

**October 19, 1972**

**Information concerning the First Conference of the  
Committee on Regulation of the Issues between  
North and South Korea and the Announcement of  
Martial Law in South Korea**

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**Summary:**

Kim Jaebeon discusses the first conference of the co-chairs of the Committee on regulation of the issues between North and South Korea and the announcement of "martial law" in South Korea, deemed successful by the DPRK in its challenge against the South in regards to reunification and its anti-communist rhetoric.

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Translation - Korean

Information concerning: 1. The first conference of the co-chairs of the North-South Coordinating Committee, which was held on October 12th in the Panmunjeom area, and 2. The announcement of "martial law" in South Korea on the 17th this month. October 19, 1972

"For internal use"

Today, the ambassadors of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Mongolia, as well as the acting [ambassadors] of Poland and the GDR were summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kim Jae-bong [Kim Jae Bong], read the information, printed in advance in Korean, concerning the issues stated above.

He stated the following: "On October 12th, the first conference of the representatives of the North-South Coordination Committee was held, and on the 17th this month, Park Chung Hee declared martial law in South Korea. I asked for the present meeting with you in order to inform you on these issues.

First, I would like to discuss the issue of the first conference of the representatives of the North-South Coordination Committee.

It was held in Panmunjeom by South Korean request. From our side, because of Comrade Kim Yeong-ju [Kim Yong Ju]'s health condition, the second vice chair of the Cabinet of the Ministries, Comrade Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol] participated, and from South Korea-the Chief of the Central Intelligence Bureau-Lee Hu-rak.

The conference took place three months after the publication of the Joint Declaration of the North and the South on July 4th this year.

The Joint Declaration, based on the three principles of the beloved and respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, found warm response and support amongst the political parties and people of South Korea. Their aspirations for a peaceful reuniting of the motherland and the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, for the seizure of democratic rights and freedoms, grew stronger.

After the first, and especially after the second, round of the main negotiations between the delegations of the Red Cross, the feelings of respect towards the beloved and respected leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, grew amongst the South Korean people. Kim Il Sung's "Juche" ideas and the successes achieved in the socialist construction of the Northern part of the Republic spread quickly amongst the South Korean population.

These changes in South Korea's situation caused dismay and confusion among the American imperialists and the Japanese militarists.

The South Korean reactionaries, resorting to hypocrisy, in the conditions of the established relations between the North and the South, were the first to begin the campaign against us, speeding up the military preparations and increasing their anticommunist activities.

At the first conference we were able to expose this campaign, insisting on ending the attacks toward the DPRK and the anticommunist activities, in the conditions of the negotiations being carried out between us.

As we have already stated more than once, the dialogue between the North and the

South and the struggle for the reunification of the motherland represents a struggle between patriots and traitors, a struggle between internationalism and servility, between progressivism and reactionism, between socialism and imperialism. In so far as the struggle for a peaceful reunification of the motherland is a class struggle, we sharply denounce the essence of the South Korean reaction.

At the conference, right after the greetings, the business work began with a speech by our representative-Comrade Pak Seong-cheol [Pak Song Chol].

In his speech he criticized sharply the fact that South Korea has not adhered to the obligations which it assumed with the Joint Declaration between the North and the South, in the period from July 4th until this very moment.

By pressing the other side, we exposed many facts pointing at when and what Park Chung Hee, Kim Jong-pil, and Lee Hu-rak have said separately. Our criticism at first did not please the South Korean representatives. Two questions were put forth by our side:

- Will we walk together towards a peaceful reunification, or will we talk against communism? If you want us to walk together, you need to give up your anticommunist campaign.
- If you do not give up the anticommunism, is there any sense for us to continue the dialogue?

Since our criticism was sharp and effective, Lee Hu-rak agreed with it.

He stated that he was doing everything possible to abide by the principles of the Joint Declaration, that he ordered the ending of the anticommunist campaign, but because of the extremely complicated system, it was hard for him to control the execution [of that order].

