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DPRK Perspectives on Korean Reunification after the July 4th Joint Communiqué

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DPRK PERSPECTIVES ON KOREAN REUNIFICATION AFTER THE JULY 4TH JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ
NKIDP E-DOSSIER

Introduction

DPRK Perspectives on Korean Reunification after the July 4th Joint Communiqué by Jong-dae Shin	1
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

Documents included in this e-Dossier were obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe and Ambassador Izador Urian.

DOCUMENT NO. 1 Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, No.061.009, 16 January 1973	4
DOCUMENT NO. 2 Telegram from Istanbul to Bucharest, No. 037032, 19 February 1973	5
DOCUMENT NO. 3 Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 061072, 1 March 1973	6
DOCUMENT NO. 4 Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.074, Urgent, SECRET, 5 March 1973	8
DOCUMENT NO. 5 Minutes of Conversation Taken on the Occasion of the Audience Granted by Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu to the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, 8 March 1973	8
DOCUMENT NO. 6 Telegram from Bucharest to Peking, Ulaanbaatar, New Delhi, Islamabad, Djakarta, Tokyo, No. 02/01476, 9 March 1973	23
DOCUMENT NO. 7 Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 061077, 9 March 1973	24
DOCUMENT NO. 8 Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 061084, 17 March 1973	25
DOCUMENT NO. 9 Telegram from Bucharest to Pyongyang, SECRET, No. 02/01810, 21 March 1973	27

* The timely completion of this NKIDP e-Dossier was made possible via the work of Joanna Liu, Soomin Oh, Yuree Kim, and Ria Chae. 28

DOCUMENT NO. 10 Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.087, Urgent, SECRET, 22 March 1973	28
DOCUMENT NO. 11 Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.087, Urgent, SECRET, 31 March 1973	30
DOCUMENT NO. 12 Telegram from Beirut, No.015.088, Urgent, SECRET, 2 April 1973	32
DOCUMENT NO. 13 Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.113, Urgent, SECRET, 4 April 1973	33
DOCUMENT NO. 14 Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.119, Urgent, SECRET, 11 April 1973	34
DOCUMENT NO. 15 Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.150, Urgent, SECRET, 23 April 1973	36
DOCUMENT NO. 16 Telegram from Beijing, No.059.484, Urgent, SECRET, 14 May 1973	37
DOCUMENT NO. 17 Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, Regular, No. 061.224, 7 June 1973	38
DOCUMENT NO. 18 Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.238, Urgent, SECRET, 16 June 1973	39
DOCUMENT NO. 19 Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.253, Urgent, SECRET, 29 June 1973	40
DOCUMENT NO. 20 Note, No. 01/010124/73, Secret, Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, August 1973	42
DOCUMENT NO. 21 Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.360, Urgent, SECRET, 29 August 1973	46
DOCUMENT NO. 22 Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, Regular, No. 061.497, 3 November 1973	47
DOCUMENT NO. 23 Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 61.537, 3 December 1973	48

DOCUMENT NO. 24	
Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 059.101, 25 March 1975	49
DOCUMENT NO. 25	
Telegram from Moscow to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 050.572, 19 May 1975	50

DPRK Perspectives on Korean Reunification after the July 4th Joint Communiqué

by Jong-dae Shin

THE JULY 4TH, 1972, JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ, the first document to be agreed upon by both North Korea and South Korea following the division of the Korean Peninsula in 1945, was of particular historical significance. Notably, through the Joint Communiqué, the two Koreas reached an agreement on the three principles for reunification (independence, peaceful unification, and great national unity). The Communiqué also pushed the North-South dialogue to a new level, as both sides agreed to cease slandering one another, to begin various forms of exchanges, to setup a hotline between Seoul and Pyongyang, and to form a South-North Coordinating Committee charged with easing tensions, preventing armed clashes, and solving the issue of unification.

As this collection of Romanian documents makes clear, however, soon after the announcement of the Joint Communiqué, there was an intense disagreement between North Korea and South Korea over the interpretation of the three principles for reunification. While the two sides sparred in the months following the release of the Joint Communiqué, it was the establishment of the dictatorial *yushin* system in South Korea in October 1972 which caused North Korea to significantly revise its strategy on how to best achieve the reunification of the Korean Peninsula.

Reporting from Pyongyang and elsewhere throughout the world, Romanian diplomats had a unique vantage point from which to report and speculate upon Kim Il Sung's changing approach to inter-Korean relations. Based on Romania's assessments, it appears that North Korea initially believed that the North-South dialogue was an effective mechanism to undermine the Park Chung Hee government and to help the democratic forces in South Korea seize power. *Yushin*, however, enabled the removal of the opposition in South Korea and allowed Park Chung Hee to completely monopolize the North-South dialogue, forcing the North Korean government to communicate solely with South Korean officials. This derailed North Korea's plan to push for the participation of the opposition and other anti-Park government forces in the North-South dialogue and the creation of a 2:1 dialogue structure favorable to the North. As a result, North Korea could not easily develop its own vision to use the North-South dialogue as a platform to achieve Korean reunification (**Document No. 3**).

While visiting Romania in March 1973, Korean Workers' Party Secretary Kim Dong-gyu met with Romanian President Nicolae Ceaușescu and elaborated on this strategy. Kim stated that the North Korean peace offensive initiated in 1971 had succeeded in a number of ways, arguing that the campaign had eliminated the unjustifiable and false charges that North Korea was a belligerent country and thus called into question any justification for the continued stationing of U.S. troops in the South. Furthermore, according to Kim, North Korea had pushed the South Korean government into a state of confusion and panic by isolating the regime both domestically and internationally (**Document No. 5**. See also **Document No. 13**). Kim explained that North Korea sought to expand the dialogue through the South-North Coordinating Committee and meetings of the Red Cross representatives, believing that these channels would permit contact with South Korean laborers, farmers, students, intellectuals, and other democratic forces who were sympathetic to North Korea's positions. The North-South dialogue could have thus become a tacit mechanism for encouraging a revolution in South Korea. Following such a revolution, the

North Koreans anticipated that a democratic leader would guide South Korea towards peaceful unification with the North. In short, North Korea's strategy was to "use dialogue to isolate the Park government." Secretary Kim also emphasized that socialist countries should refrain from establishing relations with South Korea, arguing that pressure on South Korea from home and abroad would force Park to accept the North Korean unification plan for the establishment of a "Federal Republic of Goryeo" (**Document No. 5**).

Recognizing that South Korea would probably not allow the opposition to become involved in the North-South dialogue, however, North Korea began to adopt several other tactics. At the second South-North Coordinating Committee meeting held in Pyongyang in March 1973, for example, North Korea attempted to drive the South into a corner by calling for the resolution of military issues above all else (**Document Nos. 7 and 8**). This was an attempt by North Korea to test how genuine South Korea was toward unification and to expose to an international audience the "duality of a south Korea that says it desires dialogue on the one hand but is passive toward military issues on the other" (**Document No. 10**). From then on, North Korea began an effort to isolate the South through an international propaganda offensive, hoping that such maneuvers would also undermine Park Chung Hee's regime domestically (**Document Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 14**).

By summer 1973, only one year in the wake of the July 4th Joint Communiqué, the gap between the two Koreas had widened considerably. At this stage, North Korea also began to accuse South Korea of seeking to "enshrine the division of Korea" through the simultaneous entry of the two Koreas into the United Nations (**Document No. 19**). North Korea responded to the South Korean "June 23 Statement" with its own proposal, Kim Il Sung's Five-Point Policy for National Reunification on June 25, 1973, which called for the creation of the "Confederal Republic of Goryeo" and for both Koreas to enter the United Nations "as a sole state" (**Document No. 20**). The cooling of North-South dialogue was as dramatic as its beginning.

Owing to the divergent approaches taken by the two Koreas toward reunification, on August 28, 1973, North Korea declared the nominal end of the North-South dialogue. Announced under the name of Kim Yeong-ju [Kim Yong Ju], who was then North Korea's head for the South-North Coordinating Committee, the August 28 declaration stated specifically that the North could no longer continue negotiations with Lee Hu-rak [Yi Hu-rak]. Lee, the head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and South Korea's representative in the South-North Coordinating Committee, was accused by the North of having plotted both the Kim Dae-jung kidnapping and the "two-Korea" plan presented in the South Korean "June 23 Statement." Moreover, while recognizing the need for continuing dialogue between the two Koreas, Kim Yeong-ju called for the restart of talks by replacing Lee, repealing the "June 23 Statement," and restructuring the South-North Coordinating Committee to include members of various political parties, civil groups, and community leaders (**Document No. 21**).

Recognizing that it could not achieve its own plan for reunification through negotiations with South Korea, North Korea moved toward a plan to conclude a peace treaty through direct negotiations with the U.S. (**Document No. 22**). Particularly during the period surrounding the termination of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) in November 1973, North Korea signaled its intention to resolve the issue and

conclude a peace treaty, among other political and military issues on the Korean peninsula, through direct negotiations with the United States and not with South Korea. It was in this context that North Korea began to elevate the Northern Limit Line (NLL) into an area of dispute from late 1973 (**Document No. 23**) in an attempt to create an atmosphere where issues involving peace on the Korean peninsula would have to be resolved through direct negotiations with the United States. Then in March 1974 North Korea replaced its past North-South Korean peace proposal with a proposal to conclude a peace treaty with the U.S. As North Korea attempted to establish direct contact with the U.S., the North-South dialogue stagnated as a result.

Of course, this North Korean strategy was also unsuccessful as the United States dared not respond positively to North Korea's overtures in the mid-1970s. In May 1975, the North Korean ambassador to Moscow, Kwon Hee-gyong, thus stated that the stationing of U.S. troops in South Korea and U.S. support to the Park Chung Hee government were barriers to the unification of the Korean peninsula and that North Korea was presently considering three routes—peaceful, military and revolutionary—for achieving Korean reunification (**Document No. 25**).

At the meeting of the U.N. General Assembly held in November 1975, two different resolutions proposed by the Western and Communist countries for the resolution of the “Korea question” were passed simultaneously, which was nothing short of a bizarre turn of events. Perhaps unsurprisingly, North Korea was greatly encouraged that a resolution sympathetic to its own viewpoint had been passed in the U.N. for the first time in history. North Korea attempted to use this momentum to garner international support through the Non-Aligned Movement, the U.N. and other organizations for the termination of the United Nations Command (UNC) and the conclusion of a peace treaty. However, the widespread international uproar that occurred after the Panmunjeom [Panmunjom] axe-murder incident in August 1976 led to the end of the annual discussions of the “Korea question” in the U.N. The Panmunjeom axe-murder incident severely damaged North Korea's diplomatic offensive and marked the end of détente on the Korean peninsula that had flowered in the early 1970s.



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DOCUMENT NO. 1

Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, No.061.009, 16 January 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter: 220/Year: 1973/Country: Democratic People's Republic of Korea The Ministry of External Affairs, CLASSIFICATION: SECRET, Department I Relations, Folder 1513, Vol. I, Concerning 1) External politics; 2) DPRK's relations with other states, Period: 04.01 – 14.08.1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

02/0422/16.01.1973

To Department II Relations

We would like to draw your attention to several aspects which have occurred over the past 10 days in inter-Korean relations, which result in an aggravation of the relatively calm atmosphere created at the end of 1972.

The political stabilization process experienced by South Korea, generated by the success of certain actions following the state of emergency, instituted in December 1972, continued to consolidate itself.

The last international contacts of South Korean authorities (the dialogue of Kim Jong-pil with Nixon and Tanaka) created a sense of security for the regime in Seoul.

On the backdrop of this situation, the South Korean authorities have proceeded towards consolidating their defense system, towards completing large-scale military operations, exercise of local defense, while taking up again the old style of labeling and disseminating “danger” from the Northern side.

During his first press conference this year, held on 12 January, President Park Chung Hee, using rough language towards the DPRK, pointed out the fact that distrust towards the North is still prevalent and therefore, military forces need to be consolidated. At the same time, he underlined the reduced efficiency of inter-Korean relations.

In reply, the DPRK reopened the campaign of criticism against the South, in particular condemning military actions and U.S. engagement in modernizing the South Korean army.

Old affirmations about “the incessant strengthening of fascist policies in the country and of warmongering policies carried by South Korean authorities” re-emerged in the discourse held by Deputy Prime Minister Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol] at a public meeting (10.01 current year [10 January 1973]).

DPRK is visibly irritated by the personality cult created in South Korea and abroad around Park Chung Hee, as well as by the fact that the latter is speaking for 50 million Koreans; that is to say, that the South Korean president is claiming all initiative in contact with the North.

In analyzing the causes for this impasse in the dialogue between the two parts of Korea, we believe they lie in the outlook on the purpose, stages and rhythm of North-South contacts.

While the South is supporting a gradual approach to present problems, starting from the simple towards the more complex ones, the North is pushing for direct and expedient solutions to fundamental issues, which in their turn would lead to the solving of minor issues.

Secondly, cooperation actions envisioned by the DPRK for the near future are not going to be accepted by the South since they are tailored on the political-economic superiority of the North and hold true to the politically revolutionary purposes of the South Korean population.

