

# MOON JAE-IN'S POLICY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

A PENINSULA OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY



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## Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula

Moon Jae-in's policy on the Korean Peninsula remains open and continues to evolve.

This booklet encapsulates the basic policy directions that were laid out by President Moon Jae-in through his presidential election pledges, the Berlin Initiative, the 100 Point National Policy Agenda, and address on the 72nd Anniversary of Liberation.

It is a comprehensive plan aimed at building a better future on the Korean Peninsula, which lays out the steps for the New Economic Map, the improvement of inter-Korean relations, lasting peace, and ultimately unification.

The Moon Jae-in administration will complete this policy through the participation of - and interaction with - the people. Throughout the process, if possible, we will actively communicate with North Korea and the international community.

The sustainability of this policy will be ensured once it is completed based on such interaction and cooperation.



# Index

<b>01 Policy Background</b> .....	4 – 11
<b>02 Vision</b> .....	12 – 17
1. Peaceful Coexistence	
2. Co-prosperity	
<b>03 Three Goals</b> .....	18 – 23
1. Resolution of the North Korean Nuclear Issue and Establishment of Permanent Peace.	
2. Development of Sustainable Inter-Korean Relations.	
3. Realization of a New Economic Community on the Korean Peninsula.	
<b>04 Four Strategies</b> .....	24 – 31
1. Taking a Step-by-Step and Comprehensive Approach.	
2. Tackling the Issues of Inter-Korean Relations and the North Korean Nuclear Threat Simultaneously.	
3. Ensuring Sustainability through Institutionalization.	
4. Laying the Foundation for Peaceful Unification through Mutually Beneficial Cooperation.	
<b>05 Five Principles</b> .....	32 – 35
1. To Seize the Initiative in Resolving Issues of the Korean Peninsula.	
2. To Maintain Peace with a Strong Defense.	
3. To Foster Inter-Korean Relations Based on Mutual Respect.	
4. To Focus on Interaction with the People and Draw Consensus.	
5. To Implement the Policy through International Cooperation.	

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# Policy Background



## 01 Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula

※ The above location, which resembles the shape of the Korean Peninsula, was formed where Imjin River and Hantan River meet, and is located near the 'Center for Unified Korean Future'

# 01 Policy Background

Despite the end of the Cold War, the Korean Peninsula is experiencing unstable peace due to inter-Korean military confrontation. Despite the international community's expanded sanctions, North Korea is continuing nuclear and missile provocations, thus threatening peace and stability of the entire world. As a result, military tension on and around the Korean Peninsula has escalated to an unprecedented extent, leaving the Peninsula susceptible to an accidental military clash.

» In order to break away from the vicious circle of provocation and sanctions, we need to come up with fundamental strategies that can ensure an enduring peace on the Korean Peninsula.

## ■ 'Peace' as the Highest Priority

Peace is the value that we should uphold with the highest priority, as well as the foundation for prosperity. Not one goal can be reached in the absence of peace.

Based on a strong and reliable national defense capability, we will strive to preserve peace, pave the way towards peace, and eventually settle lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula. Once peace is established, the two Koreas will be able to coexist without conflict and ultimately open the door to unification together.



Although the former South Korean administrations have endeavored to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue, in times with sanctions and pressure and in times with dialogue and negotiation, such efforts saw limited results in bringing forth a positive change in North Korea's attitude. In order to see a fundamental resolution of the nuclear issue, we must take a more comprehensive and creative approach that can count in the security concerns of the North Korean regime.

» The North Korean nuclear issue must be resolved fundamentally and peacefully, based on the foundation of mutual respect and trust between the two Koreas.

## ■ Implementing a Policy Centered on 'Mutual Respect'

We explicitly stated our will to build a "Korean Peninsula of co-prosperity", where South and North respect and cooperate with each other, by defining our stance as the "3-Nos" - no desire for the North's collapse, no pursuit of unification by absorption, and no pursuit of unification through artificial means.

The Korean Peninsula of true peace and prosperity can be realized only when South and North Korea embrace each other's differences and cooperate towards a common interest.

We aim to restore inter-Korean relations and bring peace to the Peninsula by resuming inter-Korean dialogue and expanding exchanges based on mutual respect.

