

May 23, 1975
Minutes of Conversation taken on the Occasion of the
Romanian – Korean Discussions from May 23, 1975

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Summary:

Kim Il Sung discusses the unity and solidarity of socialist and Third World countries in the struggle against United States. He also describes meetings he held with the representatives of Park Chung Hee.

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Minutes of Conversation taken on the occasion of the Romanian—Korean discussions from May 23, 1975

Participants:

- Representing Romania: Comrades Nicoale Ceaușescu, Manea Mănescu, Emil Bobu, Ștefan Voitec, Ion Pășan, Ștefan Andrei, George Macovescu, Ion Coman, Dumitru Popa.
- Representing Korea: Comrades [Kim Il Sung, Kim Dong-gyu, O Jin-u, Ri Jeong-sik, Heo Dam, Jeong Song-nam, Pak Jung-guk.]

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

At the beginning of our discussions, I would like to address once again a warm welcome to Comrade Kim Il Sung and to our other Korean guests. We are glad you were able to make this visit, which will doubtless mark an important moment in the relations between our countries' respective parties.

Kim Il Sung:

I thank you. In my turn I would like to sincerely thank you, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, as well as the Central Committee, [and] the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, for the kind invitation to visit your country.

As you yourself Comrade Ceaușescu underlined, the visit to your country will mark a new opportunity for strengthening the relationship between the parties, governments and people of our countries.

I would like to express yet again my thorough satisfaction with the warm welcome we received yesterday, and, as I have previously underlined, this welcome testifies to the special friendship that the Romanian people has towards our people and I would like to stress that we are extremely moved by this.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

As far as our discussions go: I believe we should agree to discuss any issue we consider necessary, and we should start with bilateral relations and then international issues. And, keeping in mind that you are guests—as a sign of respect towards our guests, we always give them the word first.

Kim Il Sung:

Thank you. I will start.

To my mind, relations between our parties, between our states are developing normally and well.

I would like to present you with my sincere gratitude and at the same time, to express our satisfaction for the multilateral, total support which you Comrade Ceaușescu, are particularly granting in supporting our cause.

Nothing in particular is stalling in our relations, I believe. The friendship, solidarity and unity between us are developing normally and, above all, we have the duty to make increased efforts to allow for it to further develop. Just as now, in the future we shall need your support in accomplishing our most burning issue.

In particular after your visit, Comrade Ceaușescu, changes of course, of our party position, took place in our country. We continue developing the socialist edifice in the Northern part of our country—in the DPRK. Our first task is that of consolidating our socialist order, to strengthen our revolutionary, economic and military basis. This is the number one wish.

Secondly, we are making efforts for actively supporting the democratization of life in South Korea, for strengthening the new establishment and eliminating the old, Fascist establishment in this region, for the furthering of new progressive forces with the purpose of the peaceful unification of the homeland.

Thirdly, we are making efforts for strengthening and developing the relations and strengthening the unity and solidarity with all socialist countries, as well as for earning new friends and supporters of our positions across the Third World, precisely with the purpose of bringing to fruition our wish—the unification of the homeland. This has been our party line in the past, has been repeated during plenums and during all our party meetings, and this shall be also in the future the course of development of our activities, as we consider it to be the most rational.

As far as the first point is concerned, developing the socialist edifice, there were no particular developments in our country since your last visit, Comrade Ceaușescu. What is new is the progress which added up over the past 30 years since liberation.

What I can underline as new, is a cadres policy line, more particularly this is about the party cadres in the government, from the administrative sector, generally cadres with a long history of communist service. These are cadres who took part in the liberation, in the first democratic reforms such as the agrarian one, but who could not keep up with the daring development and the rhythm required. For this purpose we have established the activity of the Three Revolutions Movement, to assist the cadres in the new [sic., sentence ends here; we can safely assume the meaning is 'the new effort/rhythm'] The cadres do not have great experience, but are devoted to the party. From a practical point of view, they were left a little behind. For this reason we were not able to continue with our development, with the technical-scientific revolution. To assist them, we are concurrently developing an intensive activity of education and support. There exists however this drawback, that these cadres are of an old age and, with all efforts to support them, the results do not always rise to our expectations.

As far as the Three Revolutions Movement is concerned, it is made up of very well-prepared party cadres from the administrative sector, of teachers, technicians, students in their last year or graduates, who are divided in brigades which act along the lines of the three revolutions: the ideological, the technical-scientific and the cultural ones, throughout factories—all factories, throughout institutes and agricultural and production cooperatives. This activity has been taking place over the last approximately three years and the results have not been slow to appear. This is the fight with the older remains of the cadres, the fight to eliminate older, retrograde, conservative ideas, and against routine, against practicality [sic].

New initiatives, new movements began as a result of the activities conducted by these groups. This occurred especially in the mining industry and in agriculture. The results obtained in the mining industry are particularly notable since these sectors needed an increased support as the work is very difficult. The progress made by those who worked was visible. The Three Revolutions Brigades supported innovation in these sectors. They managed to eliminate the bureaucratic activity which party committees were performing in the factories. The Three Revolutions Brigades have two characteristics and manners of work. First of all, there is mutual help between them and the party committees but also with the Central Committee whose indications they transmit further

down the rank. We have acted in this manner in agriculture for about four years. Since 1973 we have noticed good results, which means that the work of these brigades has been positive. Since the members of the brigades are in their large majority young intellectuals, with work abilities, they can contribute to the improvement of the activity. Positive results were obtained in the area of industry. Besides our own inventions and innovations, we have managed to import necessary products from other countries. I can fairly say that in general the socialist edifice is developing well. This is, in short, what I can tell you about our socialist edifice.

Concerning the unification of our country, I will not insist on it at the moment, as we will have a separate opportunity for that. A year after your visit to our country, in 1972, a common declaration of the Northern and Southern parts was made public. This however seems to have been made only with the approval of the Americans. The South cannot act without their approval. We talked to them. When these delegations were at the negotiations, I met with them. I proposed three principles:

- Reunification on based independent premises, without foreign involvement.
- Accomplishing the reunification peacefully, without fight.
- Accomplishing the principle of national unity independently of the social order in each respective part, be it communist or capitalist, before we accomplish the national unity.

It was then that they agreed and our delegations went to Seoul. Our delegates also met Park Chung Hee. They agreed to our proposals, that is to say to those of Kim Il Sung, entirely. They agreed to the principles and we subsequently proposed the declaration projects, but we were unable to discuss and work on the declaration project. A month later, on July 7, they came up with the idea of adopting a common declaration as a response to the many questions asked by opposition parties, by the progressive parties [which] began claiming that the U.N. army is not a foreign army. All emphasis was on the fact that the U.N. army was not a foreign army. Secondly, the issue of peaceful unification by reducing armed forces was raised - we therefore wanted to unify peacefully but they disagreed.

