

**May 23, 1972**

**North Asia Department No. 720035, 'Summary of (redacted)'s Debrief on North Korea following his Three-week Mission to North Korea from this Past mid-April'**

**Citation:**

"North Asia Department No. 720035, 'Summary of (redacted)'s Debrief on North Korea following his Three-week Mission to North Korea from this Past mid-April'", May 23, 1972, Wilson Center Digital Archive, Nihon Gaimushō "Chōsen mondai" [Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs "Korea issue"] (administrative number 2012-1787), Diplomatic Archives Of The Ministry Of Foreign Affairs Of Japan. Obtained by Kyungwon Choi and translated by Ryo C. Kato. <https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/134947>

**Summary:**

An unnamed Japanese individual reports on a visit to North Korea, commenting on the country's relations with China, the Soviet Union, Japan, and South Korea, the cult of personality, and the Korea question at the UN, among other issues.

**Credits:**

This document was made possible with support from Kyungnam University

**Original Language:**

Japanese

**Contents:**

Original Scan  
Translation - English



秘  
無期限

亜北第720035号

北朝鮮事情について  
( [REDACTED] より聴取 )

47.5.23  
北東アジア課

去る4月中旬から約3週間にわたり訪朝した  
[REDACTED] より北  
朝鮮事情について聴取したところ、要旨次のと  
おり。

### 記

#### 1. 還暦行事

われわれは香港、北京経由で空路平壤に入  
つた。機内の大半は、金日成首相の還暦行事  
に参加する各国代表のようであつた。

タラップをおりた途端、少女達が花束をく  
れ、両わきからその少女達に腕をかかえられ  
た。これが彼等の歓迎方法であるが、何とも  
こそばゆい思いであつた。

当初、金日成首相誕生日の4月15日に十  
分時間をもつて、出かける予定をしていたと  
ころ、在日朝総連から出発を少し遅らせてほ



しいと云つてきた。これは、1カ月にわたる慶祝期間中、外国のお客を均等に行事に出席させるためのようであつた。外国からは革命軍創立40周年記念に出席する30数カ国の軍事代表と文化人グループ等が招かれていた。

各工場、学校、保育所等を見学したが、どこでも従業員や生徒達が両側に並んで歓迎し、施設の説明もみな型にはまつたもので、いささかうんざりさせられるものであつた。われわれグループ [redacted] の世話には鄭準基記者同盟委員長（労働新聞主筆）があたり、車はベンツの新車が提供された。[redacted] にはベンツが提供されているとの話が金日成首相の耳に入つたらしく、ある日、[redacted] のベンツ車がソ連製のジムに変つた。ジム車は乗り心地はよくないが、北朝鮮では首相、副首相、党幹部等の最高首脳の乗用車なので、交通巡査や学生達が不動の姿勢で敬礼するのみならず、信号を無視してノンストップ



ブでつつ走れる特権車なので、ベツツ車で後について行くのに苦勞した。宿泊していた平壤国際ホテルの前には50~60台のベツツの新車が並んでいたが、いずれも35キロ位しか走っていないところからみて、還曆行事に出席する外国からの賓客用に急拠輸入したものでしかなかった。



## 2 国内事情

平壤市を始め街はソ連風の造りで、丁度ソ連の田舎街のような印象だつた。街そのものも、人も小ざつぱりしていたが、中にはみすぼらしい服装をした者も見うけられ、取材先でそのようなものが目につくと案内人が素早くその者の腕を引つぱつて、われわれの視界から除いていた。街頭と公園でそのようなことに出くわした。

これも平壤の街で、たまたま目撃したことであるが、政府高官とおぼしき者の乗っている車が、学校帰りの子供をひろい走り去つた。

学校帰りの自分の子か身内の子を家まで送つたものらしかつたが、北朝鮮社会にも公私混同がまかり通つているという証拠である。

蟻の穴から堤防が壊れるのたともあり、不吉な予感におそわれた。赤信号をつつ走る高級車の例をみるまでもなく、方々見学してみても、あのように階級がはつきりしているのは、予想以上だつた。自由主義諸国の比ではない。



### 3. 中・ソ関係

金日成首相と会食時間も含め4時間余り会談し、記者団の方から遠慮のない質問が出たが、首相はメモもみないで明快に答えていた。米・中の頭越交渉には日本や韓国は驚いたが、北鮮も驚いたのではないか、との間に、金首相は「驚きはしない。帝国主義国と社会主義国とが手を結んだ例は今回が始めてではない。日・ソ不可侵条約がそれだ。私が抗日戦で山中をかけ廻っていた時であつたが、あの時の日本代表松岡外相とスターリンが握手している写真は今でも忘れられない」と答えた。