The 「3-Nos」 policy of the Moon Jae-in administration is in line with the basic principles of the Korean National Community Unification Formula, which has been officially adopted by former administrations of South Korea since 1989.

The Korean National Community Unification Formula pursues a **step-by-step and gradual unification**, which consists of three phases - Phase of reconciliation and cooperation, Phase of Korean Commonwealth, and finally, Phase of a unified nation with one nation, one state, and one system.

Akin to this idea, the 「3-Nos」 policy also recognizes North Korea as our counterpart for reconciliation and cooperation, and ultimately aims to realize a peaceful unification based upon inter-Korean consent.

# 01 Policy Background

Many times when a new administration came into office, South Korea's policy towards the North came to a halt and inter-Korean agreements were breached, putting inter-Korean relations at stake.

Disagreement within our society regarding unification and the Government's North Korea policy are yet to be resolved, and unnecessary disputes are still arising.

In order to build and preserve peace, we must institutionalize peace, together with our neighbors.

»» The foundations for sustainable inter-Korean relations must be established.

## ■ Pursuing 'Consistency' and 'Continuity'

We will respect the North Korea policies of former administrations and further develop what needs to be inherited.

Based on a national consensus, we aim to nurture sustainable inter-Korean relations that are backed up institutionally by the conclusion of a National Unification Contract (domestic); the New Inter-Korean Basic Agreement (inter-Korean); and a Korean Peninsula peace treaty (international).



The South Korean economy's vitality is continuously declining due to low growth rate, low birth rate, and aging population. In order to overcome such hardships, new growth engines must be secured. If South and North Korea become economically connected, we will be able to draw a new economic map that reaches out to continents and oceans across the world. If common economic interests on and around the Peninsula are to increase through this process, it will contribute to the peaceful resolution of confrontation and conflict.

»» A new order of peace and co-prosperity that reaches the entire Northeast Asian region, including the Korean Peninsula, must be established through a virtuous circle of peace building and economic cooperation.

## ■ Expanding the 'Scope of the Policy' to Northeast Asia and the International Community

Moon Jae-in's policy concerns not only the Korean Peninsula, but also neighboring countries in Northeast Asia and other members of the international community. We aim to promote peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula, in Northeast Asia, and around the entire world by pushing forward a cooperation that can benefit not only Koreans, but also our neighbors and citizens across the globe.



