Wilson Center | Digital Archive
International History Declassified
digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org

August 1973

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

Citation:

"Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Note, No. 01/010124/73, Secret", August 1973, Wilson Center Digital Archive, 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. https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114071

Summary:

The document outlines Romania's position regarding the issue of unification of the Korean Peninsula. After a summary of inter-Korean negotiations thus far, the report concludes that the two Koreas are moving very slowly because both sides are attempting to gain advantage over the other. Nonetheless, Romania declares its firm support of the DPRK.

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from ROK Ministry of Unification

Original Language:

Romanian

Contents:

Translation - English
Translation - Korean

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

. 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.

. 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.

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:

. 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;

. Mutually refrain themselves from denigrating and libeling the other party and take measures to avoid conflicts;

. Promote bilateral exchanges;

. Support negotiations carried out through Red Cross societies;

. Establish telephone lines between Pyongyang and Seoul;

. 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.

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.

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.

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 Ceausescu 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

한반도 통일과 남북간 대화전개에 관한 건

루마니아 사회주의공화국의 입장

□통일국가의 재건은 조선민주주의인민공화국에서 당과 국가가 몰두하는 중요사안 중 하나이다. 이러한 견지에서, 지난 25년간 조선민주주의인민공화국은 130가지 이상의 □
□□

지난 몇 년간, 특히 1971년과 1973년의 최고인민위원회 4월 회의에서 다음과 같은 사항들을 명시한 다양한 통일제안이 나왔다.

□남한주둔의 모든 외국군대를 철수하고, 유엔 한국통일부흥위원단을 해체.
□□

□남북간 군비경쟁 및 무기와 전투기술의 수입을 중단
□□

□남북의 전투병을 10만 이하로 감축. 남한주둔의 외국군대가 모두 철수된다면, 조선민주주의인민공화국은 무조건 병력을 20만으로 감축할 것을 선언.
□□

□남북 자유 총선을 보장하는 하나의 중앙정부를 설립. 자유선거를 조직하기 위해 모든 정당과 진보 단체들의 완전한 자유를 보장하고, 모든 남조선 정치범들의 석방이 필요. 완전
□□

□한반도의 통일을 논의하기 위한 다양한 계층의 정치토론 및 회의를 조직.
□□

□스포츠 팀의 교환뿐만 아니라 경제적, 문화적, 기술 및 과학 교류를 추진. 경우에 따라 조선민주주의인민공화국은 남조선의 경제 재건을 위한 무상원조의 실시, 남조선 실업자에
□□

□남북 평화조약 서명.
□□

□□1971년 8월 6일부터, 북조선은 기존의 한미조약 및 한일조약의 철폐나 박정희의 퇴각을 더 이상 통일의 조건으로 내세우지 않는다.
□□

심지어 경우에 따라 김일성은 조선민주주의인민공화국이 남조선 여당대표자를 포함한 모든 종류의 정상회담을 기꺼이 갖겠다고 말했다. 결국 다양한 남조선 및 외국 교섭단체들이 □

1971년 8월 20일 이러한 태도변화 후, 남북 적십자대표단의 직접대화가 판문점에서 이루어졌다. 51차례의 회의 이후, 1972년 8월 11일, 아래의 현안들에 대한 남

□남북 이산가족의 확인
□□

□이산가족의 상호방문 및 교신을 추진
□□

□이산가족의 상봉
□□

□기타 인권문제
□□

현재까지 몇 번의 회의와 협상이 있었으나, 성과는 없음.