Was not the liquidation of anti-Communist laws necessary for bringing the populations of the North and South together? This however was not possible because Park Chung Hee declared that the number one objective of the Southern side was the anti-Communist fight. All the representatives of progressive forces asked for ending this state of affairs. He said this cannot be done, with the exception of some modifications. It remained therefore an empty paper.

Further on, after approximately a month, we met again a few times and insisted to have an explanation with them. They underlined a wish to continue the discussions, but on separate basis—on that of competition and on that of coexistence. Therefore they came with new proposals based on the principle of competition between the two sides, and that of coexistence. This entire policy is aimed at establishing two Koreas, therefore they don't have unification in mind. We have proposed competition and coexistence, we do not know though—perhaps it would be better to collaborate, to unify. We told them we could collaborate. We told them they need raw materials as they have very few, while we have plenty. We proposed to give them the necessary technology, while they should provide the people so that we can work together. Therefore, a collaboration; and within this collaboration we would only have gotten closer.

We also proposed to set up irrigation systems for them, as in South Korea, the smallest of rains results in floods, and when it does not rain, there is draught. We proposed to give them specialists, and technology for free, but they asked 2 billion dollars from Japan, but the latter did not give it to them. We also considered how they could pay this money. We, being part of the same nation, proposed to give them for free. We have pumping units, and we have good experience in irrigations in the North. We considered it was our national duty to help the peasants in the South live and work well.

There are many fishermen in South Korea. Because of great pollution in the South, there is not too

much fish left there and the production has declined. In the Northern part of the country we have a few very good fish reservoirs. From the Northern part comes a cold water current, while from the Southern part comes a warm water current which meet on our side where one can still fish very well. We suggested their fishermen should come to our side to fish. Of course, they do not fish on industrial level, therefore they cannot make any damage.

The representatives of Park Chung Hee, the personal counselors of [Ciang Ghi lang (sic) and Lee Hu-rak] came over, and during discussions they regarded our proposals as being very good, and they did not involve disputes, but rather rapprochement. We proposed to reduce the armed forces as the costs involved are very high. We told them that even if they get free assistance from the American side, it is still difficult. The proposals for reducing armed forces were accepted. They said that their life depends on not reducing the military forces. We explained that whether their life depends on it or not is to be decided by their own people. We told them they do not need to support a 700 thousand-people army for oppressing the population in the South, and for this purpose we have proposed to make reductions, but they disagreed.

We proposed to begin to cooperate. We said that for greater things we have to begin from a rational collaboration: you will not criticize communism and we will not criticize you. In this manner we can achieve a rapprochement. They received the proposal and showed interest, but without results. They agreed with one proposal: to use the Diamond Mountain—the Southern and Northern parts—for developing a common tourism base.

This is the way in which discussions took place. What Park Chung Hee is really after, and this is something the Americans are also after: Park Chung Hee, just as the Americans, is making a few calculations: in South Korea there exists a democratic, progressive side; there is then the North; and there is the rightist movement led by Park Chung Hee. Within a unity government he thinks that he will lose by a 2-to-1 margin, because the democratic and progressive side will take the part of the North and he will be left with the minority. This is why he has begun a brutal campaign of interrupting the dialogue with the North, by adopting a variety of measures. It is well-known that the representative of the New Democratic Party has fled to Japan as a result of Park Chung Hee's adoption of measures against progressive forces. Last year he was abducted and brought to Seoul, and now he is under house arrest. This is the element which could have constituted that plus of 2-to-1 in the alliance with the North by realizing a government for peaceful unity.

In South Korea, academic and education activities are interrupted, in a state of complete vacation. As a result of the new repressive measures against the masses and the democratic movements, not only 200 important and progressive leaders were apprehended, but also thousands of students and young people. Amongst them, there were mostly intellectuals, writers and journalists.

This is the stage at which we are with this problem. As a result of our visit to the People's Republic of China, they were terribly scared that we may start the war. They say the same things will happen in our case as in that of Cambodia and South Vietnam. At the moment they are alert and mobilized. They don't know what to believe—could it be that the Americans have given them any indications? There are multiple versions indicating that as a result of their failure in Cambodia, the Americans will not give up Korea since it is a place of great strategic importance for them. We are however working as we have always worked: we are generally mobilized, but for replanting rice. Park Chung Hee has only that kind of ideas.

I would like to dwell in a few words on the third point of our discussion, that of the collaboration with the outside world. I will not focus on the relations we have with the other communist countries, as you, Comrade Ceaușescu, know very well just how good these relations are and you are in a good position to assess our stand.

Our basic idea is unique: that of strengthening and consolidating the relations with socialist countries, the same way we did in the past. This line was and will remain in our focus.

We give a lot of attention to the rapprochement and consolidation of relations with Third World countries. We receive efficient support from Comrade Tito and Boumediene as well as from other chiefs of state in this respect. This activity has as particular aim, besides the unity with the fore-mentioned peoples, to obtain support for our cause of unifying the country based on the three principles we have initiated, as well as on the five points that guide our policy. We are tirelessly working towards participating next year to the meeting of the non-aligned countries. We were recently accepted as part of the group at the meeting which took place in Cuba. We feared that India, Indonesia and Malaysia will raise objections but, due to an insistent activity, we have obtained also the promise of these countries. There is the possibility that even in Latin America there will be some against, but we believe that the great majority will be in our favor. We have the main advantage that we have normalized relations with a number of countries with which we did not have diplomatic relations.

In what the socialist countries are concerned, we have not encountered objections regarding our participation at the conference next year. The Soviets have expressed—not within the central Committee—at the level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs some opinions, but officially they did not object to our actions. There is no other purpose to our accession to the Third World but that of strengthening the unity and friendly relations with that group of countries, and of obtaining allies for our policy of peaceful unification of the homeland, of chasing the Americans away from South Korea and of eliminating Park Chung Hee.

Another important activity that we are focusing on is that of unmasking the Americans acting under U.N. helmets. Whether they leave South Korea or not, that is another problem, but they should not be there under the U.N. helmet. Under this guise the Americans can also bring Japanese troops - it is very easy to bring them to South Korea in the name of the U.N. army. This will not be difficult due to the fact that the Americans are in South Korea as a result of bilateral agreements, of mutual understandings between the two sides. The important thing is that they are not stationed there under the U.N. helmet. There are also a lot of South Koreans—some understand, some do not, what it means to take the American troops from under the U.N. helmet.[sic.]

This is the context of our international activity.

As far as the activity, contracts and our opinions on the discussions with the Americans for resolving our problem are concerned, I would like to speak privately with Comrade Ceaușescu.