Keeping in mind the present situation, and most of all the high-level official declarations of the two sides, we expect that no efficient steps will be made towards putting into practice the understandings and accords made in theory by the act of setting up the South-North Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Signed: Aurelian Lazăr

* * *

DOCUMENT NO. 2

Telegram from Istanbul to Bucharest, No. 037032, 19 February 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter: 220/Year: 1973/Country: Democratic People's Republic of Korea The Ministry of External Affairs, CLASSIFICATION: SECRET, Department I Relations, Folder 1513, Vol. I, Concerning 1) External politics; 2) DPRK's relations with other states, Period: 04.01 – 14.08.1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

02/01162/19.02.1973

To Comrade VASILE GLIGA, Secretary to the Minister

Recently we had a talk with Kim Chan-seok [Kim Chan Suk], Deputy Director General of the Pyongyang Industrial Bank, the leader of the DPRK delegation that is participating in an international reunion taking place in Istanbul. Throughout the discussion the issue of Korean reunification was tackled, in the light of the Joint Communiqué of the North and South in July 1972, as well as of the agreement to establish the SNCC [South-North Coordinating Committee] since the autumn of last year.

I am taking note of the following facts conveyed by our interlocutor:

Despite the SNCC having decided upon a series of specific measures in the framework of North-South collaboration in the economic, political, cultural and defense fields that are meant to bring about unification, the authorities in Seoul have made declarations against any type of collaboration, going as far as affirming that the issue of reunification should be brought up again 10 years from now.

A series of specific facts prove that the South Korean authorities do not wish to take serious measures towards reunification. Recently, the DPRK has suggested a delivery of raw materials to certain factories in the South in order to prevent expensive imports from India. Though the offer was extremely favorable for the South, it was rejected.

According to the opinion of the DPRK, the independent and peaceful reunification of the country will not be possible until U.S. troops leave the South—a fact which would create the necessary conditions for organizing free elections on democratic foundations. In the course of the legitimate struggle of the Korean people for reunification, the revolutionary strengthening of the North has particular significance.

As far as the U.N. is concerned, it could make a significant contribution if it decides on withdrawing the so-called “U.N. forces,” which have been occupying the South for more than 20 years, as well as on dissolving the UNCURK [UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea].

Kim Chan-seok described the position of Turkey as hostile, though Turkish diplomats have noted that the aggression in 1950 was decided upon by [Prime Minister Adnan] Menderes without parliamentary approval.

Kim Chan-seok showed significant interest for the political situation in Turkey and showed interest for both official and informal contacts with representatives of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as with those of other ministries.

At their request of assisting them with this issue, we replied we have no possibility since the central administration is found in Ankara.

Also, we have been asked to distribute PR materials for the DPRK. We expressed our regret in not being able to, due to a Turkish law which forbids the dissemination of such materials, unless they describe our own country.

Signed: Ilie Tudor

* * *

DOCUMENT NO. 3

Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 061072, 1 March 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter: 220/Year: 1973/Country: Democratic People's Republic of Korea The Ministry of External Affairs, CLASSIFICATION: SECRET, Department I Relations, Folder 1513, Vol. I, Concerning 1) External politics; 2) DPRK's relations with other states, Period: 04.01 – 14.08.1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To: Direction II Relations
02/01476/3.III

Concerning the inter-Korean relations in the context of changes and contacts in the area, we inform:

Recently we are noticing from both sides the more precise formulation of views on the timing, the shape and purpose of mutual relations.

Via significant political comments recently published in the press, the DPRK has resumed the idea of political cooperation with the South, of economic collaboration, of establishing the Korean Confederation.

These proposals point to complex forms of collaboration, with political effects, as opposed to the limited South Korean view.

We consider that the renewal of these theses is the answer to the declarations of the South Korean Foreign Minister, who noted that, according to South Korea, relations have to start with addressing humanitarian aspects (making the object actually of contacts between Red Cross organizations) and follow into commercial exchange, and culminate at an advanced stage with free reciprocal visits as well as other forms of cooperation, including political ones.

Judging from the affirmations of certain functionaries in the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, soon the phase of stagnation in North-South dialogue (December-February, when both parts were focusing on consolidating internal organizational and juridical measures, as well as on mutual observation) shall be overcome.

The 27 February Parliamentary elections in South Korea—the last stage of internal political stabilization—faces DPRK with one dialogue partner, namely Park Chung Hee. This is a significantly more difficult moment by comparison with 1972, when the political dispersal and disorganization in the South made it easier for the DPRK to apply its own unification view.

At the same time, diplomats from both parts have become more active in securing international support for their own position in the peninsula.

From the many actions launched abroad by the DPRK and South Korea in mid-February, we view as particularly significant the beginning of the Sino-American dialogue concerning U.S. troop withdrawals from Korea.

We consider that the main objective of the visit to Peking of the Minister for Foreign Affairs Heo Dam [Ho Tam] was supporting the Chinese initiative in conversations with H. Kissinger for withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. The presence in Washington of South Korean Minister of Foreign Relations, Kim Yong-sik, was aimed at obtaining guarantees that the gradual withdrawal of American troops will happen only if the U. S. modernizes the South Korean army, according to the five-year-plan of economic and military assistance.

At the same time, visits of the DPRK's party, government and parliamentary delegations are taking place in over 30 countries around the world. They have a mandate to express opinions

concerning the reunification, to obtain support for it and to push for the isolation of South Korea to such an extent that “the latter will have to accept the proposals and line imposed by the North.”

The DPRK is facing difficulties in this activity: simultaneous measures from Seoul; the visit of Kim Yong-sik to Japan, to the Federal Republic of Germany, to the UK, to the U.N., as well as other international contacts, including socialist countries.

Following the analysis of power balance in the peninsula and in order to maintain dialogue and ensure progress, we recommend a gradual approach to all issues, starting from common points of view which would allow for tackling more complex fields, including the political one.

Signed: Aurelian Lazăr

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DOCUMENT NO. 4

Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.074, Urgent, SECRET, 5 March 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To the Second Direction – Relations

After a several months pause in incidents between the two Koreas, a pause probably caused by the cessation of reciprocal infiltrations of hostile elements in the two Koreas, during the night of 4-5 March, a group of three North Koreans penetrated the border into South Korea. A South Korean border guard was shot, and weapons of Soviet origins were found on the premises of the incident.

This incident was brought to the attention of Lee Hu-rak, the South Korean Co-president of the South-North Coordinating Committee.

This incident worsens the state of inter-Korean relations, even more as in the following days a new meeting of the South-North Coordinating Committee is expected.

Signed: Aurelian Lazăr

* * *

DOCUMENT NO. 5

Minutes of Conversation Taken on the Occasion of the Audience Granted by Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu to the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, 8 March 1973

[Source: National Historical and Central Archives, Bucharest, Collection: Romanian

Communist Party, Central Committee, Foreign Relations Department, Folder 23/1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

8 March 1973

The following comrades took part in the discussions:

- On the Romanian side: Gheorghe Pana, member of the Executive Committee, member of the Permanent Presidium, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (CC RCP), Aurel Duca, deputy member of the Executive Committee of CC RCP, Stefan Andrei, Secretary of CC RCP, Dumitru Turcus, deputy head of department within the CC RCP, Dumitru Popa, Romania's ambassador to Pyongyang;
- On the Korean side: comrade Kim Dong-gyu [Kim Tong Gyu], member of the Political Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, head of the Korean delegation, Kim Guk-tae [Kim Kuk Thae], member of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, Department Head within the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, Kim Gil-hyeon [Kim Kil Hyon], deputy head of department within the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, and Ri Min-su [Ri Min Su], DPRK Ambassador to Bucharest.

The discussion started at 12:30 and ended at 16:00.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

How are you feeling in Romania?

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, we are extremely glad that you invited us to visit your country. From the very beginning, I would like to warmly thank you, the party and state leadership, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, for the warm welcome and the treatment you gave us, and for the fact that we carried out our activity in extremely good conditions.

I was mandated by comrade Kim Il Sung, the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to convey his most sincere regards to you, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Also, on behalf of Comrade Kim Seong-ae [Kim Song Ae], I would like to convey to Comrade Elena Ceaușescu the kindest regards.

We were so kindly treated in Romania that I find it hard to express this in a few words. We are deeply moved by the welcome you offered us as well as by the way we were treated here. We think that this is thanks to you, Honorable Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, the eminent leader of the Romanian Communist Party.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

I would like to salute the delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea, on my behalf and on the behalf of my comrades, and I wish you feel as comfortable as possible in Romania. I would also like to express my satisfaction with this visit. We very much appreciate these contacts between our parties. I would like to thank you for the greetings you passed on from Comrade Kim Il Sung, and I would like to ask you to pass on to him a cordial salute and best wishes from me, and to all the comrades in the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea [best wishes] from all the comrades in the leadership of our party.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

I assure you I will pass on [your greetings].

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

I would also like to ask you to transmit to Comrade Kim Seong-ae, on behalf of my comrade, a warm greeting, together with the warmest thanks for the message she sent [to comrade Elena Ceaușescu].

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

I would like to thank you very much for your extremely friendly words, for the extremely warm greetings, and I assure you I will pass on your regards as soon as I get back home.

We know you were on a trip to Czechoslovakia, we know you came back yesterday; we also know you are very busy, and for this reason we would like to thank you for finding the time to receive us, for which I would like to warmly thank you on behalf of our delegation. We are extremely satisfied with this visit, especially since we feel at home in Romania; we are staying in a very nice villa. We know that all these are the result of your thoughtfulness and attention.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

I wanted to have this meeting, to listen to some of your problems and concerns, to those of Comrade Kim Il Sung, of your party, and of course, to inform you about some of our concerns. If you have nothing against it, I would like to listen to you first.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

Hereon I would like to pass on Comrade Kim Il Sung's exact words. With respect to the internal situation in our country, I would like to inform you about the concerns regarding the internal situation in our country, about the activity of our party regarding the unification of the country, our latest actions, and at the same time, I would like to listen to your precious suggestions concerning the things I will tell you.

Firstly, I would like to talk about some problems regarding the current state of the construction of socialism in our country. Presently, we are carrying out the tasks of the third 6-year plan put forward at the 5th Party Congress. The primary tasks we have assigned to ourselves during this 6-year plan include the further consolidation of the technical-material foundation of socialism and the liberation of workers from their chores by consolidating and further developing our achievements through the industrialization of the country and the rigorous promotion of the three tasks of the technical revolution. By undertaking great efforts in the area of equipment production, which is the main pillar for the achievement of the three tasks of the technical

revolution, last year we increased the capacity of equipment factories from 5,000 to 30,000 units per year. We achieved to a great extent the complex mechanization in the field of extraction [of raw materials], and we are concentrating our efforts to modernize the metallurgical industry. We scored important successes in the field of chemical industry. Subsequently, we are producing 70-80 tons of vinalon, and presently we are struggling to increase production in vinalon factories up to 50,000 tons per year. We are making huge efforts to increase the production of tractors and trucks in order to mechanize [our] agriculture, a field in which things are going well. Only the tractor factory in Giyang produces 1000 tractors per month. We intend to get to 30,000 tractors per year. Despite the unfavorable climate from last year, we obtained good results in agriculture as well. This year, on top of successfully fulfilling the three tasks of the technical revolution, we are continuously struggling to strengthen the technical-material basis of socialism even more, to lift to a higher level the standard of living of the population.

Moreover, we are actively promoting the ideological and cultural revolution in our country. Currently, our party is paying a lot of attention to the intensification of educational work in the spirit of Juche ideology, as well as to the intensification of educational work in the spirit of the classes. We are carrying out this struggle even more energetically because of the conditions in which we live. As you know, we are eyeball-to-eyeball with the enemies, and therefore we must carry out a peaceful battle against them.

With respect to the cultural revolution, we are continuously working to spread the system of mandatory general schooling until the tenth grade [to the entire country]. If we were to add the mandatory pre-school year to these 10 years of education, that means we have an 11-year mandatory general education system. This is no easy task; there are many schools to be built, and we must train many teachers. We intend to spread this schooling system by 20% [of the territory] per year, so that during this 6-year plan, we finish with the spreading of the 10-year mandatory schooling system.

Currently, the situation in our country is, generally speaking, alright. All party members and the entire population are closely united around the Central Committee of the Party. The political and ideological unity of the entire society is now stronger than ever.

At the end of last year, in an atmosphere full of enthusiasm, we successfully organized the elections for representatives in the Supreme People's Assembly and in the people's assemblies from the provinces, and we adopted a new Constitution at the first meeting of the Supreme People's Assembly, which enshrines the achievements and the experience acquired by our people in its efforts to accomplish the revolution and to carry out the construction of socialism and the increased consolidation of the socialist order of workers and peasants.

Subsequently, I would like to stop to go over the situation in South Korea, as well as over some other problems for which we would like to receive the support of your party and government.

The Korean problem is indeed not only a crucial problem of the Korean people, but a vital problem, of extraordinary importance, for peace in Asia and in the world. Over the past years, socialist countries had to focus their attention on the war in Vietnam. Currently however, we

believe that since the war in Vietnam is over, our brothers and friends can pay more attention to the problem of Korea's unification.