In answer, Comrade Pak Seong-cheol stated:

- "Fine, but here the issue is not what the common people say. This is being said by leaders such as Park Chung Hee and Kim Jong-pil. How should we understand this?" To which Lee Hu-rak answered: that "he held no blame."
- "You say that the UN is not a foreign power. Why do you think that?" asked Comrade Pak Seong-cheol.
- "Yes, the UN is not a foreign power!" - Lee Hurak emphasized again.
- "That means" - said Comrade Pak Seong-cheol - "that the American troops in South Korea standing under the UN flag are also not a foreign power. But the UN regulations forbid the placing of troops in foreign territories."
- "If the issue is put forth so" - said Lee Hurak - "you are right."

During the talks the following fact was cited by us:

"On the day of the 15th anniversary since the creation of the puppet army of South Korea, Park Chung Hee stated that he would fight for the reunification of the country on the basis of the free democracy. We take this to mean that this is trying to impress on us that the reunification has to occur on the basis of the imperialist order. Therefore, how should we interpret the principle "independent from differences in ideology, ideals and system? Doesn't this mean anticommunism?"

To what was stated above, Lee Hu-rak answered that when he was writing Park Chung Hee's speeches, he always excluded the words "on the basis of the free democracy" and that that was written by the journalists.

Wanting to transfer the blame from himself to others, he emphasized that he did not think this way.

Right away we criticized such activities, pointing out that it did not matter who wrote the speech, the essence of the issue is made up of the fact that Park Chung Hee says it.

"How can the dialogue between the North and the South continue," asked Comrade Pak Seong-cheol, "if your leaders make such statements!"

Lee Hu-rak accepted our criticism, admitted his mistakes concerning the issues stated above, that "the UN was not a foreign power" and about the anticommunist statements, but he underlined that he was not responsible for Kim Jong-pil's words.

Because Lee Hu-rak admitted his mistakes, we did not put forth other questions.

The South Korean side put forth the issue concerning the makeup of the Coordinating Committee, to which we answered that we had already given our proposals, but if the South Korean side had some comments, we are ready to discuss them.

The South Koreans proposed that the Committee be made up of 5 representatives from each country. We stated that we had nothing against such a proposal.

At the conference it was agreed that the specific issues on the makeup of the Coordinating Committee would be examined at the following conferences.

During the talks, Lee Hu-rak put forth the question "what is the system of confederation?" meaning, Comrade Kim Il Sung's explanations.

Comrade Pak Seong-cheol answered that "the confederation foresees the creation of a high-ranking national committee made up of representatives from the North and the South for the preservation of the order that is in place in the two parts, which would act together on foreign and internal issues."

"If the makeup of the Coordinating Committee is expanded," asked Lee Hu-rak, "can it not lead to a confederation?"

To this question we answered that in the future this is possible, but the issues connected with the will of the masses need to be resolved on a democratic basis.

At the end, Lee Hu-rak stated that everything was clear to him and he asked that in the future we trust him, that we do not lead a war between us, that we exist together and that we develop the contacts for a peaceful reunification of the country.

At the conference it was agreed also that the following meetings of the leaders take place in Pyongyang and Seoul. It was decided that the second conference would take place on November 2nd in Pyongyang and the third-after November 20th this year in Seoul.

With this ended the first conference of the representatives of the Committee on the regulation of issues between the North and the South.

But on October 15th, through the direct telephone line, the South Korean side proposed a meeting between representatives for communication on October 16th.

Our representative met with the deputy representative of South Korea. As requested

by Lee Hu-rak, the South Korean representative asked that the following be brought to the attention of Comrade Kim Yeong-ju:

"The reunification of the country has to occur at all costs during the leadership of Kim Il Sung and during the power of Park Chung Hee, meaning during the 70s."