In general and brief terms, this would be the situation and activity we are engaging in at the moment. I will of course insist on some issues during our separate discussions.

As far as our bilateral, and most importantly, our economic relations, I have nothing more to emphasize except my wish that we will accomplish what we set out to do initially. I would like to ask you that in the future you receive more of our specialists to learn from you. I do realize there are difficulties, but I would ask you to accept more trainees.

I also had the pleasure to remind you of the special efforts you have made, Comrade Ceaușescu, together with the medical group, to save a man who seemed almost lost—I am speaking of Prime Minister Kim Il. We are profoundly impressed with and happy about his recovery. Our entire people as well as all party members shall never forget the assistance you gave him. Comrade Kim Il repeatedly says, jokingly, that had it not been for the Romanian comrades, he would since long ago been an angel and had risen to the heavens. For this reason I insist that our specialists should come here and improve their medical, technical-scientific and other levels at which they are yet to learn.

As far as relations along party lines are concerned, there is nothing in particular that I wish to address. I consider these relations to be as profound and rational as possible.

With your permission, I will conclude here my address.

If Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu or others wish to ask questions concerning one issue or another, I am at your disposal for answering.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

I would like to thank Comrade Kim Il Sung for the exposé he gave us. I believe there are no questions for now. We will surely have time to discuss about other problems.

Kim Il Sung:

Very well.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

I would also like to make reference to some problems regarding the situation in Romania.

In fact, almost a five-year plan elapsed since our last meeting. We were then during the first year of the cycle while now we are during our last. I have to say that this particular cycle is going according to plan. We foresee that we will complete it a few months in advance, while in some counties, the capital included, we will complete it in four years and a half.

In the meantime, at the end of last year, we held the 9th Congress, which elaborated the Party's Program as well as the Economic and Social Development Directives until 1980, and, in perspective, those until 1990. We actually plan to get closer to the developed countries in the next 10 to 15 years. This involves achieving a rather serious growth in industrial and agricultural volume, and based on these, reaching a national income of about \$ 2,500 per capita. At the end of the current five-year cycle, by 1975, we will probably have a national income of about \$ 2,000 per capita. For this we are taking in account the continuous development of the industry and, in general, of the entire economy at a fast pace. During this cycle, the average industrial growth rate is of about 14% per year; during the next cycle we will reach a growth rate of about 10%. We are allocating about 33% of the national income (in the last years as much as 34%) added, towards development. It is one of the highest growth rates internationally. It is precisely on this basis that we hope to accomplish the projected development.

We put increased emphasis on developing the most modern branches of industry—technology and most especially equipment, electronics, complex machineries—which would cover not only national demand, but be also suitable for export.

In order to reach these objectives, we stepped up scientific research as well as the education system, including the training of highly qualified personnel. About 100 thousand people are working in research. As far as higher education is concerned, we are in effect preparing all the people we need, while we are admitting 5,000 additional foreign students.

I can therefore say that as far as the industry is concerned—certainly, with some shortcomings and difficulties we are currently addressing—things are generally going well.

As far as the agriculture is concerned, though we registered an increase in production at an average level of 5% per year, we are not entirely satisfied with the results during this last five-year cycle. We are yet to create the practical conditions for ensuring a good crop regardless of weather conditions. We have launched an irrigation program and several land exploitation improvements. By the end of this year we will have irrigated approximately 1.8 million-2 million hectares. We want to reach 3 million hectares by 1980 and 5-6 million by 1990, which represent practically the entire surface which could be irrigated. This requires great efforts, but we are determined to do this so as to ensure a radical solution for the state of our agriculture. At the same time, we will solve the issues of complete mechanization in all sectors during the current cycle until 1980, and will reach the quota of over 250 kg active fertilizer substance per hectare. This will be the basis of sustainable

crops. Generally we can ensure our own internal consumption and we even export some products, but we wish for the agriculture to contribute more to the general development of our society.

Concerning the increase in living standards, during this cycle we planned an increase by 20% and will reach approximately 25%, a larger increase therefore than what we originally planned.

Concerning international economic relations, almost 50% of our economic exchanges are with socialist countries, the rest with developing countries and with developed capitalist countries.

Concerning socialist countries, exchanges with them are based on an annually adjusted balance of trade. In 1974 however we reached almost \$ 200 million positive balance of trade for Romania.

Regarding loans, we have no debts besides those of about \$ 200 million made with the People's Republic of China in 1969, during the draught. We did have some debts with the Soviet Union for the SovRom enterprises and for armament, which we were due by 1980 but which we paid in full by 1974. We do however, have some credits taken in capitalist countries, but we have also granted credits in value of several hundred million dollars to developing countries. In the future we wish to pay in full the credits made in capitalist countries and create an external activity fund so that we will never have to get credits in the future. This is therefore the present economic situation of Romania.

As far as the party is concerned, we held the Congress; we have 2.5 million party members. Generally, the political atmosphere in the country is good.

Concerning the international issues, major changes have taken place in the world since the meeting in 1971. We believe however that all these changes are to the benefit of anti-imperialist, socialist and progressive forces.

In the meantime, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe just began. We are now close to its conclusion. The important fact is that the workings of the Conference, which lasted for almost three years, were based on consensus, which ensured unquestionable equality among all participants, regardless of size and social system. It was certainly not easy, as some socialist states such as the Soviet Union, as well as some capitalist states such as the United States, disagreed, but eventually had to accept this principle as the premise of the conference. We believe there are real chances that the Conference will conclude this year with generally positive results. We know the Conference has been criticized by certain countries, including by the Chinese comrades. We believe however that the Conference will end with good results and will represent an important step in the direction of real collaboration—at least in Europe. We certainly do not have any illusions that this Conference will solve the complex European problems, but it will open ways for a more genuine dialogue towards finding solutions. Certainly, we still have in Europe the two main military organizations—NATO and the Warsaw Pact; there are still foreign troops on other countries' territories—the American troops in Europe, the military bases and nuclear equipment brought to Europe. This is why at the Congress we concluded that the greatest danger for a new conflict is the high concentration of armed forces in Europe. Starting from this conclusion, we believe great efforts have to be made for diminishing this danger and subsequently, for eliminating it altogether; for dismantling the military blocks and bases, and for reducing the number of national troops and of arms in general. There are the actual problems in Europe according to our judgment.

We also grant special attention to the situation in the Balkans. In the meantime, things have become more complicated due to the events in Cyprus and the straining of relations between Greece and Turkey. Our focus in this situation is towards finding solutions for the Cypriot problem through peaceful and political means; towards maintaining the Cypriot independence, as well as towards solving the issues between Greece and Turkey.

