June 10, 1971

Minutes of Conversation on the Occasion of the Party and Government Delegation on behalf of the Romanian Socialist Republic to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea

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Summary:

Abridged in order to more succinctly focus on matters of Inter-Korean relations.

Credits:

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Contents:

• English Translation
• Korean Translation
Participants to the talks:

- on the Romanian side: Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic (RSR), Ion Gheorghe Maurer, member of the Executive Committee of the Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (CC RCP), President of the Council of Ministers, Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Committee, of the Permanent Presidium, Secretary of the CC RCP, Vice-president of the State Council, Dumitru Popa, member of the Executive Committee of the CC RCP, first secretary of the Bucharest Party City Committee, Mayor of Bucharest, Ion Iliescu, deputy member of the Executive Committee, secretary of the CC RCP, George Macovescu, member of the CC PCR, first deputy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Aurel Malnasan, Romanian Ambassador to Pyongyang, Emilian Dobrescu and Constantin Mitea, deputy members of the CC RCP, councilors of the CC RCP.

- On the Korean side: Comrade Kim Il Sung, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea (KWP), President of the Ministers' Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Choe Yong-geon [Choe Yong Gon], member of the Political Committee, secretary of the KWP CC, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, Kim Il, member of the Political Committee, secretary of the CC KWP, first Vice-premier of the Council of Ministers, Pak Seong-cheol, member of the Political Committee of the CC KWP, second Vice-president of the Ministers' Cabinet, Oh Jinu, member of the Political Committee, secretary of the KWP CC, Joint Chief of Staff of the People's Army, Yang Hyeong-seop, alternate member of the Political Committee, secretary of the KWP CC, Jeong Juntaek, alternate member of the Political Committee, Vice-president of the Ministers' Cabinet, Heo Dam, member of the Political Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kim Yongnam, member of the Political Committee, first deputy of the Foreign Section, Chief of the CC KWP, and Kang Yangseop, ambassador of the DPRK to the RSR.

The talks began at 10:30.
Comrade Kim Il Sung: Please allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee and the Ministers' Cabinet, to welcome the party and government delegation of the Romanian Socialist Republic, led by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.
As we haven't had talks in ages, I think we have a lot of issues to discuss and to inform each other of. I believe this meeting will provide us with the occasion to improve the cooperation between our parties and our countries.
We would like to allow Comrade Ceausescu to start first, to present the matters that interest him.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I would like to thank you for the extremely warm welcome and, at the same time, I would like, on behalf of the Central Committee, State Council and the Romanian government, to cordially greet the party and state leadership of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by Comrade Kim Il Sung.
I completely agree with Comrade Kim Il Sung that we must exchange opinions and information [on a wide variety of topics] on the activity of our parties, our governments and our peoples in matters such as the socialist construction, bilateral relations, and other issues of common interest. I think this would be very useful.
I thought that as guests we shall first listen to what the hosts have to say.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: We have this custom of giving the floor first to our guests.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Indeed, we have this custom too, but we thought Korea had other customs.

I shall start by briefly presenting a report on the problems of the socialist construction in Romania. [...]
The conversation ended at 12:50 PM. Discussions were resumed at 4 PM.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: Concerning party activity, I would like to say a few words. At the Fifth Congress of Korean Worker's Party, we counted 1.6 million members. Among the main attributions of the party, there is the duty to strengthen the leadership capacity of party organizations, especially within industrial enterprises. A new feature in the statute of the Korean Worker's Party, after the Fifth Congress, is that we now have members of the Central Committee, alternate members of the Central Committee, and candidates for the positions of alternate member of the Central Committee. These candidates are capable members of the party within enterprises and other work places, activists from the provinces and counties. This enables us to be aware, throughout our meetings, of what party members have to say, through these candidates.

Another current top priority of our party is the ideological revolution. We are a divided, dismantled country. Half of our territory is exploited by the bourgeoisie and the landowning class. We are not as united as you are. We have liberated half of the country but the other half is still under occupation. The old generation was replaced. People living nowadays don't know how capitalists look like. They don't know what Japanese imperialism means, they are not aware of American imperialism.

All these are [significant] issues for us. Those who carried out the revolution in the past are old now. We now have new elements in the system who did not have to confront the same hardships and whose life is relatively easy. We wouldn't have had the same problems and we wouldn't have been so concerned if the situation in South Korea had been different. Within the army, concerning the leaders of large units and even divisions, they are well trained against the Japanese and the Americans since they fought against them, but the younger cadres in the army are not well trained for direct confrontation. The ones who fought against the Americans are already old by now. These young cadres don't know how Americans look; they heard about them from stories. They saw them in movies, [but] they don't know much and haven't lived in hardship. Small unit commanders don't know that during battles our soldiers had to wear shoes made of straw. They are not aware of certain economic aspects like the tithe, rent, and so on. For all of these, education on class-struggle is necessary. In our case, education on class-struggle is emphasized less and less. Unless we manage to increase our hatred against exploiters, against the Japanese and the Americans, we will face hardship in the case of a new war.