# 01 Policy Background

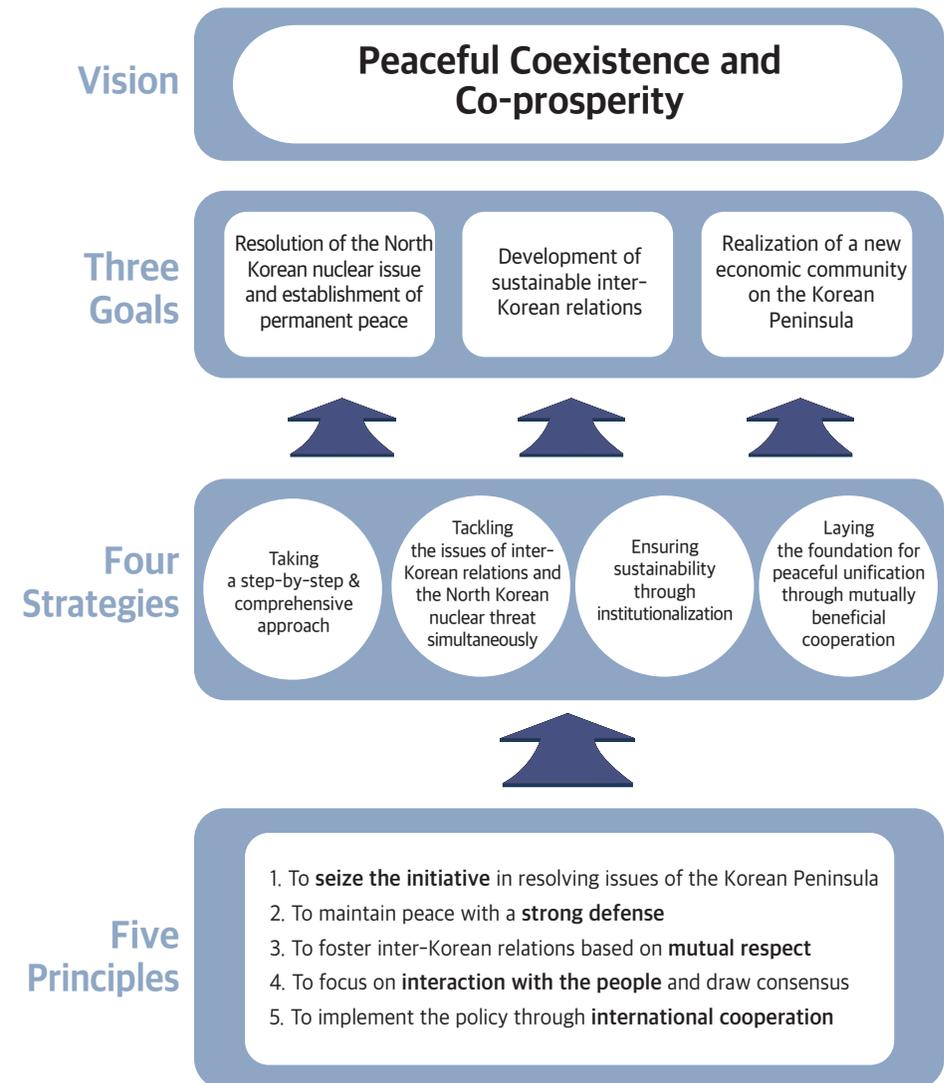


What we are pursuing is only peace. A peaceful Korean Peninsula is a peninsula free from the threat of nuclear weapons and war. It is a peninsula where the South and the North recognize and respect each other and live well together. We already know the road that leads to a peaceful Korean Peninsula. It is returning to the June 15 Joint Declaration and the Oct. 4 Declaration. Through these two declarations, the South and the North clearly stated that the owner of inter-Korean issues is our own nation, and committed to closely cooperate in easing tensions and guaranteeing peace on the Korean Peninsula. The two Koreas also promised to walk the path of common prosperity through cooperative projects in every sector of the society, including in the economic field. This spirit of agreement that was made on the foundation of mutual respect between the South and the North is still valid. And it is also desperate. We must return to that spirit where the South and the North together worked towards realizing a peaceful peninsula. I clearly state the following: we do not wish for North Korea's collapse, and will not work towards any kind of unification through absorption. Neither will we pursue an artificial unification. Unification is a process where both sides seek coexistence and co-prosperity and restore its national community. When peace is established, unification will be realized naturally someday through the agreement between the South and the North. What my Government and I would like to realize is only peace.

(President Moon Jae-in's Speech Delivered at Berlin's Old City Hall upon the invitation of the Körber Foundation, July 6, 2017)



# Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula at a Glance





# 02 Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula

1. Peaceful Coexistence
2. Co-prosperity

### 1

## Peaceful Coexistence

Since national security and economic development cannot be guaranteed in the absence of peace, peaceful coexistence is both a task and a vision that deserves highest priority.

Tension and confrontation have hovered over the Korean Peninsula for the past 64 years since the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement. Amidst North Korea's continued nuclear and missile threat, peace is a strategy for our survival, our greatest national interest, and the foundation for another chapter of economic prosperity.

**Under 'peaceful coexistence', all Koreans, both South and North, will be able to maintain an undisturbed everyday life, free from the terror of nuclear weapons and war.**

Peace does not simply mean the absence of war. We aim to actualize lasting peace through peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue, political and military trust-building between the two Koreas, and establishment of a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.

**Peaceful coexistence by itself is another step towards peaceful unification.**

If peace between the two Koreas is institutionalized to allow all Koreans to live without threat, we will be able to recover our national homogeneity and sense of community, and ultimately achieve a peaceful unification.



Needless to say, the call of the times on the Korean Peninsula is peace. The overcoming of the division through the settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula is the path to truly completing national liberation. Peace is also an urgently needed strategy for our survival. Security, the economy, growth and prosperity cannot guarantee a bright future in the absence of peace. Peace is not an issue that simply concerns ourselves. If there is no peace on the Korean Peninsula, there will be no peace in Northeast Asia; if there is no peace in Northeast Asia, world peace will not be possible.