Concerning the events on other continents, according to our appreciation, great changes have taken place in this direction. I would first of all refer to Africa, where the elimination of colonial domination registered great successes, and where neo-colonial relations are changing, national

independence is being affirmed, while the progressive development of most African states is underway.

Great changes also took place in Latin America. In fact, all states on this continent are viewing their relationship with the US from a different angle, involving the activity reform of the Organization of American States.

As you know, great changes occurred in Asia, especially in South-Eastern Asia. During my recent visit to the Philippines I have taken note of their eagerness to revise their treaties with the United States, and to adopt a more independent position internationally. This tendency is visible in other Asian countries, such as Thailand; that is to say, among those most devoted allies of the US 2-3 years ago.

All of this testifies to the great changes that occurred over the past years in the peoples' way of thinking, to their wish of carrying a defense policy for their national independence, and to end foreign dependence and domination. Based on these facts, we can say the current centre of anti-imperialist struggle is found precisely in these areas: in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia. From this point of view Europe is far behind. It is a paradox, but Europe not only lacks an increased struggle against imperialist countries and for withdrawal of foreign troops from their territories, but also supports the stationing of foreign troops and military basis on its territory. The issue of dismantling NATO is no longer even part of the agenda amongst European communist parties. Certainly, this is a complex situation which would take a lot of time to explain, but among the explanations is the fear some communist parties have of what would happen in Europe after the departure of foreign troops, especially the American ones. This situation is of course encouraged by the US and the USSR. These developments are complex and changes will unfold over years to come.

As you know, the Sino-American or the Soviet-American contacts had not yet begun in 1971. During the following years, Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China took place, and therefore the establishment of US-PRC contacts, which we considered as positive; an intensification of contacts and the visit of Nixon to the USSR and well as of Brezhnev to the United States took place; a series of agreements were reached—some known, others less so. We considered the improvement of relations between the USSR and the United States as positive. We have of course expressed our concern and told both the Soviet and the American sides that these agreements should not be made behind closed doors, to the disadvantage of other countries, and should not lead to the division of the world according to spheres of influence. The events and the change in the balance of forces at the international level, make impossible such a style of solving problems behind the backs of other states, and shall not be accepted by anyone. It is however not a secret that the US and the USSR believe that solving problems between the two of them is equivalent to solving problems at an international level. Life has demonstrated that such a logic is wrong and that their agreements are not sufficient for solving complex international issues—this is actually the main result of changes in the balance of power at an international level. This is why we are for an active participation of all peoples in solving complex international issues, as well as for a more active role of the U.N., which offers the appropriate backdrop for an active participation of all states in the international life.

In what concerns the situation in the Middle East, this continues to be tense while the real and permanent danger for a new conflict is there. We have discussed extensively with all the concerned Arab states, including with the Palestine Liberation Organization. We also discussed with Israel and we remain convinced that a military solution is not an option in the Middle East. This is in fact the conclusion of the Arab states and of Israel as well. A military solution is not an option because this would entail the presence in the Middle East of other states. This is why a political solution is the only way to peace. In order for this to happen, it is certainly necessary that Israeli troops withdraw from territories occupied after the war in 1967, and the Palestinian issue be solved [by] the creation of an independent Palestinian state. This should be the way to secure peace and consequently the guarantee for the integrity of all states. All Arab states agree with this in general, including the Palestinians.

As far as Romania's foreign relations are concerned, we definitely have good relations with all socialist states and in order to reach optimal collaboration, we act in a spirit well-known to you. There are a series of differences of opinion—both within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as well as within the Warsaw Pact—but we are discussing them and we are acting in order to solve them while guaranteeing the independence and the right of each party and people to solve their own issues.

As you know, there is a lot of talk about socialist integration into the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as some see in it a model of integration through supra-national organizations, through a single instrument of planning, and starting from here there appears also the need for ideological integration, and doubtless of territorial integration. There are also wishes for military integration. All of this stirs discussion. There are a few meetings to which we are not participating because we disagree with the proposed directions.

Kim Il Sung:

Are there many who accept them?

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

There are many who accept with the thought that in the end nothing will come of it, but unfortunately they do not have a firm position needed to create a truly new type of relations in the Marxist-Leninist spirit.

In order to understand how this happens I shall give you an example from the military. Within the Warsaw Treaty there are war provisions regarding the common actions and decisions which need to be taken to allow for the passage of troops on the territory of different states—hypothetically. To this end we have suggested the sealing of government agreements among states. Until now—this happened a few years ago—the Soviets and the others are refusing to seal such agreements. This is why Romania has not accepted yet and still does not accept any military presence on its territory. For both maneuvers and transit, state agreements are necessary.

Therefore, a series of issues which are being discussed and will continue to be discussed as long as this mentality we disagree with will continue to exist. We are however developing relations and will continue to do so.

We have good relations with Yugoslavia; we have good state relations with Albania; the relations with the People's Republic of China are also good. Certainly we disagree on some issues with the Chinese comrades, especially, as I showed before, on the issue of European security. We agreed that our different ways of judging things should not affect our collaboration. They agreed on this point—that they live further away and have a different view on things. We also have good relations with Mongolia. The same goes for Vietnam and Cuba. Therefore, even with all punctual disagreements, we have managed to develop these past years a satisfactory collaboration with practically all socialist countries. Clearly, without all the disagreements, the collaboration would work much better.

I will speak now about the relations between Romania and Korea, but I consider them to be very good.

We also pay special attention to the relations with developing countries. We collaborate well with most countries in Africa. With Guinea-Bissau we event signed a treaty. We have good relations with almost all Arab countries except Saudi Arabia. They took a decision not to accept on their territory representatives of socialist countries but we nevertheless managed to develop some economic relations through the mediation of certain Arab countries, and we will see whether normalization is possible. It seems that the new king is favorable to that.

We also have good relations with countries in Latin America, especially with two—Argentina and Costa Rica—we have closed treaties. We visited seven countries in the Latin America and soon I will visit Brazil and Mexico.

We have working relations with all Asian states, except South Korea. We cleared the situation with South Vietnam. With Thailand we have initiated relation half a year ago. With some of these countries there are even very good economic collaboration perspectives. The same goes for India, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia. We have very good economic and political relations with Iran. Also with Iraq we have good relations.

In total, we have good relations with 125 states. We therefore give a lot of attention to developing countries. We actually have several thousand specialists working in these states, especially in Africa.

Additionally, we are planning to attend the Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement as observers. We have received promises from a large number of states that we will be supported in this attempt. Perhaps the Romanian and Korean representatives can meet there.