Concerning the activity of our party, we are faced with some important problems like the ideological education in the class-struggle spirit. Moreover, we are striving to include in this education the transformation of human beings according to the model of the worker -- to educate the youth and other social classes on a worker-oriented mindset. In addition, we need to pay attention to the intelligentsia.

Currently, in South Korea, the intelligentsia is carrying out revolutionary activities. South Korean intellectuals are studying our concerns for developing our society. They are very concerned about them; they want to see what our attitude towards the intelligentsia is, so that when the socialist revolution would triumph there, they want to know whether the new socialist system will continue to use them or will eliminate them. For this reason, we are striving to educate this layer of the intelligentsia in the spirit of labor and insure that it will last infinitely. Only in this way we will manage to attract the South Korean intelligentsia on our side and we will manage to consolidate this common front in the view of unifying [the country]. We are striving, as part of the general activity of the party, to achieve the monolithic unity of the party. The decisive role and force of the party were obvious both in the economic activity of the country and in the army. All problems are discussed by the party and all decisions are taken by it.
In our case, too, I must confess, we eliminated the director-based system in economic units. We discuss and solve all problems within the party committee; therefore, party committees have been enlarged recently. I believe this is the most suitable method for our country.

In the remaining time, I will stop talking about the situation in North Korea and I will switch to the situation in South Korea.

Before this, I would like to add one more thing: within our party there were some divergences of opinion, but these problems were solved.

As you know, geographically we are surrounded by the Japanese, the Chinese, the Americans and the Soviets. We are surrounded by three great powers and their influence can be felt.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Therefore, you are in the best position!

Comrade Kim Il Sung: For this reason, within our party we have a principle-based system, that of our own policies, irrespective of the influence exerted by one party or another. For this reason, we are increasing this ideological activity in our party too. We do not know any other ideology but ours. This principle was consolidated with the help of an ideology in accordance with the conditions and activities that take place in our country. Of course, our party does not reject the experience of other parties or other countries, but we try to take only the best from others, only what is necessary to us; we are tasting, and what we don't like, we don't take; why should we consume something bitter when our metabolism is already accustomed to what we have; if it's not [accustomed], then it's not, but this should not be qualified as nationalism.

We consider that the achievement of the revolution in good conditions in our country is an achievement for the global revolution. Our revolution is a part of the global revolution, but the Korean revolution must be carried out by the Koreans themselves. You support the principle of autonomy. So do we. Juche is exactly the same thing.

We had a few problems of principle within our party but we solved them and currently, our party is united; all party members salute and follow the party’s policies.

Allow me to tell you a few words about the situation in South Korea. I won't talk about it for too long though. The problem, in general, is unification. There are some people who blame us for abandoning the unification of the country through peaceful means. We did not give up this option, this is actually our guiding principle. If we don't manage to unify the country by peaceful means, we don't envisage another solution. The main problem in South Korea and the things that have to be solved there are supposed to be the responsibility of the South Koreans. The way to solve this problem in South Korea depends on the concrete circumstances and on the respective opportunities. That it will be peaceful, that it will be revolutionary or not, all this depends on the growing revolutionary impetus in South Korea. We do not want to force anything; we don't want to rush things, because we cannot exert any pressure.

South Korea is linked to Japan through agreements; they signed such agreements with the Americans as well -- and these are military agreements. We have friendship and mutual assistance agreements with the People's Republic of China and with the Soviet Union. The outbreak of a conflict between the North and the South will definitely involve the Soviet Union and China, as well as Japan and the United States. If we are not careful enough, we could trigger a global-scale war
out of an Asian conflict. The peoples of the world will not welcome this and they don't want this to happen; neither the People's Republic of China nor the Soviet Union wants to get involved in such a confrontation. To our mind, the South Koreans are not more willing to enter such a clash; Americans don't want to continue this fight. The Americans let us know that it's not their intention to fight the Koreans again. They transmitted their intention through Podgorny. We then asked Podgorny to tell the Americans that we didn't want it either, but to be careful and keep away from us, because if they create situations like Pueblo and E.C. 121, then we are entitled to capturing them or to shooting them down. We keep our business to our territory, we don't do it in the waters of the United States of America. It's obvious that unless they came into our territorial waters, we couldn't have captured or sunken their vessels.