It was also underlined that during the first conference of the representatives, South Korean [representatives] did not understand well the critique expressed by us, but while listening to the recording of the conference, they understood everything, and they ascertained their rightness and reached the conclusion that on their part they need to undertake some measures.

Our representative was interested in what these "measures" were.

Then the South Korean representative said that Park Chung Hee and Lee Hu-rak desire the reunification of the country, but they had many opponents. That is why some measures were necessary for the establishment of order in the country. [He] stated that on October 17th a statement would be published, and he asked that it be listened to carefully on our part. He also asked, if we had comments on it, to present them to South Korea.

On October 17th, one hour before the publication of this statement, they informed us from Seoul by telephone that at 19 o'clock an "Emergency Statement" from Park Chung Hee would be released on the radio, and they asked that we listen to it. At the end they proposed a new meeting of the representatives for the communication between the North and South on October 18th.

With relation to the content of the statement, I think that the comrade ambassadors are acquainted with it and I will not pause.

The meeting proposed by South Korea took place yesterday-October 18th. The South Korean representative expressed Lee Hu-rak's request that the following be released to Comrade Kim Yeong-ju:

"At the beginning of the 70s in the ambient setting of Korea some changes took place. The bipolar relations between the USSR and the USA changed. At the same time, changes took place also in relations between the USA, USSR, PRC and Japan. With these circumstances we consider that the national issue needs to be resolved independently, without the support of foreign powers. In this spirit was the Joint Declaration between the North and the South on July 4th this year."

After the publication of the proclamation, in South Korea many groups sprung up, as opponents of its principles. Many of them are accusing us of breaking the Constitution. In spite of this, we wanted to adhere to the declaration's obligations, but because of the strong opposition, we did not have the chance to fully control the situation. As a result of this we received Kim Yeong-ju's critique. The present "State of National Emergency Statement" has as its goal-the modification of the Constitution.

The current Constitution was created on the basis of the bipolar system, in anticommunist spirit, without considering the issue of reunifying the country."

The South Korean representative stated that for the "Emergency Statement" the USA and Japan were informed just two hours before its proclamation. They opposed it.

The South Korean representative also emphasized that in South Korea they have

decided to institute the "Juche" system, in the spirit of the national self-determination, raised by the Prime Minister Kim Il Sung.

Although the USA and Japan were against the principles of independence in South Korea, they desired the creation of a new system.

After the South Korean representative was carefully listened to, our side put forth the question: Why was a state of emergency and martial law announced, why are you going towards a new system?

It was answered that due to the strong opposition, the internal issues in South Korea cannot be resolved along the normal path. That is why the South Korean leaders were forced to establish martial law in order to modify the Constitution without chaos and disorder in the country. He also added that in Park Chung Hee's "State of National Emergency Statement" there were no points that affected or offended the DPRK. Again a request was made for expressing of our comments and proposals on the statement. It was underlined that there was a wide range of reactions in South Korea towards the statement and martial law. The right wing said that "these measures are aimed towards us," others asked "where this statement is heading," yet others [said]-"don't these measures represent a retreat from the dialogue between the North and the South?" others said that "this is a procommunist coup," and others [asked] "doesn't this statement lead along the path towards right wing?" etc.

The South Korean representative stated that in the new proposed Constitution a clear fixation on the issues of the reunification of the country and the creation of a national assembly is expected, which would be able to guarantee the peaceful dialogue between the North and the South. He underlined that with the modification of the Constitution they aimed to "lead talks between the North and the South based on law." "The changes of the Constitution, he stated, do not mean the repudiation of talks, on the contrary-their energizing."

He again requested, as ordered by Lee Hu-rak, that everything said by him be reported to Kim Yeong-ju.

The political committee of the CC of the KWP examined this issue, analyzed it, but has not yet come out with a final decision.

According to the facts at our disposal, it can be said that the situation in South Korea is very complicated.

After the announcement of the Joint Declaration between the North and the South on July 4th this year, the pursuit of a peaceful reunification quickly grew in South Korea.