As you know, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, in 1971 we launched a peaceful offensive for the reunification of the country. After the beginning of negotiations between the Red Cross delegations from the North and the South in 1971 and [the beginning of] high-level negotiations, the North-South Joint Communiqué was issued, whose central point is about the independent and peaceful unification, as well as about the achievement of the great national unity, based on the principles we formulated. Subsequently, the South-North Coordinating Committee was formed, which until now, convened three times. We informed you about these at the time. We scored great victories during this year when we continued our peaceful offensive. The important successes in this campaign were made known accordingly to the South Korean people and to the peoples of the world. It was noticed that the tense situation in South Korea was the result of the South Korean puppet clique, which is precluding the unification of the country. Now, everybody can clearly understand who wants and who is preventing the unification of the country, who wants peace and who is interested in carrying out a warmongering policy. Public opinion circles in the world, including in Japan, are on our side and are supporting us. In other words, little by little, we managed to abolish the warmongers label they used to throw on us unjustifiably. This victory is one of the greatest successes we managed to score in our peaceful offensive.

Moreover, throughout our dialogue with the South we exerted a revolutionary influence on the population in South Korea, we revealed the true state of affairs, and we further intensified the inclination for peaceful unification in South Korea. At the same time, we managed to isolate the puppet clique in South Korea even more, not only internally but also internationally, and we put it in a state of panic and turmoil. After coming to the North, South Korean leaders realized that the entire population is tightly united around the party, and that the enthusiasm and political consciousness of our people are very high. The puppet clique is in a state of turmoil, it is planning how to impose its domination so as to be able to keep up in a confrontation with us. To this end, they declared martial law, they dissolved the Parliament, they closed down schools and they modified the constitution. In this crazy game for prestige, the puppet clique used the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to show that what they do counts as "freedom and democracy." Such deceitful fascist activities will only provoke greater indignation and protests from the South Korean population and the world public opinion.

Another great success we achieved in our peaceful offensive campaign was that we managed to demonstrate that there is absolutely no pretext for American troops to be stationed in South Korea. Until now, American imperialists were carrying out a propaganda [campaign] to maintain their troops stationed in South Korea to prevent a war and to defend this country [South Korea]. But since we declared we do not intend to invade South Korea, and through the Joint Communiqué we took upon ourselves the responsibility not to fight one against the other, American troops can no longer stay there under the cover of UN troops.

To sum up, throughout the entire dialogue with the South, we scored important victories. Honestly speaking, the situation is currently much more favorable than beforehand, when South Korean revolutionaries carried out their activity in the underground/in illegality.

The South Korean puppets, realizing they cannot win anything from the North-South dialogue, are now, on the one hand, supporting the slogan of “peaceful unification” but, on the other hand, they are undertaking actions which are stalling the process of unification. In the Joint Communiqué, they agreed to the peaceful and independent unification of the country, without any interference from the outside, but now they maintain that American troops and UN troops are not foreign forces, and therefore, they must be kept in South Korea, and that in order to assure their own [South Korean] superiority in the balance of power, in the eventuality of a confrontation, they argue it is necessary to reinforce their military power. The so-called Prime Minister of South Korea, in a recent trip to the United States, said it would be impossible to achieve the unification of the homeland before 1980, when they will assure their superiority in the balance of power with the North. Last year, while inspecting military units on the battlefield, Park Chung Hee said that the dialogue between the South and the North was a confrontation with communists, who had a different manner of acting; therefore, [the South Koreans] had to build up their forces and must not hasten the dialogue and the exchange of views with the North.

As you were informed, during the second meeting of the co-presidents of the Coordinating Committee, we put forward a cooperation plan between the North and the South, as a solution to put into practice the three principles for the unification of the homeland. Not only did they reject this plan, but they are also now talking of a confrontation. In the current circumstances of the North-South dialogue, they are introducing American weapons into South Korea, they are spending huge amounts of money on weapons, and they are holding military maneuvers. Also they allow foreign capital to enter South Korea, including American and Japanese capital. Only last year, the South Korean puppets introduced foreign capital worth \$946 million, out of which \$740 million were introduced in the first six months after the release of the Joint Communiqué. Ultimately, this means that they oppose the unification of the homeland and they want to preserve the dismantlement of the country, to completely concede the economy to foreign monopolies and lastly, to sell the economy to American and Japanese imperialists.

The South Korean puppet clique is intensifying even more the repression against the South Korean people, who aspire to democracy and the unification of the homeland. Last year, the South Korean puppet clique, by forging a so-called state institution—the National Assembly—planned with the help of this institution the election of Park Chung Hee as President. Subsequently, it held a mock trial for opposition leaders, on the occasion of the formally organized electoral campaign. By doing so, they try to stop the development of opposition forces and strengthen their fascist domination system.

Through their two-faced approach, the puppet clique is planning to conserve the dismantlement of the country for ever, instead of taking actions to unify it. Park Chung Hee intends to maintain his grip on power for an unlimited time, he maintains the division of the country, he is accumulating political, economic and military forces which would allow him to confront us and to win time by continuing the North-South dialogue.

For this reason, this is a tough struggle, which requires a lot of patience, obstinacy, it is a fiery class struggle and ultimately it is a political confrontation. It is an even tougher struggle if we consider that American imperialists and Japanese militarists are involved in it. Currently, the

American imperialists are trying to form two Koreas, by rendering the division of the country permanent. The Japanese militarists are on the same page [with the Americans].

One of their schemes is to make both the North and the South members of the United Nations. We have studied the problem of the accession of both North and South Korea to the United Nations for a long time. Ultimately, we reached the conclusion that if we become members of the United Nations while the country is still divided, this will harm the unification of the country. In the current circumstances, if the North and the South become members of the United Nations, this will do no good to the cause of the unification of the country; on the contrary it will give a legal pretext to those who are trying to render the division of the country permanent. If we do so, our country will remain divided for an undetermined period of time. For this reason, our position is to join the United Nations after unification or, presently, with only one Korea, meaning a confederation comprising North Korea and the South. Throughout our dialogue with the South Koreans we openly said it cannot be that a divided Korea joins the United Nations.

The troops of the aggressors, the American imperialists, continue to be stationed in South Korea and to stall the unification of the country, and the puppet clique continues to act for the division of our country. All these represent the main obstacle which prevents the peaceful unification of the homeland.

This is the situation that was recently created in our country.

In these conditions, with the political, economic, and military consolidation of our country, our party intends to continue the peaceful offensive according to the plan we previously adopted, to act so as to expose our enemies, putting them in an increasingly tougher spot. Therefore, at the beginning of next month, we want to summon a meeting of the Coordinating Committee, and at the same time, to hold talks between the representatives of [the two] Red Cross delegations. By these means, we want to exert pressure on the South Korean authorities so that they open even bigger gates [for us]. The more wide open these gates are, the more favorable the situation will be for us. Currently, students and intellectuals in South Korea are supporting us; not to mention peasants and workers. In case multilateral contacts and exchanges will not be possible, we will try to conquer the large majority of the population in South Korea, we will attract it on the path of socialism, of course, leaving out a small pocket of land-owners, mercantile capitalists, and reactionary bureaucrats. The most important problem today is how to open the gates even wider, how to contact the large masses of people in South Korea.

By exerting a revolutionary influence on the population in South Korea and by attracting an increasingly greater number of democratic people on our side, we want to develop even more the revolutionary movement in South Korea, to upgrade it to a superior stage. In this respect, we want to raise the level of the consciousness of the masses, to develop and strengthen the democratic forces in South Korea, to generate a situation in which, eventually, a democratic person rises to power in South Korea. If such a person assumes power, then we will be able to achieve unification peacefully. We can say that there are some real possibilities in this respect. Although this is an internal, secret affair, we can tell you we have democratic forces in South Korea, but we are acting with caution so that these forces do not get oppressed. We are acting with great caution so that these forces are not liquidated. We are paying a lot of attention to these

forces and that is why we want to prevent Park Chung Hee from taking repressive measures against progressive forces.

If socialist countries undertake sustained efforts on the international stage, they will prevent the South Korean puppet clique from suppressing the democratic forces in South Korea, and at the same time, these forces will be able to develop and strengthen faster. If democratic forces strengthen, we will be able to achieve the peaceful unification of the country more easily. In these circumstances, Park Chung Hee [clique], under internal and external pressures, will be forced to accept the creation of a confederation, to renounce the stooge role it plays for American imperialists and for Japanese militarists, to acknowledge the crimes it committed and to allow progressive forces to take part in this confederation.

We are for the creation of a confederation which will eventually lead to the development and strengthening of democratic forces in South Korea. We think Park Chung Hee will accept to live with us in a confederation only when he stops trusting the American imperialists and the Japanese militarists. At the same time, we must expose with all our strength the puppet clique. We must exert powerful pressures on it, both from the inside and from the outside.

As I previously pointed out, this is a very fiery class struggle. In other words, we can say that this is part of the grand struggle between socialism and capitalism, between democracy and fascism, between revolution and counter-revolution, between international proletarian revolutionary forces and the bourgeois. Therefore, throughout this struggle, we pay a lot of attention to the strengthening of our own revolutionary forces and, at the same time, to the strengthening of [our] solidarity with global revolutionary forces. The more we reinforce our solidarity with global revolutionary forces, the more support we will receive from them for the cause of our revolution; the more we isolate American imperialism and their stooges, the more we create a favorable situation for our revolution.

Strengthening solidarity with international revolutionary forces represents one of the main factors for the acceleration of the independent and peaceful unification of the homeland. Therefore, our party wishes to achieve the unification of the homeland as soon as possible, counting on the internal class struggle; at the same time, it needs the active support of socialist countries and of the working class in the entire world.

Currently, the American imperialists are in a great impasse internally and internationally. They can no longer invoke any pretext for keeping their forces in South Korea, and the South Korean puppets are completely disoriented. If [our] friends isolate the South Korean puppets even more and actively support our struggle that will represent a great help for the cause of the unification of the homeland.

The main obstacle in the way to unification of our homeland is the fact that the puppet clique and the United States use the United Nations Organization to achieve the measures they undertake to render the division of Korea permanent. We are certain that the parties and governments of brotherly countries see the Korean matter as a matter of their own, [we are certain] that they will manage to forestall the reactionary efforts taken on the international stage, and will support the just cause of our people.

In the past, the Romanian Communist Party, with you at the helm, the Romanian government and people actively supported with all their means the struggle of our people and our party for the unification of the homeland. Above all, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, you really did a lot for the cause of our people, for the cause of the unification of our homeland. I would like to thank you once again for the kind message you sent us on the occasion of the release of the North-South Joint Communiqué, for your solidarity and your support for our struggle that you showed at the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party in July 1972. You, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, undertook great efforts during your visits to various African countries from last year, as well as during your recent visit to Asia and on other occasions, presenting the situation in our country and the position of our party regarding the unification of the homeland to the heads of those states with whom you met, which contributed to the increase in number of those who support us. These things left a very powerful impression on us.

Our brotherly comrades from the Socialist Republic of Romania are making active efforts not only internally but also internationally, at the United Nations and other international bodies, to expose the betraying actions of the South Korean puppet clique, to actively support our struggle. On the occasion of the 27th Session of the United Nations, our Romanian comrades undertook intense efforts to support our position.

We are very grateful for the warm comradely feelings that the Romanian Communist Party, the Romanian government and the Romanian people and especially you, have for our party and our people, and we are grateful for the effort and activity that you are undertaking to support our cause.

To take advantage of this occasion, I would like to bring to your attention some problems with which we would like to obtain the support of the Romanian comrades.

1. We would like to ask the Romanian Communist Party, [and] the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania to undertake another effort this year to put the Korean matter on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly, so that this organization discusses and adopts just measures on the Korean matter.

The American imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique have already taken action not to have the Korean matter on the agenda of the UN General Assembly. The Japanese militarists are doing the same thing. The situation, nonetheless, is developing to their detriment.

We believe that if our friends in brotherly socialist countries, countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, undertake efforts to support us, then we will create a situation favorable to us.

We believe that it is good, at least for the beginning, to have the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea dismantled, and to remove the United Nations pretense from American troops which presently occupy South Korea. It would be extremely useful for us if our delegate could make it to the United Nations and give a

speech, of course, after the Korean matter makes it onto the agenda of the United Nation General Assembly session. To this end, we have lately sent many delegations not only to socialist countries but to other countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Given that the Romanian Communist Party and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania had relations with many countries in the world and it is undertaking an intense activity internationally, we would like to ask you to influence these countries to create a favorable situation to the discussion of the Korean matter at the United Nations.