中・ソ対立については「中・ソが戦争になることはない」と答えたが、中ソ関係については極めて歯切れが悪かつた。革命軍創立40周年記念には中国から陳錫聯党政治局員兼瀋陽軍司令官が団長としてきていたし、ソ連からはモスカレンコ副国防相が出席していたが、両者の格の差もあつたのであろうが、常に中



国を丁重に扱っていた。主賓席に座った両代表を迎えた北鮮側の反応も中国代表に対する拍手がソ連よりはるかに多かつたし、北鮮軍代表の演説も「……とりわけ血で結ばれた友邦中国……」と中国を強調するなど、中国傾斜を強めているのではないか、との印象をうけた。しかし反面、ソ連や中国の臭を感じさせるもの（例えば軍事記念品の展示説明には中・ソの文字はない）は、意識的に取り除こうとしているようであり、今では、すべてのものが国産品でまかなわれていると自慢していた。確かに目に映る限りでは外国製品はほとんど見られなかつた。



5. 韓国関係

7

南北統一問題について、金首相は、南北政治会談、平和協定締結、連邦制の問題をくり返し強調した。

北朝鮮では南の朴大統領を朴正熙カイトイと名指して非難してきたが、今年ノ月頃から朴非難は姿を消している。これについて、鄭準基記者同盟委員長と放送局の次席アナウンサーに同様の質問をしたところ「よいところに気がつきましたね」と言つて笑つていた。自分としては北朝鮮が意識的に朴攻撃を中止していると思うので、今後の南北関係を考える場合にこの点が重大な意味を持つものと思う。



#### 4. 国連問題

最近、北朝鮮が各国に大型使節団を派遣していることや、韓国と外交関係にある国とも国交を樹立するなど、活発な対外活動が目立っているが、国連を始め、国際関係を非常に重視しているようである。金日成首相との会見の際、国連問題についても質問し、北朝鮮は南北同時招請に応ずるかと質したところ、直ちに「応ずる」との答が返ってきた。そのあと、ただし、無条件招請が前提であると付け加えた。国連への出席は不法決議の廃棄が条件なりや、また「正当な方針をとることによつて国連の不法決議が無効になるようにしてもよい」との金日成発言（72年1月10日、金日成、読売記者会見）の中でいう「正当な方針」とは何か、との質問には「現在検討中である」というだけで、記者団のしつこい質問には最後まで明快な回答は避けた。

また、金首相は、政治協商を開くのに在韓米軍の撤退は前提条件にならない。政治協商が行なわれれば米軍駐留の理由はなくなり、撤退が早められるからだと述べた。



## 6 日朝関係

金首相との会見の際にも日韓条約の問題が取り上げられた。金首相は、韓国が唯一合法政権と規定している日韓基本条約第3条を無視すれば、日朝国交は締結できるとのべるとともに、日朝国交が樹立されれば、基本条約第3条は80パーセント位効力を失なうだろうと述べた。即ち、日韓条約が存在していても日朝国交はできるということであり、日本に対しては非常に前向きになつてゐるとの印象であつた。

最近北朝鮮は経済分野においても対日接近を強めているが、これは、自由主義諸国の力なくしては技術水準の引き上げも、現在進行中の経済6カ年計画も達成が困難になつてくるからである。ソ連や中国の経済協力は、すべてが、「くれてやる」の姿勢で、大国意識が強いのみならず、送られてきた機械の部品が不足しているようなことも、しばしばであり、この部品を取り寄せるのに3カ月もかかるといつた浪費も



めずらしくないらしい。こうしたことも対日接近の原因になつてゐることを関係者がほのめかしていた。しかし、日本からの製品もパーツが欠けていたり、日本で最高製品だといふので買入れたところ、これよりも良い製品があつたこともあると述べていた。



## 7. 金日成の個人崇拜

(最近、顕著になつてゐる金日成崇拜熱は、国民の中から、わき出てきたもの、演出されたもの、との両極端の見方があるが、との間に対し)