(Address by President Moon Jae-in on the 72nd Anniversary of Liberation, August 15, 2017)



## 2 Co-prosperity

The vision of 'co-prosperity' aims to build a Korean Peninsula in which everyone can thrive together by promoting mutually beneficial cooperation between the two Koreas.

This is expected to help create new growth engines for our future economy and form a new economic community that can benefit citizens on both sides of the Korean Peninsula.

Under 'co-prosperity', the policy aims to extend the range of economic cooperation to the entire Northeast Asia, to enable 'co-prosperity' that is open to the region.

We aim to expand our economic territory to the North and the continental landmass to eventually develop the Korean Peninsula into the bridge between Eurasia and the Pacific. Through this process, we will achieve co-prosperity that benefits not only the Korean Peninsula but also other Northeast Asian countries.

'Co-prosperity' will be achieved through the virtuous circle of peace building and economic development.

Our goal is to complete a virtuous circle in which peace building ensures economic development, and economic development promotes peace building.



If there is progress in the North Korean nuclear issue and if appropriate conditions are met, my Government will draw a new economic map on the Korean Peninsula. We will freshly connect the South and the North, where it has been disconnected by the military demarcation line, with an economic belt and establish an economic community where the two Koreas prosper together. South and North Korea will prosper together as a bridging country connecting the Asian mainland and the Pacific. Then the world will see a new economic model of an economy of peace and co-prosperity.

(President Moon Jae-in's Speech Delivered at Berlin's Old City Hall upon the invitation of the Körber Foundation, July 6, 2017)





## Three Goals



### 03 Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula

1. Resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue and establishment of permanent peace
2. Development of sustainable inter-Korean relations
3. Realization of a new economic community on the Korean Peninsula

## 03 Three Goals

1

### Resolution of the North Korean Nuclear Issue and Establishment of Permanent Peace

The peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue is a goal and task of highest priority that is essential for peace on the Korean Peninsula.

The nuclear issue poses a grave threat to the lives and security of the Korean people, as well as to global peace; It is simply unacceptable. We will adopt a comprehensive and decisive two-tracked approach to solve the issue by playing a 'driving' role while at the same time riding together with our global partners, and implementing sanctions while pushing forward dialogue.

**We aim to substitute the past sixty years of an unstable armistice with a permanent peace regime.**

The peace regime of the Korean Peninsula is not merely a documented agreement; It refers to a state of peace ensured both materially and institutionally.

Once this peace regime is put into operation, it will contribute to the peace and prosperity of not only the Korean Peninsula, but also the entire Northeast Asian region.

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From the start, my Administration has dealt with issues involving the Korean Peninsula according to firm and consistent principles. We shall continue to do so going forward. Our top priority is to maintain peace on the Korean Peninsula. The second order of business is to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula. Third is our primary role in resolving the inter-Korean issue. Fourth is the peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue. Fifth is a stern response to any North Korean provocation.

(Address by President Moon Jae-in at the National Assembly Proposing the Government's Budget Plan for FY 2018 and Plans for Fiscal Operations, November 1, 2017)

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2

### Development of Sustainable Inter-Korean Relations

We will inherit and further foster the basic principles of the existing inter-Korean agreements, which are mutual respect, reconciliation and cooperation, and trust-building.

Existing inter-Korean agreements, including the July 4th South-North Joint Communiqué, Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, June 15th South-North Joint Declaration, and October 4th Declaration, must be honored and complied with as they are the fruits of painstaking efforts made by former administrations for the improvement of inter-Korean relations.

**We will lay the foundations for sustainable inter-Korean relations.**

Based on a national consensus, we will work towards enacting inter-Korean agreements into law so that the agreements can become institutional assets for a peaceful unification.

Furthermore, we will resolve disagreements within our society regarding unification and the government's North Korea policy and create a national consensus.

We will ensure consistency and continuity of our unification and North Korea policy through these efforts.

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The inter-Korean agreements achieved by former governments are important assets that must be honored regardless of the change in administration. The South Korean government will regard all inter-Korean agreements passed down by former administrations as principles to be revisited by the two Koreas. We will seek solutions and breakthroughs to pending issues on the Korean Peninsula from these past agreements.

