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NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The attached letter, dated 2 January 1991, was addressed to the **President of the Security Council** by **the Chargé d'affaires a.i.** of the **Permanent Observer Mission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United Nations**. In accordance with **the request** contained **in** the letter, the **text** is being **circulated** as a document of the Security Council.

Annex

**Letter dated 2 January 1991 from the Chargé d'affaires, a.i.
of the Permanent Observer Mission of the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the
President of the Security Council**

I have the honour to forward to you the new year address for 1991 (part of national reunification) of the great leader President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

I request that this letter, together with the enclosed new year address (part of national reunification) . be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) HO Jong
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.
Deputy ~~Permanent~~ Observer

Enclosure

New year address for 1991 of President Kim Il Sung
(part of national reunification)

Last year was an eventful year when the entire nation made a magnificent advance towards the reunification of the country in the **1990s** and opened a new chapter in the history of the **movement** for national reunification through a nation-wide struggle.

Last year, the historic 15 August Pan-National Conference was held focusing the high expectations and attention of our compatriots in **the** north, south and abroad, and meetings, dialogues and reunification festivals were held at Pyongyang, Seoul and abroad by political and social figures, sportsmen, artistes and other fellow countrymen from various sections. These greatly auspicious events gave pleasure to the entire nation and demonstrated to the world our nation's strong will to achieve reunification. The fervent sentiments of national unity that erupted, melting the icy barrier of division and confrontation, showed that the anti-communist policy of confrontation, which had brewed distrust and discord within the nation, was going bankrupt and that the noble idea **of** great national unity was triumphant. In particular, the formation of the Pan-National Alliance for Reunification last year was a valuable success that was achieved through the arduous struggle **of** the patriotic reunification forces in the north, south and abroad. It was an event of epoch-making significance in strengthening the internal force of national reunification and in expanding and developing the movement for reunification.

On the occasion of new year's day, the entire **Korean** nation is firmly resolved **to make a greater** advance on the road to national unity and the reunification of the country, looking forward more confidently to the day of national reunification.

We must not allow the division of our country to drag on beyond half a century; **we must** accomplish the historic cause of national reunification within the next **several** years.

A pressing question in hastening national reunification is to ensure peace on the Korean peninsula and to create peaceful pre-conditions for the reunification of **the** country.

Peace is the **most** universal ideal of **ma**kind: it is **most** valuable for our nation. If a war breaks **out** now in our country, over which a constant danger of war is hovering, the very existence of the nation will be endangered, not to mention national **reunification**. Maintaining peace is the **most** pressing question **that must** be settled **by** the north and south for reunification of **the** country and the well-being of the nation.

We have always attached prime importance to the question of peace in **our** country and have been making every sincere effort for its settlement.

From our sincere desire to ensure peace on the Korean peninsula and pave the road to peaceful reunification, we made already in 1988 a comprehensive peace proposal envisaging the adoption of a non-aggression declaration between the north and south, the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, the drastic reduction of the armed forces of the north and south and a phased withdrawal of the United States troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea. Last year, at the north-south high-level talks, we put forward important proposals for the settlement of the question of non-aggression and other effective measures for removing the military confrontation.

However, the United States and the south Korean authorities do not show any positive response to our sincere efforts; they have turned away from the settlement of the question of peace, the question of military affairs. On the contrary, they are increasing armaments on a large scale. As the proceeding of the north-south high-level talks shows, although the south Korean authorities talk about "peace" and the "cessation of a cold war", they actually refuse to adopt even elementary measures for ensuring peace and only persist in the "priority of exchange".

We deem it necessary to settle the humanitarian questions of visits and exchanges, but cannot compromise with the attempt to delay the settlement of the question of peace, the military question, which is more pressing. Home-town visits or economic exchanges, to be effective, require before anything else that the daggers hidden in the bosoms should be thrown away and that the fear of invasion from the south or "invasion from the north" should be dispelled. Evading the settlement of the military question and insisting only on exchanges in the situation of our country where there is a real danger of war, is in fact tantamount to wishing for no peace, no normal visits or no exchanges. The stand taken by the south Korean authorities at the recent north-south high-level talks in connection with the question of adopting a non-aggression declaration clearly shows that they have no intention at all of settling the question of peace.

The adoption of a non-aggression declaration is a starting-point in removing distrust and confrontation between the north and south and in opening up a new phase for peace and peaceful reunification.