There are other comrades that blame us for increasing tensions in the region, but we are telling you that we don't need something like that. If we are asked about the probability of war, we could say yes, such a probability exists. If there hadn't been the conflicts we mentioned, if vessels like the Pueblo hadn't crossed into our territorial waters, if American spy planes like the EC 121 [hadn't flown over our territory], we of course would not have reacted like that. When Comrade Podgorny came and told us this, we advised him that instead of telling us that we were increasing tensions in the region, he should go and talk to the Americans and tell them to stop acting like they had.

Should the Americans withdraw from South Korea, there wouldn't be any reasons for such incidents, because the South Koreans do not have the material and military basis for such things, and therefore, the main reason for such a conflict would not exist.

Regarding the existence of the danger of a war, the reason is just one: the presence of the Americans in South Korea. They know we neighbor the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and that we are close with other countries of the world, so they wouldn't dare to do anything, especially because they have the experience of the past war.

If the Americans pull out of South Korea, the possibility of a war becomes limited.

Except for this, what other danger is there? There would be that of Japanese militarism. The Americans have had the sad experience of a war with us; they have the one in Vietnam too and they can only envisage technical support for the South Koreans but they don't even consider the human casualties involved. Nixon said that the place of Americans in South Korea should be taken over by the Japanese. Concerning the revival of Japanese militarism, there are many elements pointing to it. We have a lot of materials proving it. I don't have the time and I don't intend to present them to you. Sato made his intentions to dominate and rule over the territory of South Korea clear on several occasions. Park Chung Hee is considering taking advantage of the Japanese and getting economic and military assistance on their backs and when he feels ready, he will attack North Korea. This is his mindset, in his subconscious. In his mind, a certain plan emerged, namely to defeat communism and to unify the country. Therefore, this would be the plan of Park Chung Hee. But the problem should be put this way: can communism be defeated? I think this is impossible. He himself admits that for the time being, communism cannot be defeated. He is making 7 or even 8-year plans regarding the development of the economy, the strengthening of the army, and then, when he feels more powerful than the North, he will pursue the unification of the country. In other words, unification is not possible now. When will it be possible? He says that it will be possible when the South is more powerful than the North economically and militarily. My opinion is that this is only a dream of his. I don't know what he is thinking; does he imagine that we will be sleeping and not developing in the meantime? Therefore, we can say that we didn't get scared by his slogan to defeat communism and unify the country.

What we salute is the successful fighting against fascism that is currently taking place in South
Korea, for democracy and for the democratization of the entire social life. It is likely that Park Chung Hee will be overthrown and genuine democracy will be established. There has been a strong fight for democracy in South Korea in recent years. We are aware that this fighting cannot be successfully completed through elections, because Americans are in South Korea and there is the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Under these conditions, even the democratization process is hard. Of course, the possibilities for democratization will increase if the Americans withdraw. In the past years, there have been several attempts in the South. In 1959 there were some slogans for the unification of the country and for the creation of a progressive party. This was the case back in the day of Rhee Syngman when the progressive party took part in elections and lost by a margin of a few hundred thousand votes. Following the election fraud in 1959, students went out in the streets to protest. On April 19 1960, students’ riots took over the entire country, which led to the overthrow of the Rhee Syngman government. Chang Myeon took over his position. He realized he couldn't govern in the same manner as Rhee Syngman and then he turned a little bit more democratic. In those circumstances, the students and the youth exerted some pressures from within, started asking for visits to Panmunjeom and to ask to meet with representatives of the North in there to discuss the problem of the unification of the country.

The Americans became aware of the danger and organized a military coup, which resulted in the assumption of power by none other than Park Chung Hee. In the South Korean Constitution, it is stipulated that the president in office cannot run for president more than two times in a row. Park Chung Hee modified the Constitution and run for president for a third time. In this situation, opposition parties boycotted the elections and then he ran in the elections by himself. Although he managed to modify the Constitution, he said he could relinquish his position at any given time; however the recent elections proved otherwise. Opposition parties joined forces and formed a democratic front -- a progressive one, a front for the defense of democracy.

Students organized themselves, all mass organizations did so. Therefore, a powerful united front was formed, so as to eliminate Park Chung Hee and to elect another president.

In this context, Kim Baegyu emerged as the president of the new Progressive Party. He even had some good slogans, which resembled our position regarding the unification of the country. He promised that if he became president, he would solve all conflicts in the area and he would advocate the unification with the North; secondly, he would reform the police force and the internal intelligence apparatus; he would reduce military forces and he would install a civilian government; he would reduce the penetration of foreign investments, we would protect and even stimulate the development of national capital. Concerning foreign policy, we would like to have good relations not only with the United States and with Japan, but to establish relations with the People's Republic of China and with the Soviet Union too. He offered wide democratic possibilities to all mass and community organizations in South Korea. There was only one thing missing from his platform: the pull out of the Americans from South Korea. In spite of it, his platform managed to mobilize the South Korean population. It was even feared that Park Chung Hee would lose the last month’s election.