(Congratulatory Speech for the Commemoration of the 17th Anniversary of the June 15th Inter-Korean Summit, June 15, 2017)

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## 03 Three Goals

3

### Realization of a New Economic Community on the Korean Peninsula

We will build a single market on the Korean Peninsula to create new growth engines and create an inter-Korean economic community of coexistence and co-prosperity.

We will contribute to finding new breakthroughs for our economy, eliciting positive change in North Korea, and practically improving the lives of North Koreans by promoting inter-Korean economic cooperation based on mutual trust and reciprocity.

This will help us lay the foundations for co-prosperity and economic integration of the two Koreas.

We will reach out to the Eurasian Continent and the world, and draw a 'New Economic Map' on the Korean Peninsula by establishing three economic belts.

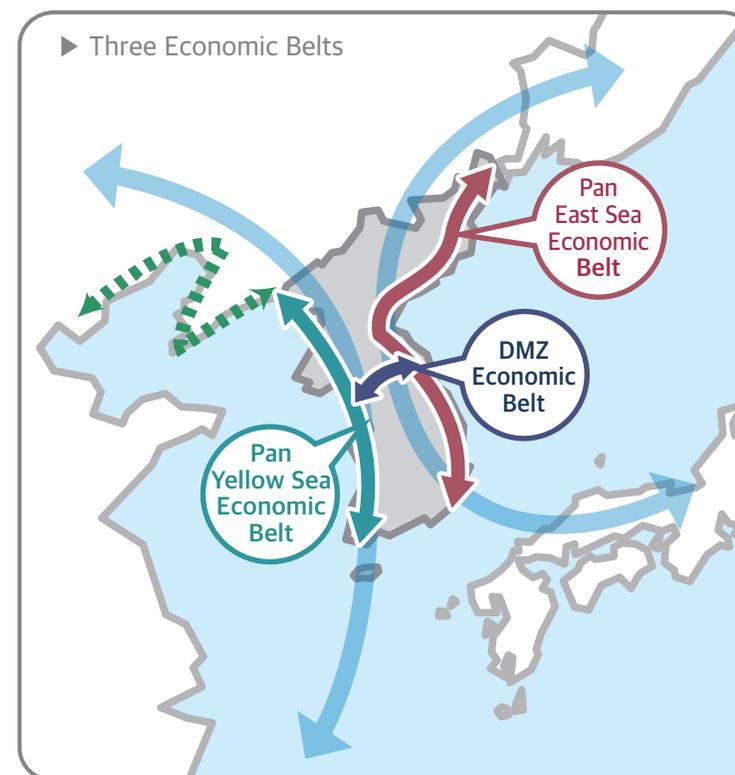
#### ▶ Three Economic Belts

- **Pan East Sea Belt** : Belt of energy and natural resources connecting Wonsan, Hamhung, Dancheon, Rason, and Russia
- **Pan Yellow Sea Belt** : Belt of transportation, logistics, and manufacturing connecting the Seoul metropolitan area, Gaeseong and Haeju, Pyongyang and Nampo, Sinuiju, and China
- **DMZ Belt** : Belt of environment and tourism connecting the District of Ecology, Peace, Security, and Tourism in the DMZ and the Unification Special Economic Zone

We will build a new economic order that will bring peace and prosperity to the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia by conducting joint projects across different sectors involving not only the North but also China, Russia, and other Northeast Asian countries.

We will first cooperate with other Northeast Asian countries on more feasible projects and then involve North Korea once a breakthrough is reached in terms of its nuclear issue.

Through mutual economic cooperation with the North and other Northeast Asian countries, we will contribute to resolving the North Korean nuclear issue, easing military tension on the Korean Peninsula, and promoting multilateral security cooperation.