2. We would also like to ask the Romanian comrades to continue to actively support us so as to exert international pressure on the South Korean puppets, to compel them to put into practice those things that we agreed upon in the North-South Joint Communiqué. In order to avoid being isolated internationally, the South Korean puppets are carrying out a libelous propaganda campaign, they present themselves as if they are the ones who want the unification of the country, and at the same time, they do their very best to establish relations with neutral countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Simultaneously, they do their best to break through even in socialist countries. Seeing that socialist countries refuse to have contact with them, they try to enter these countries through third-party trade relations or by sending delegations to international sports competitions. This way they ultimately plan to establish relations with these countries, even political relations. If socialist countries and an increasing number of countries in the world refuse these contacts and expose them, then the puppet clique will be isolated and in the end it will be cast aside or it will have to kneel down before us. Therefore, we would like to ask you, again, to influence other countries to do so, offering us active and comradely support.
3. We would like to ask the Romanian Communist Party and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania to support us with forestalling the reactionary maneuvers of the American and Japanese imperialists to create two Korean states. If Korea is divided into two, then the South will actually become not only a colony of the Japanese and American imperialists, but will be used as a military base for aggression against socialist countries. If this happens, then severe danger to peace in Korea and in the entire world will arise. We therefore ask you to influence the American imperialists and the Japanese militarists so that they do not prevent the peaceful and independent unification of the homeland and so that they actively support our active struggle against the creation of two Korean states.
4. Just like before, we would like to ask the Romanian Communist Party and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania to influence certain countries which do not seem to understand correctly the realities of our country and our just approach towards the unification of the homeland, so that they get to a good understanding of our situation and they support our struggle and our just position.

Also, we would like to ask you that at the same time with the active support given to the position of our party on the unification of the homeland, the Romanian party and government expose on various occasions and at different international gatherings the maneuvers of the American imperialists and of the South Korean puppet clique targeted against the unification of Korea. Honestly speaking, the American imperialists and the

South Korean puppet clique are trying to transform the Korean peninsula into a capitalist area, while we try to transform it into a socialist area.

We are certain that, in the future, the Romanian Communist Party and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the entire Romanian people will offer us their support and the necessary help to achieve our cause.

As for the relations between our two parties, countries and peoples, we can say they are at an all-time peak. Our party, government and people highly appreciate the friendship and cohesion with the Romanian party, government and people and we noticed with great satisfaction that these relations are growing increasingly stronger. As far as we are concerned, we will do our best to strengthen and upgrade to a higher level these comradely and brotherly relations that currently exist amongst us.

At the same time, we would like to assure you that we will support your struggle with all the means available to us. We would like to offer you, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, our most heartfelt wishes for your health and grander successes in your work.

In conclusion, I would like to tell you that all the things mentioned above represent the message of the Secretary General of the Central Committee of our party, Comrade Kim Il Sung.

In addition, I would like to tell you that Comrade Kim Il Sung regrets not being able to fulfill the promise he made to Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu to visit Romania, for a variety of reasons regarding the internal situation. Because of the internal situation, he could not travel abroad last year. At the same time, Comrade Kim Il Sung asked me to tell you that he would do his very best to respond to your invitation to visit Romania. We repeatedly discussed this problem in our Political Committee. To my mind, I can tell you that I believe Comrade Kim Il Sung's visit will not happen any time later than this year. As you know, the situation in Korea is very complicated and before going abroad, we must measure and weigh all the aspects involved.

I would like to thank you very much for the attention with which you followed the message sent by Comrade Kim Il Sung. It was a long one, and I am afraid that it occasionally bored you. At the same time, in case you have certain observations, proposals or ideas regarding the things I mentioned, I would listen to them with the utmost satisfaction. I would respect them and pass them on to our leadership.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

I would like to thank you for passing on this message from President Kim Il Sung with respect to the current problems of the DPRK.

We are happy for the achievements that our brothers, the Korean people, are experiencing under the leadership of the party, headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, in the field of the construction of socialism.

I also saluted the initiative to peacefully unite the North with the South and the activity subsequently undertaken in this direction. We understand that the achievement of this

extraordinarily important goal for the Korean people implies a prolonged activity and an intense political and diplomatic activity. Of course, we understand your desire that unification is achieved as soon as possible, but from what I understood from your very message, you also believe that this will mean a prolonged struggle and a prolonged political and diplomatic activity. Of course, in the end, it will be of foremost importance to have workers and the population in the South to take action with the goal of peaceful [re]unification in mind. If democratic forces, the population in the South, will decisively manifest this preoccupation, then there is no doubt that decisive results will be achieved in this respect and in a shorter timeframe.

I must tell you that we especially appreciate the way in which these problems are dealt with in the message [you passed on from Comrade Kim Il Sung], meaning the prospect and the possibility of a [regime] change in the South lies, first and foremost, in the rise to the helm of power in the South of a president with democratic inclinations. Undoubtedly, this would expedite the whole process of unification. But I believe that the possibility that unification is achieved with the current leadership is completely just.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

I never said that this possibility does not exist, even in the current circumstances.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

All capabilities must be used to achieve this goal.

We salute this manner of approaching these issues, and I would like to tell Comrade Kim Il Sung that we will support with all our strength this activity towards the peaceful unification of the [Korean] homeland.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

I assure you I will pass your words on to him.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

We will task our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other comrades who deal with international problems to give their support [to your cause] and to take all [necessary] measures to register the Korean matter on the agenda of the United Nations. Undoubtedly, we will militate in the same direction in our relations with other states.

However, if I understood correctly, our [North] Korean comrades do not wish to take part in any activity organized by the United Nations Organization until the unification [of the homeland].

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

I would like to underline here that we wish to take it from the bottom to the top, starting with solving certain smaller problems: [we want] American troops to leave from there, the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to be dismantled, and ultimately, we will solve these big problems. If you have certain opinions about the things I said earlier, I am happy to listen to you.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

Of course, this is something that you will have the last word on, but in the spirit of our friendly relations, we will give you our opinion.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

I was mandated to come here and listen to your opinions, which we respect, and which we will apply if they suit us.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

In the spirit of our friendly relations, I must say that, to my mind, maybe it would be better to think and reflect a bit more on this issue. In what way? Firstly, with respect to [your] participation in the United Nations Organization, which means becoming a member of international organizations, and before becoming a member of the United Nations, [you] could adopt the status of observer, which means being present at the UN. This would be hugely important. You will not automatically get the representation status as a UN member, but you could undertake a vast activity with other states, with agencies within this organization, in the direction that interests you.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

We pay a great deal of attention to the possibility of one of our delegates going to the UN and giving a speech. I am very much aware of what you are saying with respect to sending an observer. We will think about this issue. I will report your opinion to Comrade Kim Il Sung. Indeed, sending an observer has nothing to do with our country becoming or not becoming a member of the United Nations.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

The second problem. I agree that vast efforts must be undertaken on the international stage to compel the South Korean authorities to accept your proposal for peaceful unification.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

This is exactly what we are asking for.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

And we will achieve this, but in this respect too I have certain opinions, more specifically with respect to relations with socialist countries and with respect to other countries' relations with South Korea. I want you to understand that this is not about economic problems. We have economic relations with 115 countries, therefore for us it is not a matter of economic problems, but from our experience to date, including with the Federal Republic of Germany, and even with the United States of America and with other states, we noticed that direct contacts and discussions with the representatives of these states were better when we had direct unmediated contacts. I, to be honest, believe that it would be to the advantage of peaceful unification if socialist and other friendly countries, and here I am referring to independent countries in Africa and even Latin America, which would support this effort for the peaceful unification of the country, would have a direct connection with the South. Anyway, Americans, Japanese and other states are present in the South, and they, of course, act in the known direction. The presence of other forces there, acting precisely in the direction of peaceful unification, would exert an even greater pressure on Park Chung Hee and on other forces in the South Korean administration. Of

course, we will proceed as you think is best, but because we have such things in mind, we would like to share them with you so that you can reflect on them.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

Can I please tell you something in this respect?

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

Please go ahead.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

Of course, it is very normal that in your activity on the international stage, in [your] relations with the Americans, the Japanese, with the [West] Germans, you undertake to support the unification of our country. But, in relations with South Korea, problems are a bit different. Our plan for the time being is to further isolate Park Chung Hee. As you know, there is a little thaw in the direction of unification. We are thinking to isolate the current South Korean leader, so that we can establish relations with him. Afterwards, it would be good that other countries, including socialist countries, contact him so as to compel him even more to follow the path of peaceful unification.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

Of course, we understand all these concerns. I do not want to further discuss this problem anymore, but I would like you to pass on our thoughts to Comrade Kim Il Sung.

I understand the problem of diplomatic relations too. It may work to try [establishing] relations with a sort of economic and consular group, which does not mean granting diplomatic recognition and to be honest I think this would be in your favor, in favor of the peaceful unification [of the homeland]. Of course, we will do as you decide. We will not do anything without agreeing with you on that matter first.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

Of course.

Needless to say, we will take into account and study your suggestion as well. Now, we believe that tactically and strategically, our last channel of communication is to get in touch with him [Park Chung Hee] ourselves. Of course, there will come a time when we will ask you to take different actions. But, at this point in time, doing so would come to the rescue of Park Chung Hee. In order to get out of the state of isolation in which he found himself, he is trying to establish economic relations with socialist countries, to deceive the large popular masses in South Korea.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

There is another dimension to these things. Today, he is dependent on the Americans, Japanese and other imperialist, reactionary forces. Isolation may further push him to look for support from these forces. Establishing relations with other countries as well, including with socialist countries, may help him free himself up from the tight grip of the Americans and the Japanese. Therefore, this aspect must be considered as well. And this will have a positive influence on the popular

masses in South Korea. Therefore, these are the assumptions from which we start when we came up with our strategy.

As for the state of international affairs, I believe it is now that conditions are ripe to help this struggle. The fact that there are forces, even in this [South Korean] administration, who want to establish relations with socialist countries and with other states as well, should be encouraged and not forestalled, because this will weaken the position of the United States and of the Japanese and of other forces in there. But, of course, you have more information and you will make up your mind on your own. I only expressed certain thoughts we had [on this].

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

I will immediately report to Comrade Kim Il Sung your precious suggestions.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

Once again, I would like to openly say, on behalf of our party and state leadership, that we will grant our full support, as much as we can, to your efforts to achieve the peaceful unification of the country, in our relations with other countries, including in our relations with the United States and with Japan.

I would like to mention myself the good collaborative relations between our countries and our parties. After my [last] visit to your country, after the discussions I had with Comrade Kim Il Sung, we achieved great successes in this respect. We are also determined to do everything possible for these relations to continuously develop, and we believe there are good conditions for this.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

Thank you.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

As for Comrade Kim Il Sung's visit to Romania, of course, I understand his preoccupations regarding the problems stemming from the efforts to peacefully unify the country.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

We are very happy that you understand this situation, but we believe there will be a time when [Comrade Kim Il Sung] will be able to respond to your invitation.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

But please remind Comrade Kim Il Sung that we would be glad if he could take his trip to Romania this year. Over the past two years, many things have changed in international politics, and we have a lot to talk about. Of course, we will take Comrade Kim Il Sung's availability into account when deciding on the period when he comes to Romania. Anyhow, you can rest assured that he is awaited with a lot of pleasure and love and that he will be well received in Romania.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

I will pass this message on to him right away. I assure you we will send him the invitation to visit Romania.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

Now I would like to tell you about a few of the problems that concern us. But let us go eat and we will talk there.

Comrade Kim Dong-gyu:

That is alright.

Please excuse me for keeping you for so long.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

We will continue our discussions at the dinner table.

Subsequently Ceaușescu discusses Romania's internal achievements (in agriculture, industry and production) and foreign policy.

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DOCUMENT NO. 6

Telegram from Bucharest to Peking, Ulaanbaatar, New Delhi, Islamabad, Djakarta, Tokyo, No. 02/01476, 9 March 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter: 220/Year: 1973/Country: Democratic People's Republic of Korea The Ministry of External Affairs, CLASSIFICATION: SECRET, Department I Relations, Folder 1513, Vol. I, Concerning 1) External politics; 2) DPRK's relations with other states, Period: 04.01 – 14.08.1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To: Direction II Relations
Comrade Chief of Mission,

The Romanian Embassy in Pyongyang informs you of the following concerning North-South relations:

Over the last period of time, a more specific formulation of policies concerning each other is visible on both sides.

After a long period of time, the DPRK has resumed the idea of political cooperation with the South, of economic collaboration, of establishing the Korean confederation.

This idea pushes the boundaries of the South Korean vision which has at its basis the solving of humanitarian issues, commercial exchange, mutual visits as well as other forms of cooperation as a matter of perspective.

North Korean officials consider that soon the phase of stagnation in North-South dialogue will be overcome.

In the meantime, at the suggestion of North Korea, the Chinese-U.S. dialogue has begun in view of the gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea as well as the request of South Korea

for U.S. guarantees that the withdrawal of troops be realized only with the condition of modernizing the South Korean army.

Conversely, both sides have engaged in a diplomatic and political offensive in order to obtain international support for their own plan to isolate the other side.

Signed: L. Petrescu.

Written : R. Budura
Typed: R. Păun/3 ex.



DOCUMENT NO. 7

Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 061077, 9 March 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter: 220/Year: 1973/Country: Democratic People's Republic of Korea The Ministry of External Affairs, CLASSIFICATION: SECRET, Department I Relations, Folder 1513, Vol. I, Concerning 1) External politics; 2) DPRK's relations with other states, Period: 04.01 – 14.08.1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To: Direction II Relations
02/01650/13.III

Today there was a simultaneous communiqué in Pyongyang and Seoul that between 14–16 March, the third meeting of the SNCC [South-North Coordinating Committee] will take place, preceded on 10 March by a meeting of the common secretariat in Panmunjeom.