In these electoral circumstances, in the city of Seoul, the new candidate managed to get 80% of the votes; he got many votes in the country side too, but eventually when Park Chung Hee saw that his presidency is under threat, he mobilized the police and the army and falsified the results of the election, winning by a margin of 1.2 million votes.

After the presidential election, the parliamentary elections took place. Within these elections too, the electoral fighting was very strong. It was likely again that Park Chung Hee won a minority of the votes, but he proceeded with the falsification of the elections again. During the parliamentary elections, Park Chung Hee got 113 votes while the democratic forces got 89 votes.
Judging from all these, it ensues that the fight for democracy is growing more and more powerful in South Korea. Over a period of almost 2 months, students and the youth in general got involved into bitter fights, going out in the streets and protesting.

What could be the conclusions from what has been said until now? If the Americans continue to stay in South Korea, victory through elections is not possible. For this reason, the problem of the unification of the country is linked to this issue. In conclusion, it can be said that, in the absence of the Americans in South Korea or of any other foreign forces, the South Korean people could install a democratic progressive government, through its own forces, and the establishment of such a government would draw us very close to each other, so that, without fighting, we could unify the country. It is not that we don't want it. We believe this can be achieved once the Americans are gone, excluding the possibility that the Japanese replace them. Actually, the Japanese are infiltrating into South Korea by other means, such as the Japanese investments in South Korea. Sato was the one to enjoy the victory of Park Chung Hee in the presidential elections the most. Park Chung Hee was a general in the Japanese army during the Japanese occupation. For this reason, he is very well regarded by Sato. Sato declared that he would be present on the July 1st ceremony for the presidential re-inauguration of Park Chung Hee. At Seoul University and at other higher education institutions, on the occasion of a plenary session, a declaration against the participation of Sato at the ceremony was released.

This is the situation in South Korea. Regarding the support of revolutionary activities in South Korea, regarding unification, you are aware of the declaration adopted recently at the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Should Park Chung Hee be overthrown, we will be able to discuss the unification of our country with anyone who desires this. This is the current situation. The evolution of the situation in South Korea depends on the struggle of democratic forces; on the [struggle of the] South Korean people.

Among the population of South Korea, the spirit of hatred against the Americans has taken root and is spreading. Should the revolutionary forces in South Korea intensify, the ones that are more likely to intervene are not the Americans, but the Japanese.

Between 1894-1895, the Sino-Japanese war took place; between 1904-1905 the Japanese-Russian wars took place. In those circumstances, a peasant uprising took place. The 1894 riot was the biggest one in history. Within the Korean leadership back then, there were three groups -- I am referring to the feudal leadership: a pro-Japanese group, a pro-Chinese group and a pro-Russian group. So, since 1894, there has been this attraction towards the three parties. In these conditions, the Japanese were called for help to suppress the peasant uprising; the pro-Chinese group asked for China's help and this sparked the Sino-Japanese war. The current situation in South Korea can be compared to the one back then. Even if the Americans pull out, a South Korean rebellion would be suppressed by the Japanese.

In 1969, Sato released a televised interview through which he expressed his desire to have the Japanese replace the Americans in the surrounding areas in Asia. He made a similar statement in September 1970 too. Moreover, Sato declared that since the Americans are cutting back on their military forces in South Korea, there is no alternative [for South Korea] but to accept Japan as the security guarantor.

I won't talk for too long about these tendencies in Japanese militarism, but I would like to tell you that the Japanese conceived, together with the South Koreans, several action plans. One of these is the "three arrows plan"; there is also a "flying dragon plan", the "yellow bull plan." You must be aware that these are military plans. Currently, the Japanese are carrying out various military preparations, drills, in similar conditions to what the South Koreans are doing, with land forces, air
forces and navy. Moreover, they built a strategic highway between Busan and Seoul so that they can more easily get from the South of Korea to the 38th parallel. The Japanese Joint Chiefs of Staff is in South Korea. Except for these high-rank visits, there are frequent visits of Japanese military cadres of all sorts to South Korea.

Concerning the penetration of foreign capital in South Korea, it is estimated that approximately 20% of the total foreign investment capital is Japanese. It can be stated that the Japanese will reserve their right to defend the capital they invested there. According to some estimates, 3-5,000 Japanese soldiers are in South Korea; they investigate the battle ground and according to certain maps they examine the best possibilities for carrying out battles. I could state that but for the present dictatorship, should an uprising occur, the greatest danger for South Korea currently is the Japanese.

There were statements that if the Americans allow the Japanese to take over South Korea, the Japanese would offer South Korea twice as much in military assistance as the Americans had.