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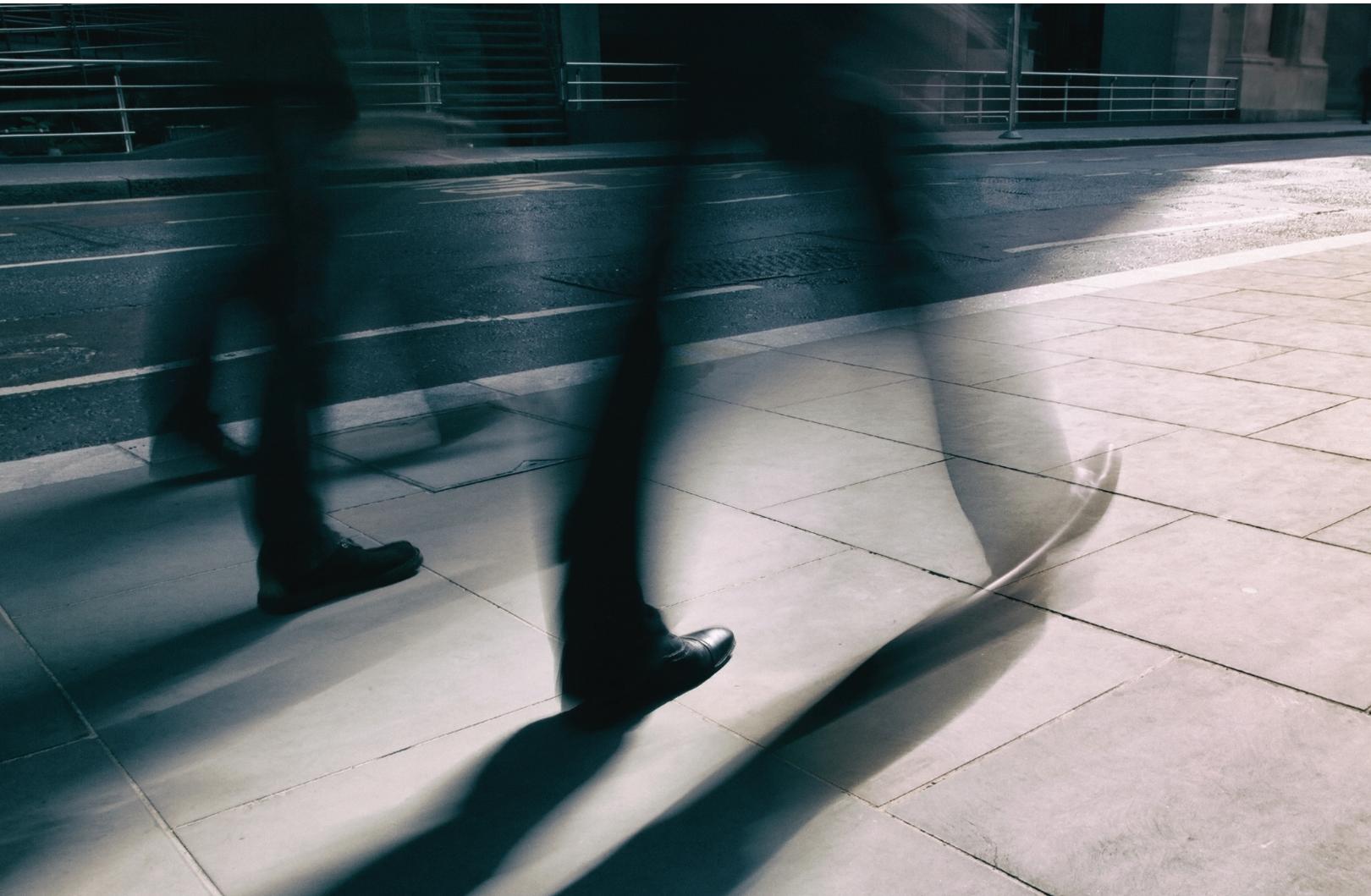
On many occasions, I have announced a new economic map for the Korean Peninsula and a new vision for the northern economy. I believe that genuine peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia will begin when the foundation for a Northeast Asian economic community is solidified on one side and multilateral security cooperation is materialized on the other.

(Address by President Moon Jae-in of the Republic of Korea at the 72nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, September 22, 2017)

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# Four Strategies



## 04 Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula

1. Taking a step-by-step and comprehensive approach
2. Tackling the issues of inter-Korean relations and the North Korean nuclear threat simultaneously
3. Ensuring sustainability through institutionalization
4. Laying the foundation for peaceful unification through mutually beneficial cooperation

## 04 Four Strategies

1

### Taking a Step-by-Step and Comprehensive Approach

We will peacefully resolve the North Korean nuclear issue, using a step-by-step, two-track approach of sanctions/pressure and dialogue.