A non-aggression declaration was proposed by the south Korean authorities themselves a long time ago. So there is no reason or excuse to object to it today. We cannot understand why the south Korean authorities bring up a new pre-condition, namely, the "priority of the creation of trust", and stubbornly object to the adoption of a non-aggression declaration. The so-called "priority of the creation of trust" claimed by the south Korean authorities is only an excuse to evade the adoption of a non-aggression declaration. A non-aggression declaration is on no account a question that comes after the creation of trust: it is the very starting-point and the most important guarantee for the creation of trust.

If the south Korean authorities call a non-aggression declaration a sheet of waste paper even before it is adopted and say that they cannot trust us, there will be, in fact, nothing on which they can agree with us, and the holding of talks would be nonsensical. By refusing the adoption of a non-aggression declaration, the

south Korean authorities themselves reveal that the non-aggression they have claimed is a lie and that the "threat of invasion from the north" **is** simply fictitious.

The south Korean authorities **must** not evade or delay removing military confrontation; they must respond unhesitatingly to adopting a non-aggression declaration and discontinue the "Team Spirit" joint military exercises.

The United States, which is directly responsible for the question of peace on the Korean peninsula, should look squarely at our sincere efforts for peace and the unanimous burning desire of the Korean people for national reunification and abandon its dangerous war **policy** based on the position of strength, conclude a peace treaty with us as soon as possible and withdraw its troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea.

If the military confrontation between the north and the south is removed and if the United States troops and nuclear weapons are withdrawn from south Korea, durable peace will be ensured in our country, and a decisively favourable phase will be opened for reunifying the country in a peaceful way.

An important matter at hand in hastening national reunification is to decide how the country should be reunified.

Unless the method of national **reunification** is confirmed, it will be impossible for the north and south **to take, in** practice, any concerted step towards a common goal or to find any clue to the problem of the talks for reunification, however much they talk about reunification. **Since** national reunification is the order **of** the day, not a matter for the distant future, the north and south should agree on the method of national **reunification** as **soon as** possible and strive for its realization and thus give a hope to all our compatriots who **eagerly** desire reunification.

In the situation of our country, where two different systems exist in the north and south, national reunification should be realized by establishing a confederation based on one nation, one State, two systems and two Governments, on the principle of neither side conquering the other **nor** being conquered by the other.

This method of reunification means to achieve reunification by establishing one united national State over different systems and governments in the north and **south**, leaving them as they are. Our proposal for reunification by means of confederation is derived from the possibility for two different **systems** and Governments to coexist in one national State.

Some people now claim that "homogeneity" should be **restored** in order to reunify the north and south, which have become "heterogeneous". However, the **time-**honoured commonness of the north and south **as** one nation has never **changed**; they are still homogeneous nationally. If there is anything different between the north and south, it is the heterogeneity, which has something to do with the two systems that have existed for the past 40 odd years; it **can** be no big problem when compared

to the national homogeneity that has been formed and consolidated for thousands of years. The difference in the two systems can never be the reason for our nation to live separated from one another: it can be no insurmountable obstacle in reunifying the north and south. If reunification is based on the national commonness that has been inherited down through history, the two **systems** can coexist within the bounds of one nation and one united State. Refusing to see this possibility and asserting the "theory of unifying **systems**" into one State and one **system**, saying, under the pretext of restoring "homogeneity", that **the** country has no alternative but to remain divided until the **systems** are unified is tantamount to an attempt to keep the **country divided for ever** and, in the final analysis, to refuse reunification.

We can leave the **matter** of unifying the different **systems** in the north and the south to our posterity for its slow but smooth settlement in the future. But we must not delay any longer the matter of establishing a unified State as one nation, transcending the difference in ideas and **systems**.

When two different **systems** and Governments exist in reality in the north and south and neither **of** them wants to concede its own, their unification into a single system is not feasible, and when it will be realized is unpredictable. Worse still, establishing a single **system** presupposes one side eating away the other, regardless **of** the methods, so it is unacceptable to any side. If one side tries to force what is unacceptable on the other, it **will** inevitably aggravate distrust and confrontation **and**, further, cause conflicts and an irretrievable national disaster.

Recently, the south **Korean** authorities, bewitched by the method of **amalgamation** through absorption adopted by a foreign country, began dreaming a fantastic dream of applying such a method in our country, too, by relying on foreign forces, through entreaty diplomacy, pursuing what they call the "northern policy". They are making requests for the interference and intervention of other countries in order to force theirs on the other side, instead of showing sincerity in the talks with the same nation. This is an expression of their sycophant mentality and attitude to keep the country divided for ever as well as the replica of the bankrupt policy **of "reunification** by prevailing over communism".