It is common knowledge that any American withdrawal from South Korea will be made in close connection with the Japanese. Sato has an agreement with Nixon in this respect.

For this reason, we decisively fight against Japanese militarism. Of course, Japanese militarism cannot be mistaken for the entire Japanese people. We don't want to mistake it for the year 1894, [or] 1905, to mistake the people from back then with the present people, the level from back then with the current level. Of course, the situation in the years I referred to cannot be compared with the situation nowadays. Nowadays we have the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and so on. The situation changed radically. We must be aware that just like with Federal Germany, which is a menace for Europe, Japan is a menace for Asia. Of course, in the future, we will improve our means for fighting against Japanese militarism.

In general, these were the problems I wanted to discuss with you regarding the situation in South Korea. Of course, if they are of interest to you and if you want us to, we could provide you with documentary materials so as not to extend our talks now.

How do you think we should proceed? Should we continue our discussions now or should we take a short break and then discuss bilateral relations and some aspects of the international situation?

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Let's take a short break.

After the break

[...]

Comrade Kim Il Sung: We understand your viewpoint and we appreciate it. I think these were the problems I wanted to raise with you. Of course, if there are any other problems you would like to discuss, we will have other opportunities for that. We still have a few days left.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I would like to thank you, Comrade Kim Il Sung, for the very interesting information that you shared with us and for the questions raised. In most problems, our viewpoints are the same or very similar; indeed, during the next couple of days, we can still discuss about some issues, we can deepen our understanding of some of them, we can clarify them.
Comrade Kim Il Sung: We shall do that.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Maybe we could also issue a communique, or at least start working on it.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: We shall do that too.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: On our side, Comrade George Macovescu, deputy foreign minister, and Andrei Stefan, the first deputy of the International Affairs Department within the Party, will take part in the discussions.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: On our side, Comrade Heo Dam, the foreign minister, and Kim Yongnam, the first deputy of the International Affairs Division will take part.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: There aren't any delicate issues at stake; therefore, the communique will be a positive one.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: We saw the joint communique you released together with the Chinese. We share their policy line so it will be easy. We could even make it simpler. I suggest we stop here.

The discussions ended at 7:00 PM.
한국어 번역본

- 루마니아: 루마니아공산당 중앙위원회 조선로동당 중앙위원회 상임기관과의 통합을 위한 제안
- 조선민주주의인민공화국: 평화통일의 원칙을 따르는 통일통합을 제안
- 루마니아공산당과 조선로동당: 통일을 위한 제안

[...]
들을 남포하거나 격추시키지 않았을 것이다.

다른 동지들은 우리가 지역 내 긴장을 고조시킨다 비난하지만, 우리는 그런 긴장을 필요로 하고 있다. 전쟁의 가능성이 있느냐고 묻는다면, 우리는 그렇다 전쟁 가능성이 존재한다고 답할 것이다. 우리가 언급한 갈등이 없었더라면, 즉, 푸에블로호와 같은 군함이나 EC-121 같은 미국의 첩보기기 우리 영토를 침범하지 않았다면 우리는 분명 그렇게 반응하지 않았을 것이다. 포도고니 동지가 우리에게 이 이야기를 했을 때, 우리는 우리에게 북조선이 지역 내 긴장을 고조시키고 있다고 말할 것이 아니라, 미제에게 과거가 같이 행동하지 말라 조언하라 말했다.

미제가 남한에서 철수한다면 이러한 사건들이 발생할 이유도 없을 것이고 남조선은 이런 일을 행할 만한 물질적, 군사적 기반을 갖추고 있지 않으므로 그러한 분쟁의 원인도 발생할 일이 없기 때문이다.

전쟁이 일어날 위험성이 만약 존재한다면 그 이유는 단 하나이다. 즉, 미제가 남조선에 주둔하고 있기 때문이다. 미제는 우리가 중화인민공화국 및 소련과 국경을 나누며 다른 나라들과 도 친밀한 관계를 가지 있다는 것을 알고 있다. 따라서 그들은 강력하여야 행동도 시도할 엄두를 내지 못할 것이다. 특히 미제는 과거에 전쟁을 치르기 어렵기 때문이다.