We have good relations with all developed capitalist states in Europe. There are of course problems related to the Common Market, as with the beginning of this year they decided they will adopt a joint approach to deal with some issues, which requires new strategies from our part. We have established some direct contacts with the Common Market. A year ago we have become the subject of preferential border provisions, but we have to keep pushing. We shall see how we can address these issues as members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. An agreement was reached to initiate ties between the Council and the Common Market. Contacts have begun. We believe however that only general issues are to be solved at the level of the Council and the Common Market, while every separate country is to solve its particular issue directly, without the Council's mediation. Discussions are ongoing within the Council but I believe we will go in that direction. In any case, we wish to solve some issues and begin a direct dialogue with the Common Market, in order to solve some of Romania's issues. Certainly, we hold on to the opinion that the Common Market represents a monopoly, but it is not the only one in the world. We have to solve our problems starting from these premises. This is why we have also decided to negotiate directly with the Common Market.

As far as our relations with the United States go, these are generally good. We don't have direct problems which could affect our relations. Economic exchanges have intensified. Recently we have signed a trade agreement which will soon be approved by the US Congress. If this agreement goes through we shall also obtain the Most Favored Nation clause and will therefore be able to engage in trade under better conditions. It greatly interests us to develop relations with the US, especially for developing technologies and for importing raw materials. About 50% of our raw materials already come from the US—coke, cotton, leather and others—under relatively favorable conditions.

These are in general Romania's relations with different groups of states around the world. We are determined to act according to the same principles in the future.

Among the international problems which concern us most, [I could mention] that of disarmament. The main issue aside, we also have to consider the fore-mentioned situation in Europe. Disarmament is an important issue for us if we are to secure the country's development. The continual accumulation of new armament, the production of nuclear weapons will undoubtedly lead to additional states getting in their possession. For this reason and in order to contain this phenomenon, nuclear proliferation has to stop.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is currently underway, and Romania together with other states, has specifically expressed this point of view together with a long list of proposals regarding the proliferation prevention. We read an informative note today from Geneva which indicates that

even Senator Kennedy expressed a similar opinion. Clearly, Romania's position has again failed to be to the liking of Soviet comrades, but we have openly said we don't believe there is any other way besides the one mentioned above. It is not admissible to force a state to buy its nuclear weapons [from somewhere else] while others [are allowed] to produce them [themselves].

Other issues which seriously concern us—and which actually concern all states - are those related to the economic crisis, energy, raw materials and economic underdevelopment. Clearly, these are very complex issues, but without clear regulations from the part of all states, aimed at discouraging underdevelopment, there will be no solution for the economic crisis and for all the existing problems. There is a lot of talk nowadays about the new international economic order, which would bring about an end to inequality and unfair domination, and would replace these with equity and international collaboration. We support an active approach to finding a solution for these problems, while the Soviet comrades are still reserved. Clearly, they are in a different position: they have raw materials and a large territory; but generally we consider that socialist countries should be much more active than they are in finding a solution to these complex economic issues. Starting from this premise, we have joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—international organizations which play a rather important role in global economics—and we believe that we need to continue our presence and activity within these bodies.

This is the way we understand to act internationally.

As far as the relations between Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are concerned, I believe they are developing with positive results and that there are no obstacles to extending collaboration between our parties and states. In the last years, economic exchanges have doubled. Too my mind however, they are still underdeveloped and we should set as [our] aim at least the threshold of 100 million rubles. Both Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are developing at a fast pace and I believe we can develop a good collaboration on many issues, and on a longer term basis. Perhaps it would be better to consider a longer-term understanding, at least over the duration of a five-year cycle. We have such understandings with almost all socialist as well as with other states, and I believe it would be good to reach a similar bilateral understanding in the area of industry; if we wish to build an atomic bomb, we should collaborate in this area as well. We have started to build planes; currently we are building a military aircraft with Yugoslavia. We are producing airplanes. We wish to start the production of a transport aircraft of 50 seats, for internal flights and flights to neighboring countries. We can therefore successfully seal agreements in any branch of industry. We are interested in some branches of agriculture, especially in the production of rice, cotton and others. We also have experience in agriculture which could be interesting to you and could result in a positive collaboration. The same goes in the field of scientific research, of technology, including in the area of professional training. We wish that the good relations between our parties and peoples find expression in an ample economic collaboration which would lead to the development of both countries and would further the socialist and communist edifice in our respective countries. With this opportunity, we would like to reach a few agreements at least in principle, which would be finalized in the same spirit, during the next months.

This is the direction in which we want to extend the collaboration between our parties and peoples.

I thank you.

Kim Il Sung:

I sincerely thank you for this exhaustive presentation. In our next discussions I will address some international issues.

Regarding the development of bilateral relations, especially economic ones, we have nothing against a long-term agreement. We have abilities and resources in the field of colored metals, of

coal and limestone. We also have a development plan for the extractive industry. I say this especially to underline some prospects for the development of these sectors, as well as for the expansion of our industry. We have also discussed and identified some issues regarding extraction. We have iron deposits with a high percentage purity which we export to the People's Republic of China in return for coke. With our consistent resources, we therefore have possibilities to develop the metal industry to the level of 10-12 million tons of iron, but this is not yet done as the deposits are not close to the earth surface. We will be able to reach them after the introduction of the appropriate technology and machines. Some of these latter ones come from imports, others we produce ourselves. We ask from China as much coke as we need—they are close and the transportation is cheap. Our iron is also well renowned. Though we have many exploitable resources, we have difficulties because of water infiltrations.

As far as electricity is concerned, we need it for the chemical industry and for the production of fertilizers. We have the ability to develop the energy industry up to 50 billion kilowatts, which would ensure new capabilities for the industry.

We are renowned for our colored metals industry. We can produce up to 1 million tons of such metals—lead, zinc, copper. We have closed a series of agreements with other countries in this area.

Concerning oil, we have secured part of it from the People's Republic of China, part from the Soviet Union.

We have no major complaints about development prospects in our country.

Concerning cereals, we have the task to ensure 500 kilograms per capita, with a small arable surface. We have approximately 2 million hectares, 200 thousands of which are reserved for orchards and other uses. We are aiming for intensive cultivation. We have reached a high level of rice cultivation. While Japan holds the first place worldwide for rice cultivation with 4.8 tons per hectare, we have surpassed the level of 5 tons. We went as high as 5.9 tons of rice per hectare. As a result, we have not felt the recent world food crisis.

We have a few strategies in the area of fishing, where we have to secure the necessary number of ships. There are some difficulties here, as our most intense relations in the field have been with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. There are some limitations because these countries cannot secure everything we want. For this reason we wish to develop economic relations with the other socialist countries, with developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries. To this end we need transportation ships. This year we will build 8-10 such ships, with a capacity of 10 thousand tones. If we reach the number of 100 such ships, we will have the necessary transportation means. The distance between us is too long via railway. Oftentimes we can use the Soviet Union's railways, but even they are unable to help us in all circumstances. We can only access the world by waterway from our location. We believe that in 2-3 years we will solve this problem as well. Even if we wanted to buy ships from somewhere, it is still difficult to obtain the needed amount.

