-man became chairman of the Kuangho, Hando Party Committee and Minister of Education. During this time, there was an intense struggle with the Pak Ch'ang-ok Faction. Kim joined forces with Han Son-ya, and launched an attack on Pak Ch'ang-ok by accusing Yi Yong-bin, Ki Sok-pok, and Chen Tong-hyok, members of the Pak Ch'ang-ok Faction, of protecting Yi P'iao-gun, a literary man of the South Korean Labor Party kind. Kim Ch'ang-man and Pak Ch'ang-ok were rivals in the propaganda field who could not coexist.

Kim Ch'ang-man cannot become the central figure himself, but he is capable and loyal propagandist for Kim Il-sung. He became Kim Il-sung's hard core follower from military, but since there are no other propagandists among Kim Il-sung's inner circle, his presence is valuable, and he probably will not lose his position.

5. Pak Song-ch'ol

Pak Song-ch'ol, born in Hwanggang-do, was one of Kim Il-sung's

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partisans and a major general in the People's Army. In the army, he was in charge of education and propaganda and later became Minister to Hungary. Then, he became deputy Foreign Minister, and a few months ago became Foreign Minister in place of Nam Il. He has no political capability, but he is one of the most trusted by Kim Il-song.

With Pak Song-ch'ol as Foreign Minister, Kim Il-song has gained actual control of foreign policy. Up to now, foreign policy was first in the hands of Pak Han-yong of the South Korean Labor Party and then in the hands of Nam Il of the Soviet Faction.

Pak Song-ch'ol is hardly known by the broad masses in North Korea. He cannot as yet be called a full-fledged politician, but he may develop from now. He is not as yet fully qualified for the post of foreign minister.

6. Nam Ser-ya (Sol-ya)

Nam Ser-ya was born in Hungary, Korea and was graduated from the Social Science Department of the Waseda University. Prior to the liberation, Nam published numerous articles as a proletarian writer of Korea. During the Pacific War, he deviated and published articles in Japan.

He is by nature a planner and is known for being a philanthropist. After the liberation, he got in close to Kim Il-song, and served as chief of the Education Bureau of the North Korean Provisional People's Committee headed by Kim Il-song. Since then, he has served Kim Il-song by writing articles on Kim Il-song's propaganda line.

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and an idol.

Han Sor-ya plotted to overthrow Yim Hwa, who was his literary rival from pre-liberation days. The dispute between Han Sor-ya and Yim Hwa developed into a quarrel between Kim Il-song and Pak Hon-yong. Han Sor-ya gave the most positive aid to Kim Il-song in the overthrow of Pak Hon-yong.

Han Sor-ya became chairman of the Korean Federation of Writers, Minister of Education, and now, vice chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly. He seems to be harboring a dream of becoming chairman of the Presidium.

Han is extremely unpopular among the people of North Korea, particularly, in Piyongan-do where people hate him emotionally. However, since Han is Kim Il-song's partner in crime, Kim will support him, and Han's destiny is closely tied in with that of Kim Il-song.

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