미제가 남조선에서 철수한다면 전쟁의 위험성 또한 제한될 것이다. 미제 외의 또 다른 위협요소로는 어떠한 것이나? 바로 일본 군국주의의 위협을 봐볼 수 있다. 미제는 우리와 전쟁을 했던 슬픈 역사가 갖고 있고, 베타님과도 전쟁을 치른 바 있다. 미제는 남조선에 대한 기술적 원조를 계획할 수 있을 뿐만이 그에 따른 인명피해는 고려조차 하지 않고 있다. 니슨은 미제가 남조선에서 차지하고 있는 지위를 일본에게 물려주어야 한다고 언급한 바 있다. 일본 군국주의의 부활을 압박하는 여러 정후가 있으며, 우리는 이를 임償할 자료를 많이 가지고 있다. 그러나 이런 자료를 동지 여러분에게 보여줄 시간도 없고 그렇게 할 생각도 없다. 사토는 남조선 영토를 지배·통치하고자 하는 의지를 여러 차례 분명하게 밝힌 바 있다. 박정희는 일본을 등에 얹은 경제적, 군사적 원조를 얻으려는 방안을 고려 중이다. 그는 준비가 되었다는 생각이 들면 북조선을 공격할 것이다. 이것이 바로 박정희의 사고 방식이자 그의 잠재의식이다. 공산주의를 타도하여 북남을 통일한다는 계획은 박정희로부터 나온 생각이다. 그러므로 이것이 곧 박정희의 계획일 것이다. 하지만 문제는 이것이이다. 공산주의를 타도하기가 가능한 일인가? 나누는 불가능하다고 생각한다. 박정희 스스로도, 당분간은 공산주의를 타도하는 일이 불가능하다는 사실을 인정하고 있다. 박정희는 경제개발 및 군사력 증강을 위하여 7개 년, 8개년 계획을 세우고 있다. 이후 북조선보다 자신이 더 강력해졌다고 생각되는 시점에서 그는 북남통일을 추진할 것이다. 즉, 통일은 현재로서는 불가능한 일이다. 그렇다면 언제가능해질까? 박정희는 남조선이 북조선보다 경제적, 군사적으로 더 강력해지게 되면 통일이 가능할 것이라고 말한다. 하지만 이는 박정희의 골입 뿐이다. 나는 박정희가 대체 무슨 생각을 가진 것인지 모르겠다. 같은 시간 동안, 우리는 경제하여 발전하지 않을 것이라고 생각하는 것인지? 우리는 공산주의를 타파하고 북남을 통일하겠다는 박정희의 구호가 두려지 않다.

현재 남조선에서는 파시즘에 대한 투쟁이 성공적으로 이루어지고 있으며 우리는 이 같은 상황을 크게 반기고 있다. 이는 민주주의의 모든 사회적 삶의 민주화를 위한 일이다. 박정희 정권은 전복되고 진정한 민주주의의 수립 가능성이 만연하다. 최근 몇 년 간 남조선에서는 민주화를 추구하는 강력한 투쟁이 계속 진행되어 왔다. 우리는 이와 같은 투쟁이 성공적으로 완수될 수 없음을 알고 있다. 그 이유는 미제가 남조선에 주둔하고 있기 때문이다. 국제연합한국통일부흥위원회[United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea]의 존재가 여기서도 있다. 이러한 상황에서는 민주화의 진행조차 여
러운 일이다. 물론 미제가 철수한다면 민주화의 가능성은 증대될 것이다. 최근 몇 년 간 남조선에서 이러한 시도가 여러 차례 있었다. 1959년에는 북남 통일 및 진보정당의 창립을 주장하는 구호가 제기되었다. 류승만 정권 당시, 진보당이 선거에 참가하려 했으나 복잡한 표 차이로 낙선했을 때도 마찬가지였다. 1959년에 발생한 부정선거 사건 이후로 학생들이 거리로 뛰쳐나가 시위를 벌였고, 1960년 4월 19일에는 학생들의 시위가 전국을 뒤흔들었다. 그 결과로 류승만 정권은 전복되었다. 이와 관련하여 류승만의 뒤를 이었다. 그는 류승만과 같은 방식으로는 통치할 수 없다는 사실을 깨닫고 보다 민주적인 방식을 취했다. 이러한 상황에서 학생들과 청년들은 내부로부터 압력을 가하여, 북남 통일 문제를 논의하기 위해 편지를 방문하고 북남 대표단 간 회담을 열 것을 요청하기 시작했다.

미제는 위협을 인지하고 군사 쿠데타를 조직했으며, 이는 또다시 박정희에 의한 정권 장악으로 이어졌다. 남조선 현황에서는 현직 대통령이 연속해서 두 번 이상 대통령직을 수행할 수 없다고 명시되어 있다. 박정희는 현행을 개정해서 세 번 연속 대통령 선거에 출마했다. 이러한 상황에서 당진은 선거 참가를 거부했고 그에 따라 박정희는 단독으로 선거에 출마했다. 박정희는 현행 개정에 성공했지만, 자신이 언제든지 자신의 지위를 탈환할 수 있다고 주장했다. 하지만 최근의 선거 결과는 박정희의 주장과는 이것이 사실이 아님을 입증했다. 야당이 연합해서 민주주의의 선전을 형성했다. 진보적 전선, 민주주의의 수호하기 위한 전선이 수립된 것이다.