We are mentioning that this is the first official meeting of the two sides during the last three months after the reunion in Seoul of the SNCC, when the representative of North Korean Co-president, Deputy Prime Minister Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol], carried discussions with South Korean President Park Chung Hee.

We note that the third meeting of the SNCC is taking place in a climate of tension in North-South relations, which is unprecedented since the adoption of the Joint Communiqué in June 1972.

Additional to the points of tension mentioned above, there is also the incident on 7 March, in the demilitarized area, where casualties were registered on the Southern side, the first such incident since the declaration was signed.

This conflict was preceded as we previously informed, by an unsuccessful attempt at landing a group of North Koreans in the South, a moment which accelerated Seoul's decision to accept a new meeting with Pyongyang.

The meeting on 14 March is preceded these days in Pyongyang by a sustained propaganda campaign against the South, a campaign which, by size and means of expression, reminds of the tense relations between the two sides prior to 1972.

We mention that the South Korean propaganda means accessible to the embassy, are not engaged in such a campaign or aimed at antagonizing the North.

Publicity from the side of the DPRK regarding certain political theses underlying the meaning and direction of North-South dialogue, has intensified. Among these we mention the firm rejection of ideas such as “confrontation” or “economic competition,” supported by the South, together with the insistent mention of dialogue and multilateral cooperation.

Given the difficult conditions in which the planned session will be taking place, we expect it will ultimately amount to a re-affirmation of principles found in the Joint Communiqué, the toning down of the tense atmosphere, the renewal of bilateral agreements concerning mutual reparations, and expressing points of view about the final purpose and stages of the dialogue between north and south.

Contacts at the level of Coordinating Committee will create the environment for reopening discussions between Red Cross Committees, expected for 21 March in Pyongyang.

Signed: Aurelian Lazăr



DOCUMENT NO. 8

Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 061084, 17 March 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter: 220/Year: 1973/Country: Democratic People's Republic of Korea The Ministry of External Affairs, CLASSIFICATION: SECRET, Department I Relations, Folder 1513, Vol. I, Concerning 1) External politics; 2) DPRK's relations with other states, Period: 04.01 – 14.08.1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To: Direction II Relations
02/01810/19.III

Concerning the second meeting of the SNCC [South-North Coordinating Committee] taking place in Pyongyang throughout two sessions between 14-16 March, we inform you:

Taking place on the background of strong tensions generated by two military incidents resulting in deaths, this meeting ended without clear results in any of the addressed issues, due to fundamental differences between the two sides' positions.

During the press conference held in Panmunjeom before entering the DPRK area, South Korean Co-president Lee Hu-rak said he is taking to Pyongyang a message of goodwill from President

Park Chung Hee together with a positive answer to some of the previous proposals from the North.

During discussions (delayed by one day at the request of the North), the representatives of Pyongyang, abandoning the questions still open since the past session, have proposed new ideas which surprised the South Korean delegation and which, due to their complexity, could not be translated into practical measures at this particular moment in time, nor were they retained by the South in view of a future study.

Thus, the North, underlining the need for eliminating military confrontation between the two sides, presented a 5-point-plan consisting of: mutual disarmament, reducing troops to 100,000 people or less together with limiting arming, stopping the introduction of foreign weapons, withdrawal of foreign troops from the peninsula, including U.S. ones, banning of weapon usage and the closing of a peace agreement between the two sides.

The North Korean co-president proposed that the 5 members of each side of the SNCC be doubled with the chiefs of staff from both armies, or that a subcommittee made up of representatives for chiefs of staff be charged with putting into practice the program's five points.

Pointing that this new position goes beyond its mandate and its realization is unfeasible for the moment, the South Korean delegation suggested (starting with the present session) the creation of two subcommittees: economic and social-cultural. Representatives of Pyongyang refused to take in consideration the creation of only two subcommittees, insisting on the simultaneous creation of all five (political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural) planned in the second session of co-presidents in November 1972. This proposal was not accepted by Lee Hu-rak.

Thus, due to the cautious attitude of the South and the "all or nothing" strategy of the north, the session ended without any notable success.

At the press conference held on 16 March by Pyongyang-assigned co-president (to which press attaches of diplomatic missions were present),

Deputy Prime Minister Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol] criticized South Korean authorities for fragmenting the issue of reunification in "simple" and "complex" issues, as well as for introducing "priorities" and "procedural sequences." Pak Seong-cheol underlined that the "sincere wish towards reunification is sufficient for solving all problems, be they simple or complex, without any pre-established order and without preconceived procedures."

After analyzing the proceedings of the recent session, the rigid position of the DPRK who rejected Southern proposals (which, though did not exhaust all available possibilities, offered nevertheless the framework for economic, cultural, sports, etc. types of exchanges and contacts), we consider that the visible change of stance from the past of the DPRK has a lot to do with the country's first victories resulting from synchronizing the inter-Korean dialogue with international developments (the opening of Sino-American dialogue regarding withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea).

It is obvious that the DPRK is attempting, with the help of P.R. China or by itself, to gain the time necessary for obtaining the disengagement of the U.S. from the peninsula, which in turn would ensure a position of superiority for Pyongyang in inter-Korean negotiations.

At the same time, the DPRK is expecting practical results from the comprehensive international campaign to make contacts (visits to approximately 45 different countries) aimed also at undermining South Korea externally.

Encouraging existing trends of opinion at the international level concerning withdrawal of foreign troops from other territories, as well as increased demands of U.S. political personalities for withdrawal from South Korea and cessation of military help for Seoul, are of great interest to the DPRK.

We therefore consider that the new DPRK tactic aims at achieving immediate objectives of unification without South Korea, even against it.

The continuation of inter-Korean dialogue will therefore retain a formal character, depending mostly on indirect actions and various contingencies.

Signed: Aurelian Lazăr

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DOCUMENT NO. 9

Telegram from Bucharest to Pyongyang, SECRET, No. 02/01810, 21 March 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter: 220/Year: 1973/Country: Democratic People's Republic of Korea The Ministry of External Affairs, CLASSIFICATION: SECRET, Department I Relations, Folder 1513, Vol. I, Concerning 1) External politics; 2) DPRK's relations with other states, Period: 04.01 – 14.08.1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

Date: 21.03.1973

Sender: Direction II Relations

To: Pyongyang

02/01810

Comrade Chief of Mission,

We are hereby presenting a synthesis of the opinions formulated by the bureau in Pyongyang concerning the second session of the SNCC [South-North Coordinating Committee], which took place in Pyongyang between 14-16 March 1973:

The session took place on the background of pronounced antagonisms between the two sides and concluded without clear solutions to issues discussed, due to fundamental differences of opinions.

Throughout discussions, Northern representatives, abandoning the issues opened towards consideration during the last session, proposed new ideas which surprised the Southern delegation and were not retained by the latter for further reflection.

The Northern co-president launched thereupon the idea of matching the number of 5 SNCC members from each side with the chiefs of staff from both militaries, or of creating a subcommittee made up of representatives of the two armies.

Showing that this new proposal goes beyond its mandate and putting it into practice is premature given the existing conditions, the Southern side suggested the creation during the present session of two subcommittees—economic and social-cultural.

Northern representatives refused to take in consideration the creation of only two committees, insisting on the simultaneous creation of all 5 committees planned during the co-presidents' meeting in November 1972 (political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural).

Due to the cautious attitude of the South and the “all or nothing” strategy of the north, the session ended without any notable success.

Visible change in the position of the DPRK (the rejection of Southern proposals which, though did not exhaust all available possibilities, offered nevertheless the framework for economic, cultural, sports, etc. types of exchanges and contacts) has a lot to do with the country's first victories resulting from synchronizing the inter-Korean dialogue with international developments (the opening of Sino-American dialogue regarding withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea).

It is obvious that the DPRK is attempting, with the help of the People's Republic of China or by itself, to gain the time necessary for obtaining the disengagement of the U.S. from the peninsula, which in turn would ensure a position of superiority for Pyongyang in inter-Korean negotiations. Conversely, the DPRK is expecting practical results from its comprehensive international campaign of building contacts.

The new DPRK tactics aims at achieving immediate objectives of unification without South Korea, or even against it.

The continuation of inter-Korean dialogue will therefore retain a formal character, depending mostly on indirect actions and various contingencies.

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DOCUMENT NO. 10

Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.087, Urgent, SECRET, 22 March 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To: Comrade Vasile Gliga
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

On 22 March I was received by Kim Yong-sun [Kim Yong Sun], Deputy Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party. Kim Yong-sun expressed the satisfaction and gratitude of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, [and] of Comrade Kim Il Sung, for the warmth and hospitality with which the delegation of the Korean Workers' Party, led by Kim Dong-gyu [Kim Tong Gyu], was received, for the special attention which this delegation enjoyed from the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, [and] from Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu.

Afterwards, the Deputy Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party handed me a brief on the second session of the South-North Coordinating Committee, which took place recently in Pyongyang.

Besides the main topics approached at this session, which we pointed out in our telegram no. 61084, Kim Yong-sun also informed us [about the following matters]:

In the four-month interval between the first and second session of the South-North Coordinating Committee, there were contacts between North and South, but these contacts did not help diffuse the state of confrontation [between the two parties] and to ease the tension which has been accumulating.

In these circumstances, the party leadership, comrade Kim Il Sung, after analyzing the situation, decided to steer the dialogue with the South towards practical measures, meant to eliminate the military confrontation between the two sides which is the primary condition for creating a climate of tension. [This decision] took shape in the well-known 5-point proposal, which was put forward by the North-Korean co-president of the committee (see our telegram no. 61084).

It was highlighted that this line is not only the most righteous and rational [approach] to [engage] in a dialogue with South Korea, but also “a test for the loyalty of the South Korean puppets toward the cause of unification.”

Kim Yong-sun showed that the negative reaction of the South [Korean] delegation toward the proposals of the North is circumscribed within the policy of the South Korean puppets to perpetuate the military confrontation and to achieve the unification of the country by means of “defeating communism,” [and] to participate to the dialogue strictly formally.

He offered an overview of the situation in South Korea, referring to the intensification of war preparations and the psychosis against the DPRK, and he also underlined that this would trigger corresponding countermeasures from the North.

The Deputy Head of the International Section said that the South [Korean] delegation would have blamed the North for inciting the “Revolutionary Party for Unification” in South Korea to violent revolution. He did not mention a thing, however, about the incident which occurred in a

conversation between the two co-presidents [of the Committee] when in response to Lee Hu-rak's assertion that the North started the war in June 1950, Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol] only said "what happened is in the past," a statement recorded on tape and repeatedly played on South Korean radio.

According to the brief [I received], the participants to the session discussed some technical problems, regarding the improvement of the permanent liaison apparatus in the Coordinating Committee, as well as regarding the publicity made about this session, but due to the obtuse attitude of the South Korean representatives, no further steps were made.

Kim Yong-sun stressed that although no progress was made with respect to a drawing closer of the two sides' points of view, the North scored a victory by having the following conclusions confirmed: the righteousness of [their] position to eliminate the state of military confrontation, the North's dynamic and active affirmation in its interaction with the South at the international level, the exposure of the South [Korean] puppets' policies, which under the guise of dialogue, are promoting confrontation and preparing for a new war, the reconfirmation of the idea that the North-South dialogue is a "fierce class struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, between patriotism and betrayal, between socialism and capitalism, a tough and complex struggle whose issues cannot be solved just through a few sessions, who is compelling [us] to strike the enemy whenever it is necessary."

Kim Yong-sun remarked that in the future, the [North] Korean party and government would militate for the promotion of dialogue, exposing the duplicitous tactics of the South. In conclusion, he expressed his hope that the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian government would continue to grant the DPRK their support to the cause of the unification of Korea, exposing and isolating the South Korean puppet clique.

The whole brief was formulated using very harsh words with respect to the Seoul authorities.

With respect to our analysis of the significance and underpinnings of the new line promoted by the North in its confrontation with the South, we maintain the position we outlined in telegram no. 61.084.

Signed: Dumitru Popa

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DOCUMENT NO. 11

Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.087, Urgent, SECRET, 31 March 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To: Comrade Vasile Gliga

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

During a formal visit I paid to Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol], member of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, Vice-Premier of the Administrative Council, he offered an overview of the main current aspects of inter-Korean relations and the future orientation of the Korean Workers' Party in this respect.

After insistently stressing on the unity of the Korean state and nation, Pak Seong-cheol said that "the Korean Workers' Party will not allow for the perpetual dismantlement of the country, [which is] divided not through the will of the Korean people but due to external forces, [due to] American imperialists." He said that the Korean Workers' Party is promoting the peaceful reunification of the country, but "the DPRK will not remain inactive if the masses in the South will rise up and ask for help from the North."