金日成の個人崇拜は、やはり、われわれの目には異常なものとして映るが、日本で考えているのと現地でみるのとは違いはあるように思われる。

結論からいうならば、あれは冷徹に計算されたものと思う。しかし、金日成が3メートル位近づくと民衆の中にはありがたがつて涙を流して感激し、握手でもされようならば全身がしびれるというのも事実のようだ。人の心をとらえるのは実にうまい。また、あのように現地指導を小まめにやる指導者もいないのではないか。

金日成亡きあとの国の指導について質問したところ、金日成首相のいない朝鮮などを考え



てみたこともなかつた、という答が返つてきた。金日成に万一のことがある場合の後継者は、金一第一副首相になつてゐるようである。しかし、金一副首相はあまり目立たないし、人間的魅力にも乏しいようであり、後継者になれるかどうかは疑問である。しかし、金一第一副首相、朴成哲第二副首相、崔庸健最高会議委員長の動きは一番目についた。朴正愛首相夫人は、後方の席に坐るなどあまり目立たなかつた。



8 その他

1 ■■■■■で取材してきて放映した「千里馬の国」は、北朝鮮の良いところばかりを写しているとの印象をうけたと思うが、率直にいつて中国や北朝鮮については、彼等の顔を逆なでするような放送ができないのが実情である。彼等としてはもつと称讃するようなものにしてほしいようであつたが注文通りにはできないので、■■■■■としてはヒューマニティに訴える面からとらえることで妥協した。登上人物は先方がセッテングしたもので、画面に出てくる少女の民族服が正月の晴着を着せたものであることも知つている。北朝鮮でかつて日本の報道が北鮮の恥部ばかりとらえて困つたことがあるといわれた。

放映後、再放送してほしいとの電話が殺到した。朝総連や北鮮系の団体の人達から、テレビ放送中、全員手を休めて見たが、皆、



泣いた。といつて方々から謝意を述べられた。

ロ ヨド号乗取りの青年達と会見した。彼等を硬くさせないようにと記者団で事前に打合せた上で会つたので、最初からうちとけて話してきた。最初に彼等の方から出た言葉は「日本の人に逢えてなつかしい」であつた。みな日本に帰りたがつていた。一様に金日成思想に傾倒しているようである。幹部の田宮も口先では金日成思想をほめてはいたが、どうも納得していないようだつた。金日成首相は、「彼等を日本に送れば逮捕されるだろうか」、といつので、当然でしょうと答えると、「それではまだ日本には送れない。日本の警察に引き渡すようなことはできないから」と言つて笑つていた。

ニ 北朝鮮では在日朝総連の幹部および日本での彼等の活動を非常に高く評価していた。



金日成首相の口からも韓徳銖議長の名がしばしば出てきた。韓徳銖議長は北鮮では副首相、金炳植第一副議長は副首相と大臣の間の格付がされているとのことであつた。



North Asia 720035

On North Korea

Showa 47 May 23

Summary of (redacted)'s debrief on North Korea following his three-week mission to North Korea from this past mid-April.

### 1. 60th Birthday Event

We entered Pyongyang by way of Hong Kong and Beijing. It appeared that the majority of those on the flight were the representatives of varying countries that were participating in Premier Kim Il Sung's 60th birthday festivities.

As soon as we were on the tarmac, a troop of girls handed us flower bouquets and lead us by our arms. This is their way of welcoming us, but it was quite ticklish.

At first, we had planned on leaving with plenty of time ahead of Premier Kim Il Sung's birthday on April 15. However, we were asked by the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan to delay our departure. It appears that this was to ensure that all the foreign dignitaries could attend events on an equal basis during the one-month celebration period. Military representatives and intellectuals, among others, from 30 or so countries were invited to attend the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the revolutionary army.

We visited factories, schools, and nurseries, among other facilities. At each of these, the workers or students would line up around us to welcome us and would give us a sort of tour around their facility. It was a somewhat bothersome experience. Our group (redacted) was looked after by Cheong Jun Ki, Chair of the Journalists Union (Chief Editor of the Rodong Sinmun), and a new Benz was provided for us. It appeared that Premier Kim Il Sung heard that (redacted) was provided a Benz, and one day, the Benz was suddenly replaced by a Soviet ZIM. While the ZIM is uncomfortable, it is the vehicle for the Premier, Vice-Premier, the Party cadres, and other high-level officials. Because of its special status, traffic officers and groups of students would become motionless in salute as the car passed. This status also meant that it can ignore traffic signals. For this reason, we had difficulty in following after the ZIM in our Benz. There were 50-60 new Benz's parked in front of our lodging, the Pyongyang International Hotel. Seeing that none of the cars had been driven more than 35 kilometers, these were probably hurriedly imported for the sake of the foreign dignitaries attending the 60th birthday celebrations.