Sanctions and pressure aims to stop North Korea's nuclear and missile provocations and to pull North Korea to the negotiating table for denuclearization.

When conditions are set, we will closely cooperate with related nations and push forward the complete dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear program step by step, starting from a nuclear freeze.

**Security issues will be discussed and dealt with in a comprehensive manner.**

We plan to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue while guaranteeing the safety of the North Korean regime.

While solving the nuclear issue, we will discuss ways to build political and military trust between the two Koreas, establish a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, and facilitate improvement in relations between the North and the international community, thus eliminating the security threats more fundamentally.

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A more fundamental solution is to uproot the North Korean nuclear issue. The North Korean nuclear issue has become much more difficult to deal with than the past with the advancement of North Korea's nuclear arsenal. A step-by-step and comprehensive approach is required.

My Government, in cooperation with the international community, will work towards a comprehensive solution of the current issues on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia, including the complete dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear program and establishing a peace regime, easing North Korea's security and economic concerns, and improving North Korea-US and North Korea-Japan relations.

(President Moon Jae-in's Speech Delivered at Berlin's Old City Hall upon the invitation of the Körber Foundation, July 6, 2017)

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2

### Tackling the Issues of Inter-Korean Relations and the North Korean Nuclear Threat Simultaneously

Resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue and improvement of inter-Korean relations are not two separate matters that require a choice or prioritization. Both can see progress simultaneously by complementing each other in a virtuous circle.

Our track record shows that we have succeeded in taking the North Korean nuclear issue to the next level and ensuring the stability of the Korean Peninsula when the South-North dialogue was revitalized.

√ We conveyed our plans to the US when suspicious activities were found at Geumchang-ri, North Korea in 1998. The plan was used as a reference point for the 'Perry Process.'

√ We contributed to the adoption of the September 19th Joint Statement by dispatching a special envoy to North Korea when the six-party talks reached an impasse in 2005.

√ We delivered our plan of a peace regime to the US in the wake of the BDA case in 2007, thus facilitating the conclusion of the February 13th Agreement.

We can proactively draw the cooperation of surrounding nations including the US and China in multilateral talks only when trust is built between the two Koreas through dialogue and exchange.

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We have to remember the fact that the North maintained a moratorium on the test firing of missiles and announced a plan to suspend a nuclear test when the two Koreas maintained good relations. At that time, dialogue between the North and the United States as well as between the North and Japan were promoted, and multilateral diplomacy in Northeast Asia was active.

This is the reason why I made clear at every chance that the Republic of Korea must be the country that takes the helm in addressing matters concerning the Korean Peninsula.

(Address by President Moon Jae-in on the 72nd Anniversary of Liberation, August 15, 2017)

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3

### Ensuring Sustainability through Institutionalization

We will push ahead with a 'National Unification Agreement' based on a national consensus and continue to set conditions for the sustainable, consistent implementation of North Korea policy.

In order to reach a consensus, we will expand public understanding on unification issues and the government's North Korea policy by interacting with the people and promoting public participation. We will overcome related controversies and conflicts by highlighting the importance of embracing differences and respecting each other.

We will uphold all inter-Korean agreements and conclude a 'New Inter-Korean Basic Agreement' to ensure the fulfillment of inter-Korean commitments regardless of the change in administration.

We will enact the inter-Korean agreements into law to ensure that all agreements can serve as basic assets for the continued advancement of inter-Korean relations.

In addition, we will set conditions to induce the North to honor and fulfill its commitments by concluding a 'New Inter-Korean Basic Agreement' engineered to mirror the changes on the Korean Peninsula.

We will conclude a Korean Peninsula peace treaty and establish a solid peace regime.

We will conclude a Korean Peninsula peace treaty that brings together all nations directly concerned, convert the currently hostile inter-Korean relations into relations of peace and cooperation, and build an enduring peace.

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Domestically, my Government will work towards enacting into law the inter-Korean agreements. We will make it clear that all agreements between the South and the North are basic assets of the Korean Peninsula that should be inherited even when there is a change of government.

In order to establish a permanent peace structure on the Korean Peninsula, we need to conclude a peace treaty with the participation of relevant countries, and formally end the war.