The activity of the oppositionist parties became energized. Many activists appeared, raising their voices for reunification.

This brings dismay and scares the leading South Korean circles.

According to facts which we have, after the Joint Declaration, about 90 people, actively devoted to reunification, were arrested in South Korea.

There's no question that the South Korean leaders are reactionaries, and that the South Korean economy goes through big hardships. The medium and small businesses are ruined. The yields in agriculture are also bad.

Currently, Park Chung Hee is putting into practice the movement "Saemaoul" /New

village/, which greatly resembles Chiang Kai-shek's old reforms in China and it has nothing in common with the movement in our country for the construction of cultural villages.

In South Korea the villagers are forced to build new villages. This leads to the springing up of new kulaks and corruption.

In this setting more and more desire and hope grow for a socialist order, sanctioned in the North part of the Republic. The population is very happy and actively struggles for the reunification.

The students' spirits rose. Until the publication of the Joint Declaration, the student movement was at a standstill, but later it became active.

Park Chung Hee is most afraid of the actions of the masses and the students. And on this basis, after the establishment of martial law in the country, the activities of the parties were outlawed and the institutes were closed.

Why did Park Chung Hee announce martial law in the country?

We look at his goals in two instances.

The first instance can be reduced to the following: Park Chung Hee thinks that in the circumstances of established political contacts and the holding of political discussions, the emergence of other political parties is possible, which would also ask to take part in the dialogue between the North and the South. In the present moment the proportion in the talks is 1:1, but provided that another political party participates in them, the proportion would change in our favor to 2:1. That is why Park Chung Hee is trying to prohibit all political parties, in order to secure his long term stay in power and so that he can solely lead talks with us.

Park Chung Hee is afraid of the war and wants to lead the dialogue with the DPRK for a peaceful reunification, alone. And that is why, by announcing martial law, he says that a system needs to be created that would allow an active dialogue between the North and the South and a joint existence with us.

The second instance depends on the goal of receiving more credit from the USA and Japan. In words Park Chung Hee talks about "independence." But what independence can he implement? Through martial law, he will ask for more loans from the USA and Japan.

As I already said, in the Political Committee of the CC of the KWP, the situation in South Korea was examined and analyzed. A final decision has not been made yet though.

Among other things, I would like to let you know that in the present moment Park Chung Hee is afraid even of his own army.

According to facts that we have, when he announced martial law, Park Chung Hee prohibited all flights of military airplanes. All members of the armed forces were prohibited to leave the military bases, and for those who were on home leave-to leave home. All movements of military divisions were also forbidden.

The question arises, what will our position be in connection to the situation that was created?

It is impossible for us to not undertake something because that would mean that we would be closing our eyes to the repressions of the South Korean population. If we are quiet, South Korea could turn into an anticommunist country.

In connection to the situation that was created, we foresee two measures:

First: An article with which to prove that the repressions taking place under the mask of the peaceful reunification are wrong. The article will clarify that the words "peaceful reunification" means the peaceful participation of very large circles of masses. The more people participate in this process, the better. That is why the suppression of the movement for a peaceful reunification is wrong.

Second: In the name of all the political parties and public organizations a statement will come out, condemning the prohibition of political parties in South Korea.

The union of students will also come out with a statement in connection to the closing of universities.

The materials will be in a discreet tone.

In Park Chung Hee's statement there is an issue that deserves attention. He says that "these measures need to be approved at the referendum. But if the referendum is without success that will mean that the South Korean people do not want the dialogue between the North and the South. In that case, we will search for new measures for the reunification of the Motherland."

At the end I ask you comrade ambassadors to bring to the knowledge of your party leadership the contents of this present information."

Ambassador:  
/Y. Georgiev/

Pyongyang 19 October 1972

Typed in three copies

1. for the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party
2. for the Ministry
3. for the file









אני רוצה לדעת מה את חושבת על זה.

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אני:

/Y. אהבה/

אני, 1972 10 19

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