In its dialogue with the South, the DPRK is currently undertaking a firm line, dealing with basic principles of inter-Korean relations: eliminating the state of military confrontation, scaling down the arms race, pulling out foreign armed forces, signing a peace treaty, [all of which] go against the position of the South Koreans to solve the problem gradually and partially.

The refusal of the Seoul authorities to get involved in concrete and substantial matters regarding the rapprochement between North and South evidence the duplicitous tactics of the South Koreans, [which involves] a continuation of dialogue on the one hand and preparation for war on the other hand.

At its turn, the DPRK feels compelled to do the same thing, taking all preparatory measures to retaliate accordingly to any provocation.

In the current circumstances, when the DPRK is ranked number 1 in the world in terms of armed forces per capita and when it is being discussed to modernize them, it is necessary to sustain some important material efforts.

At the same time, the intensification of the North-South dialogue and the inclusion of an increasing number of people in this process call for measures to improve the standard of living, so that the superiority of the socialist order can be proven through facts.

This task compelled the DPRK to ask for help from abroad. In this respect, the Romanian party and state leadership allotted, with the help of former Vice-Premier Jeong Jun-taek [Jong Jun Thaek], a significant [portion] of aid, for which the Korean Workers' Party is deeply grateful.

With respect to bilateral relations, Pak Seong-cheol offered a very positive appraisal on their evolution in the interval following the visit to the DPRK of Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu and he underlined that Comrade Kim Il Sung repeatedly assigned to the Korean party and state cadres, the task to militate incessantly for the consolidation and development of collaboration with Romania.

Talking about the recent visit to Romania of the delegation led by Kim Dong-gyu [Kim Tong Gyu], the Vice-Premier said that “Comrade Kim Il Sung was very happy with the honest, [and friendly] atmosphere in which the discussion with Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu [took place].” He said that the head of the Korean delegation presented a report before the Political Committee on matters related to his trip in Europe and that the results of his visit to Romania enjoyed the high appreciation of the party leadership.

A summary of the main comments made at various levels of the North Korean party and government with respect to the party leadership’s visit to Romania and especially with respect to the meeting between Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu and Kim Dong-gyu makes us think that Comrade Kim Il Sung understood the meaning of the message sent by the Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, taking note of the value of the ideas suggested on this occasion.

Signed: Dumitru Popa

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DOCUMENT NO. 12

Telegram from Beirut, No.015.088, Urgent, SECRET, 2 April 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To the International Section of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party
To the 5th Direction, Relations

On Monday, 2 April, I received the DPRK representative to Beirut, comrade Kim Dong-cheol [Kim Tong Chol], who informed me about the unfolding of negotiations for the unification of Korea.

He told me that the negotiations were sabotaged by the South Korean regime, which in fact is preparing a land and sea military offensive against the DPRK, with the support of the United States, which is providing it with massive amounts of modern weapons.

When asked why it is accepting and continuing the dialogue with the South, the DPRK representative told me that personally, he believed the puppet regime in the South was compelled to accept a dialogue with the North because:

- a. It feared that after the Sino-American rapprochement and the Soviet-American détente, it would share the fate of Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek], who was then abandoned by the Americans;
- b. In the abovementioned conditions the second reason for accepting this dialogue is “the inferiority of the South compared to the North in all possible respects” and therefore the

fear of the South Korean regime of political turbulences in case it had rejected the North Korean opening;

- c. Finally, at its turn, the United States and Japan exerted a certain pressure on the South Korean regime to accept the proposals of the DPRK to negotiate the unification of the country.

At my second question regarding “the prospects of North-South relations,” the DPRK diplomat answered that “the South is weak and unable to conquer the North; it wants to gain time by continuing a sterile dialogue; it wants to totally annihilate the adherence of progressive forces to the North’s proposals; it wants to consolidate its internal position and then negotiate with the North from a position of strength. The North Korean communists are nonetheless convinced that the political situation in the South will evolve in favor of unification, and that the plan of the South Korean puppets will fail.”

Finally, he added that he was mandated by his government to inform me of the matters mentioned above because “the South Korean representative to Beirut launched a campaign to visit socialist embassies in Beirut, to spread disinformation” and that he was asking me “not to listen to their calumnies.”

I assured him that our party and our government had been, was and would be supporting in the future the righteous positions of the DPRK.

Signed: M. Levente

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DOCUMENT NO. 13

Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.113, Urgent, SECRET, 4 April 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To the 2nd Direction, Relations

On 3 April, on the occasion of a meeting with Kim Yeong-nam [Kim Yong Nam], the head of the International Section of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party, he discussed some of the reasons for which, at the latest meeting of the Coordinating Committee, the DPRK had insisted on the measures meant to bring about a relaxation of military tensions and a transformation of the Korean armistice into a peace treaty.

Therefore, he mentioned that since the Vietnam War had ended and since there was a real opportunity to find a political solution to the Korean matter, certain dissensions sprung up within the top echelons of power in Seoul, especially in military circles. Park Chung Hee, Lee Hu-rak, the head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, and several other reactionary elements, with

the support of the USA and Japan, were increasingly moving towards the right and in order to maintain their current positions, they were breaking up the process of unification into time sequences. This group is supported by South Korean generals, recently returned from Vietnam, who are instigating against North Korea “to unite the country by defeating communism,” etc. These dissensions amongst military cadres grew also as a consequence of the prospects of a reduction in military aid from the United States, which may impact on the material situation and morale of the South Korean army, which would create great uncertainty for career officers in the South Korean military. As a result of this upheaval amongst militaries, Park Chung Hee was recently compelled to remove from office one of his closest friends, i.e. the head of the Seoul garrison, and several other generals, justifying his decision by stating that they did not present enough trustworthiness.

On the other hand, a certain deviation towards the left is growing increasingly prominent, as displayed by a large number of intellectuals and a great share of militaries, motivated primarily by patriotic feelings, who are more realistic about the possibilities to overcome clashes and differences that have piled on through the years, as a result of the different political systems in the two parts of Korea.

I managed to gather from Kim Yeong-nam’s remarks that the recent proposals of the DPRK were meant to stimulate the leftist trends in South Korea, the aggravation of the internal contradictions which exist in the Seoul administration and military circles and only lastly [they aimed at] adopting some practical measures to achieve a relaxation of military tensions.

My interlocutor mentioned that the DPRK would not be able to get along with Park Chung Hee because of his total submission to American and Japanese interests. Kim Yeong-nam hinted at the fact that the DPRK, by launching its well-known proposals, including the proposal referring to signing a peace treaty, wishes to put the South Korean authorities in a delicate position, one in which they cannot accept any of those proposals but at the same time in which they cannot interrupt the dialogue. Although unable to obtain any concrete successes through cooperation, the North Koreans are winning many followers amongst the opponents of Park Chung Hee, who will help the North Koreans topple the current regime in Seoul.

Getting involved in economic, cultural-social exchanges with the South Koreans would only have created more problems and politically it would have been more efficient for the South, which would have used this [opportunity] as a foundation for its separatist tendencies, arguing that the North Koreans recognize South Korea as an economic and commercial partner.

Signed: Dumitru Popa

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DOCUMENT NO. 14

Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.119, Urgent, SECRET, 11 April 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various

States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To the First Direction, Relations

After a conversation Aurelian Lazăr had with the Soviet counselor I. Fadeev, we noted the following matters:

1. Soviet diplomats in Pyongyang concluded that certain shifts had occurred with respect to Korea's unification in the position of the DPRK, which was slowly renouncing the path of ample and direct contacts with Seoul, maintaining only a form of dialogue that did not have any practical results, between the South-North Coordinating Committee and the Red Cross delegations. I. Fadeev said that the DPRK was counting on an increase in external support for its position, which it has increasingly received lately; on the increasingly pronounced isolation of South Korea; and on the aggravation of internal contradiction in Seoul. He said that in the given circumstances, the South Korean authorities would take countermeasures meant to grant them support from the outside and to avoid the aggravation of internal difficulties.
2. As for the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea, I. Fadeev said that this was a long-term process, and that the DPRK, while initially very optimistic with respect to the support the People's Republic of China had promised it, now started manifesting certain fears and suspicions towards the honesty with which Beijing acted to determine the Americans to pull out of South Korea and to renounce using the UN Commission for the Unification and Reconstruction of Korea. He backed up his position by pointing out that Heo Dam [Ho Tam], the DPRK Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his recent conversations with A. Gromyko at the end of March, had hinted at a statement [Chinese] Premier Zhou Enlai made in front of some Japanese parliamentarians, according to which the People's Republic of China was not yet interested in the withdrawal of American troops from Asia.

From all the matters mentioned above, we gathered that the Soviet diplomats in Pyongyang take note and amplify all the aspects which reveal the suspicion or the lack of trust of the DPRK towards the sincerity and the good intentions of the People's Republic of China.

3. With respect to the University Olympics to be held in Moscow in August [1973], the DPRK representatives asked the Soviets not to allow the South Korean team to take part in the games. Given that the University Olympics are organized by an international forum, with the USSR being just the host of these games, the Soviets foresee certain obstacles in precluding the South Koreans from participating. However, the Soviets will do their best not to allow the South Koreans to enter the USSR. For the time being, the Soviets asked the DPRK to consider the possibility of forming a joint team made up of North and South Koreans with a view to taking part in the games. As I. Fadeev put it, although the Soviets received no answer to their proposal, it seems that the DPRK does not like it.

Signed: Dumitru Popa



DOCUMENT NO. 15

Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.150, Urgent, SECRET, 23 April 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To the First Direction, Relations

With respect to inter-Korean relations, we would like to draw your attention to the fact that when important events, reunions, or contacts take place, provocations and sometimes serious incidents resulting in casualties spring up systematically in the demilitarized zone. By infringing on the commitments mutually agreed upon through the Joint Communiqué of July 1972, the situation is growing tense and the smooth development of the inter-Korean dialogue is hindered.

Therefore, on 23 April, at the request of the Americans in the Armistice Commission a session took place at Panmunjeom, where the DPRK was charged with sending a group of spies in South Korea on the night of 17 April (3 people, 2 of whom were shot in the Southern part of the demilitarized zone) and was accused of not accepting to investigate this case jointly.

Although the North Koreans publicly denounced this setting-up, the arguments they invoked were not convincing and categorical enough, which provided the authorities in Seoul and the Americans with plenty of ammunition to condemn the DPRK for “its duplicitous policies, aiming at winning the support of public opinion by charging the South and the Americans [for various things], while in reality being the one committing the provocations and perpetuating a state of tension on the Korean Peninsula.”

In these circumstances, we believe that the second meeting of the South-North Coordinating Committee Secretariat, planned for 24 April in Panmunjeom, will unfold in a tense atmosphere.

Irrespective of its authors, the aforementioned incident, as all the others from previous months, provide supportive arguments for the continued stationing of US troops in South Korea, and reasons for easily combating against the letters adopted at the recent session of the Supreme People's Assembly addressed to the US Senate and House of Representatives.

Signed: Dumitru Popa



DOCUMENT NO. 16

Telegram from Beijing, No.059.484, Urgent, SECRET, 14 May 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To the First Direction, Relations:

We would like to inform you about some discussions we had with a [North] Korean diplomat in Beijing on the current state of the inter-Korean dialogue:

As it has been the case until now, the DPRK takes the initiative in [starting] the talks. The attitude of the [South Korean] counter-part is characterized by duplicity and inconsistency in supporting a certain point of view. Therefore, the North Korean diplomat said, the South Koreans at the negotiations table adopt a position which encourages the exchange of views, while they take hostile actions behind the scenes.

According to the administration in Seoul, the Americans stationed in South Korea are not an occupying force, and therefore, it is out of the question that they leave.

The North Koreans are aware of the difficulties involved in negotiating [with the South Koreans], but they still believe that it is possible to cooperate with the South in certain areas, especially on economic issues, to the mutual advantage of both parties.

To achieve this goal, the North Korean diplomat added, the DPRK government already put forward concrete proposals, such as:

1. Taking care of the excess work force in South Korea and helping [the South Koreans] cope with the emigration [of the unemployed] abroad, by hiring the available workers in industrial complexes in the North, where laborers are badly needed.
2. Jointly creating an irrigation system by employing the equipment and richer expertise accumulated by the North in this field.
3. Instituting a unitary system for fishing methods and the ensuing processing industry (granting fishermen from both sides to fish in the fishing areas around the entire peninsula, without restrictions).
4. Opening the gates at the 38th parallel to create the opportunity for the free circulation of the population.
5. Jointly creating a linguistic unification plan. Currently, the North Korean diplomat added, the South is under American and Japanese influences.

The reaction of the [South Korean] counterparts continues to be equivocal and it is basically going against the idea of adopting concrete measures for the relaxation of tensions. The desire of

the DPRK to remove existing barriers is interpreted as an attempt to infiltrate the South and to undermine the government in Seoul, by triggering a civil war.

Lastly, the North Korean diplomat said that the DPRK government perseveres in its constructive position, being truthfully motivated by its faith in the possibility of uniting the country peacefully, without interference from the outside.

Signed: N. Gavrilesco

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DOCUMENT NO. 17

Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, Regular, No. 061.224, 7 June 1973

[Source: Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Matter 220 - Relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 1973. Obtained by Izador Urian and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe.]