### 2. Domestic Circumstances

The cities, including Pyongyang city, appeared to be built in the Soviet-style. It reminded me exactly of the Soviet backwaters. The city and its people were neat and clean, but there were some people that we saw that were dressed raggedly. If we encountered people like this while on site to cover a story, our guides would quickly grab the person's arm and take them out of our sight. We encountered such things on the street and parks.

Also in Pyongyang, we happened to see what appeared to be a high government official pick up a child on their way home from school and drive off.

It may have been an official picking up their own child or the child of someone they



know. It was evidence that the intermingling of public and private matters is also a problem that pervades North Korean society.

The idiom about how the crumbling of embankments start with an ant's nest came to mind and I was afflicted by an inauspicious feeling. Including the example of the high-class cars running red lights, as well as after observing other things, I felt that the extent to which class distinctions were clear-cut was beyond my initial expectations. It is incomparable with liberal states.

### 3. China and Soviet relations

Including the time allotted for dining, we spent about four hours speaking with Premier Kim Il Sung. Even when the press corps directed uninhibited questions, the Premier answered clearly and without resorting to notes. When asked if North Korea was surprised by the US-PRC summit meeting as much as Japan and the Republic of Korea were surprised, Premier Kim answered that, "I was not surprised. This was not the first example of an imperialist country joining hands with a socialist country. The Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact was exactly such an example. It was from my time running around the mountains during the Anti-Japanese War, but I still cannot forget the photo of the Japanese representative, the then-Foreign Minister Matsuoka, shaking hands with Stalin."

Regarding tensions between China and the Soviets, he answered that "there will not be a war between China and the Soviets." He was extremely inarticulate about Sino-Soviet relations. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the army, the Chinese delegation was led by Chen Xilian, member of the Central Committee Politburo and commander of the Shenyang military region, and the Soviet Union's delegation was principled by Vice Minister of Defense Moskalenko. While the two sides must have had different circumstances, Kim Il Sung had appeared to treat China more carefully. The North Koreans, sitting opposite the Chinese and Soviet representatives seated in the place of honor, clapped far more for the Chinese than they had done for the Soviets. During his speech, the representative of the North Korean Army had also highlighted China by saying, 'China, above all else, is an ally joined by blood.' Overall, I had the impression that the North Koreans appeared to be leaning towards China. On the other hand, all things Soviet or Chinese appeared to be deliberately removed. For instance, the explanatory texts on the military commemorative objects exhibits did not have Chinese or Russian texts. The North Koreans are also now boasting that domestic production is sufficient for everything. Indeed, as far as I can tell, we did not see any foreign products.

### 4. Concerning the United Nations

Lately, North Korea seems to be regarding the United Nations and other international organizations as very important. In addition, they are pursuing high-profile diplomatic activities, such as sending large-scale diplomatic missions to various countries, as well as conducting diplomatic activities even with countries that have established relations with the Republic of Korea. During the meeting with Premier Kim Il Sung, he was also asked questions about the UN issue. When asked whether or not North Korea would accept the simultaneous invitation of North and South to the United Nations, the Premier answered that he "would accept." He added, however, that it would be a precondition that the invitation be. Additionally, he said that North Korea's participation at the UN is conditional upon the annulment of illegal deliberations. Additionally, when Kim Il Sung was asked what was meant by the 'valid policy' that he referred to in his comment "that he would consider annulling the illegal UN deliberations by taking a valid policy" (January 10 1972, Yomiuri Interview), he only responded that "it was currently under considered." Until the very end, he evaded the press corps' persistent questions and avoided providing a clear answer.



Kim Il Sung also expressed that the withdrawal of US forces from Korea would not serve as a precondition to opening political negotiations. He explained that this was because if negotiations were to happen, there would no longer be a reason for the US military presence, and withdrawal would then happen sooner.

## 5. Relations with the Republic of Korea

Regarding the issue of reunification, Kim Il Sung emphasized the importance of North-South political dialogue, the conclusion of a peace treaty, and the issue of federation.

While North Korea has until now derided President Park as 'Park Chung Hee the puppet,' this name calling has ceased since January of this year. When asked about this point, the Chairman of the Journalists Union, Cheong Jun Ki, and an assistant announcer from the broadcasting station laughed and answered, "you noticed a fine point." I personally believe that North Korea has deliberately stopped attacking Park, and that this is a very meaningful observation to keep in mind when contemplating the direction of North-South relations.