In our country, "reunification by prevailing over communism" is a wild fancy that **will** never come true. It has already **been** proved by history that our country **cannot** be reunified by one side eating away **the** other, either by war or peaceful **means**. The south Korean authorities must **understand** clearly that the independent stand of our Party and the Government **of** our Republic is unshakeable and that the **socialism** we have built by implementing the Juche idea is unconquerable.

Reunification by means of confederation on the basis of one nation, one State, two **systems** and two Governments is the great principle **of** defining the method of national reunification suited to the present situation in our country. The only and quickest way for the north and south to reunify the country peacefully by ending national division and reconciling and uniting with each other as a homogeneous nation is to put this great principle into practice.

We have already put forward the proposal for the **establishment** of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo as the method of **federal** reunification on the basis of one nation, one State, two **systems** and two Governments. This proposal **enjoys** active support and approval **from** the broad sections **of** our fellow countrymen in south Korea and abroad, to say nothing of the people in the northern half of the Republic.

We believe that the idea of establishing the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo is a fair common ground for national reunification, which can serve as the basis of national agreement. However, in an effort to **make** it easier **for** the whole nation to reach national agreement on this proposal, we are ready to consult on the matter **of** gradually and completely effecting **reunification** through confederation by vesting the regional autonomous governments of the Confederal Republic with more rights on a tentative basis and then increasing the functions **of** the central Government in the future.

As far as the question **of** United Nations membership **is** concerned, we consider it best to enter it under a single State name after reunification through confederation. But, if it is on condition that both aides of our country enter the United Nations as one member, we shall have no objection to holding United Nations membership **even** before reunification.

Reunifying the country by founding the Democratic Confederal Republic **of** Koryo will make it possible to meet the cherished desire of the nation for reunification, with neither side having its interests infringed upon, and to show the resourcefulness and pride of **a** unified **nation** to the world.

If they are really interested in national reunification, the south Uorean authorities should not dream of "reunification by prevailing over communism", which is impossible, nor should they fool the people with the spectre of "reunification by communisation". On **the** contrary, they must accept our proposal for reunification by means of confederation, which tolerates neither "prevailing over communism" nor **"communization"**, nor invasion from the south or **"from the north"**.

With a view to reaching a nation-wide agreement on the method **of** national reunification, we propose to convene a political consultative conference for national reunification as soon as possible in which the authorities and **representatives** of political parties and organisations of the north and the south sit together to decide upon the way of national reunification.

In order to quicken national reunification, **a** great unity of the whole nation must be realized.

National reunification is the independent cause of our nation, which nobody can carry **out** in **our** stead; it is the cause of the whole nation, which cannot be achieved merely by the efforts of the authorities or privileged classes. All political parties, organisations and people from all strata in the north, in the south and abroad who reject "two Koreas" and truly want national reunification must unite their will and **efforts** and achieve great national unity by placing the pressing demands and interests of the nation above all else.

For the great **national** unity, they should not discriminate between ruling parties, opposition parties and those out of office, nor deal with the minority differently from the majority, nor take issue with people about the difference in their political views and past faults, refraining from distrust and prejudice against the other party. The political **forces** of each party and **each** group and people from all strata who desire national reunification must reconcile their policies and actions with one another's and support and unite one another on the common front for national reunification and develop a dynamic, nation-wide **mass** movement for peace and reunification.

A matter of special importance **today in realising great** national unity is that the statesmen of the north **and** the south **make** mutual contacts, have dialogues and deepen their trust. **Today** when dialogues between authorities are under way and non-governmental people **from** all strata, too, desire to **meet** for a dialogue, it is shameful for statesmen, who assume a **heavy** responsibility for the destiny of the nation and the future **of** the country, to sit with folded **arms**, keeping a barrier between them. We will **meet men** of the ruling party as well as **men of** opposition parties and individuals **out of** office in south Korea irrespective of the **forms of** dialogue, whether it is bilateral or multilateral, and keep the door of dialogue for reunification for everyone wide open.

The talks between the authorities of the north and south can never be the only channel of the north-south talks. The **south** Korean authorities **must discard such a** narrow-minded, self-righteous attitude as preventing even the talks between non-governmental people while neglecting to promote the north-south high-level talks: they must abolish the "**laws**" hostile to the north, **immediately** release those who have been arrested and imprisoned on charges **of** visiting the north or of meeting us to **discuss** the **matter of** reunification abroad and provide **all** the south Korean people with equal rights **to** contact and talk freely with the north.

Reunification represents patriotism and division **means** treachery to the nation. **All** Koreans in the north and south and abroad who love the country and the nation must shatter all the **moves to keep** the country divided for ever and rise up as one in the sacred struggle for national reunification and must make this year a year of relaxation and peace, a year of reconciliation and unity and a historic year of bringing a new phase to national reunification.