TELEGRAM

Sender: Pyongyang

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

Regular

Date: 07.06.1973/08:00

No.: 061.224

To: Comrade Deputy Minister Nicolae Ghenea

We would like to inform you on the main aspects of inter-Korean relations.

North-South relations on the Korean Peninsula, as known to the wider public, are going through a process of increasing tension.

The propaganda apparatus in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea resumed the labeling of South Korea, showing some restraint, as it should have according to the commitments it assumed through the 4 July Joint Communiqué, only towards the South Korean president.

Although there was no consensus on the basic positions of the two parties with respect to unification from the very beginning of the dialogue, currently there is a noticeable drifting apart between the point of view of the North and that of the South on crucial matters to the Korean nation.

Although rational in themselves, the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea put forward within the Coordinating Committee as well as in the meetings of the Red Cross delegations, are, because of their radical character, unacceptable to the authorities in Seoul, especially given that they were put forward in a block, without giving the possibility to negotiate on them.

At their turn, the South Korean authorities, mended after the difficulties they underwent in the international arena and after the measures they adopted in the fall of last year [1972] and aware

of the political implications of the North's proposals, are manifesting reduced receptivity towards the path imposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Our attention was grabbed by the fact that lately, the South Korean mass media are carrying out an intense publicity campaign around some alleged cases of infiltrations in the South of Northern agents and around the mass condemnation of those who participated in a spy network working for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The North Korean press systematically refutes, sometimes in an insufficiently persuasive manner, these reports.

Externally, there is a sustained concern from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to establish diplomatic relations and to join organizations where South Korea is already present.

To our mind, this approach is not meant to draw the two countries closer, but on the contrary, it is supposed to undermine and gradually weaken the positions of the authorities in Seoul.

Starting from this rationale, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is currently carefully studying the attitude it shall take towards the forthcoming session of the United Nations, especially since, recently, Seoul decided to register this matter on the agenda, going against its old position in favor of postponing a discussion of the Korean matter.

Depending on the position it will take, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will or will not use the right it has owing to its membership in the World Health Organization to appoint an observer to the UN.

Against this background, there will be another reunion of co-presidents of the South-North Coordinating Committee on 9 June.

Signed: Dumitru Popa

* * *

DOCUMENT NO. 18

Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.238, Urgent, SECRET, 16 June 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To the First Direction, Relations

With respect to the proceedings of the Third Session of the South-North Coordinating Committee, which met in Seoul, we would like to inform you of the following matters:

Since the Seoul session took place in a state of significant tension between the two sides, it did not mark any sort of progress in Inter-Korean matters.

(In addition to our analysis regarding the North-South relationship, we would like to point out the fact that on the eve of the Seoul session, the DPRK resumed broadcasting radio shows towards the South, using amplifiers installed in the demilitarized zone and infringing the commitments it assumed in the protocol signed on 4 November 1972.)

This time, the positions expressed by the North and the South were essentially different both in content and in the approach adopted by each side. Yet again, the North Koreans put forward:

- 1) The 5-point plan released at the previous meeting;
- 2) The idea of summoning political consultations between parties, civil societies, high-profile personalities in various fields, from both North and South [Korea];
- 3) The idea of creating 5 bilateral cooperation commissions.

Thinking that the core military and political issues can be solved, the South said it was ready to form and launch the economic and socio-cultural cooperation commissions, arguing that they can guarantee the framework for the gradual resolution of fundamental problems, based on the gradual restoration of mutual trust.

On the basis of the same economic and socio-cultural matters, the South put forward the idea of a ‘mutual general opening’ which, although embraced in principle by the North, bore no fruit because of Pyongyang’s insistence that all fields, including political, military, diplomatic issues, be included.

After the press conference of the North Korean co-president of the Coordinating Committee, Vice-Premier Pak Seong-cheol, that was held upon his return from Seoul, it could be gathered that the South criticized the North for enshrining the existence of two ‘Koreas,’ by seeking membership in international organizations and by establishing diplomatic relations with states with which South Korea already has relations.

Without providing arguments to refute the accusations issued by the South, the Vice-Premier said that if the South Koreans do not wish to transform the country into ‘two Koreas’ then they should immediately accept the proposal regarding the creation of the diplomatic commission for the coordination of joint actions on the international arena.

After analyzing this new moment in North-South relations, we could confirm the previous conclusion of our office that the resolution of the Korean matter is increasingly heading on a path of direct channels between Seoul and Pyongyang, each camp using collateral solutions and the support given by external factors against the other Korean side.

Signed: Aurelian Lazăr

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DOCUMENT NO. 19

Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.253, Urgent, SECRET, 29 June 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate –

Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To the First Direction, Relations

On 27 June An Jang-il [An Jang II], division head within the International Section of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party briefed the Romanian chargé d'affaires on the third session of the South-North Coordinating Committee, which took place on 12-14 June in Seoul.

After presenting the well-known position of the DPRK, which aims at achieving a relaxation of tensions on the Korean Peninsula through disarmament, reducing military forces, creating the five commissions of the Coordinating Committee, and covering political, military, economic, diplomatic and socio-cultural matters, An Jang-il stressed on the causes for which the South Koreans are not accepting the proposals of the North. In this respect, he said, at the secret meetings between the two co-presidents, Lee Hu-rak, the South Korean representative, said that South Korea would have been more receptive to the proposals of the North if the United States and Japan would not have exerted pressure on certain groups, especially on military groups in the South Korean governmental apparatus.

There are several strands of thought developing in governmental circles in Seoul, and here Lee Hu-rak referred to the military trend as the most powerful one and the most hostile to unification, then to a centrist trend which is leaning towards contacts with the North (limited to economic and socio-cultural matters) and the opposition, comprising progressive and patriotic forces, which are keen on a rapid achievement of unification.

An Jang-il described the situation in South Korea as unstable, which is why Seoul is trying to slow down the process of unification, formulating proposals to revise the agreements reached in July 1972 and the agreements which led to the creation of the South-North Coordinating Committee.

The [North Korean] interlocutor mentioned that the third session in Seoul ended without achieving any concrete results, that there are new and great difficulties ahead in the field of North-South contacts, and that the duration of the process of unification is much longer than initially envisaged.

Furthermore, An Jang-il said that currently South Korea launched an operation meant to enshrine the division of Korea by pushing towards the simultaneous accession of the two Koreas to the United Nations. "We fear," he said, "that this South Korean plan will gain support from Third World countries, from those who do not know or who have a simplistic view of the solution for the Korean problem."

An Jang-il said that the propaganda agencies in the DPRK would launch an operation to unmask the intentions of the South Koreans and to explain Pyongyang's position in light of comrade Kim Il Sung's statement dated 23 June.

Signed: Aurelian Lazăr



DOCUMENT NO. 20

Note, No. 01/010124/73, Secret, Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, August 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 210, 1973, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Secret, 1st Division, MFA, Folder no. 1496, Regarding the Internal Situation in the DPRK (Political, Economic, Social, Cultural Matters. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

The Issue of the Unification of Korea and the Evolution of the Dialogue between North and South

The Position of the Socialist Republic of Romania

1. The restoration of national unity represents one of the main preoccupations of the party and state leadership of the DPRK. In this respect, over the past 25 years, the DPRK made proposals on more than 130 occasions. Amongst the permanent, constant elements of the DPRK position, the following stand out: unification of the country is a strictly internal problem which should be solved peacefully, by the Koreans themselves, without any interference from outside, through negotiations between the North and the South.

Over the past few years, and especially at the April sessions of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly in 1971 and 1973, numerous proposals for unification have been made, which entail the following:

- Withdrawing all foreign troops from South Korea and dismantling the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea;
- Ceasing the arms race between the North and the South and the mutual renouncement to the import of weapons and combat technology;
- Reducing the armed forces in the North and the South to 100,000 people or even less. In the event of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, the DPRK declared it takes upon itself the obligation to unilaterally reduce the ranks of its armed forces to 200,000 people;
- Creating a single, central government, following free general elections in the North and the South. In order to organize free elections, it was required to guarantee full freedom and [the freedom of] political activity for all parties and progressive organizations and the release of all political prisoners in South Korea. As a transitory measure to suffice until the complete unification of the country, a proposal to create a Confederation which maintains the current social systems in place was made;
- Organizing meetings and holding political talks at various levels so as to discuss the unification of the country;
- Pursuing economic, cultural, technical-scientific exchanges, as well as exchanges of sports teams. On certain occasions, the DPRK offered the ROK material aid at no cost, so that the South can rebuild its economy; the DPRK offered to provide a job for

- unemployed workers from the South; the DPRK offered the ROK raw materials; the North also offered to build irrigation systems in the South;
- Signing a peace agreement between the North and the South.
2. Starting on 6 August 1971 the DPRK no longer conditions the unification of the country on the abolishment of the existing treaties between the ROK and the US, and between the ROK and Japan, and it no longer requests the removal from power of Park Chung Hee.

Even more, on this occasion, Kim Il Sung said that the DPRK is willing to meet and to hold talks with any representatives and delegates from the ROK, including representatives of the ruling party. Afterwards, various Korean and foreign interlocutors unofficially declared that in the future the possibility of a meeting between Kim Il Sung and Park Chung Hee is not to be excluded.

After this change of attitude on 20 August 1971, direct talks between the representatives of the Red Cross from DPRK and those from the ROK began at Panmunjeom. After 51 meetings, on 11 August 1972 it was decided that substantive talks between the delegations of the Red Cross from the DPRK and those from the ROK to begin on 30 August 1972 are to take place alternatively in Pyongyang and Seoul and cover the following issues:

- Identifying the family members and relatives separated between North and South;
- Facilitating visits and correspondence exchanges between separated family members and relatives;
- The reunion of separated family members;
- Other humanitarian matters.

Up until now, several meetings and negotiations took place but to no avail.

3. On 4 July 1972, after the visit of Lee Hu-rak, Director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, to Pyongyang, and following his discussions with president Kim Il Sung, as well as following Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol]'s visit to Seoul and his subsequent discussions with Park Chung Hee, the North-South Joint Communiqué was released in which the two parties agreed to:
- a) Act with a view to the unification of the country on the basis of the principles of independence and non-interference from outside; as well as through peaceful means and by pursuing national unity above any ideological and social system differences;
 - b) Mutually refrain themselves from denigrating and libeling the other party and take measures to avoid conflicts;
 - c) Promote bilateral exchanges;
 - d) Support negotiations carried out through Red Cross societies;
 - e) Establish telephone lines between Pyongyang and Seoul;
 - f) Create a South-North Coordinating Committee, steered by Kim Yeong-ju [Kim Yong Ju] (member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean

Workers' Party, the brother of Comrade Kim Il Sung), the head of the Organizational Section of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Lee Hu-rak. Subsequently, such an Executive Committee and a Secretariat of this Committee were formed.

Throughout the 5 sessions of the Coordinating Committee that took place until now, the following issues were discussed: organizational matters; the manner in which the provisions of the 4 July 1972 Joint Communiqué are fulfilled; starting with 10 October 1972 it was decided to stop any radio broadcasting hostile to the other party and to stop the dissemination of leaflets.

At the March 1973 session, in order to bring the confrontation between North and South to an end, the DPRK co-president of the Committee put the following matters on the agenda:

- Ending of the arms race on both sides;
- Reducing the number of armed forces in the North and the South to 100,000;
- Terminating the import of weapons and combat technology;
- Withdrawing foreign troops from South Korea;
- Signing a peace treaty.

In order to turn these proposals into reality, the DPRK suggested to co-opt the chiefs of staff from the North and from the South into the Coordinating Committee or to create a military sub-committee. At the same time, the DPRK proposed the creation of other subcommittees, on political, economic, social and cultural matters. Up until now, South Korea agreed to holding talks only on economic and cultural matters.

4. The April 1973 session of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly discussed the matter of "Ceasing foreign interference into the internal affairs of Korea and accelerating the peaceful and independent unification of the country." The session adopted a letter addressed to all parliaments and governments as well as a letter addressed to the US House of Representatives and the US Senate in which it is requested to withdraw American troops from South Korea, to dismantle the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and to cease military aid to South Korea.

On 23 June 1973, President Kim Il Sung proposed a 5-point unification plan which contains the following provisions: ending the state of tension; starting to collaborate on multiple plans; allowing all layers of society to take part in the unification of the country; creating the Confederal Republic of Goryeo; the two parts of the country joining the UN as a sole state, under the name of Goryeo.

On the same day, South Korean President Park Chung Hee launched a unification plan which entails the following: mutual non-interference in internal affairs; refraining from the use of force; expanding the dialogue; respecting the responsibilities assumed through the July 1972 Declaration; cooperation at the international level; simultaneously entering

various international bodies; both states establishing diplomatic relations with all countries.

Each party deemed the proposals of the other party as unacceptable.

5. Conclusions

The dialogue [between North and South] is progressing incredibly slowly because the terms on which the two parties agreed are not respected, each party trying to influence the other so as to gain as many advantages for itself as possible.