Regarding our long term agreement, I consider it feasible even with the volume you suggest. The difficulty resides with what I mentioned before: the distance. This year, we are experimentally building a few large ships. We will produce them and provide them with imported engines—we realized this is something we can do. I therefore agree with this long-term agreement—we have a strong economic basis for this as well as the necessary resources.

From our side, the agreement shall be signed by the Minister for Foreign Economic Affairs.

We are interested by the technical-scientific collaboration. In our turn, we will share everything without any trace of secretiveness.

Clearly, we can also collaborate in the military field. We have no secrets here either, and until now we have had good relations in this area. We can therefore develop a good collaboration in this field as well.

We can achieve much more in terms of rapprochement by comparison with the present level of collaboration. If we only focus on buying from somewhere else, we will have many difficulties; resources are expensive and we will not obtain everything we need.

As far as our documents are concerned, we will sign a Friendship and Collaboration Treaty as well as a Common Communiqué. We shall start from the already existing relations. I believe there is no problem with those. We also got along with our Chinese comrades during our visit. You have certainly seen the Communiqué we drafted with them. All was made in the spirit of mutual understanding. We were open; we provided information for each other and made this exchange in order to understand better what and how we think. We only had admiration for their positions, and they for ours. I believe we share the same principles and in the future we shall be guided by the same actions.

Let's now pass the responsibility to those who have to carry the discussions.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu:

Yes, we have here all the comrades who can take care of the external, economic and military areas.

I believe that with this we can close the discussions.

Kim Il Sung:

Certainly.

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The Toast of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Official Dinner Offered for Comrades Kim Il Sung and Kim Sung-ae

May 23, 1975

Esteemed comrade Kim Il Sung,

Esteemed comrade Kim Sung-ae,

Dear comrades and friends,

I take immense pleasure in offering you, comrade Kim Il Sung and comrade Kim Sung-ae and all other Korean delegates, the most cordial greeting on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the State Council, the government and the entire Romanian people, and to welcome you to Romania, which is receiving you with its warmest feelings of friendship. (lively applause)

The visit that you are paying our country these days—just like the visit I paid your beautiful homeland in the summer of 1971, marks a very important contribution to the development of the friendship, solidarity and cooperation ties between our peoples, parties and respective countries.

The Romanian people is watching with profound sympathy the disciplined work which the diligent Korean people is undertaking, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, at whose helm is its eminent leader Kim Il Sung, to build the edifice of socialism, to insure progress and the flourishing of his country. (Applause) Dear friends, we salute with truthful joy the

remarkable successes you are achieving in the development of the economy, science, education and culture, in the rise of the people's standard of living, in the strengthening of the defense capacity of [your] country—and we would like to wish you more accomplishments in your grandiose path! (Applause)

The Romanian people, who constantly and firmly manifested its internationalist solidarity with the righteous cause of the Korean people, is offering its full support for the constructive policy promoted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, by you, comrade Kim Il Sung, for the peaceful reunification of the country - the precious ideal of the entire Korean nation. (Applause)

Your visit to Romania is taking place in a period when our entire people is intensely working to fulfill the decisions of the 11th Congress of our party, which adopted the Program for the creation of a multilaterally developed society and advancement of our country towards communism. Throughout your visit, you will have the opportunity to get to know directly the enthusiastic work which the Romanian people, tightly united around the party, is undertaking to fulfill ahead of time the requirements of the current five-year plan. We believe that by insuring the success of the building of the socialist society edifice in Romania, we are not only fulfilling our supreme responsibility towards our people, but also the grand internationalist duty towards the socialist cause, the strengthening of revolutionary anti-imperialist forces across the globe. (Applause)

Esteemed comrade Kim Il Sung, in the four years that have passed since our last meeting, profound revolutionary, national and social transformations and deep transfigurations in the global balance of forces have occurred in the world. The anti-imperialist struggle of peoples against domination and oppression has intensified[;] the will of nations to assume control over their national wealth and resources and over their destinies is increasingly assertive. Consequently, certain steps towards détente and the relaxation of tensions have been undertaken. This course is however only starting; reactionary forces capable of imperiling international peace and security still exist. We therefore believe it is the supreme duty of all peoples, of all progressive forces everywhere to unite their efforts and take firm action to abolish the old policies of inequality and oppression, to promote new democratic relations throughout the world, to renounce the use of force and use of threats when solving international issues.

While fighting for peace and international cooperation, Romania is developing its friendships, alliances and cooperation with all socialist countries, acting consistently to strengthen their unity and their cohesion, according to Marxist-Leninist and internationalist socialist principles. (Applause)

At the same time, we are expanding our cooperation with developing countries, with states which are fighting for their own economic and social emancipation [;] we are actively supporting national liberation movements, [and] the fight of all peoples against foreign domination, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for freedom and independence. In the spirit of peaceful coexistence, Romania is promoting relations with all countries of the world, irrespective of their social order, starting from the belief that, in our times, the active participation in the international division of responsibilities represents an objective requirement for progress and an important factor of détente and peace. We constantly base our international relations on the principles of equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. We believe that the firm respect for these principles, for the right of every nation to take its own decisions on the path to social and political development, represents the crucial condition for instituting normal rapports in international politics. We are happy to say that the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are taking firm action and are productively cooperating to implement these principles in international politics. (Applause)

Romania saluted with great satisfaction the illustrious victories of the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples in their struggle against internal reactionary forces and foreign intervention, to liberate the entire territory of their homelands. These victories, of tremendous international importance, demonstrate yet again that when nations are determined to defend their independence

and sovereignty no force in the world can prevent them from achieving their aspirations!

In its foreign policy, Romania is paying a lot of attention to the achievement of security and cooperation in Europe, which would allow each nation to focus its energy on its own economic and social development, shielded from any aggression or interference from the outside.

As for the Middle East, we believe we should intensify our efforts to find a political solution to that conflict, starting from the requirement that Israel withdraw its troops from the territories it occupied during the 1967 war, that the Palestinian problem is resolved according to its legitimate interests as a nation, including through the creation of an independent Palestinian state, as well as through guaranteeing the territorial integrity, sovereignty and security of all states in the region.

We believe that a fundamental task of our times is to liquidate underdevelopment, the great gaps existing between the various levels of development between countries resulting from the practices of imperialism and colonialism. This means that a new economic and international politics order must be instituted, that fair relations must be spread across the globe, to exclude all forms of inequality and to facilitate the rapid progress of all countries, especially the backward ones.