## 6. Japan-North Korea relations

During the meeting with Kim Il Sung, the topic of the Japan-ROK treaty was raised. Kim Il Sung stated that diplomatic relations between Japan and the DPRK could be concluded if Article 3 of the Japan-ROK Treaty, which provides that the ROK is the only legal government, were to be ignored. He added that if diplomatic relations were to be established, Article 3 would anyhow lose about 80 percent of its force. In other words, diplomatic relations between Japan and North Korea is possible even with the Japan-ROK treaty, and that North Korea is taking a very positive view towards Japan.

The reason that North Korea is approaching Japan is because North Korea cannot improve their technological standards without the help of liberal states and because they are currently facing difficulties in moving forward with their Six Year Plan. Economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and China is tinged by the big powers attitudes of superiority and an air of charity. In addition to this, there are often shortages of parts for equipment being sent to North Korea, and it is not uncommon for there to be three month delays in procuring these parts. Those involved are alluding to the fact that these are indeed factors that underlie North Korea's increasing proximity to Japan. However, they also said that there have been cases where products from Japan had missing parts or that they had bought Japanese products that were touted as the best quality to only find out later that there were less expensive alternatives.

## 7. Personality Cult of Kim Il Sung

(One can interpret the recent marked intensity of the Kim Il Sung personality cult among the citizens as something coming naturally or something being performed)

From our perspective, the Kim Il Sung personality cult may appear strange. However, there are differences between what we imagine the personality cult to be and what it actually is in its context.

I believe that the personality cult is a something that is cold and calculated. However, it appears to be true that the people are moved to tears of gratitude when Kim Il Sung approaches even just three meters away, or that if they shake his hand their whole body goes numb. I wonder if there might be no other leader in the world that so diligently conducts onsite visits like Kim Il Sung.



When asked what about national leadership after the death of Kim Il Sung, people answered that they had never even thought about a North Korea without Premier Kim Il Sung. First Deputy Prime Minister Kim Il is apparently assigned as the successor should anything happen to Kim Il Sung. However, Deputy Prime Minister Kim Il does not stand out and is said to lack in personal charisma. It is questionable if he would suffice as a successor. With that said, during the meeting the most noteworthy were First Deputy Prime Minister, Kim Il, the Second Deputy Prime Minister, Pak Seong-cheol, and the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, Choe Yong-geon. Pak Jeong-ae, the deputy prime minister's wife, was seated towards the back and did not stand out very much.

## 8. Miscellaneous

a. The screening of 'Nation of the Chollima,' which was filmed in (redacted), gave the impression that it only captured the flattering aspects of North Korea. However, it is simply the case that things that rub China and North Korea in the wrong way cannot be broadcast. While they wanted the film to be more praiseful, we could not make something custom ordered to their liking, so (redacted) compromised with an approach that appealed to the humanity of the audience. They selected the characters that appeared on film and we also know that the young girls that appeared on the screen were dressed up in the finest traditional New Year dresses. They remarked that they had found it difficult to deal with Japanese media working in North Korea because they only showed the shameful aspects of North Korea.

Immediately after the screening, we received a telephone call saying that they wanted another screening. We received praise from the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan and people from other North Korea-affiliated groups saying that they watched the television broadcast in absolute silence and that they all shed tears.

b. We met with the youths of the Yodogo Hijacking. As we had decided prior to the meeting, we spoke amiably from the start so as not to make them clam up. The first thing that came out of their mouth was, "It is nice to be able to meet a Japanese." All of them appeared to want to go home to Japan. They appeared to be uniformly committed to Kim Il Sung's ideology. The leader, Tamiya, would verbally praise Kim Il Sung's ideology, but appeared to be somewhat dissatisfied. Kim Il Sung asked if "they would be arrested if sent back to Japan," to which I responded that that is obvious. He laughed and answered, "then I cannot send them to Japan. I cannot hand them over to the Japanese police."

c. The North Koreans greatly praise the cadres of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan and their work. Premier Kim Il Sung would often mention Chairman Han Duk-su by name. In North Korea, Chairman Han Duk-su is ranked as a Deputy Prime Minister and First Deputy Minister Kim Pyong-sik holds the rank of a Deputy Prime Minister and Minister.