The results of the North-South dialogue are taking the following forms:

- Establishing and continuing contacts and negotiations at various levels, with the possibility to launch a meeting at the highest level;
- Establishing telephone lines between Pyongyang and Seoul;
- Ending hostile propaganda towards one another at the same time;
- Reducing the number of incidents at the 38th parallel;
- Forming the economic and cultural cooperation subcommittee;
- The gradual disappearance of the declarations according to which only the North or the South represent Korea and the interests of the Korean people.

With the exception of the UN, the DPRK is not against the simultaneous entry of the two parts of Korea into various international bodies.

6. Romania's Position

The Socialist Republic of Romania is constantly and thoroughly supporting the position and the actions of the DPRK to unify the country.

Amongst the recent actions undertaken by Romania to support the position and actions of the DPRK the following are to be mentioned:

- Congratulatory and supportive messages addressed by comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu to comrade Kim Il Sung on the occasion of the release of the 4 July 1972 Joint Communiqué and of the 23 June 1973 5-Point Plan;
- Solidarity and supportive messages and the declaration of the Great National Assembly Foreign Policy Commission, adopted in 1971, 1972, and 1973 to support DPRK's unification proposals;
- Supporting the Korean problem in the working papers and documentation of the National Gathering of the Romanian Communist Party from 1972.
- Including the [Korean] matter in several declarations and communiqués signed on the occasion of high-level visits which took place between 1972 and 1973;
- Supporting the matter of Korea's unification at the UN and various other international organizations;

- Relaying the letter of the Supreme People's Assembly from 6 April 1973 to the presidents of the US Senate and House of Representatives.

August 1973
Signature – illegible

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DOCUMENT NO. 21

Telegram from Pyongyang, No.061.360, Urgent, SECRET, 29 August 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Secret, MFA, Folder no. 1515, First Directorate – Relations, Regarding Relations between North and South Korea and the Position of Various States on this Topic, 16 January – 30 July 1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

To: Comrade Nicolae Ghenea,
Deputy Foreign Minister

On 28 August, on the occasion of an individual audience, Jeon Myeong-su [Jon Myong Su], Deputy Foreign Minister, presented the content of a declaration signed by Kim Yeong-ju [Kim Yong Ju], the North Korean Co-president of the South-North Coordinating Committee, to the Romanian Ambassador, Dumitru Popa. This declaration is due to be released to the press at an unspecified date.

In his declaration, the North Korean Co-president vehemently condemns the authorities in Seoul, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency led by Lee Hu-rak—the South Korean Co-president of the South-North Coordinating Committee—for the Tokyo kidnapping of Kim Dae-jung, the leader of the New Democratic Party in South Korea (the opposition party), and he is denouncing the terrorist-fascist activities of the South Korean government, meant to repress the democratic tendencies within society and [to preclude] the unification of the country.

In his declaration, co-president Kim Yeong-ju asks that Lee Hu-rak is removed from the position of co-president, as he proved himself to be unworthy of this forum's mission, which is to militate for the peaceful unification of the country. He asks that Lee Hu-rak is replaced with somebody of national dignity, determined to dedicate itself to the cause of unification.

The [DPRK] Deputy Foreign Minister expressed his hope that the Romanian government pays attention to the declaration signed by Co-president Kim Yeong-ju and will take supportive measures toward the position expressed in the document.

He mentioned that the DPRK government would be grateful if the Romanian news agencies publish this document and other materials supporting the ideas present in it.

We suggest that after receiving the document from the Korean Central Telegraph Agency, our news agencies publish a summary of the declaration and a commentary on it.

We would like to add that while other chiefs of missions in Pyongyang received this brief collectively, the Soviet, Chinese and Romanian ambassadors were invited separately.

Signed: Dumitru Popa

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DOCUMENT NO. 22

Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, Regular, No. 061.497, 3 November 1973

[Source: Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Matter 220 - Relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 1973. Obtained by Izador Urian and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

TELEGRAM

Sender: Pyongyang

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

Urgent

Date: 03.11.1973/18:00

No.: 061.497

To: Comrade Director Ion Ciubotaru

Following the latest international events and the [evolution of the] situation in South Korea, we noticed that there were new noteworthy elements in the attitude of the DPRK concerning the unification of the country, such as:

Thus we noticed that the frequent references to the “peaceful and independent unification” started to be replaced, depending on the circumstances, with expressions like “the independent unification of the country” or purely with “the unification of the country,” which in the current circumstances, seem to have a totally different connotation.

Also, we noticed that internally, in closed-doors meetings, in political education [classes], etc. ideas used in previous years spring up, such as “driving the Americans out of the South of the country and achieving the unification [of the homeland],” “let us achieve the unification during the lifetime of the current generation,” “[let us consolidate the defenses of the country at the same pace with the development of the national economy,” etc. These ideas are increasingly used, especially after the recent meeting of the superior party leadership with the military cadres and the political commanders (20,000 people) in the armed forces.

Generally, there is a noticeable state of tension and antagonism. After interrupting the dialogue with the South, both parties, but especially the North, vehemently attacks South Korea, which basically leads to the state of tension preceding the signing of the Joint Communiqué from 4 July 1972.

According to press reports and radio broadcasts, party and community organizations, all the cadres in all the units discuss the speech of Comrade Kim Il Sung at the rally in Pyongyang organized on the occasion of Todor Zhivkov’s visit to the DPRK. These press reports and

broadcasts contain strong ideas that peace in the Korean peninsula is endangered, that the peace announced by the American imperialists and the South Korean puppets is nothing else but a façade behind which the enemies of the Korean people are preparing a new war against the North, that peace must be conquered and defended with weapons, etc.

In a recent discussion between the Romanian Ambassador and the Vice-Premier of the Administrative Council, Heo Dam [Ho Tam], the latter expressed his skepticism regarding the capability of the United Nations Organization to bring something new [to the table] to solve the Korean problem, showing that history demonstrated that plenty of the resolutions and decisions of this organization were ignored.

Regarding the situation described above, at their turn, the South Korean authorities are manifesting a lot of concern regarding the “warmongering agitation and the provocations of the North,” regarding the frequent infiltrations in the South of some elements that prepared and supported the recent student movements in Seoul.



DOCUMENT NO. 23

Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 61.537, 3 December 1973

[Source: Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Matter 220/Year: 1973/Country: Democratic People's Republic of Korea – other states, CLASSIFICATION: SECRET, Department I Relations, Folder 1514, Vol. II, Regarding the Foreign Policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea towards Other States, Period: 06.08 – 24.12.1973. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

01/0152523/06.12.1973

To Direction I Relations – Comrade Ion Ciubotaru

We further inform you about the various reactions within the DPRK concerning the U.N. consensus over the Korean issue, a topic intensely debated within the diplomatic corps in Pyongyang.

As we formerly pointed out, the consensus of Committee no.1 over the Korean issue, which was received with enthusiasm in Pyongyang, as a great victory, in fact represents a practical compromise solution (as opposed to the unjustified requests during the period of preparations for the General Assembly), which the DPRK is accepting as an alternative to the South Korean project of enrolling two Koreas at the U.N. From the comments of socialist diplomats as well as of other countries, partially confirmed by the insistence with which the Korean press is justifying the position of the DPRK government, it has become apparent that some members of the Korean leadership, militaries most of all, have not fully grasped the concession made in favor of U.S. troops stationing in South Korea, an issue which remained outside the final document adopted on 21 November.

On the other hand, the realist spirit in which the U.N. has solved this issue is ignored in North-South relations. Polemics on various topics is intensifying. On the backdrop of political tensions

on both sides, throughout the last days military elements have sprung, motivated by the repeated entry of DPRK ships in the territorial waters of islands recently claimed by the North (next to Haeju port in the Yellow Sea). This course of action, explained by DPRK as a means of exercising legitimate control in these territories, is seen by authorities in Seoul as the most serious incident since the 'Pueblo Case' in 1968 which triggered a state of military alert from the part of South Korea, coupled with the threat that a future similar attempt would result in retaliation.

In case DPRK aimed these actions at supporting student movements in South Korea, the result was the opposite, as the general mobilization of the army is on the verge of resulting in the forceful repression of youth movements.

We note that conversely, the authorities in Seoul used this action to pass through parliament—without objections—the military budget for 1974.

Signed: Aurelian Lazăr



DOCUMENT NO. 24

Telegram from Pyongyang to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 059.101, 25 March 1975

[Source: Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Matter 220/Year 1975/Country: South Korea, Folder 1632, Secret, Concerning the Sessions of the South-North Coordinating Committee. Problems Discussed by the Co-Presidents of the Committee. Assessments regarding the Prospects for Korea's Unification. Some Incidents Occurring between the Two Koreas, etc., Filing: Permanent. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe.]

TELEGRAM

Sender: Pyongyang

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

Date: 25.03.1975

No.: 059.101

The recent tenth meeting of the Vice-Presidents of the South-North Coordinating Committee, on which the head of the Liaison Division in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs individually informed the Romanian Ambassador and other heads of diplomatic missions, confirms our conclusion that the inter-Korean dialogue continues to stall, being practically limited to an organized exchange of accusations and labels.

In spite of the seemingly new proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the tenth meeting of the South-North Coordinating Committee, these are premeditatedly inoperable, tacking fundamental claims which could be solved only if the two parties gradually drew closer to one another and reached an understanding (regarding the cessation of the hostile South Korean campaign against the North, the cancellation of anti-communist measures in South Korea, etc.)

The recent discovery of another two tunnels connecting the North with the South, for which the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is blamed but which North Korea refuses to admit to, dug at great depth under the DMZ and allowing for the instantaneous launch of important [armed] forces [into South Korea], aggravated the crisis in inter-Korean relations even more, which was the main topic tackled by the Vice-President from South Korea at the most recent meeting.

In the current circumstances, it is impossible to mitigate the tensions on the Peninsula, as long as the two sides are drifting away from the political path of achieving the unification [of the country], and as long as the primordial role of the entire Korean nation in fulfilling this desideratum is ignored.

Signed: Dumitru Popa



DOCUMENT NO. 25

Telegram from Moscow to Bucharest, SECRET, No. 050.572, 19 May 1975

[Source: Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Matter 220/Year 1975/Country: South Korea, Folder 1632, Secret, Concerning the Sessions of the South-North Coordinating Committee. Problems Discussed by the Co-Presidents of the Committee. Assessments regarding the Prospects for Korea's Unification. Some Incidents Occurring between the Two Koreas, etc., Filing: Permanent. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe.]

TELEGRAM

Sender: Moscow

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

Date: 19.05.1975

No.: 050.572

With respect to the prospects for the reunification of Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Ambassador, Gwon Hui-gyeong [Kwon Hui Gyong] underlined in a conversation on 19 May [1975] the obstacles generated by the presence of American troops in South Korea, by the commitments made by the United States towards Park Chung Hee's clique. In these conditions, our interlocutor said, during 1975, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would focus its efforts and would carry out an active fight at the United Nations and in other international organizations, as well as in its bilateral relations strategy, to compel the United States to withdraw its troops from South Korea.

Ambassador Gwon Hui-gyeong said that in order to promote and achieve the reunification of the homeland, the leadership of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea envisages three options:

- a. The peaceful path. This approach has been constantly promoted, starting from the well-known proposals of the North Korean government. But as long as Park Chung Hee, the adversary of reunification, remains at the helm of power in South Korea, the will of the people will not be fulfilled. The peaceful path can succeed only if a democratic government assumes power in Seoul.

- b. The military path. Taking into account the frequent clashes between the armed forces of South Korea, supported by the United States, and the armed forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, together with the fact that the two sides signed only an armistice, it may be at any given moment that an armed conflict breaks out, which would then be blamed on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The [North Korean] Ambassador pointed out that there are huge concentrations of troops and weapons on both sides of the DMZ. Fire exchanges often take place between the two parties. When fired upon with automatic weapons, North Korean militaries fire back with automatic weapons. The same applies to other types of weapons. On the contrary, the South Korean side replies to fire from the North as follows: with automatic weapons to machine guns; with mine launchers to machine guns; with artillery to mine launchers.

In case war breaks out between the two sides, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is ready to achieve the unification of the homeland with these [military] means too, but it will not be the one to start the war. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea believes the US do not want a war either, after the “experience” they gained in Vietnam.

- c. The revolutionary path. As revolutionary spirit intensifies in South Korea, that could lead to sparking a revolt or to the organization of large-scale revolutionary activities, which would culminate with a democratic government assuming power. Such a democratic government could ask for help from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to reunite the North with the South. In such a scenario, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would react positively. In such a scenario, according to Ambassador Gwon Hui-yeong, the liberation process and then the reunification of the country would happen much faster than in Vietnam.

The North Korean Ambassador said that the leadership of his country assigned three tasks, closely related to these three options:

- a. The forceful and rapid development of the construction of socialism in the Northern part of Korea.
- b. The support and promotion of the revolutionary and democratic movement in South Korea.
- c. The reinforcement of militant solidarity with all revolutionary forces in the world, with all democratic, friendly countries, so that in any of the three scenarios outlined above, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea enjoys their support for the reunification of the country.

Signed: Gheorghe Badrus