□남조선 안기부장 이후락의 평양 방문 및 김일성 대담, 뒤이어진 박성철의 서울 방문과 박정희 대담 이후, 1972년 7월 4일, 양 측은 다음의 사항을 합의한 남북공동성명□
□□
□□□은 외세의 간섭을 배제하여 자주적으로 해결해야 하며, 평화적인 방법을 통해 이념과 사회체계의 차이를 넘어서 이루어져야 한다.
□□
□□□ 비방을 하지 않으며, 충돌을 피한다.
□□
□□□교류를 추진한다.
□□
□□□자를 통해 지원협의를 실시한다.
□□
□□□과 평양에 전화선을 설치한다.
□□

□□□노동당 중앙위원회 조직 지도부장 김영주(조선노동당 중앙위원회 정치비서국 소속, 김일성의 동생)와 이후락이 주도하는 남북조절위원회를 창설한다. 실제로 이 위원회의
□□

현재까지 조절위원회가 5차례의 회의를 거쳐 조직문제와 1972년의 7·4 남북공동성명 조항의 이행방법, 1972년 10월 10일부터 일체의 상호비방적인 라디오방송 및

1973년 3월 회의에서, 남북간의 충돌을 끝내기 위하여, 조선민주주의인민공화국 위원회의 공동대표자는 다음의 안건을 내었다.

□상호 군비경쟁의 종식
□□

□남북한 병력을 10만으로 축소
□□

□무기와 군사기술의 수입을 중단
□□

□남조선의 외국군대 철수
□□

□평화조약 조인
□□

이러한 제안들을 현실화시키기 위하여, 조선민주주의인민공화국은 조절위원회의 공동대표를 남과 북에서 각각 임명하고, 군사소위원회를 만드는 것을 제안했다. 동시에 정치, 경제,
□조선민주주의인민공화국 최고인민위원회 1973년 4월 회의에서는 "외세의 간섭을 배제하고, 평화롭고 자주적인 통일을 가속화"하는 문제를 논의했다. 이 회의에서 모든 □
□□

1973년 6월 23일, 다음을 요지로 하는 평화통일 5대 강령을 제안하였다: 국가적 긴장의 종식; 다방면의 합작과 교류 시작; 통일 논의에의 사회 각계층 참여; 고려연방공□

같은 날 남측의 대통령 박정희는 다음의 사항을 포함한 통일계획안을 발표하였다: 남북간 상호 내정불간섭; 무력행사의 금지; 대화의 확대; 1972년 7월 선언에 의거한 책임 □

양 측은 서로의 제안을 받아들이지 못하였다.
□결론
□□

상호간에 합의 할 수 없는 용어사용과 영향력에서 상대방보다 우위를 점해 보다 많은 이익을 보려 하는 양측의 입장 차이로 인해 남북대화는 매우 더디게 진행되었다.

남북대화의 몇 가지 성과는 다음과 같다

□정상회담의 가능성을 열어두고 다양한 수준의 교섭과 협상을 시작하고 지속.
□□

□평양과 서울 사이에 직통전화 개설.
□□

□상호 흑색선전 동시 중지.
□□

□38선 지대의 사고 감소.
□□

□경제문화 협력소위원회 구성.
□□

□남측 혹은 북측 일방이 조선인의 이익과 조선을 대변한다는 식의 주장이 점차 사라짐
□□
□루마니아의 입장
□□

루마니아 사회주의공화국은 조선민주주의인민공화국의 통일방식과 활동을 계속하여 전적으로 지지한다. 루마니아는 최근 조선민주주의인민공화국의 입장과 활동을 다음과 같이 지지

□니콜라에 차우셰스쿠 동지가 김일성 동지에게 1972년 7·4남북공동성명과 1973년 평화통일 5대강령의 선언을 축하하고 지지하는 메시지를 전달.
□□

□1971년, 1972년, 1973년, 조선민주주의인민공화국의 통일제안들을 지지하는 강력한 메시지와 선언을 대국회해외정책위원회에서 채택.
□□

□1972년부터 루마니아 공산당 문서수집부의 보고서 및 문서수집에 있어 한반도 문제를 지원.
□□

□1972년과 1973년 사이 고위급방문 시 결정된 선언과 성명에 조선문제를 포함.
□□

□유엔과 여러 국제기구에서 한반도 통일의 문제를 지지함.
□□

□1973년 4월 6일에서부터 최고인민위원회의 전언을 미 상하원의 위원장에게 전달.
□□

1973년 8월

서명-판독불가