학생들과 시민 단체들이 조직화하기 시작했다. 이로써 박정희를 타도하고 새로운 대통령을 선출하기 위한 강력한 연합전선이 구축되었다.

이 같은 상황에서 김대중이 진보당 총재로 선출되었다. 김대중은 북남통일과 관련 우리의 임 장과 우사한 바람직한 구호를 주장했다. 김대중은 자신이 대통령으로 당선되면 지역 내 모든 갈등을 해소하고 북한과의 통일을 지지하겠다고 공약했다. 또한 경찰권력을 내부 정보기관을 개혁하는 한편 군사력을 축소하고 문민 정부를 수립하겠다고 공약했으며, 외국인 투자와 유입을 억제하는 한편 민족자본의 성장을 보호하고 장려하겠다고 공약했다. 외교정책에 있어서 김대중은 미제뿐만 아니라 일본과도 우호관계를 형성하고, 중화인민공화국 및 소련과도 국교를 수립하고자 한다고 밝혔다. 김대중은 남조선의 모든 대중 및 시민 단체들에게 민주주의의 폭넓은 가능성을 제시했다. 김대중의 공약에서 빼친 것이 딱 한 가지였는데, 이는 바로 남조선으로부터 미제를 철수시키겠다는 공약이었다. 그럼에도 불구하고 김대중의 공약은 남조선 인민들을 동원하는 데 성공했다. 박정희가 12월 선거에서 패배할 것이라는 우려의 목소리가 높아졌다.

이러한 상황에서, 김대중 후보는 서울시에서 전체 득표의 80퍼센트를 얻었다. 김대중은 농촌 지역에서도 많은 표를 얻었다. 하지만 자신의 대통령직이 위험에 처하게 되었음을 알게 된 박정희는 경찰병력과 군사력을 동원해서 선거 결과를 조작하고, 120만 표로 선거에서 승리했다.

대선 이후에는 총선이 실시되었다. 총선에서도 매우 치열한 경쟁이 벌어졌다. 이번에도 박정희는 많은 표를 얻지 못할 것이 유력시되었지만, 박정희는 또 다시 선거 조작을 저질렀다. 결국 총선에서 박정희는 113표를 민주주의 전선은 89표를 득표하였다.

이런 모든 상황을 종합해볼 때, 민주주의를 위한 투쟁이 남조선에서 더욱 거세게 일어나고 있음을 알 수 있다. 거의 두 달에 가까운 기간 동안 학생들과 청년들은 격렬하게 투쟁했고, 거리로 뛰쳐나가 시위를 벌였다.

지금까지 한 이야기로부터 어떤 결론을 얻을 수 있었겠는가? 바로 미제가 계속해서 남조선에 주둔한다면 선거를 통한 승리는 불가능하다는 결론이다. 따라서 북남통일 문제는 이 사안과
직결되어 있다. 결론적으로 남조선에 미제를 비롯한 외세가 주둔하지 않는다면 남조선 인민들은 스스로의 힘으로 민주적인 전보 정권을 수립할 수 있을 것이며, 그러한 정권의 수립은 북남을 더욱 가깝게 할 것이다. 그 결과 북남은 서로 다투지 않고 조국을 통일할 수 있게 될 것이다. 우리가 통일을 원하지 않는다는 것이 아니다. 우리는 미제가 떠나고 나면 통일을 이룩할 수 있다고 믿는다. 그러나 일본이 미제를 대체하게 될 가능성이 존재한다. 실제로 일본은 남조선에 대한 투자를 둘 방법으로 남조선에 대한 첨부를 경영하고 있다. 박정희의 대선 승리로 가장 큰 덕을 본 사람은 바로 사토 총리이다. 박정희는 일제 강점기 시절 일본군 장교로 재직했는데, 이러한 연유로 사토는 박정희를 높이 사고 있다. 사토는 7월 1일 열린 박정희 대통령 재취임식에 참석하겠다는 뜻을 밝혔다. [국립]서울대학교를 비롯한 유수의 교육기관은 본회의를 열어, 사토의 취임식 참석에 반대하는 선언문을 발표했다.

이상이 현재 남조선에 벌어지고 있는 상황이다. 남조선의 혁명 활동에 대한 지원 및 북남통일과 관련하여, 조선민주주의인민공화국 최고인민회의에서 최근에 채택된 선언문에 대해 알고 있을 것이라 생각한다. 박정희 정권이 전복되면 우리는 통일을 희망하는 이들과 함께 통일 문제를 의논할 수 있게 될 것이다. 이것이 바로 현재의 상황이다. 남조선의 이러한 상황이 어쩌면 전개될지는 민주화 세력의 투쟁, 그리고 남조선 인민들[의 투쟁]에 달려있다고 할 수 있다.