Romania is firmly in favor of general disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament, of the eradication of military bases on foreign territory, of the dismantlement of military blocs and of undertaking concrete measures to insure peace and international cooperation.

It is a must to intensify efforts for the democratization of international relations, for the participation of all states—irrespective of their social order or size—in the resolution of all [international] problems so as to advance the freedom and independence of all nations in the world. (applause)

Starting from the lessons we learned during the Second World War, Romania is in favor of strengthening the United Nations Organization, [and] all other international bodies which could insure the resolution of complex problems through the participation of all states and peoples in the world.

Acting on the principles of the internationalist traditions of the revolutionary workers' movement in Romania, the party and the government of our country is developing far-reaching relations of cooperation and solidarity with all communist and workers' parties, with the other political bodies of the working class, with national liberation movements, with revolutionary, anti-imperialist, progressive and democratic forces worldwide, actively fighting for the perpetual strengthening of their unity and collaboration, towards the aim of the anti-imperialist struggle, social progress, for freedom and peace in the world. (Applause)

Esteemed comrade Kim Il Sung,

I would like to express our wish to perpetually develop the cooperation between our parties and our peoples. (Applause) Even if your visit is rather short, I wish your stay be most pleasant, and if possible, I wish you feel as comfortable as you feel at home. (Applause)

I would like to express my conviction that your visit, [and] the talks we will have will mark an important moment in the development of the multilateral cooperation of our parties and our peoples. (Applause)

At the same time, I believe that the multilateral cooperation between our parties and our peoples fully corresponds to the interests of our two countries, as well as to the cause of socialism, cooperation and international peace. (Applause)

I would like to ask you, dear comrades and friends, to raise your glass and toast to the health of our comrade and dear friend Kim Il Sung and of comrade Kim Sung-ae. To the health of

all the members of the party and governmental delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea! (Applause)

To the friendship and solidarity that exist between our parties, countries and peoples!

To the happiness and wellness of the Korean people!

To the triumph of the socialist cause, democracy, and world peace! (Applause)

The Speech of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Friendship Demonstration

Dear Comrade Kim Il Sung

Dear Comrades and friends,

Today we have the pleasure to welcome from the bottom of our hearts, at this demonstration of the Korean-Romanian friendship, the party and government delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung.

For us it is a great satisfaction to evoke our tight relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity which have been established between our parties, peoples and countries, linked as we are by the same form of social organization, by the same supreme goals of building the socialist and communist society. At the basis of the Romanian-Korean collaboration (which is developing well at many levels: economic, political, technical-scientific, cultural, including at that of experience exchange with the purpose of building a new social order) stand the Marxist-Leninist principles of rights equality, of respect for national independence, of mutual benefit and comradeship. The friendship, collaboration, and Romanian-Korean solidarity have deep roots in the very historical development of our peoples, which experienced during their history foreign domination and exploitation, carried heroic battles for their national independence and social freedom, for earning the right to be masters of their own destiny, in their own country.

The Romanian people has consistently manifested its admiration and support for the heroic fight of the Korean people in the liberation of its homeland. With the occasion of the visit we made four years ago we could notice the brilliant successes of the working people of the DPRK in their efforts of recovery and independent development of the country, in ensuring economic, scientific and cultural progress, in improve the quality of life, both material and spiritual. We sincerely rejoice the remarkable economic realizations which the Korean people constantly achieves while putting in practice the decisions of the Fifth Congress, in view of building a new society under the leadership of the Party, headed by the great son of the Korean people, eminent leader of the Party and the State, comrade Kim Il Sung.

Dear guests, as honest and close friends, we wish you from the bottom of our hearts new and significant realizations in the multilateral flourishing and development of the homeland, in building the socialist and communist order on Korean territory.

The Romanian Communist Party, our state and people, appreciate and actively support the constructive initiatives and fair policy that the DPRK consistently promotes, under the leadership of its President, comrade Kim Il Sung, towards achieving the vital and legitimate aspirations of independent and peaceful unity of the Korean nation.

We are entirely convinced that the visit you are not completing in the Socialist Republic of Romania—as well as the visit which we made in 1971 in your beautiful country—the conversations we are carrying and the documents which will be signed, shall open ever wider perspectives of our multilateral collaboration and militant solidarity between our countries and parties. This is entirely consistent with the interests of both our peoples, as well as to the general cause of socialism, progress and peace around the world.

Dear comrades,

You are visiting our country in a period when the Romanian people finds itself strongly committed, with all its forces, to putting into practice the historical decisions of the 11th Congress, which adopted the Program of the Romanian Communist Party, aimed at building a socialist multilateral developed society and at furthering Romania towards communism. Our entire people is working assiduously towards reaching before the deadline, the targets established by the new five-year plan for the period 1976-1980. An increasing number of enterprise collectives are reporting early final results for the tasks they had to finish during the current five-year plan.

The accomplishments of the working men during this period testify to the realism of our plans of economic and social development, to the creative ability of the Romanian people who follows unflinchingly the communist path, and to its decision to ensure the successful completion of the great plan of multilateral development of the socialist Romanian society, adopted by the Eleventh Congress. The advances of our country on the way of economic and social progress, of building a new social order, testify to the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist policy promoted by the Romanian Communist Party, which creatively applies the general principles of socialism to the conditions in our country, while firmly guiding the Romanian people on the path of prosperity, happiness and national independence.

Starting from the tight organic and dialectic interdependency of national and international tasks, the Romanian Communist Party will do everything in its power to bring about the victory of socialism and communism on Romanian territory, aware as it is that this action represents a contribution to the general cause of strengthening the forces of socialism, progress and peace around the world.

Your visit to Romania, comrade Kim Il Sung, is taking place during a period when the international life is marked by events which open ever wider perspectives for the peoples' fight for freedom, independence and social progress. It can be said that we stand at the beginning of a new phase in the crisis of capitalism, which encompasses all the spheres of social life and which hastens the revolutionary process of change in the balance of power internationally, in favor of forces which act for a better and fairer world. On all continents, unprecedentedly wide and strong social forces are raising against imperialist domination and dictatorial regimes, with the purpose of installing a new, democratic and fair type of relationship in the international life.

As a result of the peoples' fight, of the enlightened social forces, certain steps towards détente and collaboration were made in the international life. Reactionary forces and circles interested in maintaining the old policy continue to exist in the world, perpetuating conflict and tensions, military clashes and putting in danger the peace and security among peoples. This renders ever more necessary a colluding of the efforts of socialist countries, of all peoples and of enlightened, democratic and progressive forces everywhere, for consolidating and continuing in the direction of détente, in order to forever exclude from the international life the inequitable and oppressive imperialist politics, with the purpose of replacing it with a new policy, based on perfect equality and respect for the sovereignty of all the world's peoples.