(President Moon Jae-in's Speech Delivered at Berlin's Old City Hall upon the invitation of the Körber Foundation, July 6, 2017)

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## 04 Four Strategies

4

### Laying the Foundation for Peaceful Unification through Mutually Beneficial Cooperation

We will build an inter-Korean community by expanding exchanges that are beneficial to both South and North Koreans across diverse sectors, including the economic sector.

We will place the highest priority on easing the pain of separated families and resolving this issue ahead of other political matters. We will continue our endeavor to provide support for the socially vulnerable of the North, such as infants, on a humanitarian level regardless of political conditions.

We will seek practical improvements in North Korea's human rights situation by considering the North Korean people's right to life and right of freedom as universal values of humanity.

We will embrace defectors from North Korea as our counterpart for unification and enhance daily-life oriented support program.

We will promote and expand exchanges across diverse levels, including those between civic organizations and between local government bodies, to restore inter-Korean relations and national homogeneity.

We will also form the foundation for the inter-Korean economic community by conducting various cooperation projects, such as the formulation of a New Economic Map for the Korean Peninsula, as soon as the conditions are set.

We aim for unification achieved in a peaceful and democratic manner agreed to by all members of the two Koreas.

We aim for unification that naturally occurs as part of the process of promoting the coexistence and co-prosperity of the two Koreas and recovering the Korean national community.

We will create favorable conditions for the people of the two Koreas to recognize the importance of unification both for themselves and for future generations.

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My Government will consistently pursue nonpolitical exchange and cooperation projects by separating it from the political and military situation.

The exchange and cooperation projects between South and North Korea are the process of healing the wounds and realizing reconciliation among all members on the Korean Peninsula and also efforts towards building peace from within.

(President Moon Jae-in's Speech Delivered at Berlin's Old City Hall upon the invitation of the Körber Foundation, July 6, 2017)

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# Five Principles



## 05 Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula

1. To seize the initiative in resolving issues of the Korean Peninsula
2. To maintain peace with a strong defense
3. To foster inter-Korean relations based on mutual respect
4. To focus on interaction with the people and draw consensus
5. To implement the policy through international cooperation

## 05 Five Principles

### 1 Korea-led Initiative

As the party directly concerned, we will take the lead in promoting inter-Korean reconciliation and cooperation, as well as in establishing peace and co-prosperity on the Korean Peninsula.

We will strive to establish a new order of peace and prosperity with the international community with an open-minded manner.



The division of the nation is the unfortunate legacy of the colonial era that made it impossible for us to determine our destiny on our own in the midst of cold war rivalries. However, our national power has now been enhanced to the extent that we can decide our fate on our own volition. We, with our own strength, have to achieve peace on the Korean Peninsula and overcome the division.

(Address by President Moon Jae-in on the 72nd Anniversary of Liberation, August 15, 2017)



### 2 Strong Defense

By maintaining a strong security posture based on the solid ROK-US alliance and national defense, we will deter North Korea's provocation and establish peace on the Korean Peninsula.

We will go beyond the current practice of safeguarding peace to focus our resources on perfecting peace by resolving the North Korean nuclear issue in a peaceful manner and bringing permanent peace to the Peninsula.

### 3 Mutual Respect

We will embrace the differences between the two Koreas and will not seek the collapse of North Korea, nor unification through absorption or forceful means.

We will inherit and further foster existing agreements between the two Koreas based on mutual respect, promote mutually beneficial exchanges and cooperation, and thereby realize a Korean community of co-prosperity.

### 4 Interaction with the People

The policy will be completed through close interaction with the people and their opinions, and not by the government's one-sided drive.

We will institutionalize participation of - and interaction with - the National Assembly, local government bodies, civil organizations, and experts to draw a national consensus on the unification issues.

### 5 International Cooperation

We will closely cooperate with the international community to resolve North Korea's nuclear threat and to establish lasting peace on the Peninsula.

Furthermore, we will pursue prosperity together with our neighbors through the 'New Economic Map Initiative' and win international support for a peaceful unification.

*“We look forward to your participation.”*

We will complete the policy through the participation of  
- and interaction with - the public.

We will remain attentive to people's voices at all times.

We will remain humble and open our ears.

We await your opinions.

Thank you.



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The government of Korea will strive also at the inter-Korean level  
to make the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics into Olympics of Peace