남조선 인민들 사이에는 반미감정이 뿌리내려 계속 확산되고 있다. 남조선의 혁명세력이 함을 치우게 되면, 개입 가능성이 더 높은 쪽은 미제가 아니라 일본이다.

1894년과 1895년 사이 중일전쟁. 그리고 1904년과 1905년 사이 러일전쟁이 있었다. 이러한 상황에서 농민 반란이 일어났다. 1894년에 발생한 폭동은 역사상 최대 규모였다. 당시 조선의 지도 세력(즉 불건주의 지도 세력)으로는 친일파, 친중파 그리고 친러파의 세 가지 부류가 존재했다. 1894년 이후로 이 세 부류에 대한 지지가 확산되었고, 이와 같은 상황에서 농 민반란 진압에 일본인들이 동원되었다. 천주파는 중국에 원조를 요청했으며 이로 인해 중일 전쟁이 발생하게 되었다. 현재 남조선의 상황을 그 당시와 비교해 볼 수 있다. 미제가 철수한 다고 하더라도, 일본이 남조선 인민들의 반란을 제압하게 될 것이다.


일본의 이러한 군국주의적 성향에 대해서는 더 이상 긴 말하지 않았다. 하지만, 일본이 남조선과 함께 여러 작전을 계획한다는 사실을 언급하고자 한다. 이 같은 작전으로는 "3개의 화살 작전," "비무작전," "황소작전" 등이 있다. 이는 모두 군사작전이었으며, 현재에도 일본 육군, 해군 및 공군은 남조선과 유사한 다양한 군사 작전과 훈련을 실시하고 있다. 또한 일본은 남조선으로부터 38선까지 더욱 융통성에게 접근하기 위해 부산과 서울 간에 전략적 고속도로를 건설했다. 일본의 합동참모부는 현재 남조선을 방문하고 있다. 이러한 고위급 방문 외에도 온갖 일본 군사 간부들이 남조선을 빈번하게 방문하고 있다.

외국 자본의 남조선으로의 침투와 관련하여, 전체 외국인 투자자 약 20퍼센트가 일본에 의한 투자인 것으로 추정된다. 일본은 남조선에 투자한 자본을 보호할 권리를 보유하게 될 것이다. 일부에 따르면, 남조선에서는 약 3,000명에서 5,000명의 일본 군인이 체류하고 있는 것으로 알려져 있다. 이들은 전장을 조사하며 특정 지도에 따라 전투를 치를 수 있는 최적의 가능성에 겸토하고 있다. 현재의 독재정권 외에 누군가 반란을 일으킨다면, 남조선에게 가장 위협적인 존재는 바로 일본이다.
미제가 남조선을 일본에게 넘기게 될 경우, 일본은 미제가 제공했던 것보다 두 배 더 많은 군사적 지원을 남조선에게 제공할 것이라는 언급도 있었다.

미제가 남조선에서 철수할 경우 일본과의 긴밀한 공조 하에 철수가 진행될 것이라는 점은 주지의 사실이다. 이와 관련하여 사토와 닉슨 사이에 합의가 이루어진 바 있다.

이러한 이유로, 우리는 일본의 군국주의에 단호하게 맞서 싸울 것이다. 물론 일본인 모두가 군국주의적 사고방식을 가지고 있다는 것은 아니다. 우리는 1894년 [또는] 1905년의 상황과 지금을 혼동하려는 것이 아니며, 당시 인민들과 현재의 인민들을, 당시의 수준과 현재의 수준을 혼동하려는 것이 아니다. 당연히 당시의 상황을 현재 상황과 비교할 수는 없을 것이다. 지금 우리에게는 소련과 중화인민공화국이 있다. 상황은 급격히 변했다. 연방 독일이 유럽을 위협하고 있는 것처럼, 일본은 아시아를 위협하고 있다는 사실을 우리는 인지해야 한다. 물론 우리는 앞으로 일본 군국주의에 맞서 싸우기 위한 힘을 더욱 강하게 키울 것이다.

동지 여러분과의논하고자 한 문제는 대체적으로 이러한 남조선의 상황이다. 만약 이러한 문제에 대해 관심을 가지고 있고 희망한다면, 이쯤에서 대화를 멈추지 않도록 이에 대한 문서 자료를 제공하도록 하겠다.

어떻게 진행하는 것이 좋겠는가? 계속 논의를 이어나가거나 아니면 잠시 휴식을 취하고 양자관계와 국제적 상황에 대한 논의하도록 할까?

니콜라에 차우세스쿠 동지: 잠시 휴식을 취하는 편이 좋겠다

[...]