A vivid illustration of the determination and agility with which peoples are fighting for the right to free development, is represented by the developments in Indochina. The victories obtained by the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples, illustrate the truth once more: when the peoples are determined to defend their independence, their right to determine their own destinies, nothing and no one can stand in their way! The Romanian people, who has constantly supported from a material, political and diplomatic point of view the fair fight of peoples in Indochina, salutes with satisfaction these historic victories and wishes them ever new successes on the way to building a free, independent and prosperous life.

More than ever, life demonstrates that during our lifetime no problems can be solved with the use of weapons, through military intervention; force can only aggravate existing problems, increase international tension and endanger the security and peace of humankind.

As a European country, Romania gives special attention to achieving security on our continent, where both world wars began, and where presently the most significant armed forces are concentrated together with the largest arsenal of destruction weapons, including nuclear. We consider that in this situation, by reaching security we mean that each and every European nation must focus its resources in the area of economic and social development according to their will, under the conditions of complete and real protection from any aggression or external involvement. We support the idea that the high level phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe must elaborate clear documents, with explicit provisions and firm commitments from the part of all states, for the creation of a climate of friendship and collaboration on our continent. We are convinced that European security corresponds not only to the European interest, but must also be accomplished in the interest of peace and security for all humanity.

An important demand is that of extinguishing all hotbeds of tension and conflict still existing in the world today, and ensuring political and peaceful resolution to controversial issues. As far as the situation in the Middle East is concerned, we consider that the essential issue at hand is that of acting energetically, on various fronts, towards the fast adoption of a political solution to the conflict and establishing a lasting and equitable peace in the region. For solving the conflict in the Middle East, it is necessary that Israel withdraws from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the war in June 1967, that the problem of the Palestinian people is solved including by the creation of an independent Palestinian state, and that the right to independent economic and social development of all states in the region is observed.

A major goal of progress in today's world is the elimination of underdevelopment. The enduring and deepening great economic gaps between states, resulting from imperialist, colonial and neo-colonial policy, constitute a serious source of inequality on the international scene, of tension and conflict, of continual increase of economic and political instability. To end underdevelopment, conditions must first be created for all developing countries to use all their material and human resources in order to accelerate their economic and social progress. We consider that advanced states have the duty to contribute to programs for accelerating the multilateral economic and social progress in developing countries, in parallel with the efforts towards industrialization and resource exploitation made by those peoples themselves.

In this spirit, we must abolish the old norms and principles which have governed in the past relationships between states, and which led to a partition of the world between the oppressed and oppressors, between poor and rich. A new international economic and political order, as well as new equitable inter-state relations are necessary for solving the complex problems in the present economic life worldwide: the crisis situations, the scarcity of raw materials, the energy crisis and world economic instability.

Without doubt, there are in the world today numerous problems which await their solution. As long as the arming race continues around the world, one cannot speak of true, effective security of the peoples. For this reason, we believe it is absolutely necessary that peoples act firmly towards concrete disarming measures, especially nuclear disarming.

The complexity of present international life demands that all countries, regardless of their size or social system, must participate actively, equitably, in finding solutions to the problems humanity is facing, all in the interest of every nation, towards durable peace on all continents. An increasingly important role in this respect is played by small and middle-sized states, the developing countries, the non-aligned countries - those most interested in the democratization of international relations. In this respect it is necessary to act with all determination for affirming around the world the equality of rights, the respect for independence and national sovereignty, of non-interference in internal affairs, for renouncing force and threats with force in international relations. Let us do everything in our power so that the peoples can decide their lives themselves, according to their own wishes, without external intervention!

The United Nations Organization and other international bodies must have an increasingly

important role in solving complex matters in contemporary international relations; starting from the realities of today's world, from the transformations which have occurred in the global balance of power, these [international] organizations must ensure the wide participation of all peoples in finding a solution for international issues, in fighting for security and peace, for the respect of international law principles in inter-state relations.

The Romanian Communist Party gives top priority to the development of solidarity relations with all communist and workers' parties, which play a significant role in the political and social evolution of today's world, in the progressive transformation of society, in the global fight for peace and security. We are actively militating for the strengthening of communist and workers' movement unity, which represents the basis for the development of solidarity of all democratic, anti-imperialistic forces. We base our relations with other parties on full respect for the principles of equality, independence of all parties, their right to design their own political lines, revolutionary strategy and tactics, creatively applying the dialectical and historical Marxism to those concrete conditions in which they are operating. We believe that, given today's international situation, communist parties must put in a lot of effort to strengthen the unity of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces at the national level—which represents the key to success for the fight supporting social progress, peace and cooperation.

As an active division of the global anti-imperialist front, our party and government is building amply cooperative relations with all political organizations of the working class, all socialist and social-democratic parties, national liberation movements, ruling parties in newly independent states, and with progressive, democratic social forces, in its fight for progress and world peace.

More than ever before, it is now necessary to do everything we can to overcome the old way of doing things, and to strengthen the unity of the working class, of the cooperation between communists and socialists; this is the essential condition for progress and peace in the world!

Our party firmly believes in the dialectical materialist principles about the decisive role of peoples in creating history, about the necessity to unite and increasingly mobilize the masses, [and] peoples everywhere to deal away with the old policy of oppression and inequality, for a new policy of cooperation, peace which would insure full independence, and independent development for all countries.

Dear Comrade Kim Il Sung,

Esteemed comrades,

Throughout our talks over the past few days we reached the joint conclusion to develop the multilateral cooperative relations between our parties and our peoples. One of the proofs of our common wish to do so is the decision to sign a Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the DPRK. Undoubtedly, this treaty will provide a durable foundation for the relations—which to this point have been very good—between our parties and countries, [and] it will exert a positive influence on the future Romanian-Korean cooperation, on the development of cooperation and peace in the world.

This is why we are certain that relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Workers' Party of Korea will intensely develop in the future as well, so as to continuously strengthen Romanian-Korean friendship, cooperation, and solidarity, the cause of socialism, peace and international security. Esteemed Comrade Kim Il Sung your visit to Romania will undoubtedly mark a historic moment in the ascendant evolution [sic!] of the brotherly relations between our parties, countries and peoples.

To conclude, on behalf of the Central Committee of our party, of the State Council, our government, our entire people, I would like to offer you the warmest welcome to all workers in the DPRK, to the entire Korean people, wishing it ever greater successes in its efforts to build the

edifice of socialism, to fulfill its ideals and aspirations for national unity, progress and prosperity, socialism and peace.

Long live the Romanian-Korean friendship and brotherly cooperation!

Long live the unity of socialist countries, communist and workers' parties, all progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces!

May the peace and cooperation among all world's nations triumph!